Religious Exchange in Aframerindian Life

The first recorded encounter between Africans and Indians in the Southeastern United States was that of the “Queen ” of the Cofitachiqui people and a “slave of Andre de Vasconcelas” who accompanied sixteenth century explorer Hernando De Soto. Even though she offered De Soto her “sincerest and purest goodwill,” he imprisoned her and forced her to lead his expedition into the interior coastlands in search of gold. [*Original Narratives, 172]* As they approached the “province of Chalaque,” she escaped and took with her a group of runaway slaves from the expedition. The queen and the “slave of Andre de Vasconcelas” fled to the mountains of North Carolina where it was “very very sure that they lived together as man and wife and were to go together to Cutafichiqui.” [*ibid.*] They soon made their way to the village of Cofitachiqui on the banks of the Savannah River near Silver Bluff, S.C. There, they began a new life together and their children would form the core of a new Aframerindian community in what would become “a very celebrated place.” [*Travels of William Bartram,* 199]

This first contact between the Spanish conquistador and the Yuchi queen was perhaps an unusual one on the colonial frontier, but the encounter between the slave and the “Beloved Woman” was not at all unprecedented. As the traditional leader within what the colonists would later come to call a “government of petticoats,” it was her responsibility to decide the fate of those captured in conflict. Her “voice was considered that of the Great Spirit, speaking through her;” and, with the wave of her hand, a person could meet imminent death. [*Indian Women Chiefs,* 7] Just as she had the power of death, the “Beloved Woman” could also bestow the gift of life and demand that the person be adopted into the clan structure of the community to replace the lives of those lost in battle. In addition, the captors could take these persons back to their home and force them into a life of servitude to the community without the bonds of clan; these were the “persons without a place.”

To exist without the ties of kinship within nations of the American Southeast such as the Cherokee or the Mvskoke was to be without identity; one existed outside the sacred order. Indigenous culture found expression within a tapestry of structured relationships woven together to create a beloved community rooted in a harmonious balance of interdependent actors and activities. For Keres/Cherokee literary scholar Paula Gunn Allen, the concept of kinship is critical the traditional worldview, “The American Indian sees all creatures as relatives (and in tribal systems relationship is central), as offspring of the Great Mystery, as cocreators, as children of our mother, and as necessary parts of an ordered, balanced, and living whole…This concept applies to what non-Indian Americans think of as the supernatural, and it applies to the more tangible (phenomenal) aspects of the universe.…The circle of being is not physical, but it is dynamic and alive. It is what lives and moves and knows, and all life forms we recognize–animals, plants, rocks, winds–partake of this greater life." [*The Sacred Hoop*, 60] This sacred order of relationships extended beyond the human community to the bear, the turtle, the moon, and the savannah. All relationships within the natural order were coexistent and codependent; the harmony within any particular community reflected the basic structure of the universe.

To live one's life on the periphery of the community was the plight of the "person without a place." Yet, even the "person without a place" was cared for within the perimeter of the "sacred hoop" in order to preserve the dynamically interconnected network of mutuality that made up what were known as the "old ways." Key elements in the old ways of traditional culture were communal ties to the land, shared responsibility for the working of that gift, and the communal distribution of the proceeds from such. As primary responsibility for agricultural production rested with women, they maintained an economic system rooted in the well-being of the community. The good of the people relied upon the ability of each to contribute to the shared effort, so even the disadvantaged were provided for within the social network. Even the weakest link was still a critical part of the beloved community.

However, the arrival of colonists from Europe in the early seventeenth century introduced the Indians of the American Southeast to a new kind of social relationship. These strangers declared themselves superior to the original inhabitants of the land and claimed divine right to all that belonged to the native peoples, including their very person. When the vast riches they had envisioned were not readily available, the invaders seized the indigenous peoples and made them a commodity on the open market. Caravans of slaves trekked from the interior forests to the coastlands of the Atlantic where dark and disease-ridden carriers made the middle passage to the West Indies or New England where a life of servitude awaited the captives. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Indian slave trade eclipsed the trade for furs and skins, and became the primary source of commerce between Europe and the Southeastern colonies. Fueled by the passion for material goods, indigenous nations were set against each other in an orgy of slave-dealing that decimated the economic, political, and social structures of traditional societies. It was indeed a new world.

