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Authentic tradition in Cherokee medicine: A comparative study of the revitalization, preservation, and the new age exploitation of traditional Cherokee medicine

Lois Carol Scott-Woolery

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AUTHENTIC TRADITION IN CHEROKEE MEDICINE:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE REVITALIZATION, PRESERVATION,
AND THE NEW AGE EXPLOITATION OF
TRADITIONAL CHEROKEE MEDICINE

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Interdisciplinary Studies

by
Lois Carol Scott-Woolery
June 1995
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Presented to the
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Lois Carol Scott Woolery

June 1995

Approved by:

Dr. Ellen Gruenbaum, Chair, Anthropology

Dr. Rodney Simard, English

Dr. Wallace Cleaves, Psychology
DEDICATED

Six very special people began this project with me. At the final draft John "Jack" Magee, Southern Cheyenne Peace Chief Lionel Allrunner, Gary MacQuittey, Bob Brown, my father Paul Scott, and Dr. Wallace Cleaves had all passed into Spirit. My journey, and the resulting book is dedicated to these special men.
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This project has been an academic and a spiritual journey. Without the help of many Native American people from Southern California, South Dakota, and Oklahoma, this project would not have been possible. To the following traditional Indian people who opened their homes, hearts, and ceremonies to me during the research for this project, I am indebted and grateful: Tony Romeo (Chumash), John "Grandpa Whitecloud" Garcia (Laguna Pueblo), Lionel Allrunner (Southern Cheyenne Peace Chief), Merrill Big Medicine (Southern Cheyenne), Steven Red Buffalo (Lakota), Edmore Green (Winnebago), Gerald Ice (Lakota), Loren Zephyr (Lakota), Titus Iron Shield (Lakota), William Shields (Lakota), Pete "Crow Heart" Zavala (Comanche), Alice S. (Cherokee), Crosslin Fields Smith (Cherokee), Daniel Felton (Cherokee), Cathy Smith (Cherokee), Leon Gilmore (Cherokee), Bob Brown (Seminole), David and Cathy Allen (Tuscarora), Vernon Foster (Modoc), Theresa Macwilley (Pawnee), Joseph and Shelley Nota (Navajo/Cherokee), Bruce Ross (Cherokee), Fern Mathias (Lakota), Carol Standing Elk (Lakota), David Harper (Mohave), Sharon Sarnowski (Oneida/Menominee), and Ken and Margo Powell (Cree).

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their help this project would not have been finished. My early training in observing and working with people of various cultural back-grounds was not as an anthropologist but as a reserve deputy Sheriff with the Imperial County Sheriff's office. I would like to thank Lt. Mike Sing. It was his training in observation and report writing that years later would make the transition to cultural anthropology much easier. Mike also gave me my first lessons in being able to move from one ethnic group to another, to keep in mind what their cultural differences were, and above all, to be a peace maker in all groups.

I would also like to thank Professor Bonnie Bess King of San Diego State University. She was the first to encourage me to do historic research in Ethnic Studies despite the learning disability I had in writing. "Just write," she said. "We can always find someone to edit it."

To the members of my committee, I extend a sincere thank you: to Dr. Ellen Gruenbaum, chair of the committee, who had the patience to deal with a learning disabled graduate student and to read the many rough drafts of this project. Without her patience, guidance, and encouragement this project would never have been finished. Thanks to Dr. Harry Hellenbrand, who gave early literary guidance on how writers looked at Native Americans. He was always willing to listen, and read the many drafts of this project. Thanks to Dr. Rodney Simard for his Cherokee roots, his expertise in writing, and the countless hours he spent on the early field research for this project; and to Dr. Wallace Cleaves, who spent countless hours helping me during the final research of this project. I am especially grateful for his help with the psychological profile on the New Age followers and the guidance he gave on the medicine shows and bogus gurus that helped me finish this thesis. And last, out of the Pagan Community came Starhawk, my typist and proofreader. She is indeed my "angel."
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Chapter 1

Introduction: Scope, Setting, and Methodology

The main purpose of this project is to investigate the importance of the Native American shamans in the reservation and urban Indian communities. The main focus of this project is the shamanistic practices of the Cherokee Indians, their revival and revitalization after their removal to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma in 1832. The medicine man/shaman and their medicine society are an important element in the Native American community. This investigation has led to the study of the New Age Native American Shamans, the creation of their own tribes, and the individuals from non-Native American background that are attracted to these certain reference groups that bind their members by providing identification and structure through group rituals, ceremony, and sexual encounter groups.

