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The

GOINGSNAKE MESSENGER

TOLOTĀ DHO'BO

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**The Goingsnake District
Heritage Association**

The Search for History Never Ends

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This issue is the first issue of The Goingsnake Messenger that is published and distributed electronically. It remains available in print for those who will pay a little extra to cover printing and postage. The members in attendance at the October 2024 meeting voted to make this change and to establish annual dues as follows:

- \$20 per year, with online access to The Goingsnake Messenger
- \$30 per year, with The Goingsnake Messenger printed and mailed.

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THE GOINGSNAKE MESSENGER

Published bi-annually by the Goingssnake District Heritage Association (GDHA)

Editor: Harry Styron

Our Mission:

Established in 1979, the Goingssnake District Heritage Association exists for the purpose of researching, preserving and disseminating knowledge of Cherokee history, culture and lineage for the Goingssnake District, as well as for all of the historic Cherokee Nation.

The Goingssnake District Heritage Association is an organization described in Internal Revenue Code Section 501(c)(3), and any contributions (excluding membership dues) are tax-deductible. Please consider making a contribution to support the mission of GDHA.

Membership:

Membership is open to anyone interested in Cherokee history and people. Cherokee citizenship or heritage is not required. Annual membership dues include two issues of The Goingssnake Messenger.

Membership dues are based on a calendar year and are not pro-rated.
Regular Membership, \$20 per year, with printed and mailed Messenger, \$30
Sustaining Membership, \$40 per year
Single Printed Copies of The Goingssnake Messenger (to non-members), \$15

Meetings:

The GDHA membership and guests meet quarterly on the third Saturday of January, April, July, and October at 10 a.m., as well as having a holiday lunch meeting on the third Saturday of December. In addition, most meetings are available live on the Zoom digital platform. The July meeting is usually held at the Talbot Library in Colcord, Oklahoma, and the December meeting is usually held at the Proctor, Oklahoma community center. Other meetings are held at the John F. Henderson Library, 116 North Williams Avenue, Westville, Oklahoma.

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Opinions expressed in The Goingssnake Messenger are those of the contributing authors. These opinions may not necessarily represent the views of the Executive Board of the GDHA. Although efforts are made to publish only factual and accurate material, neither the GDHA nor its members can accept responsibility for errors of fact.

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President's Message

GDHA Transitions

As many of you may know, after 40 years of holding the office, Jack Baker stepped down January 2024 as president of the Goingsnake District Heritage Association. I was elected president at that meeting. At that time, we were not able to access our PayPal account or our website. Our Facebook page was also not accessible, we were without a treasurer, and our editor of the Messenger had agreed to hold this position only until October 2024.

To add to the chaos, the US Postal Service changed its process of accepting bulk mailings, and Glenitas Guthrie and I had no access to the GHDA postal account, so that we were no longer able to send out the Messenger in bulk.

During all this, my ongoing health issues increased, leaving me temporarily unable to effectively attend to these matters as I had been accustomed to doing. I'm happy to report, though that our new Messenger editor, Harry Styron, has gained access to our Facebook page and the GHDA email (goingsnakemessenger@gmail.com), and will shortly be putting out a mighty fine issue, to be published electronically or printed and mailed. The website will be reactivated very soon. Thank you tremendously, Harry! You've pretty much saved our organization.

Digital Version of The Goingsnake Messenger

I hope you enjoy the convenience of a digital, downloadable version of Messenger and that you also may appreciate the option of having a paper copy being mailed to you. The change to digital distribution was

necessitated by the increased cost of postage and printing.

Dues Increase

Late last year, the membership approved an adjustment to the annual dues, with the basic dues remaining at \$20 per year with a digital copy (in pdf format) of the Messenger sent to you by email, or \$30, which includes the printing and mailing of a paper copy of the Messenger.

A Plea

There is a growing interest of many young adults in enrolling as citizens of the Cherokee Nation and in learning about Cherokee genealogy, as evidenced major increases in tribal enrollment and by the activity of several popular Facebook groups that dig into our shared past. But GHDA hasn't connected with these people. Meanwhile, our membership is dwindling. Many of our longtime members have become elderly, and some are infirm or have passed on.

Please consider stepping forward to serve as an officer. We need help in bookkeeping, finding new members, giving presentations, writing articles and steering GHDA on a course that assures its survival.

We are sending this issue to all those who have provided email addresses, whether or not their dues are current. Please pay dues for 2025 and we will continue sending you the Messenger this year.

Billy Holt, President

Nelson Harlan's Century

By Harry Styron, email: goingsnakemessenger@gmail.com

NELSON HARLAN'S¹ lifespan—from 1813 to 1900—encompassed major events of the 19th century that affected nearly all Cherokees and many Americans generally. Looking at Nelson Harlan's life in conjunction with these events helps us understand the challenges that our Cherokee ancestors faced.

The War of 1812 was in its second year when Nelson was born in the Cherokee Nation in what is now northeastern Alabama. The Cherokee Nation was drawn into the War of 1812 as a part of the Cherokees continuing border conflict with the Creek faction, called Red Sticks, that was allied with Britain. Cherokees—who thirty years earlier fought with the British against the American colonists—now fought with the Americans under General Andrew Jackson.

Cherokee leaders such as Going Snake and many men who would lead the Cherokee Nation in the future served as

officers in Jackson's army: John Ross, The Ridge, and Nelson's stepfather Edward (Ned) Gunter, among them. By the time Nelson was a young man, President Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which was used to evict them from their homeland.

Nelson and his family were listed in the roll of Cherokees to be removed from the Cherokee Nation east of the Mississippi River in 1835 under the terms of the Treaty of New Echota, and he left the Cherokee Nation in Alabama for Arkansas with his Cherokee wife and two daughters by 1838.

In 1839 and for a decade thereafter, Nelson was caught up in the vicious dispute between the Treaty Party and the followers of Principal Chief John Ross, and he attempted to protect Treaty Party leader Stand Watie, whose uncle, cousin and brother were murdered for signing the Treaty of New Echota. Nelson signed an agreement between the Old Settlers²

¹ The family name "Harlan" is frequently also spelled Harlin and Harlen and Harland, sometimes inconsistently by those bearing the name. In doing any genealogical or historical research, the various spellings should be taken into account with the realization that the different spellings do not indicate different families. Similarly, Sarah and

Sally, Alice and Ailsey, Nancy and Nannie, and Jane and Jennie seem to be interchangeable.

² The term "Old Settlers" or "Western Cherokees" refers to the Cherokees who had chosen to move west of the Mississippi River and settle in an area of

and the Treaty Party in 1840, seeking a détente with the Ross faction and unification of the Cherokees.

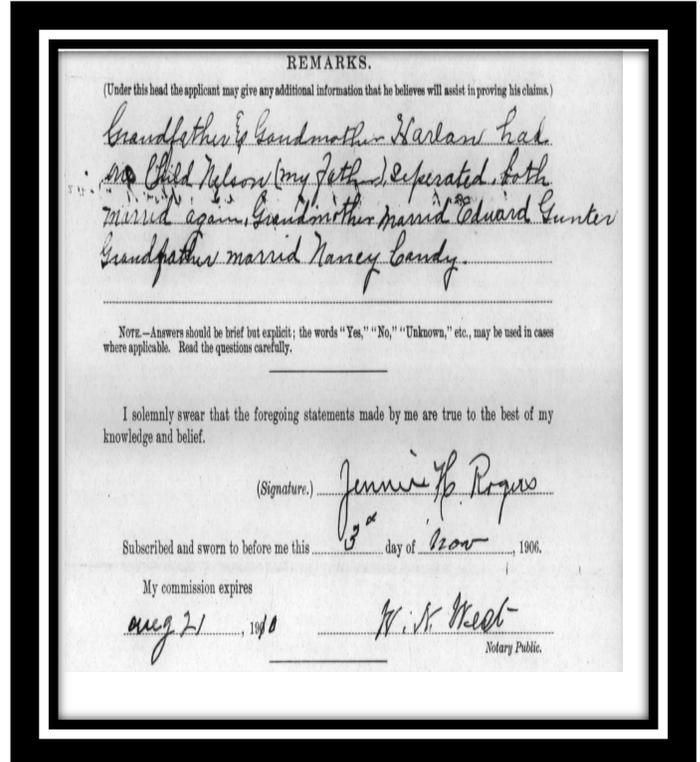
In 1849, Nelson abandoned his young family to go on the California Gold Rush, staying in California until about 1880 (during which his wife and children suffered during the Civil War). He returned to Goingsnake District around 1882, where he died in 1900.

These few facts we know about Nelson's life give us a way to observe Cherokee history and Cherokee life integrating with American life. His three surviving letters allow us to see him as a person, rather than as a name that appears in records. When we place his letters in the context of events, we can speculate about what kind of a man he may have been.

Nelson's Origins and Childhood in Alabama

Nelson Harlan was apparently the only child born to John T. Harlan and Ailsey McCoy in the Wills Valley,³ on the southwest edge of the Cherokee Nation, bordering the Creek Nation. Nelson's daughter Jennie's Guion Miller application indicates that his father was

John T. Harlin and his mother was Ailsey Harlan, who separated from John T. Harlin after Nelson's birth and married Edward (Ned) Gunter:



Ailsey McCoy's origins are unclear. Likely she was the daughter of a white man named Daniel McCoy, who married into the Cherokee Fields family.