In 1619, a different kind of settler landed at Portsmouth, Virginia; indentured servants from Africa arrived as part of a fledgling project to finance the colonial mission. When these Africans had worked off their period of indenture, they fled from the population centers and sought out those persons most like themselves with whom they could settle. Among the indigenous peoples of southeastern Virginia, these Africans found persons who shared a culture similar to their own--one rooted in a sacred relationship to the subtropical coastlands of the middle Atlantic. Within the nexus of this new community, a unique synthesis grew in which African and Indian people shared a common religious experience. They forged ties of kinship and bonds of community into a culture that would forever changes the spiritual landscape of the southeastern colonies.

There were, indeed, great affinities between West African traditional religions and those of the indigenous peoples of the American Southeast. In fact, it is perhaps erroneous to speak of West African traditional religion as if it were a singular entity existing outside of social and cultural contexts. Within these traditions, the existence of the sacred permeates all planes of existence; there is no clear-cut distinction between the sacred and secular, the religious and the nonreligious, the spiritual and the material. Wherever Africans are, they carry with them an appreciation of the sacred relationship with the place in which they find themselves and the active forces that shape their immediate environment. However, this relationship often finds its most profound expression within a particular place and among a certain people; in some places where the connection between the people and their environment has extended over thousands of years, a powerfully reverential relationship is established. As each person respected their own ties to land and to community, they also respected these same traditions within other peoples and communities. In this, the indigenous peoples of Africa and North America found common ground.

Africans and Indians each emphasized the circle of life–both with the environment and within one's community; each stressed the importance of sacred order and the power of ritual to affect and overcome disorder. Both attached great significance to kinship in their social organization; and each were rooted in a communal economy based on subsistence agriculture. As John Mbiti notes, traditional societies in Africa thrived on a structured system of interrelationships: “the ideal for them has been ... conformity to the life led by one’s fellows, seeking to gain little or no wealth or position in a carefully egalitarian world where personal gain above the level of the accepted norm would be a source of unhappiness or danger, since exceptional achievement could be only at the expense of one’s neighbors.”

Therefore, many of these new African immigrants to the Southeast found a home among the Mvskoke, Cherokee, and Powhatan peoples in places such as Galphintown, Kituwah, and Weyanoke. As these societies were primarily matrilineal, Africans who married indigenous women often became members of their spouses’ clan and citizens of the respective nation. The seventeenth century trade in Indian slaves created great numbers of enslaved women; many of these native women took enslaved Africans as their partners. By the early years of the eighteenth century, the number of Indian slaves in the Carolinas was nearly half that of African slaves. J. Leitch Wright suggests that the presence of so many women slaves from the Southeastern nations where gynarchy was the norm helps to explain the prominent role of women in slave culture. As these relationships grew, the lines of racial distinction began to blur, and the evolution of black/indian people began to pursue its own course. The cultures intertwined in complex ways in the colonial Southeast, and the emerging Aframerindian culture reflected the blending of these two peoples.

Based upon their observations of the world around them, indigenous peoples built their societies and cultures to resemble the processes of the natural world. The people measured time not in the linear sense but cycles were counted according to responsibilities entailed in the sacred relationships or as significant events that fell outside the ordinary. Lunar calendars such as the Ishango Bone from the Congo recorded the planting moon, the drying grass moon, and the harvest moon; ceremonial feasts and festivals corresponded to certain times and community dances and rituals affirmed the continuity of all life. Elders becoming ancestors kept passage of time and new births bespoke the promise of future generations with naming rituals paying respect to the continuity of life. Cherokee author Marilou Awiakta describes the cycle of life: "The pattern of survival is in the poetics of primal space. Balance, harmony, inclusiveness, cooperation -- life regenerating within a parameter of order....Continuance in the midst of change, these are cardinal dynamics that sustain the universe."(*Selu;* 181)