This project began with the encouragement of a Traditional Southern Cheyenne Peace Chief, Lionel Allrunner, who felt a comparative study needed to be done to see the effect the New Age teachers of Native American religious practices were having on the traditional Native American and white urban communities. My interest in the medicine people/shaman, particularly the Cherokee Indian medicine, was the result of being doctored by a Cherokee medicine woman in the early 1980's, as will be discussed in Chapter 2.
The study of traditional Native American religions has been a topic of interest in the field of cultural anthropology for decades. Among the most important analysts of religious movements in Native American communities were Anthony F.C. Wallace, Bernard Barber and James Mooney. According to Wallace, in social situations where there is a great deal of disruption of traditional lifeways, revival and revitalization movements tend to arise when people try to restore the culture to a form of prior balance.

Such disruptive social situations have happened many times in the history of Native American peoples. Thus we would expect that revitalization movements—for example, nativistic movements, revivalist movements, and cargo cults—might arise from time to time among Native American peoples. Indeed, all these types of movements have been found in Native American history.

Perhaps the best documented movement was the Ghost Dance Religion that was a magical-revivalist type of movement and appeared in two waves, both originating among the Northern Paiute Indians in Nevada. The first Ghost Dance started in 1870 and spread mainly to northern California; the second started in 1890 and mainly spread eastward to the Plains tribes.

3 Mooney, James Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees. Nashville, Elden Bookseller, 1987
In my investigation of revival and revitalization movements, I present archive and field research material on the little written about the revival and revitalization movement that was led by Redbird Smith. This revival of the Keetoowah Society occurred among the Cherokee Indians from 1859 to 1920. Following this, I look at the contemporary importance the Keetoowah Society, its head medicine man Crosslin Smith, the importance of their Stomp Dance, and how this dance continues to help bind the Cherokee people together as they approach the 21st Century. It is interesting that in Southern California in particular, but also in other places, now there are many non-Native American people who are looking to Native American cultural traditions as the source of new spiritual values or paths. Mystic warrior paths, harmony with the environment, magical practices—all these are elements of New Age practices that people try to link explicitly to traditional Native American cultures.

In this thesis, I first consider two contemporary examples of the practice of Native American medicine ways in Chapter 2. One of the issues that arise is the question of traditional authenticity. This leads me to look more closely at the history of Native American medicine ways, or shamanism, by investigating one example: the Cherokee Keetoowah Society.

In Chapters 3 and 4, I discuss the history of this important example of a Cherokee nativistic revival movement in some detail. I argue that it served to preserve cultural traditions and maintain cultural continuity of Native American medicine ways in the face of acculturation.

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of social upheaval resulting from dislocations imposed by the U.S. government on the Cherokee. In Chapter 5 I focus on one of the contemporary leaders of the Keetoowah Society, Crosslin Smith. The contemporary Keetoowah Society, I argue, is continuing to function as a religious entity whose leaders offer healing, counseling, and linkage to tradition for contemporary Native Americans as they approach the 21st Century. Chapter 6 offers an ethnographic description of a tradition known as the Stomp Dance that had almost died out, but was preserved by the efforts of the early Keetoowah leader, Redbird Smith.

In the following three chapters (7, 8, and 9) I examine the phenomenon of what might be called New Age Cherokee healing, counseling, and sexual encounter groups. Founded primarily in Southern California, (but offered in workshop format all over the United States and in Europe) such practices are in marked contrast to the practices of Crosslin Smith. The New Age Cherokee teacher Harley Swiftdeer Reagan manages to convince his followers that he is what he says he is, and no one questions his authenticity and/or his credibility. I compare the old time medicine shows of the 19th century, with their scam to sell magical Indian tonics, with the 20th century New Age Native American teachers and their scam to create medicine people by the hundreds. The old time medicine show used the power of the written word with flyers as the shows moved around. Today the power of the written word is a major tool used in manuals to convince Reagan's followers that he is a shaman and that his teachings are from the Cherokee Indians. In Chapter 8, 9, and 10, I present my evidence to demonstrate that Harley Swiftdeer's claim to being a practitioner of traditional Cherokee medicine is fraudulent,
and he is not recognized as legitimate by the Cherokee Nation or the spiritual or political leaders of the (now three) Keetoowah Societies.