Ned Gunter was the son of a Welsh-English father, John Gunter (1765-1835) and his Cherokee wife Catherine. John

Arkansas Territory under the treaties of 1817 and 1819 with the United States prior to forced removal in 1838-1839. In 1827, the United States forced the Old Settlers to move from Arkansas into Indian Territory, and the first white settlement party came to Washington County, Arkansas, which bordered the east side of Goingsnake District. At the time of forced removal, there were approximately 3,500 Old Settlers. Unification of Cherokees in Indian

Territory required the agreement of the Old Settlers, the Treaty Party and the Ross Faction.

³ Wills Valley is the valley of the Big Wills River and the Little Wills River, which runs southwesterly along the west flank of Lookout Mountain and east of Sand Mountain in northeast Alabama, just southwest of the point where Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee meet. This area bordered the Creek Nation.

Gunter was a pioneer entrepreneur in northeast Alabama beginning about 1785. John and Catherine Gunter took a reservation on the Tennessee River under the Treaty of 1819, under her right as a Cherokee. Their salt works, water mill and ferry on the Tennessee River at Creek Path (now Gunter'sville) were an important part of the regional economy from the beginning of the 19th Century through the Civil War. John Gunter died in 1835, and the disputes over his substantial estate continued for decades. Ned and his siblings (two brothers and four sisters) continued the enterprises of their parents and developed others.

We may assume that Nelson was raised by his mother and stepfather Ned Gunter. Nelson's literacy indicates that he was schooled, probably in a mission school in Wills Valley. He was a teenager when Sequoyah released his Cherokee writing system.

We also know little about the origins of Nelson's father John T. Harlin (abt. 1790-1835), other than that he was a white man, possibly related to Ellis Harlan who emigrated into the Cherokee Nation from Pennsylvania. Soon after Nelson's birth, John T. Harlin started a family with a Cherokee woman, Nancy Candy, and they had several children, apparently removing to Indian Territory prior to the forced removal.

How The War of 1812 and the Battle of Horseshoe Bend Shaped Events in Nelson's Life

A year before Nelson's birth in 1813, the United States declared war on Britain to resist Britain's attempts to block expansion of the United States into the area west of the Appalachians and into Canada. Britain responded with naval blockades to interfere with US trade with France and by capturing US sailors who had been British citizens. In addition, Britain allied with Indian tribes who were engaged in fighting American soldiers attempting to protect white settlers that were moving across the Appalachians. As explained below, the American victory over the Red Stick Creeks and the halt to British economic and political influence in the area west of the Appalachians that resulted from the War of 1812 enabled Andrew Jackson's vision of Indian Removal to become reality by 1840.

Shawnee leader Tecumseh and his brother, The Prophet, beginning in about 1805, led a movement among Native tribes from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico to return to traditional ways and resist the expansion of white settlement. Tecumseh and The Prophet helped galvanize a faction of the Creeks in Alabama called the Red Sticks, which erupted into a civil war in 1813 as well as attacks on United States forts in south Alabama. The Red Sticks were a part of Tecumseh's confederacy which was allied with Britain and engaged in battles

against the Americans in Ohio, western Pennsylvania, New York and Ontario.

Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina raised militias to put down the Red Sticks, and the federal government placed troops under Andrew Jackson's command, which with the help of Creek loyalists and Cherokee warriors defeated the Red Sticks with a final battle at Horseshoe Bend on March 27, 1814. Jackson's army continued its campaign as a part of the War of 1812, engaging with the British at Pensacola and finally with victory at the Battle of New Orleans in early 1815.

In the South, the victory for the United States at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend elevated Andrew Jackson from being merely an important politician from Tennessee to the status of national hero, paving the way for his eventual election in 1828 as President of the United States, where he would sign the Indian Removal Act in 1830. The victory at Horseshoe Bend also ended the Creek War of 1813-1814 and allowed Jackson to impose treaty terms upon the Creeks resulting the cession of more than 23 million acres (some of which was claimed by Cherokees).

This immense land cession opened much of northern and central Alabama for settlement by non-Indians. The surviving Red Sticks and the Lower Creeks, even those who had fought with Jackson, were destined for removal to Indian Territory. Though the Cherokees were able to obtain the return of about

two million acres of the Creek lands under the Treaty of 1817, the Cherokees, too, were ultimately forced west by Jackson.

Ned Gunter carried war wounds with him the rest of his life. Jackson expressed gratitude for the Cherokee aid in battle. Surely, Nelson's boyhood was filled with tales of military experiences of his stepfather and other Cherokee men and women whose lives were gravely affected by these momentous events. Moreover, many of them became personally acquainted with Andrew Jackson, whose political ambitions were boundless, and would see him turn his back on them, just as he had turned his back on loyal Creeks, as Jackson fulfilled his desire to move all Natives to the area west of the Mississippi.

The Establishment of Cherokee Government

In 1820, the Cherokee National Committee and Council established eight districts, with a council house in each. Wills Creek formed the west boundary of the Cherokee Nation and was also the west boundary of the Challogee District of the Cherokee Nation. In 1825, when the Cherokee General Council called for a constitutional convention, Ned Gunter was chosen to serve his district as a delegate. The Cherokee Constitution was adopted in July 1827, at which time Nelson Harlan was a teenager, surely aware of the time and efforts of his stepfather in two years of service as a

delegate to the constitutional convention.

Nelson as Young Adult

On March 11, 1835, Nelson married Jane Nicholson (c. 1816-1866) two months after the death of her father Evan Nicholson and the same year of the death of Nelson's biological father.⁴ A discussion of Jane's family will help give context to events in Nelson's life and his place in Cherokee society during his early adult years.

Jane was the daughter of Evan Nicholson and Sally Vann Nicholson. Jane was raised by her mother, Sally Vann, who was the daughter of Jennie Foster and James Vann (1767-1809). Sally's education began at Springplace, in the Moravian mission school on James Vann's plantation which Vann had sponsored in order that Cherokees be literate. After the death of her father, Sally lived in South Carolina with her mother's family,⁵ where she married Evan Nicholson in 1814. Sally and Evan

moved to Wills Valley, Alabama in about 1818. Sally and Evan farmed there and raised twelve children.

In 1835, Nelson was involved with the administration of the substantial estate of his wife's father Evan Nicholson (who died January 10, 1835), as well as being a newlywed facing forced removal to Indian Territory. In 1835, Nelson and Jane's brother, John Nicholson⁶, were appointed by the court to be guardians of Jane's minor siblings. However, court records indicate that Nelson and Jane and Jane's brother John Nicholson were all living in Arkansas by 1838, requiring the appointment of a new guardian. The new guardian was James Lamar, who had married Jane's mother Sally Vann Nicholson, on June 29, 1835 and was the stepfather of these minor children.

In August 1835, Ned Gunter's parents John and Katie Gunter died of illnesses, adding to the upheaval faced by Nelson and Jane. Litigation over John's property, some of which was claimed by both John

⁴ Evan Nicholson was from a family of Methodist ministers and slaveholding farmers that had settled in Surrey County, Virginia in 1650, then moved from Virginia to North Carolina to South Carolina, where Evan was born in about 1790. Sally Vann was also living in South Carolina during the latter part of her youth, with members of the Foster family.

⁵ See sources cited in <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Vann-601>, managed by Kathie Forbes and Martin Devine.

⁶ John ("Jack") Nicholson is possibly the same man as was accused of taking part in the Cane Hill Massacre on June 15, 1839, in which William

Carter Wright and his four children were murdered at their home near Cane Hill, Arkansas, near Arkansas's border with Indian Territory. The Cane Hill residents quickly blamed the Cherokees living near them and rounded up four men, who were lynched without a trial in the next month. Jack Nicholson was accused of having been a part of the murderous gang but was not apprehended. Cane Hill is about 10 miles east of the Piney area of the Cherokee Nation, where the murders of John Ridge and Elias Boudinot took place on June 23, 1839, a few days after the murders in Cane Hill. Brook Blevins, *A History of the Ozarks*, Volume 1, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018, pp. 218-220.

Gunter, Jr., and Jane's stepfather James Lamar, continued until 1864.

In late December 1835, several months after Nelson's marriage to Jane, a group of Cherokee men⁷ signed the unauthorized Treaty of New Echota, indicating without authorization the consent of the entire Cherokee people then remaining in the East to move to Indian Territory.

A census was prepared, known as the Henderson Roll or Census of 1835, to identify Cherokee people and the human assets of each household in anticipation of forced removal. According to this roll, Nelson's household consisted of two adults, both of whom could read and write in Cherokee and English, one spinner⁸, and one slave.

In the years following 1835, Nelson developed an allegiance to members of the Treaty Party, many of whom were members of families descended from white fathers and Cherokee mothers, who were also businessmen and farmers who used slave labor, many of them

related by blood or marriage to Nelson or his wife. Nelson's associations with these men and their families would remain important to Nelson, at least until he remained in the California gold fields for two decades after 1849.

The Treaty Party's leaders included John Adair Bell, Major Ridge and his son John and his nephews Stand Watie and Elias Boudinot. Bell and his sister Sarah, who was married to Stand Watie, were cousins of Nelson's wife Jane, but neither Nelson nor Jane had any familial relationship with the Ridge Family. Ned Gunter, unlike his brothers John Gunter Jr. and Samuel Gunter, was not a member of the Treaty Party, which may have created some friction in the family.