Mythopoetic traditions among persons such as the Mvskoke and the Ashanti celebrated the numerous spirits, sacred beings, forces of nature, creatures both animate and inanimate, as well as fellow inhabitants within the surrounding environment. The spider, as weaver of the web of life, the rabbit, as trickster figure, and the buzzard, as healer, took on great significance in both cultures. Through storytelling, animals and plants assumed anthropocentric qualities in order to spread the lessons of life across multiple generations. Fire and water became the focal points for rituals in which the bonds of community were celebrated and through acts of purifications and cleansing, a broken community made whole. With song and dance, natural history took form and presence within the midst of the people and the workings of the natural order could be celebrated. Through community ritual, one could transcend one's individuality and by connecting with the internal ancestor, the fire that was danced around and the fire that one's ancestors danced around became one.

Among the first peoples of Africa and the Americas, there were religious specialists who took the form of priests, traditional healers or shamans, and even conjurers and "witches." Coming from either gender and of any age, most had specific training handed down through the generations. Priests led religious ceremonies and rituals; traditional healers helped individuals deal with disease or communities with disorder; conjurers helped persons deal with the vicissitudes of daily existence. These persons were at the center of the traditional community because they were repositories for the knowledge and practice of traditional religion. Without them, the “old ways” would have vanished.

As peoples from Africa and the Americas bonded, the landscape of the early colonial frontier began to change dramatically. In areas such as Southeastern Virginia, the Low Country of the Carolinas, and around near Savannah, Georgia, communities of Aframerindians arose. In many places, Europeans found themselves outnumbered by persons of color and the need to set these persons against one another became a critical factor in colonial policy. The notion of racial supremacy emerged as a convenient methodology of oppression and by the middle of the eighteenth century, race became a critical aspect of identity. A 1740 slave code from South Carolina reveals the importance of this newfound ideology: “...all negroes and Indians, (free Indians in amity with this government, and negroes, mulattoes, and mustezoes, who are now free, excepted) mulattoes or mustezoes who are now, or shall hereafter be in this province, and all their issue and offspring... shall be and they are hereby declared to be, and remain hereafter absolute slaves.”[*History of the Negro Race*, 290]

Some one hundred years after Africans arrived on the shores of Virginia, a young woman named Nanye-hi of the Cherokee people made a name for herself among the people as a distinguished “war woman” during a battle with the Mvskoke. When her partner-in-life was felled by a Mvskoke bullet, Nanye-hi picked up his gun and “fought as a warrior throughout the rest of the skirmish.” [*Indian Women Chiefs*, 21] When the battle was over and the fate of the prisoners was decided, Nanye-hi selected an African-american Mvskoke that his life would be given to her, as was custom, for the life of her partner. Through this act, Nanye-hi exercised her power as war woman in accordance with the old ways to protect and promote life regardless of race. Nanye-hi would later become Nancy Ward, one of the most important and influential figures in Cherokee history.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, an enthusiasm for political and religious liberation began to sweep through the nascent settlements from the European continent; this movement became known as the Great Awakening. John Marrant, a young African-american musician from South Carolina, was converted by evangelist George Whitefield and dedicated his life to the Christian gospel. When his family rejected his newfound fervor, he fled to the wilderness and took up with a Cherokee hunter who taught him the Cherokee language. When he returned with the hunter to his village, he was seized by the Cherokee and imprisoned. While imprisoned, he spoke with the headman’s daughter and convinced her that she was under “deep conviction to sin;” praying together before the headman, the black minister and the young Cherokee woman performed a miracle “and a great change took place among the people.” [*A Narrative of the Life of John Marrant*, 7] With the support of the Cherokee leadership, Marrant engaged in missionary efforts among the Mvskoke, the Catawba, and the Housa people. This pioneer African-american missionary was perhaps the first Christian missionary to the indigenous peoples of the American Southeast; however, he would not be the last.