Methodology:

To gather the data needed for this project it was necessary to employ a combination of methods, including library research, archival research, interviews, and participant observation. As part of the research design, it was necessary to observe and evaluate a traditional Cherokee medicine man and a New Age Cherokee Shaman. To accomplish this, I conducted participant observation in Oklahoma with the traditional Cherokee medicine man, his medicine society, and other Cherokee people in the Cherokee Nation (Tahlequah, Oklahoma and surrounding area between 1988 and 1994). To do the comparison, I observed two of the New Age groups in Southern California that draw on elements that they claim are from Native American cultural traditions and medicine ways. I attended ceremonies, introductory lectures and gatherings that the new Age groups offered to the public, so as to establish rapport with people who were drawn to the New Age teachers, and who were looking into joining these groups by attending introductory lectures and gatherings.

(1). Establishing rapport with key informants:

I had key interview sources in California and Oklahoma. Often, one source sent me to another source as I gathered information. In the New Age Tribes--specifically, Sun Bear's Bear Tribe and Harley Swiftdeer's Deer Tribe, Sun Bear's followers and apprentices cooperated readily with my requests for information, while Swiftdeer's
followers and apprentices were more suspicious of my motives. Swiftdeer's people seemed to follow a code of secrecy and told me they had to have Swiftdeer's permission to openly talk to me. Still, as time passed, I established more contacts, more people knew what my project was, and some of those who had been reluctant to talk to me at first began to talk with me in confidence.

(2) Conducting Interviews

The research for this project was conducted in rural Oklahoma and Southern California. I conducted interviews with head Cherokee medicine man Crosslin Smith, Cherokee tribal historian Leon Gilmore, and other Cherokee people in Oklahoma. I also did interviews with sources in the Deer Tribe of Harley Swiftdeer. These interviews included a woman with an adult daughter in Harley Swiftdeer's Deer Tribe, a woman providing a support group for women who had left the Deer Tribe, a college professor who had for a time been attending classes given by the Deer Tribe, two women who had inquired about the apprentice program in the Deer Tribe, and an artist who was courted by a man who wanted her to have the Quodoushka sex ceremony with him that would be used to conjure success for a faltering business. The topics and lifestyles discussed by the interviewees were sensitive and very personal. To protect the privacy of these subjects, a pseudonym has been used in each case.

(3) Participation Observation
Participant observation research proved to be the most effective method for this project because it provides first hand experience that can then be compared with the accounts of others. This helped provide a more meaningful insight into the experience of rituals and ceremony. I accepted an invitation from Crosslin Smith, cultural adviser for the Cherokee Nation and head medicine man for the Keetoowah Society. I observed his counseling and doctoring in his home. I went with him to the Stomp Grounds where I danced with him and members of the Keetoowah society on a chilly night in December 1988 as they renewed and worshipped around their sacred fire. With the New Age groups the Bear Tribe and the Deer Tribe I attended various gatherings, lectures and three Medicine Wheel gathering weekends. At these functions I observed and participated in ceremonies and rituals. I interviewed Sun Bear, and I attempted to interview and talk with Harley Swifthead Reagan but succeeded in getting very little information from him.

(4) Library and Archival Research

The field research for this project required that I do an extensive amount of research in public and private libraries, in particular the Native American Special Collections room located in the library at North Eastern University, at Tahlequah, Oklahoma. I further gathered materials with the help and assistance of Leon Gilmore, Director of the Center for Cherokee Studies also located in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. I was sent to Mr. Gilmore by head medicine man Crosslin Smith. He opened his public and private files to me on the Keetoowah Society after both Crosslin Smith and
Nighthawk Keetoowah Chief Hickory Starr said I was okay, and what I would write would be of a benefit to them.
Chapter 2
The Cherokee Medicine Woman and the Cheyenne Peace Chief from the Indian Territory of Oklahoma.