Removal to Indian Territory and His Expanding Family

Nelson and Jane began their family in 1836 with the birth of Sarah, and Mary was born the next year, prior to Removal.

After Removal, in Indian Territory, the couple had four more children: Alice (1841), John Gunter Harlan (1844), Nancy

⁷ The Cherokee signers were Major Ridge, James Foster, Tah-ye-ske, Long Shell Turtle, John Fields, James Fields, George Welch, Andrew Ross, William Rogers, John Gunter, John A. Bell, Jos. A. Foreman, Robert Sanders, Elias Boudinot, Johnson Rogers, James Starr, Stand Watie, John Ridge, James Rogers, and John Smith. The full text of this treaty is at <https://americanindian.si.edu/static/nationtonation/pdf/Treaty-of-New-Echota-1835.pdf>.

⁸ A "spinner" or "spinster," as it was often recorded in this census, referred to a person with the ability

to use a spinning wheel, an instrument of civilization distributed to Cherokees after the Treaty of Hopewell in 1785. See Rose Stremmlau, *Sustaining the Cherokee Family*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011, pp. 28-29, which describes lasting changes in Cherokee home life after the 1790s, when the federal government distributed cotton combs, spinning wheels and looms to Cherokee households, enabling them to manufacture thread and cloth.

Jane (1849), Nelson Jr. (about 1850). Records are scant regarding Nelson, Jr., and he may have died young.

Nelson and Jane do not appear on the lists of any detachment of Cherokees who were in the forced removal. It seems probable that Nelson and Jane were in the so-called Treaty Party Detachment led by James Adair Bell in 1838, under the supervision of Lieutenant Edward Deas, for which no list has been found.⁹ The timing of this detachment corresponds to when they departed, and the political and familial connection and absence from other lists is circumstantial evidence that they were in Bell's group.

The children and grandchildren of Nelson and Jane, with photographs of some, are listed in the appendix following the endnotes.

Turmoil in the Cherokee Nation and Nelson's Letters to Stand Watie

In 1835, Chief John Ross, along with a majority of Cherokees, were attempting to resist removal or at least negotiate better terms for removal. The Ross Faction's efforts were undercut by the Treaty of New Echota, sharply dividing

the Cherokee people and establishing a rift that persisted for decades.

Once in Indian Territory, after the Trail of Tears, members of the Ross Faction sought revenge by orchestrating the assassinations of several signers of the Treaty of New Echota. Their primary targets were Major Ridge and his son John and Stand Watie and Watie's brother Elias Boudinot.

Major Ridge, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot were ambushed and killed on June 23, 1839. Stand Watie was able to elude those who were determined to kill him but had reason to take great care to avoid being ambushed.

The assassinations of Major Ridge, John Ridge and Boudinot at the hands of the Ross Faction were condemned by the federal government and the three chiefs of the Old Settlers. Chief John Ross's written denial of having any knowledge of or involvement in the assassination plot was perceived to be unconvincing by the General Arbuckle, who commanded Fort Gibson in Indian Territory, and to the three Old Settler chiefs.

⁹ [Retracing the Bell Route](#), is a website created in 2024 at the University of the South in Seawee, Tennessee, that displays information about the Bell detachment, assembling census information, claims for damages and valuations, payment vouchers, and letters, all of which identify at least some of the persons in this group. Harry Crittenden (actually Henry Clay Crittenden), who acted as a translator for the portion of the Census of 1835 in the Talking Rock Creek region in Georgia, is listed in

the payment vouchers for the Bell detachment as having supplied a wagon; Harry Crittenden's son John Ross Crittenden (1838-1896) married Alice McCoy Harlan (1841-1923), daughter of Nelson and Jane in about 1860. Harry Crittenden's daughter Charlotte Crittenden married John Gunter Harlan, son of Nelson and Jane in about 1866; perhaps the Harlan and Crittenden families became acquainted on the route to Indian Territory.

But violence, even murders, continued for several years. Stand Watie kept a small army near his home at a stockade called Old Fort Wayne (or Old Fort Watie) for protection of his family and his property. When he traveled to Washington to confer with federal officials in March 1846, his fort was still in place. Two letters¹⁰, signed by Nelson Harlan and Robert Armstrong, were written that month, the first advising Watie of the rumored murders of National Council members and the second indicating that the murders didn't happen. These letters reveal something of the relationship between the writers and Watie.

The first letter contains this assurance, "You may rely on hearing from us every week and we shall expect you to write us as often as convenient," asking Watie to "except [sic] our best wishes for your health, happiness & Prosperity & Believe us to be your real & Sincere friends."

The second letter includes a report on the management of the force at Old Fort Wayne, offering to provide records of the payroll and expenses incurred there to Watie so that he could seek reimbursement from the Secretary of War, concluding with "we will not leave a stone unturned to act as Your sincere friend."

Eventually, the Old Settlers and the Treaty Party members signed an agreement to work together, with the signatures of Ned Gunter and Nelson Harlan among many others. Ned Gunter was one of the three appointed chiefs of the Cherokees that came with the forced removal and a delegate to Washington to advocate on their behalf, though his service ended with his death in 1842. Unification finally occurred with the Act of Union, though the enmity between the Ross Faction and the Treaty Party faction did not heal.

Nelson as a Forty-Niner

Later in 1846, the Treaty Party, the Ross Faction and the Old Settlers had signed the Act of Union, which represented at least a nominal kind of Cherokee national unity. However, the deep divisions had not healed. Setting out for California, Nelson escaped the conflicts that persisted between the followers of Watie and Ross, abandoning his wife and children. Setting out for California, Nelson escaped the conflicts that persisted between the followers of Watie and Ross, abandoning his wife and children.

Nelson is listed in a footnote in Grant Foreman's *Marcy and the Gold Seekers*,¹¹ as one of group of businessmen from the Evansville, Arkansas area, who headed

¹⁰ Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, paperback edition, 1995), pages 26-28.

¹¹ Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939). The Cherokee citizens in this group included Martin Matthew Schrimsher (married to Ned Gunter's

northwestward from Evansville in the early spring of 1849 and blazed a trail to California. This group included non-Cherokee businessmen and adventurers, as well as Cherokee men, many of them related to Nelson by blood or marriage. Nelson’s grandson Granville Augustus “Cunnie” Martin¹² recounted that his father Joseph Lynch Martin and Nelson’s brother (probably his half-brother Daniel M. Gunter) were also in this party, which became known as the Evans-Cherokee company, but that Joseph Martin didn’t stay long in California and Nelson’s brother died of cholera somewhere in the West.

A detailed account of the Evans-Cherokee company’s journey to California is found in volume 1 of the *Cherokee Trail Diaries*¹³, which draws on diaries and correspondence of members of the company. While Nelson is not mentioned specifically, one diarist pointed out:

The Cherokee portion of the company are thrown into a Division together, and that the hereditary disposition of clannishness, derived from their ancestry, is distinctly shown now. They

are determined to stick together through weal and woe.

The 1850 federal census of Eldorado County, California, reveals the astonishing claim that Nelson struck it rich. He is listed as a miner in the town of Coloma, with real estate holdings valued at \$50,000! In the 15 pages of the census for the town of Coloma, Nelson Harlan’s \$50,000 claim dwarfs all the others; the runner up is \$17,000.

1	2	3	4			5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
			Male	Female	Total								
1	Lee, Luther	28	M		28	Physician			Poland				
	Perkins, Henry	27	M		27	Merchant			Id.				
2	Smith, Smith	22	M		22	Miner			Poland				
	Wilson, John	24	M		24				Idaho				
	Harrison, John	28	M		28				Idaho				
	Smith, John	28	M		28				Idaho				
	Henry, Henry	26	M		26	Merchant			Idaho				
	Henry, John	17	M		17				Idaho				
	Henry, John	19	M		19	Miner			Idaho				
	Henry, John	21	M		21				Idaho				
	Henry, John	22	M		22				Idaho				
	Henry, John	23	M		23				Idaho				
	Henry, John	24	M		24				Idaho				
	Henry, John	25	M		25				Idaho				
	Henry, John	26	M		26				Idaho				
	Henry, John	27	M		27				Idaho				
	Henry, John	28	M		28				Idaho				
	Henry, John	29	M		29				Idaho				
	Henry, John	30	M		30				Idaho				

sister Elizabeth), Walt J. B. Smith, Oliver Mack Lipe (white man married to Ned Gunter’s sister Catherine), James S. Vann (half first cousin of Nelson’s wife), R. L. Coleman, Daniel M. Gunter (Nelson’s half brother), J. C. McMaster, George W. Keys and Richard Keys, Josiah Rattlingourd, Nelson Harlan, Joseph Sturdevant, Robert Williams, and William P. McKey.

¹² Interview with Granville A. (Cunnie) Martin, 12849, Indian-Pioneer History Project for Oklahoma, dated February 1, 1838.

¹³ Patricia K. A. Fletcher, Jack Earl Fletcher, and Lee Whitely, *Cherokee Trail Diaries*, volume 1, p. 27. See the Fletcher’s website, [The Cherokee Trail](http://TheCherokeeTrail.com).

The Civil War

The Cherokee Nation, nominally unified in 1846, was still divided culturally, socially and economically, similarly to the divisions of the border states of Missouri and Kentucky, culminating in the Civil War. Many slaveholding Cherokee families—but not all—and those dependent on their plantations were pitted against abolitionists, and culturally conservative whites and Natives who sought neutrality.