By the end of the eighteenth century, tremendous changes were sweeping through the Five Nations that would have a profound impact upon traditional culture that would forever affect life among the people. With the settlement of hostilities following the Revolutionary War, the newly established federal government inaugurated its "program to promote civilization among the friendly Indian tribes.” A critical element in the “civilization” program would be the shift from the community-based low-intensity agricultural collective that had been at the center of traditional society to the colonial model of an individually owned labor-intensive farm. This dramatic shift in the culture of the peoples of the Southeast could not be accommodated without first altering the social, political, and religious structures of traditional societies. Toward this end, the missionaries of the Christian churches would prove quite effective.

From the very beginning of United States’ policy toward the Indians, missionaries were to play a critical role in the “civilization” of the Southeastern Indians. The missionaries, believing that a stable plantation society promoted both a self-sustaining church and orderly civil government, introduced European agricultural practices to the Indians by giving plows, livestock, and gristmills to the men and cloth and spinning tools to the women. In addition, these same agents asserted that a dominant part of the civilization program should be the death of that part of the “old ways” that centered upon ties of matrilineal descent. Intermarriage with whites was becoming common and this intermarriage radically affected traditional matrilineality and communalism; real economic inequality was first introduced among the Southeastern Indians. Progressive natives who spoke English began to adopt the social, economic, and political patterns of the dominant culture; one by one, the old ways were being undermined.

Gradually, the “Five Civilized Tribes” [Cherokee, Mvskoke, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole] developed a landed elite and a small group of “white Indians” formed a bourgeois element that became dominant in national affairs; among this group of the rich and powerful, the practice of plantation slavery became most accepted. For traditionalists, slavery represented the quintessential evil of European “civilization.” The people had seen the terribly destructive influence that the Indian slave trade had played upon their own economic and social institutions;

that civilization in the United States was being built upon a system of racial inequality and the implications of such for themselves were inescapable. When the leading men of their own culture began to abandon traditional teachings and embrace this alien and threatening ideology, set in motion were forces that could not be constrained.

Throughout the Five Civilized Tribes, a rebellion erupted against the civilization movement. . Especially in the light of a pan-Indian religious awakening that spread among the nations in the early nineteenth century, many of the conservative members of the Southeastern nations rebelled against acculturation by reasserting the “old ways.” In movements such as “White Path’s Rebellion” among the Cherokee and the “Red Stick Revolt” among the Mvskoke, traditionalism reasserted itself and challenged the spread of “civilization.” This left little room for colonial institutions, including slavery, among large populations of the conservative members of the Southeastern Indians who did not adopt plantation agriculture and mercantile capitalism. In addition, from the earliest periods of the institution of slavery, Africans fled enslavement along the same routes that Indians had used to escape slavery in earlier times. The Mvskoke and the Seminole accepted these runaways and incorporated them into their nations because the African Americans were well skilled in languages, agriculture, technical skills, and warfare. Throughout the South, a powerful force of resistance was building.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Second Great Awakening was sweeping through the South taking the form of camp meetings and revivals led by circuit riders and itinerant preachers. Affinities between Baptist and Methodist liturgical practices and the rituals of traditional religion promoted the spread of evangelical religion among even the conservative members of Southeastern Indians. Camp meetings and revivals, being social as well as religious functions that promoted direct participation in singing, shouting, and prayer, were well suited to those accustomed to traditional methods of worship. The preference of oratorical capabilities and oral tradition over literacy and competence in doctrinal sophistries also promoted the spread of the evangelical message. When accepted into the congregation, the symbolic rite of baptismal immersion was quite similar with the ancient Cherokee purification ritual of *amo’:hi atsv’:sdi* (“water: to go and return to, one”). [“A Note on Cherokee Theological Concepts,” 397]

As many of the missionaries did not speak the native languages, they relied upon the multilingual and multicultural Aframerindians to spread the gospel message. According to early missionary Daniel Buttrick, as many African Americans as Native Americans attended the worship services of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The missionaries referred to their "Sabbath schools" as "our Black Schools," because of the presence of Africans as both students and teachers. In 1818, a Cherokee entering the Chickamauga mission was found "able to spell correctly in words of 4 & 5 letters. He had been taught solely by black people who had received their instruction in our Sunday School." [*Cherokees of the Old South*, 142].