My interest in Native American medicine people/shamans--specifically the Cherokee Indians and their religious and healing rituals--developed about nine years ago when I was treated by a Cherokee medicine woman whom I shall call Alice. Born in Oklahoma in 1913, she was one of twelve children born to a German mother and pure blood Cherokee father. Her father had been trained as a medicine man, and he passed his knowledge of Cherokee ritual medicine and healing to her. She had been a friend of the family I had married into for over forty years. Alice had learned her skills well. She could take pain away from others and was known to help with healing if she were asked.

Over the years that the Woolery family had known Alice, her healing abilities were used on various family members and friends. She used her own body to treat the illnesses she was asked to doctor. She seemed to take on her patient's physical problem, so that their own bodies might have a chance to heal. We could actually see physical changes in her when she was treating a person who was mentally, emotionally, or physically ill. In the spring of 1981, I needed Alice's skills. The surgical incision made when my gall bladder was removed failed to heal. Conventional medical treatments did not help to heal a huge gaping wound that remained open for over two months. My doctors kept saying, "It has to heal from the inside out."
I remember knocking on Alice's kitchen door in San Bernardino, California. I was frightened about the wound's slowness to heal and the doctors' statement that if it were to become infected, I might not survive. When Alice answered her back door, that early spring morning, she invited me in. We chatted over a cup of coffee at her kitchen table. I finally blurted out, "Alice, I need your help." Alice had chosen for a long time to live as a white woman, and unless you knew her past, she rarely talked about it. She wore her hair in a long silver braid wrapped in a coil at the back of her head. In fact she looked like a German house-Frau. Yet, when she would let her braid down, she looked very Indian. She tilted her head and looked at me, "My help?" I gave her the story of my life since the surgery and the doctor's warning. She looked at me and her eyes narrowed, "Why did you wait so long? Why didn't you come sooner?" I answered her, "Because I thought the doctors could heal it. It's been six weeks and there is no change in the wound. I am afraid, Alice, I want to get on with my life and it just won't heal. The family doesn't know I am here. I have heard that you have helped others; can you help me?"

Alice got up from her table and began washing dishes at her sink. After a while, she finally said, "This is really very simple to take care of, Carol." She dried her hands, and came back to the table and stood looking down at me. It seemed like an eternity passed before she finally spoke. She seemed to be a thousand miles away in thought, and then as she looked down at me, it felt like her eyes looked into my soul. She finally said, "What you are in need of Carol is a spiritual healing. I will give you a formula for a bath, and the words to use as you bathe your body, but don't put the liquid you are bathing with directly in that wound, and let me know what happens." She returned to her sink of
dishes, and began to ask after the family. How were the boys? How was my husband's
work? I excused myself after a while and went home to use the formula as she had
instructed. My visiting home nurse was the first to see results of the formula. Big John
was a registered nurse who was experienced with treating stomach wounds from his days
as a medic in Vietnam. He had been worried that the wound was not healing. Monday he
dressed the wound as he had for the previous six weeks.

Forty-eight hours after I applied Alice's solution, it took only three gauze to fill the
wound, not ten or twelve like it had before. John was amazed. He asked, "What
happened? What did you do?" I told him I had gone to see Alice. He answered, "Carol, I
may be black, but my great grandparents came over the Trail of Tears with the Cherokees.
I heard my grandparents talk about some old healing work some of their medicine men
could do. I believe what you're telling me."

"What are you going to tell them at the hospital?" I asked. He handed me his
clipboard, on which he made a report of his patient's progress each week. Written in
letters an inch high were the words, "WOUND HEALED FINALLY." And Big John said,
"And when they ask, I'll tell them what kind of medicine healed this wound."

Over the next few weeks, I repeated the bath twice more to finish healing the
wound completely. That was nearly ten years ago, and it would be many years before I
realized that in Alice I had met and been doctored by one of the last of the Cherokee
medicine women. The ones from her generation are in their 80's now. With each
generation the medicine and/or their healing ability seems to wane. Nonetheless the
healing experience with Alice began for me a research project on what the Native
American community called medicine people/shaman. This research took me into both
the traditional Indian community and the New-Age Spiritual communities. This search
for the answers to my questions took me many years and thousands of miles, and even
now I feel it is not yet complete; it will probably never will be complete. After spending
time in a close relationship with various medicine people, I have great respect for the
path they have chosen, because it is not an easy one.