Stand Watie became a brigadier general in the Confederate army, heading the Confederate Cherokee soldiers. He was successful in many rear-guard actions, capturing supply trains and horses, also fighting in several battles and skirmishes in Indian Territory, the battles of Newtonia and Wilson's Creek in southwest Missouri, and the battles of Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove in Arkansas. His torching in 1863 of Rose Cottage, John Ross's mansion at Park Hill in the Cherokee Nation near Tahlequah, was less an act of war and more an act of vengeance against the man he blamed for the assassinations of his brother Elias Boudinot, his cousin John Ridge and his uncle Major Ridge, as well as his need to live for decades under threats against his life. When Rose Cottage was destroyed,

Ross was living in Philadelphia with his wife's family.

Nelson's wife, Jane, and her children ended up with the poorer Cherokee Confederate families as refugees in what is now southeast Oklahoma without adequate food, clothing or sanitation. In 1866, Jane died at Goodwater Mission on the Red River southeast of Hugo, Oklahoma, before the Confederate Cherokees were allowed to return to the Cherokee Nation. Nelson's daughter Mary also died during the Civil War, in 1862, and her husband James Devine died in 1865.

Nelson's Missing Years in California, 1850-1880

Whether Nelson ever returned to the Cherokee Nation before 1880 is unknown. His physical unavailability to his wife and children during their suffering during of the Civil War years and aftermath is disturbing. How he occupied his time between 1850 and 1880 is a mystery. We know that in 1880, he was registered to vote as a resident of Squaw Valley, Fresno County, California.

About this time, he wrote a remarkable letter to one or more of his children.¹⁴ As with his other writings, the letter reveals that he was vain, striving to appear competent, but threads are showing. He

¹⁴ This letter is in my possession, through the generosity of longtime GDHA member Mary Adair, who found it stuck in a book in a second-hand bookstore in Tahlequah about 20 years ago. She

posted that she had found it on a genealogy forum and responded to my letter asking for a copy by sending the original to me.

asks for money, even though he claims to be quite comfortable albeit through the generosity of others. His letter does not indicate which of his children it was addressed to, and by this time all his surviving children were well into adulthood. How well could he have known his children? Had he sent them money, when he was flush?

Visalia Tulare County Cal. Dec. 11, 1879

My Dear Daughter One and All the rest of you,

By the Will of the Almighty God, Our Heavenly Father, I yet survive, hoping that He is watching over my Beloved Children, with the care of a Heavenly Father, who I hope will preserve Our Lives and Let us meet once more on Earth, if not God be praised, we will by and meet in Heaven where parting is no more.

I want to see you all very much, to go now I am not quite ready. I would like to dispose of my land, one hundred and sixty acres, and my mines, of which I have bonded off 750 Seven Hundred and fifty feet for seven hundred and fifty dollars to be paid in June next.

I am going to see you all the first Opportunity, if I have to leave my Business unsettled, for I have Business to transact with the U. S. Government for the Value of my improvements under the Treaty of 1835 of which I

have never got. I am also going to Alabama to develop a mine I know of pure Native Virgin Silver; if I can accomplish what I wish to, my dearest children, you can live free from want and the cares of this Life, certainly.

I could go with two or three hundred dollars; that would not be enough. My health has been very poorly for some time; tho I feel first-rate at present. I am living with a young friend of mine and his wife and one little baby. We live in a nice brick building, well furnished. Hired help is here; also on two or three other ranchos of six or seven thousand acres, all of which belong to the father of my friend of mine, with stock in proportion.

Now my dearest children, it don't cost me a cent to live here. I have the best the country can afford. Those men of wealth are my friend; they say I shall not want for anything. I wear good clothes, ride a fine horse of my own which is kept or fed free. I do not have to work unless I see fit. We live 9 miles from Visalia, it is a pretty inland citty I have many friends here and could get money to go home on any time I would like. I don't wish to go that way. I will have [money] of my own after a while.

Tell Mr. Twist¹⁵ to send me the Cherokee Advocate. I will send him a Visalia paper. Write me soon.

God Bless You all.

From your affectionate Father

Nelson Harlan

Somehow, he apparently returned to Alabama around 1882. A man named J. G. Morris is reported to have brought him back from the Cherokee Nation to find that cave with veins of pure silver that Nelson referred to in his letter, according to an article from the *Rome, Ga. Bulletin*, reprinted in the *Atlanta Constitution*, June 30, 1882:

There has been in the minds of many people, ever since the first pale face set his foot on the soil of the Cherokees, that there was in this section somewhere a cave leading to a vein of the purest silver, so plentiful that the Indians used it in place of lead for bullets. No one so far has been able to discover this hidden treasure, but the arrival here a few weeks since of Mr. Nelson Harlan, a quarter Cherokee, from the Indian nation, and his quiet movement over the country has put the oldest inhabitants in a state of silver excitement almost bordering on frenzy. The facts so far are about these: Some

months since Mr. J. G. Morris sent to the Indian nation for this old gentleman for the purpose of coming out and locating this silver mine. He has found the lot of land upon which the mouth of the cave opened, and expects in a few days to discover the cave itself. The mine is about three miles from Gaylesville, on the land of Mr. Collins. A company has been formed, Captain John Turner, J. G. Morris, Joe Lumpkin, Nelson Harlan, _____ Collins, and two other names unknown are members, and soon some startling developments may be expected.

My search of the record of mining in Alabama has not turned up any significant silver mine associated with Nelson Harlan or J. G. Morris. However, a newspaper article¹⁶ appeared years later with a stunning and perhaps inevitable finale:

Then one day, gray and rugged at the age of seventy-four, he appeared at Fort Gibson. Hardly had he called upon old friends and relatives before he announced his intention of going back to Alabama to "open up" the silver mine. He was told that owing to the vast changes that had taken place he could never find the location of "Granny Broom's" mine, but he was sure he could and declined to give up

¹⁵ "Mr. Twist" is probably a reference to Toneat Beaver Twist (1833-1917), husband of Nelson's eldest daughter Sarah.

¹⁶ Excerpt from article in *Oroville (California) Daily Register*, February 23, 1920, page 3.

the venture. He was given some assistance and set forth.

He was gone several weeks and returned a sadly disappointed man. After a lapse of fifty years he could not recognize the once familiar scenes. So the lost silver mine was never found and the aged man found consolation in recounting the story of its richness to his countrymen.

My conclusion is that Nelson was a dreamer, spending much of his life around richer men, and aspiring to riches, never able to hold on to whatever he could put his hands on, paying the price of giving up his family life. Many of these richer men were prosperous and ambitious mixed-blood Cherokees, whose actions moved the Cherokee people, often reluctantly and painfully, to move into the mainstream of American life.

Acknowledgments:

I appreciate the assistance of several people in compiling the information in this article. Regina McLemore and my brothers Emery and John, all professional writers, made helpful comments. Nelson Harlan descendants (and my cousins) the late John Crittenden, Martin Devine and Betsy Swimmer, Minta Keys, and others provided photographs. My mother Patricia Crittenden Styron (at 96, probably the oldest Nelson Harlan descendant) and her late half-sister Frances Crittenden Rogers and their cousin Alice Crittenden Callison provided encouragement and stories. The exacting genealogical work done over the years by David Hampton and Jack Baker provides a firm foundation for anyone digging into Cherokee family history. Keeton Littlefield's Ancestry family trees were also helpful.

Nelson Harlan Descendants

Compiled by David Hampton

Generation One

1. Nelson "Chi-stah-chi"¹ HARLAN was born on 12 Sep 1813 at Cherokee Nation East, now, Cherokee County, AL. He married Jane NICHOLSON, daughter of Evan NICHOLSON and Sarah VANN, circa 1833. He died on 29 Jan 1900 at probably Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT now, Adair County, OK. He was buried at Piney Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.

He enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Tahlequah #464. He was enrolled on the 1835 Cherokee Nation census in Will's Valley, Alabama #186.

Jane NICHOLSON was born circa 1815 at SC. She died in 1866 at Goodwater Mission, Choctaw Nation, IT, now, Frogville, Choctaw, OK. She enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Tahlequah #464.

Children of Nelson "Chi-stah-chi"¹ HARLAN and Jane NICHOLSON were as follows:

2. i. Eliza² HARLIN, born circa 1834 at Cherokee Nation East; married John GRIMMET; married Charles BYERS; married Zachary Taylor HICKS; died circa 1869.
3. ii. Sarah C. "Kah-hah-kah" HARLIN, born 18 Feb 1836 at Gunter's Landing, Cherokee Nation East, now, Marshall County, AL; married To-yoo-ne-se "Beaver" "Tony" TWIST; died 26 May 1908 at Adair County, OK; buried at Twist Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.
4. iii. Mary Louise HARLAN, born 24 Sep 1837; married James DEVINE; died 9 Nov 1862.
5. iv. Alice McCoy HARLAN, born 12 Mar 1841 at Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK; married John Ross CRITTENDEN; died 3 Feb 1923 at probably, Westville, Adair, OK; buried at Crittenden Cemetery, Westville, Adair, OK.
 - v. Daniel HARLAN was born in Nov 1842. He died in Feb 1844.
6. vi. John Gunter HARLAN, born 25 Dec 1844 at Fort Gibson, Illinois District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Fort Gibson, Muskogee, OK; married Charlotte CRITTENDEN; married Saphronia BEAN; married Celia EASKY; married Anna Eliza "Anawake" WRIGHT; died 23 Jan 1930 at Piney, Adair, OK; buried at Piney Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.
7. vii. Nancy Jane HARLAN, born 8 Apr 1849 at Tahlequah, Tahlequah District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Tahlequah, Cherokee, OK; married Joseph Lynch "Greenbrier Joe" MARTIN; married Napoleon Bonaparte ROGERS; died 5 Nov 1928 at Greenbriar, Mayes, OK.