Not only did Africans share with Native Americans, the process of cultural exchange went both ways. From the slave narratives, we learn of the role Native American religious traditions played in African American society:

> When I wuz a boy, dere wuz lotsa Indians livin' about six miles frum the plantation on which I wuz a slave. De Indians allus held a big dance ever' few months, an' all de niggers would try to attend….As soon as it gets dark, we quietly slips outen de quarters, one by one, so as not to disturb de guards. Arrivin at de dance, we jined in the festivities wid a will.
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> [Preston Kyles, *Slave Narratives*, n.p.]

Native Americans also played roles in the development of a different kind of institution. Throughout the awakening, brush arbors were the center of the "invisible institution." These were hastily constructed churches made of a lean-to of tree limbs and branches where people would steal away for worship. Brush arbors of this sort had long been a prominent part of the Southeastern traditional religion; they formed the circle of clan structures that surrounded the sacred fire at traditional ceremonies. The brush arbors that formed the core of slave religion were borrowed from the architecture of the "stomp grounds" of Southeastern traditional religious practices.

Over the years, these brush arbors grew into churches. The first Negro Baptist Church was established near Silver Bluff, South Carolina on the banks of the Savannah River. This place was, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a center not only for economic trade with the Southeastern Indians, but also political and social discourse. George Galphin, the owner of the settlement, was a gregarious Irishman who had at least four wives, including Metawney, the daughter of a Creek headman, and two Africans, the "Negro Sappho" and the "Negro Mina." Members of Galphin's family were patrons of the Negro Baptist Church at Silver Bluff. One of the organizers of Silver Bluff Baptist Church was a free black from Southeastern Virginia who had spent many years among the Mvskoke and Natchez people. Another nearby church, the First

African Baptist Church of Savannah, was led a former slave "whose mother was white and whose father was an Indian." [*Afro-American Religious History*, 49].

The area around Savannah was not the only center for Aframerindian religion. From the Southeastern marshlands of Virginia, triangulating around the cities of Richmond, Petersburg, and Williamsburg, arose another set of independent "black" Baptist congregations. This was also an area in which there was extensive mixing of the races; the Mattaponi, Gingaskin, Pamunkey, and the Nottoway people of the Powhatan Confederation all intermarried with Africans. Thomas Jefferson noted that among the Mattaponies, there was "more negro than Indian blood in them." [*Relations*, 314] In an area on the James River where Blacks and Indians still outnumber whites two to one, the Bluestone African Baptist Church was organized on the plantation of William Byrd in 1756. By the end of the century, there were numerous mixed congregations in this area.

Born in Powhatan County Virginia, "mullato" John Stewart decided to become a missionary after an Indian slave told him it was folly "to pretend to turn the Indians from their old religion to a new one." ["Two Negro Missionaries," 400] Another famous resident of this area was Aframerindian John Chavis who ministered to slaves until he was stripped of his right to preach in the wake of Nat Turner's 1831 rebellion in neighboring Southhampton County. Many Powhatan of mixed heritage in this area "were driven away in 1831 during the excitement occasioned by the slave rising under Nat Turner." [*Indians of the Southeast*, 175] Within the slave community, having mixed blood meant something,

> "My mother had Indian in her. She would fight. She was the pet of the people…. She was whipped because she was out without a pass. She could have had a pass any time for the asking, but she was too proud to ask. She never wanted to do things by permission." [Blodgett, *Slave Narratives, n.p.*]

Further south, even greater trouble was brewing. Asi Yahola, the leader of the Seminole, of Florida had run afoul of the law after his African wife had been captured and returned to slavery. In order to punish those who enslaved his wife and imprisoned him, Asi Yahola led a revolt that would become the Second Seminole War; the resistance movement soon spread.