One of these people, who allowed an interview in a Lakota (Sioux) sweat lodge
ceremony, cautioned Dr. Rodney Simard and I in the pale light from the hot stones, with a
pointing finger, that we were not to write about him or his ceremonies until he was dead
and gone. This man, also other medicine men, allowed interviews and observation of
their rituals and ceremonies; but only the Cherokee medicine man and the Keetoowah
society elders gave permission to be written about. I believe this reluctance is due to the
misinformation that was being given in California about their religion and ceremonies. I
could not blame them for being cautious. They can be deluged with people asking help
once they are written about. One does not find them out on the lecture circuit, charging
fees for their services as many New Age shamans do. Instead, one must find them in
their own communities where they are working with their own Indian people.

Early in my research on the medicine people, I came to know a hereditary Peace
Chief from the Southern Cheyenne Nation, Mr. Lionel Allrunner from Oklahoma. He
was very active in the traditional Native American communities in southern California;
he is one of the forty-four peace chiefs who still make decisions for the Cheyenne. When
Lionel spoke, people listened. We had many conversations, and he answered my questions concerning the urban Native Americans and their quest to preserve their ceremonies and rituals away from their reservations in other parts of the United States. Chief Allrunner was becoming concerned with what he saw as a growing use and misuse of traditional Native American religious rituals and ceremonies.

Once, after we had spent several hours discussing my research, he expressed how concerned he was for future generations of Indian people. "Someone has to help us. There has to be a book written. Explaining what is our way, and what isn't. I see the New Age teachers as not helping our Indian People. This is a very serious matter to us. We have already lost so much, and what we have left must be preserved." I remember him shaking his head and frowning. So concerned was he for the future generations that he spent many hours working with and teaching Indian children the traditional ways of the Pow-wow arena: how to dance, how to make their regalia, and how to be proud that they were Indian.

At various times, I brought up the subject of medicine people, and their importance to the Indian community, with Lionel. On one afternoon we met for a lengthy discussion of my research, particularly in the New Age groups and where it had taken me. I again brought up the subject of the traditional healers as compared with the New Age healers who said they were teaching people to be shaman/healers. "Where did you meet one of our traditional medicine people?" Lionel asked, "Have you had a ceremony done by a medicine person?"
I told him my story about Alice, and he shook his head and laughed. "So you saw it for yourself, there are not many left that can do what was done for you. Among my people there were four of our original Peace Chiefs that were medicine. Today all of them and those they would have passed the medicine to are gone."

What I was told in the next hour was Lionel's own story of his healing by a traditional medicine man, for which he felt he owed his life. He had been an occupational therapist with Kaiser Hospital. He had blackouts and stomach trouble. He asked his supervisor for a leave of absence, to go and confer with his medicine man. She granted his leave of absence. However, the medicine men with his people were all dead, so he went to the pueblos in New Mexico. Here in a Kiva he had his healing ceremony. What did he remember most from the ceremony? The blood. The medicine man ran his hand over his head and pulled out four small, kernel-like lumps. From the area of his stomach he had withdrawn a broken bloody spear head, which he wiped on Lionel pants.

There had been no drugs involved in the ceremony, just their rituals, prayers, and the medicine man's skills. If he had not come when he had, he reported, either the kernels in his head or the stomach problems would have caused his death.

So on this common ground, both of us having experienced the curative power of Native American Medicine, the chief and I had a mutual understanding. We had both been touched by the abilities of what the Indian people call their medicine man/shaman. "You are different from the others that come and watch and then write about Indian people, Carol. But what you have chosen to write about, it will be difficult. But my people need someone to look at both sides and write the story."
"Lionel, I promise you, which when I am finished with all this research, my thesis will be that book." He smiled at me, nodded, and I asked, "Lionel how do I find a traditional medicine man, like the one you spoke of this afternoon?"

"They don't step outside their sacred circles very often, Carol. Before you are done, before your research is complete you must go east to find one. It is like our vision quest, I can't send you to the ones I know. You must find yours for yourself."