Generation Two

2. Eliza² HARLIN (Nelson¹ HARLAN) was born circa 1834 at Cherokee Nation East. She married John GRIMMET circa 1852. She married Charles BYERS, son of Ezekiel BYERS and Rachel SWIMMER, circa 1858. She married Zachary Taylor HICKS, son of William HICKS and Ollie BOWLES, circa 1866. She died circa 1869.

Children of Eliza² HARLIN and John GRIMMET were:

- i. Sarah³ GRIMMET was born in 1853? She married Millard Fillmore "Cap" HICKS, son of William HICKS and Ollie BOWLES, circa 1871. She died on 14 Jan 1883.

Millard Fillmore "Cap" HICKS was born in Jan 1849 at Cherokee Nation neutral lands, now, Baxter Springs, Cherokee, KS. He married Sarah SUMMERFIELD, daughter of Joseph SUMMERFIELD and Rachel WICKET. He enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Delaware #940. Millard Fillmore "Cap" HICKS was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #7982.

Charles BYERS was born circa 1836 at Cherokee Nation East, now, Bradley County, TN. He married Margaret Ann MORRIS, daughter of Wilson E. MORRIS and Ellen Elizabeth POWELL, circa 1869. He died on 14 Feb 1901. He enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Flint #387.5.

There were no children of Eliza² HARLIN and Charles BYERS.

Zachary Taylor HICKS was born on 4 Jul 1847 at Delaware District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK. He married Alice Eva Lee BOREN, daughter of Thomas BOREN and Maneca M. KNOWLES, on 7 May 1886 at Cooweescoowee District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Big Cabin, Craig, OK. He died on 18 Feb 1926 at Sageeyah, Rogers, OK. He enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Delaware #940. Zachary Taylor HICKS was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #2897.

Children of Eliza² HARLIN and Zachary Taylor HICKS were:

- i. Ranzia³ HICKS was born in 1867 at Delaware District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Delaware County. He married Julia LUCAS, daughter of William LUCAS and Jennie HILDERBRAND, circa 1888. He died on 26 Nov 1934 at Nowata, Nowata, OK.

Ranzia HICKS was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #2902.

Julia LUCAS was born circa 1865. She married William Jasper HAWKINS, son of William HAWKINS and Elmina _____, circa 1883. She married Peter FRY. She died in Mar 1894 at probably Tahlequah District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK.

3. Sarah C. "Kah-hah-kah"² HARLIN (Nelson¹ HARLAN) was born on 18 Feb 1836 at Gunter's Landing, Cherokee Nation East, now, Marshall County, AL. She married To-

yoo-ne-se "Beaver" "Tony" TWIST, son of Twist "Ti-kah-noo-tah-yo-hi" (a full-blood Cherokee) and Rachel MORRIS, circa 1854. She died on 26 May 1908 at Adair County, OK. She was buried at Twist Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.

She enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Tahlequah #464. Sarah C. "Kah-hah-kah" HARLIN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #14637.

To-yoo-ne-se "Beaver" "Tony" TWIST was born on 15 Dec 1833 at Cherokee Nation East, now, GA. He died on 6 Nov 1917 at Stilwell, Adair, OK. He was buried at Twist Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK. He enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Going Snake #403. To-yoo-ne-se "Beaver" "Tony" TWIST was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #14636.

Children of Sarah C. "Kah-hah-kah"² HARLIN and To-yoo-ne-se "Beaver" "Tony" TWIST were as follows:

- i. Eliza Jane³ TWIST was born on 15 Apr 1856 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. She married George Cicero LLOYD, son of George Washington LLOYD and Mary Jane TURNER, on 25 Mar 1880 at Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK. She died on 8 Nov 1927 at Stilwell, Adair, OK. She was buried at Twist Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.

Eliza Jane TWIST was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #12492.

George Cicero LLOYD was born circa 1853. He died on 12 Mar 1928 at Tulsa, Tulsa, OK. He was buried at Oaklawn Cemetery, Tulsa, Tulsa, OK.

- ii. John Nelson TWIST was born on 21 Nov 1857 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. He died on 8 Aug 1858 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. He was buried at Twist Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.
- iii. Rachel Louvenia TWIST was born on 25 May 1859 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. She married Edward Everett ADAIR, son of John Thompson ADAIR and Penelope MAYFIELD, on 24 Jun 1879 at Goingsnake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. She died on 25 Aug 1943 at Sequoyah County, OK. She was buried at McCoy Cemetery, Sallisaw, Sequoyah, OK.

Rachel Louvenia TWIST was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #2678.

Edward Everett ADAIR was born on 15 Apr 1853 at Stilwell, Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Stilwell, Adair, OK. He died in 1930. He was buried at McCoy Cemetery, Sallisaw, Sequoyah, OK. Edward Everett ADAIR was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #2677.

- iv. William Gideon TWIST was born on 3 Apr 1861 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. He married Leoria Logia HORNBACK, daughter of Isaac Walter HORNBACK and Susan Elizabeth MacDOWELL, on 23 Jan 1887 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. He died on 27 Jun 1907 at Tulsa, Tulsa, OK. He was buried at Oaklawn Cemetery, Tulsa, Tulsa, OK.

William Gideon TWIST was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #12499.

Leoria Logia HORNBACK was born on 29 Dec 1867 at Elizabethtown, Hardin, KY. She died on 15 Jun 1938 at Tulsa, Tulsa, OK. She was buried at Oaklawn Cemetery, Tulsa, Tulsa, OK.

- v. Nannie Ella TWIST was born on 25 Oct 1863 at Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK. She married John McMinn BEAN, son of Joseph McMinn "Noon" BEAN and Sarah H. FINLEY, on 29 Jul 1885. She died on 20 Nov 1904 at probably Sallisaw, Sequoyah District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Sallisaw, Sequoyah, OK. She was buried at McCoy Cemetery, Sallisaw, Sequoyah, OK.

Nannie Ella TWIST was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #1757.

John McMinn BEAN was born on 11 Apr 1859 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. He married Arkansas HATHCOAT, daughter of Thomas Jefferson HATHCOAT and Anna Berthena ROBERTS, on 10 Mar 1906 at Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK. He died on 2 Feb 1928 at living at, Sallisaw, Sequoyah, OK. He was buried at Oak Grove Cemetery, Oak Grove Community, Adair, OK. John McMinn BEAN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #1756.

- vi. Mary Catherine TWIST was born on 11 Oct 1867 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. She married Alfred Dewey Winfield STEWART, son of William Elijah STEWART and Margaret Lucretia Josephine FRY, on 14 Oct 1888 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. She died on 27 Mar 1894 at Sequoyah

District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Sequoyah County, OK. She was buried at Twist Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.

Alfred Dewey Winfield STEWART was born in Aug 1863 at GA. He died on 26 Feb 1934 at Sallisaw, Sequoyah, OK. He was buried at McCoy Cemetery, Sallisaw, Sequoyah, OK.

- vii. Henry Lafayette TWIST was born on 8 May 1871 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. He died on 15 Apr 1895 at probably Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK; unmarried without children. He was buried at Twist Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.
- viii. Martha Ann Rebecca TWIST was born on 2 Feb 1874 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. She died in 1894 at probably Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK; apparently unmarried without children. She was buried at Twist Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.
- ix. Albert Walker TWIST was born on 14 May 1877 at Twist Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK. He married Mary Margaret LONG circa 1905. He died on 31 Aug 1928 at Stilwell, Adair, OK. He was buried at Twist Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.

Albert Walker TWIST was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #16102.

Mary Margaret LONG was born on 22 Aug 1885. She died on 3 Mar 1954. She was buried at Memorial Park Cemetery, Tulsa, Tulsa, OK.

4. Mary Louise² HARLAN (Nelson¹) was born on 24 Sep 1837. She married James DEVINE circa 1858. She died on 9 Nov 1862.

She enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Tahlequah #464.

James DEVINE died in Aug 1867.

Children of Mary Louise² HARLAN and James DEVINE were as follows:

- i. Mattie³ DEVINE was born in Apr 1860. She died circa 1872.
- ii. Thomas M. DEVINE was born on 24 Dec 1861 at Flint District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. He married Mollie KEITH circa 1879.

He died in 1947. He was buried at Alberty Chapel Cemetery, Westville, Adair, OK.

Mollie KEITH was born in 1861 at Cherokee County, SC. She died in 1933. She was buried at Alberty Chapel Cemetery, Westville, Adair, OK.

5. Alice McCoy² HARLAN (Nelson¹) was born on 12 Mar 1841 at Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK. She married John Ross CRITTENDEN, son of Henry "Harry" CRITTENDEN and Susannah WOLFE, on 12 Jan 1862. She died on 3 Feb 1923 at probably, Westville, Adair, OK. She was buried at Crittenden Cemetery, Westville, Adair, OK.

She enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Tahlequah #464. Alice McCoy HARLAN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #1241.

John Ross CRITTENDEN was born on 30 Jun 1838 at Cherokee Nation east, now, GA. He died on 5 Jun 1896 at probably Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. He was buried at Crittenden Cemetery, Westville, Adair, OK. He enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Going Snake #316.

Children of Alice McCoy² HARLAN and John Ross CRITTENDEN were as follows:

- i. John Harlan³ CRITTENDEN was born circa 1865. He died circa 1901.
- ii. Samuel CRITTENDEN was born circa 1870. He died circa 1894.
- iii. Robert L. CRITTENDEN was born circa 1872. He died circa 1887.
- iv. George Washington CRITTENDEN was born on 25 Mar 1875 at Westville, Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Westville, Adair, OK. He married Jessie Beatrice MARTIN, daughter of Joseph Lynch "Greenbrier Joe" MARTIN and Nancy Jane HARLAN, on 1 Feb 1896. He died on 20 Jan 1965 at Mayes County, OK. He was buried at Fairview Cemetery, Pryor, Mayes, OK.

George Washington CRITTENDEN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #10464.

Jessie Beatrice MARTIN was born on 20 Apr 1874 at Greenbrier, Saline District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Greenbrier, Mayes, OK. She married John Lee LAMM, son of James Lenox LAMM and Emeline KELLEY, on 29 Jun 1890 at Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK; no children. She died on 7 Jun 1947 at Mayes County, OK. She was buried at Fairview Cemetery,

Pryor, Mayes, OK. Jessie Beatrice MARTIN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #10465.

- v. Richard Henry "Harry" CRITTENDEN was born on 9 Apr 1877 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. He married Nancy E. WRIGHT, daughter of Jesse Vann WRIGHT and Frances WRIGHT, on 17 Jan 1897. He married Hettie Emeline ROGERS, daughter of Burwell COX and Mary Ellen ROGERS, on 20 Oct 1917 at Muskogee County, OK. He died on 13 Feb 1961 at Pryor, Mayes, OK. He was buried at Fairview Cemetery, Pryor, Mayes, OK.

Richard Henry "Harry" CRITTENDEN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #1260.

Nancy E. WRIGHT was born on 17 Nov 1872 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. She died on 8 Sep 1913.

Hettie Emeline ROGERS was born on 15 Jan 1898 at Lincoln, Washington, AR. She died on 30 Apr 1955 at Claremore, Rogers, OK. She was buried at Fairview Cemetery, Pryor, Mayes, OK.

- vi. Martin CRITTENDEN was born on 22 Jan 1882. He married Pearl HAWS. He died on 16 Jan 1960.

Martin CRITTENDEN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #1242.

6. John Gunter² HARLAN (Nelson¹) was born on 25 Dec 1844 at Fort Gibson, Illinois District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Fort Gibson, Muskogee, OK. He married Charlotte CRITTENDEN, daughter of Henry "Harry" CRITTENDEN and Susannah WOLFE, circa 1868; no children. He married Saphronia BEAN, daughter of Pleasant BEAN and Fannie HICKS. He parented a child by Celia EASKY, daughter of Andrew EASKY and Mary STARR. He married Anna Eliza "Anawake" WRIGHT, daughter of Eli WRIGHT and Nancy VANN, on 12 Jul 1880. He died on 23 Jan 1930 at Piney, Adair, OK. He was buried at Piney Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.

He enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Tahlequah #464. John Gunter HARLAN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #16094.

Charlotte CRITTENDEN was born in Sep 1849 at probably Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK. She died on 15 Mar 1877 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now,

Westville, Adair, OK. She was buried at Crittenden Cemetery, Westville, Adair, OK. She enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Going Snake #316.

There were no children of John Gunter² HARLAN and Charlotte CRITTENDEN.

Saphronia BEAN was born circa 1845 at probably Illinois District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Muskogee County, OK. She married James BEAVERT, son of Larkin BEAVERT and Eleanor "Nellie" GUNTER. She died in 1877. She enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Illinois #274.

There were no children of John Gunter² HARLAN and Saphronia BEAN.

Celia EASKY was born on 10 Feb 1849 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. She parented a child by Henry Benajah FREEMAN, son of George Washington FREEMAN and Jane VICKERY. She married Benjamin Moses PARNELL, son of Jesse PARNELL and Henrietta _____, on 11 Jan 1880 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK. She died on 1 May 1914 at living at, Qualls, Cherokee, OK. She was buried at White Oak Cemetery (unmarked), Qualls, Cherokee, OK. She enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Going Snake #413. Celia EASKY was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #4269.

Children of John Gunter² HARLAN and Celia EASKY were:

- i. James³ HARLIN was born on 24 Jul 1879 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK. He died circa 1916 at living at, Qualls, Cherokee, OK; unmarried without children.

James HARLIN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #21540.

Anna Eliza "Anawake" WRIGHT was born on 1 Mar 1850 at Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Adair County, OK. She died on 10 Apr 1930 at Piney, Adair, OK. She was buried at Piney Cemetery, Piney, Cherokee, OK. She enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Going Snake #450. Anna Eliza "Anawake" WRIGHT was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #16095.

Children of John Gunter² HARLAN and Anna Eliza "Anawake" WRIGHT were:

- i. Cherokee Alice³ HARLAN was born on 14 Jun 1886. She married Albert Lucian LLOYD, son of George Cicero LLOYD and Eliza Jane TWIST. She died on 11 Jan 1936 at Tulsa, Tulsa, OK. She was buried at Piney Cemetery, Piney, Adair, OK.

Cherokee Alice HARLAN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #16098.

Albert Lucian LLOYD was born on 29 Jan 1881. He died on 11 Aug 1962 at Tulsa, Tulsa, OK. He was buried at Oaklawn Cemetery, Tulsa, Tulsa, OK. Albert Lucian LLOYD was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #12493.

7. Nancy Jane² HARLAN (Nelson¹) was born on 8 Apr 1849 at Tahlequah, Tahlequah District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Tahlequah, Cherokee, OK. She married Joseph Lynch "Greenbrier Joe" MARTIN, son of John MARTIN and Eleanor "Nellie" McDANIEL, on 21 Jul 1870. She married Napoleon Bonaparte ROGERS, son of Thomas Lewis ROGERS and Ellen LOMBARD, circa 1891. She died on 5 Nov 1928 at Greenbriar, Mayes, OK.

Nancy Jane HARLAN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #10455.

Joseph Lynch "Greenbrier Joe" MARTIN was born on 20 Aug 1820 at Narcoochi, Cherokee Nation East, now, Habersham County, GA. He married Julia LOMBARD, daughter of Joseph LOMBARD and Me-sar-nee "Melissa" (a full-blood Osage), circa 1840. He married Sarah CHILDERS, daughter of Lemuel CHILDERS and Nancy VANN, circa 1846. He parented a child by Susie MAUGH, daughter of Thomas "Sah-ni-goo-yah" MAUGH. He married Lucy Brown ROGERS, daughter of Thomas Lewis ROGERS and Ruth MAUGH, circa 1854. He married Sabra Caroline GARRETT, daughter of Livingston GARRETT and Annie ENGLAND, circa 1865. He died on 6 Nov 1891 at Greenbrier, Saline District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Greenbrier, Mayes, OK. He was buried at Ross-Mayes Cemetery, Salina, Mayes, OK. He enrolled on the 1851 Drennen Roll Saline #468.

Children of Nancy Jane² HARLAN and Joseph Lynch "Greenbrier Joe" MARTIN were as follows:

- i. Jessie Beatrice³ MARTIN was born on 20 Apr 1874 at Greenbrier, Saline District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Greenbrier, Mayes, OK. She married John Lee LAMM, son of James Lenox LAMM and Emeline KELLEY, on 29 Jun 1890 at Cherokee Nation, IT, now, OK; no children. She married George Washington CRITTENDEN, son of John Ross CRITTENDEN and Alice McCoy HARLAN, on 1 Feb 1896. She died on 7 Jun 1947 at Mayes County, OK. She was buried at Fairview Cemetery, Pryor, Mayes, OK.

Jessie Beatrice MARTIN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #10465.

John Lee LAMM was born on 3 Sep 1864 at Morgan County, MO. He died on 20 Apr 1895 at Cooweescoowee District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Mayes County, OK. He was buried at Benge Cemetery, Strang, Mayes, OK.

George Washington CRITTENDEN was born on 25 Mar 1875 at Westville, Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Westville, Adair, OK. He died on 20 Jan 1965 at Mayes County, OK. He was buried at Fairview Cemetery, Pryor, Mayes, OK. George Washington CRITTENDEN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #10464.

- ii. Grandville Augustus MARTIN was born on 14 Jan 1876 at Greenbrier, Saline District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Greenbrier, Mayes, OK. He married Lola B. MAYES, daughter of Wiley N. B. MAYES and Margaret McLAUGHLIN, on 2 Nov 1902. He died on 7 Apr 1945.

Lola B. MAYES was born on 11 Jan 1880 at Tip, Saline District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Tip, Mayes, OK. She died on 18 Apr 1963. She was buried at Ross-Mayes Cemetery, Salina, Mayes, OK.