American Board missionary Sophie Sawyer reported that during a sermon among conservative mountain Indians, the question of slavery came up. "God cannot be pleased with slavery," said one of the Cherokees. There followed "some discussion respecting the expediency of setting slaves at liberty." When one of those present noted that freeing the slaves might cause more harm than good, a Native Baptist preacher replied, "I never heard tell of any hurt coming from doing right." [*Torchlights to the Cherokees, 299*]

In 1835, a formal movement was put into motion by several influential persons within the Cherokee Nation to emancipate Cherokee slaves and receive them as Cherokee citizens. The following December, the Treaty Party of the progressive slave-owning Cherokee signed the Treaty of New Echota with the United States, relinquishing all lands east of the Mississippi and agreeing to migrate to the Cherokee lands beyond the Mississippi. According to American Board missionary Elizur Butler, the Treaty of New Echota prevented the abolition of slavery within the Cherokee Nation. Throughout the United States, the federal government set about its policy of forced Indian Removal. As Andrew Jackson put it, “The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it Promises to the Government are the least of its recommendations.” [*North American Indian Removal Policy, n.p.*]

In the minds of most people of the United States, especially among those inhabitants of the Southeast, the issues of slavery and removal were indissolubly linked. In the first issue of *The Liberator*, an abolitionist newspaper, the path to the slave auction block was littered with copies of trampled Indian treaties; “from the Indian to the Negro, the transition was easy and natural...the suffering of the Negro flowed from the same bitter fountain.” [“Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition,” 39] Among the reasons for removal was the presence of "another class" of citizens of the nation -- the African Americans who posed a significant threat to the whites and opportunity for runaway slaves. Among the Mvskoke people, the question of removal was deadly serious. Blacks knew that they were considered the property of those from whom they, or their ancestors, had fled, that the burden of proof lay upon them, and that their losing to the United

States government meant they would become the property of whoever claimed them. Indian removal was serious business, indeed, ridding the country of its Aframerindian threat and opening up vast areas of the Old South for plantation slavery.

The Southeastern Indians faced what was most certainly one of the cruelest times ever imposed upon the people; a soldier was to later note, “I fought through the Civil War and have seen men shot to pieces and slaughtered by thousands, but the Cherokee removal was the cruelest work I ever knew.” [*Myths of the Cherokee, 124*] As they prepared to face what lay ahead, a revival swept through the camps,

> They never relaxed from their evangelical labors, but preached constantly in the fort. They had church meetings, received ten members, and one Sabbath, June 17, by permission of the officer in command, went down to the river and baptized them (five males and females). They were guarded to the river and back. Some whites present affirm it to have been the most solemn and impressive religious service they ever witnessed. [*Baptist Missionary Magazine*, 213]

Even on the road the worship continued:

> We collected together, in the midst of our camps, and surrounded the Lord’s table. The brethren and sisters apparently enjoyed the presence of God. Several came forward for prayer. In the many deaths which have taken place on the road, several of the members of the church were called from time to eternity, and some evidently died in the full triumph of faith. [*Baptist Missions among the American Indians, 77*]

Aframerindians blazed the route to the Indian Territory: "my grandparents were helped and protected by very faithful Negro slaves who...went ahead of the wagons and killed any wild beast who came along." [Nathaniel Willis, *Indian Pioneer History Collection*, n.p.] In spite of the fact that slaves were given the responsibility to guard the caravans at night with axes and guns, few made their escape. What for the Southeastern Indians First Peoples became known as “the Trail Where We Cried” was for the Africans an exodus. Large numbers of slaves and free Africans fled with the Indians to the Indian Territory; they realized that as rough as life on the trail could be, there was no life for them in the Old South. By the outbreak of the Civil War, the African American population of the Indian Territory was about twenty percent.