- iii. Willie Penn Adair MARTIN was born on 1 Aug 1879 at Greenbrier, Saline District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Greenbrier, Mayes, OK. She married Ned Adair COCHRAN, son of Dick COCHRAN and Mary "Quah-lah-yoo-kah" MONEY, on 24 Jul 1905. She died on 1 May 1957 at Claremore, Rogers, OK.

Willie Penn Adair MARTIN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #10456.

Ned Adair COCHRAN was born on 20 Aug 1880 at Saline District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Mayes County, OK. He died on 29 Feb 1944 at Greenbrier, Mayes, OK. Ned Adair COCHRAN was enrolled on the Dawes Roll-Cherokees by Blood roll #28666.

Napoleon Bonaparte ROGERS was born circa 1843 at Spavinaw, Saline District, Cherokee Nation, IT, now, Spavinaw, Mayes, OK. He married Annie Charlotte MARTIN, daughter of Joseph Lynch "Greenbrier Joe" MARTIN and Sarah CHILDERS, in Sep 1870. He died on 17 Jan 1893. He enrolled on the 1851 Old Settler Roll Saline #116.

There were no children of Nancy Jane² HARLAN and Napoleon Bonaparte ROGERS.

Photographs of Nelson Harlan's Descendants



This photo shows Nelson Harlan's daughter Sarah with her husband Toneat Twist and their daughter Eliza Jane Twist Lloyd, sometime before 1908.



This photo was probably taken around 1920 east of Westville at the home of Nelson Harlan's daughter Alice Crittenden, who is wearing the dark dress. Front row, from left to right, Pearl Haws (Martin Crittenden's father-in-law), Nelson Harlan's daughters Jennie and Alice (Martin Crittenden's mother); back row, Martin Crittenden, Tom Haws (Pearl's brother), Martin Crittenden's wife holding her daughter Ithel, and Christina Crittenden, daughter of Martin Crittenden's later brother John Harlan Crittenden and

Killy Walkingstick, who died in 1902 when Christina and her older sister Barbara were girls.



This is Nelson Harlan's youngest daughter Nancy Jane (Jennie), who married Napoleon Bonaparte Rogers after the death of her first husband Joseph Lynch Martin.



Seated is Nelson Harlan's grandson Richard Henry (Harry) Crittenden, daughter of Alice Harlan Crittenden and John Ross Crittenden, with his children Robert, Frances (Fanny) and Mary Susan, from about 1915, possibly about the time of Harry's wife Nannie Wright's death.



While most of the people in this photo are descendants of Nelson Harlan, identifying them is challenging and corrections to my guesses are encouraged. The photo was taken before 1947.

The children most likely belong to Mary Susan Crittenden Butler and her husband Percy Butler and Orin and Alice Callison. Mary Susan is in the center of the photo wearing a white dress and her husband is behind her. The woman in near the center holding the baby is Alice Crittenden Callison, and her husband Orin Callison is behind her left shoulder. Alice and Orin Callison and Mary Susan and Percy Butler had many children and sorting them out has become difficult. I'm not sure about the man on the right. He may be the husband of Ruth Crittenden Lanham.

Ruth Crittenden Lanham, daughter of George and Jessie, may be the woman in the rear behind Christina; possibly she is Willie Penn Adair Martin Cochran, Jessie's sister.

Alice is the daughter of George (right end of back row) and Jessie Martin Crittenden. Jessie is the white-haired woman near the center of the photo. Her mother (not pictured here) is Jennie Harlan Rogers, youngest daughter of Nelson Harlan. To Jessie's right is Christine Crittenden (later Moore), daughter of John Harlan Crittenden and Killy Walkingstick.



Martin Devine provided this photo of Nelson Harlan's grandson Thomas N. Devine and his family, circa 1895.

Sam Sixkiller, Goingsnake Sheriff

By Regina McLemore

"I HEARD THE CONVERSATION that caused Dick Vann to kill Sam Sixkiller. It started during the fair.... Sixkiller was keeping the gate at the fairground and Vann started to ride in. He was drinking a little and Sixkiller stopped him and says, 'Vann, you have to behave, if you go in there.'

Vann replied, very nicely, 'Well, I'm going to behave.'

Sixkiller said, 'Well, I am just telling you that if you don't, I'll put you in the calaboose.'

From that they started arguing, and Sixkiller did throw him in. But when he pushed him in at the door, he kicked him. Van said, 'Sixkiller, that kick will cost you your life.'"

This was an incident related by John G. Hannan, who grew up in Indian Territory, in a 1939 interview for the University of Oklahoma's *Indian-Pioneer Papers*.

Cherokee lawman Sam Sixkiller, who was born and reared in Goingsnake District of Indian Territory in 1842, was used to hearing comments about his name. The Sixkiller name is said to have originated when his great grandfather was fighting in the time of the Cherokee and Creek wars. After he killed six Creeks before dying, he was given the

name "Sixkiller," which was passed on to his descendants.

The authors Howard Kanzanham and Chris Enss in their book, *Sam Sixkiller, Cherokee Frontier Lawman*, provide a clear picture of Sixkiller's life. As a boy and youth, Sixkiller attended school at the old Baptist Mission, near present day Westville, Oklahoma, which was established a few years after the Cherokees were removed to Indian Territory. He helped his father Redbird Sixkiller on the family farm until his father left to join the Union army in 1861, leaving nineteen year-old Sam in charge.

The following year, Sixkiller was persuaded by his neighbors and friends to go with them to fight for the Confederates. He served less than a year under Stand Watie before leaving to join the Union army at Fort Gibson, where his father had attained the rank of first lieutenant.

If he had known what was going to happen to his family during the war, he probably wouldn't have left home. His mother, sisters, and brothers suffered great hardship at the hands of guerilla soldiers known as bushwhackers. These lawless men preyed on the defenseless by stealing anything they deemed valuable, including livestock, crops, and household staples. Sometimes they weren't satisfied with thievery, they

wanted to harm the people they were terrorizing.

On the evening of July 30, 1863, bushwhackers set fire to the stable and barn of the Sixkiller home. They shot and killed Sam's mother, Pamela, while she was shielding Sam's young brother, William, in her arms. Pamela and William were buried in the Baptist Mission Cemetery.

Sam Sixkiller's great, great niece, Gayle Campbell, offers some observations about the Sixkiller family and her famous uncle. "Sam's parents, Redbird and Pamela Whaley, an English girl, married in Georgia before coming on the Trail of Tears.... Pamela and their youngest son were killed by bushwhackers during the war. Since Sam was fighting, along with his father... my great-grandmother, Mary, was the oldest child at home, and I've often thought how traumatic it would be to have your father and older brother off at war, most everything of value confiscated or stolen, and to have your mother and baby brother lying dead at the door of your cabin...."

Sam and Redbird returned home in May of 1865 to a land devastated by war. Survivors gathered in small groups, searching everywhere for food. Even worse, with no one to stop them, deserters, bootleggers, thieves, and other unscrupulous men committed terrible crimes with no consequences.

Indian leaders were told to police their own area the best they could. Redbird

stepped up and helped organize the Citizen's Court and the Executive Council of the Goingsnake District to deal with conflict among the district's Cherokees. He was soon elected judge of the council and went about re-organizing the tribe's former police force, the Lighthouse Company.

Although he supported his father's work, Sam was more interested in restoring the family farm and courting the daughter of one of their neighbors, Frances (Fannie) Foreman. The two married in September of 1865 and moved to Tahlequah to establish their own homestead.

Redbird knew that capable men were needed to keep the peace, and he endeavored to persuade Sam to enter law enforcement. In 1874, Sam agreed to be appointed as High Sheriff of Tahlequah. When he accepted the position, he became the head of all of the sheriffs in the nine districts as well as the first warden of the Cherokee National Prison in Tahlequah.

In an article about the history of the Cherokee National Prison, in the February 22, 2014, edition of *The Tahlequah Daily Press*, Sam Sixkiller's role in the development of the prison was discussed. It is evident that he was on the job by 1876, because the three-story prison was completed in 1875, and Sixkiller ordered the creation of a ten-foot fence, a garden, and mechanical shops the following year.

He earned five hundred dollars a year for his services, which included being the treasurer and custodian of the prison. Sixkiller used his farming talents to grow vegetables for the inmates and hay and grain for the livestock. Inmates were required to work in the garden or in one of the shops that were on the grounds because the purpose of the prison included reformation as well as punishment. A minister visited the sick among them and held religious services. When they were discharged, they were provided with an inexpensive, but decent, change of clothes.

Despite Sixkiller's hard work, bootleg whiskey continued flowing freely in the Cherokee Nation in the 1870s. This whiskey was often a factor in many of the crimes committed in the Indian Territory that Sixkiller dealt with on a regular basis.

Although Sixkiller bought property in Tahlequah, and his family settled there, his tenure as High Sheriff was cut short due to slanderous charges that were brought against him. Historian D. Bruce Howell discussed the incident in "The Trial of Sheriff Sam Sixkiller," which appeared in *The Vinita Daily Journal* on February 15, 2019.

On November 21, 1879, when a group of young Cherokee riders charged into town with guns blazing, the streets cleared fast. Hearing the shots, Sixkiller immediately joined other deputies in attempting to stop them. Ignoring their commands, the riders raced away,

headed out of town, with the sheriff and his deputies in full pursuit. One of them, Jeter Thompson, turned in his saddle and shot at Sam, who, with his deputies, returned fire. Thompson fell from his horse while the rest rode on out of town. Both lawmen and concerned citizens hurried over to Thompson, who was bleeding freely from stomach wounds. Still conscious, he accused Sixkiller of shooting to kill because he held a grudge against him.

According to *The Indian Journal*, in Eufaula, Oklahoma, dated December 5, 1878, "Thompson died not only of complications from gunshot wounds but complications from pneumonia."

Despite evidence to the contrary, Thompson's wealthy family contended that Sixkiller had murdered him because of a grudge. They claimed that the rowdy youths meant no harm, and that Sixkiller had abused the power of his office. They demanded that the sheriff be suspended until the incident could be investigated.

Sixkiller was adamant that he had done nothing wrong. He argued that he was doing his job of protecting Tahlequah's citizens from violence, and he refused to step down.

The June 11, 1879, edition of the Tahlequah *Cherokee Advocate* announced that Sam Sixkiller, Cullos Thorne, Richard Robinson, and John Boston had been arrested "upon a preliminary warrant sworn out before the Clerk by the Solicitor of this district.... The

preliminary examination will be held on Thursday the 12th.”

Retiring Principal Chief Thompson ordered Sixkiller to turn over control of his job to George Downing Johnson. Livid with anger, Sixkiller reluctantly complied.

Trial evidence showed Thompson and his friends had ridden through Tahlequah, blasting their guns more than once, and had been warned they must stop, or they would be arrested. It was also shown that Sixkiller and his men had been fired on first and were returning the fire. After a jury couldn't reach a verdict, the case was referred to the Council Branch of the National Council of the Cherokee Nation.

The trial was presided over by the new Principal Chief, Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead. According to a letter, dated November 14, 1879, which was written by Bushyhead, “The Council Branch of the National Council failed to find any proof that would implicate Sam Sixkiller as guilty of murder and malpractice as charged; therefore, the charges were ignored by a majority vote of the body.”

Sixkiller asked the Council for five months of back wages and the payment for his lawyers' fees, which amounted to \$1330.50. They offered to reinstate him to his former position but refused to pay what he felt he was owed. He turned down their offer and moved his family to Muskogee.

Kazanjian and Enss described Sixkiller's time in Muskogee. In 1880, Muskogee had a bad reputation for lawlessness. Reportedly, more lawmen were killed within a radius of 50 miles of Muskogee than any other town west of the Mississippi River. Determined to do something about the crime problem, U.S. Agent Colonel J.Q. Tuffts hired Sam for eight dollars a month to clean up Muskogee.

Sixkiller had two great advantages over most officers. He held a U.S. Deputy Marshal's Commission that expanded his jurisdiction beyond Indian Territory, and concurrently worked as a Special Agent for the Missouri Pacific Railroad. These attributes gave him the ability to pursue outlaws over state lines, and onto any railroad property he encountered. He also commanded 40 men to assist him in his endeavors.

Perhaps, Sam Sixkiller's greatest accomplishment was his defeat of the Glass gang. The *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History* relates that Dick Glass, a Creek freedman, led a gang, headquartered at Marshalltown near Muskogee, that operated in bootleg whiskey and stolen horses. In 1880, the Cherokee Nation lynched two Creek freedmen for horse stealing. In retaliation, Glass led a raid into the Cherokee Nation, in which one Cherokee was killed. This incident created a diplomatic crisis between the Creek Nation and Cherokee Nation. In 1882, Glass played a role in the Creek Nation civil disturbance known as the

Green Peach War. This was primarily a factional, political battle in the Creek Nation between the full bloods, led by Isparhecher, and mixed bloods, led by Pleasant Porter. The freedmen, including Glass, sided with the full bloods. Glass led a contingent of freedmen in this clash until U.S. Army troops quelled the disturbance.

In "A Troublesome Band of Negro Desperadoes in the Indian Territory Exterminated," dated June 18, 1885, *The Burr Oak Herald* of Burr Oak, Kansas, described the scene.... "Yesterday, Captain Sam Sixkiller with policemen LaFlore, Murray, and Gooding, and C.M. McClellan, a prominent stockman of the Cherokee Nation, were in pursuit of a band of negroes, headed by the notorious desperado, Dick Glass, who had gone to Denison for a wagonload of whiskey and was on his way back to the Seminole Nation.... About 7 o'clock the negroes came along... ..when within ten feet, Captain Sixkiller stepped out into the road and commanded them to surrender. Instead of doing so, they started to run. After Glass ran a few steps, he succeeded in getting his gun out, and as he turned to fire, the party fired on them. Dick Glass and Jim Johnson were killed... (After the remaining two gang members were chased down and captured) ...the bodies of the two dead men and the two prisoners were put into a wagon and brought to Colbert, where Glass was fully identified by a number of parties."

On Christmas Eve in 1886, Dick Vann and his brother-in-law Alf Cunningham were drinking heavily and brawling in Muskogee. Meanwhile, forty-four-year-old Sixkiller, who was off-duty and unarmed, came out of a store they were approaching. They called out, "Sam!" When Captain Sixkiller stepped toward them, Vann was heard to say, "You'll never do that to me again!" Cunningham leveled his shotgun at Sixkiller, and at the same time, Vann, who was positively identified by an eyewitness, fired four shots into Sixkiller. He staggered and fell on his hands and knees on the steps. Then to make sure of his work, Vann fired another shot into the body. The two men ran down Main Street, past the billiard hall, and on out of town.

In a tribute to lawmen Sam Sixkiller and Thomas Tail, "Two Cherokee Shots: Captain Sam Sixkiller and Sheriff Thomas Tail," on June 10, 1887, a writer for *The Saint Paul Globe* wrote, "He was a worthy descendant of the original Sixkiller. How many men he put under the sod is not known, but it is commonly supposed that as an engine of destruction, he could easily discount his fighting ancestor...In the light of his achievements and reputation, his appearance was rather disappointing.... He stood five feet and eight inches in his boots and weighed 230 pounds.... With a rifle or a revolver, he was a dead shot. Fatigue, he was a stranger to, and he was afraid of nothing.... Capt. Sam was a terror to evil-doers, and his like may not be seen in the territory for many years."

Gayle Campbell added, "Just to clarify, at the time of his actual death, Sam was Captain of the Indian Police, a United States Deputy Marshal, and a member of the Secret Service of the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company. Hard to believe one man could cover all that territory! Among those present (at his funeral) were many prominent citizens, both Cherokee and white. The procession, which followed the remains to the grave, was one of the largest ever gathered together in this section of the country."

One bit of good came out of Sam Sixkiller's murder. A new law was passed to protect Indian policemen and marshals. On May 17, 1887, *The Fort Smith Gazette* explained how the law would do great good in checking crime by decreeing: "Any Indians committing against the person of any Indian policemen...or any Indian United States

Marshal...murder, manslaughter, or assault with intent to kill, shall be subject to the laws of the United States and shall be tried by the District Court of the United States....It gives to the Indian policeman and deputy marshal the same protection that is given to whites in the Indian Territory...."

Among the examples cited was Sam Sixkiller's case. "He was a Cherokee, and in his official capacity he incurred the enmity of Dick Vann and Alf Cunningham, also Cherokees. Knowing that the United States had no jurisdiction over them, they shot him down without warning. Vann has never been arrested for the crime, and Cunningham is in the jail here, awaiting his delivery to the Indian authorities."

Regina Philpott McLemore is an award-winning writer who grew up in Stilwell, Oklahoma. Her Cherokee Passages series of historical novels includes Cherokee Clay and Cherokee Steel, which depict the lives of Cherokee people from their lives in the east, through removal into Indian Territory and many new challenges. You can learn more about her on her [Facebook page](#).

Cherokee Cemeteries in the Goingsnake District and Surrounding Areas

GHDA vice president Rocky Carroll and his wife Connie Carroll, GHDA secretary, are passionate about the identification and preservation of Cherokee cemeteries in the Goingsnake District and surrounding areas. Rocky has alerted county officials, state legislators and others of the importance of identifying, protecting, and providing access to these, many of which have been neglected, destroyed and forgotten.

Rocky would be happy to hear about your Cherokee family cemetery and may have some information about how to protect it.

There are many sources of information about cemeteries that contain the graves of our Cherokee ancestors. Here are a few:

Our People and Where They Rest, by James, Alice and Maxine Tyner, was published from 1969 through 1982, and it is a thorough inventory of cemeteries in seventeen counties in Northeastern Oklahoma, containing maps and lists of those buried in each. Fortunately, the 12 volumes are in many libraries and available online at:

<https://www.familysearch.org/en/search/catalog/142742?availability=Family%20History%20Library>

The **Cherokee Cemetery Restoration Organization** is very active in cemetery restoration and protection. This non-profit corporation headed by Jennifer Sparks, sponsors field trips and organizes volunteers to clean up cemeteries. Its [Facebook](#) page does a good job of publicizing its work. Email at cnccemeteries@gmail.com.

Cherokee Nation Cemetery Preservation/Restoration Assistance Program provides financial assistance for cemetery maintenance and restoration. Contact Mary Stevenson, Cherokee Nation, Community and Cultural Outreach, 918 207-4918, email: mary-stevenson@cherokee.org

[Oklahoma Cemeteries](#) is a free website that has features allows searches by county. In many cases, it includes lists of those buried and photos of tombstones.

THE GOINGSNAKE MESSENGER

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