Aframerindians were also guides to a different promised land. Among the Mvskoke people where the African presence was particularly strong, Black Baptist preachers led worship services even on the “Trail Where We Cried.” The blacks who fled west with the Indians “secretly held their meetings, baptizing after midnight in the streams, with guards posted to keep from being surprised and arrested.” [*The Gospel Among the Red Men,98*] At the heart of the Baptist gospel message was the universal language of freedom that arose within the prophetic religion of the Aframerindian Baptist churches. This folk community practiced an “art of resistance” that constituted the core of their religious beliefs and practices, and was a community whose very existence constituted a challenge to the ideology of racial supremacy. As they traveled on a trail watered by their own tears and marked by their own graves, their faith in each other gave them the spirit to endure.

And whenever Indians gathered around the sacred fire, there were Africans present. When there were dances to celebrate, lost children to mourn, or seasons passing to be marked, there were Africans present. In addition, we must never forget that on the "Trail where we Cried," there were also African tears.

Sources: Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions (*Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 60; Marilou Awiatka, *Selu: Seeking the Corn-Mother’s Wisdom* (Golden, CO.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1993), 181; Joseph Samuel Badgett, Works Progress Administration: Arkansas Writers Project, *Slave Narratives* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932); William Bartam, *The Travels of William Bartram*, edited with commentary and an annotated index by Francis Harper. Naturalist’s ed., Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1998, 199; Beriah Green quoted in Mary Hershberger, “Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle Against Indian Removal In The 1830s,” *Journal of American History* 1999 86(1): 39; Chickamauga Journal quoted in H.T. Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956), 142; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Indian Women Chiefs,* (Washington, D.C.: Zenger Publishing Company, 1976), 21; Robert Hamilton, *The Gospel Among the Red Men* (Nashville: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1930), 98; J. Franklin Jameson, ed. *Original Narratives of Early American History: Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 176; Alan Kilpatrick, “A Note on Cherokee Theological Concepts,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 19 (June 1995): 394; Preston Kyles in Works Progress Administration: Arkansas Writers Project, *Slave Narratives* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932); Letter of Andrew Bryan to Reverend Doctor Rippon in Milton Sernett, ed., *Afro-American Religious History: A Documentary Witness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), 49; Letter from Rev. Evan Jones, in *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, XVIII, 236; Jesse Bushyhead quoted in Carl Coke Rister, *Baptist Missions among the American Indians* (Atlanta: Southern Baptist Church Home Mission Board, 1944), 77; John Marrant, *A Narrative of the Life of John Marrant, of New York, in North America With [an] account of the conversion of the king of the Cherokees and his daughter* (London: C.J. Farncombe, n.d), 5-7; John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophies* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1970), 267; James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*. Nashville, Tenn.: C. Elder-Bookseller, 1972, 124; Theda Perdue, “People Without A Place: Aboriginal Cherokee Bondage” *Indian History* 1976 9(3): 31-37; Kenneth Wiggins Porter, “Notes Supplementary to ‘Relations between Negroes and Indians’ ” in *The Journal of Negro History* XVIII (January, 1933, Number 1): 321; Kenneth W. Porter, *Relations Between Negroes and Indians Within the Present United States*, Washington, D.C.: The Association for Negro Life and History, 1931, p.314;“President Andrew Jackson's Case for the Removal Act; First Annual Message to Congress, 8 December 1830” in Patrick Jennings, *North American Indian Removal Policy: Andrew Jackson Addresses Congress*, http://www.synaptic.bc.ca/ejournal/jackson.htm], (June 10, 2000); Statutes of South Carolina quoted in George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880: Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers, and as Citizens (*New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1882), 290; John Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1946,175.; Robert Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees* (New York: MacMillan Company,1931), 298-299; Nathaniel Willis, *Indian Pioneer History Collection* [microform], Grant Foreman, ed. (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society Microfilm Publications, 1978-1981); J. Leitch Wright. *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indian in the Old South*, New York: Free Press, 1981, 148.