We walked to our cars. He unlocked his van, and he turned and said, "You will find what you need, and then when you are finished you can write." I talked with Lionel by phone several times after that, but our arranged meetings were canceled due to our respective busy schedules. I never saw Lionel again. He died unexpectedly on February 17, 1988. I went East as the chief had said I must. And in Northeastern Oklahoma, in the Cherokee Nation, I found my traditional medicine man as the Chief had said I would. This thesis is a promise made and a promise kept.
Chapter 3

The Keetoowah Society, 1859-1992

In Oklahoma I found the medicine man/shaman that the Chief had said I would find. But to better understand what the Cherokee ceremonies and medicine are today, I had to research the origins of the Keetoowah Society. The Keetoowah Society forms the basis of the Cherokee's religious and ceremonial life. The Cherokee Keetoowah Society in Oklahoma is presently divided into three different groups: the Keetoowah Society, the Nighthawk Keetoowah Society and the United Keetoowah Band. The first two groups are interrelated and are keeping the ceremonies and rituals of the Cherokee religion alive. The third group is political in nature. The Keetoowah Society has always been a secret society much like the Masons are in many predominately white cultures.

"Keetoowah" is a somewhat indefinite term, because it means different things to different Indian people. The origins of this secret society are written about or referred to in only a very few books. Only with the help of Crosslin Smith, head medicine man for the Keetoowah Society, and Leon Gilmore, Cherokee tribal historian, was I able to assemble this ethnographic study and history of the Keetoowah Society.

To understand the roots of this society one must look at the first written descriptions of this group. Emmett Starr, early Cherokee historian, wrote that
The Keetoowah Society was organized among the Cherokees by Reverend Evan and John B. Jones, in 1859. It was a secret society for the purpose of protecting national and community interests and for the further development of the nobler qualities of individualism. It has always been especially active in upholding the religious and patriotic instincts of its members.5

Who were these men who organized the full blood Cherokees under the ancient Cherokee name of Keetoowah in 1859 to preserve their culture and government? Evan Jones was born in Brecknorshire, Wales, U.K., on May 14, 1788. He spent his early years in London, acquiring an education and working for a time as a tailor and merchant.6 With his wife and daughter, he immigrated to the United States in 1821. Shortly after his arrival he attended a Baptist revival at the Great Valley Baptist church in Barwy, a suburb of Philadelphia. There he exchanged his Anglican affiliation for membership in the Baptist church and, caught up by the religious enthusiasm of this group, quickly volunteered for services as a missionary with the Baptist Foreign Mission board, which had its headquarters in Boston. Evan Jones and his wife became part of a group led by Reverend Thomas Roberts, whose assignment was Valley Towns Station, Cherokee Nation East. This mission outpost had been established in 1819 by the Baptists. It was the Reverend Evan Jones as he appeared early in his ministry to the Cherokee people.

6 Ibid., pg. 155.
1. The Reverend Evan Jones.
hoped that this new group of administrators, workers, and farmers who arrived in December of 1821, would revitalize and successfully expand the work of the mission.7

At Valley Towns, Jones and his wife worked to invigorate the school, with only limited success. In 1825, Jones applied for ordination and was installed as preacher and superintendent of the Valley Towns mission program.8 Under Jones' leadership, the Baptist work at Valley Towns gradually changed direction. The educational work was limited to the schools at Valley Towns and nearby Netley, with more emphasis on the organization of churches and preaching tours.9 Jones established a circuit of more than a dozen preaching stations that covered more than 150 miles.10 The area of this circuit was in the western North Carolina mountains, and in a strip of mountains in northern Georgia. This was the area of the Cherokee Nation into which few whites settled. Jones was the only missionary to have mastered the Cherokee language. Early in his mission work Jones decided to associate Cherokee citizens closely with himself as co-workers, interpreters and exhorters. He had on his staff several exhorters, natives who preached and taught using the circuit riding system of the Methodists.

8 Ibid.
One native exhorter was Jesse Bushyhead, a powerful Cherokee preacher, who resided in southeastern Tennessee, some 60 miles west of Valley Towns. Impressed with Bushyhead's sincerity and abilities, Jones in 1833 persuaded the Baptist Foreign Mission Board to accept Bushyhead as an ordained missionary with a regular salary.

As pastor and evangelist, Bushyhead established his base church at Amohee in the southeast corner of Tennessee. Jones and Bushyhead, while on their circuit, followed the Methodist practice of holding camp meetings. Jones was not influenced by boards of overseers who were living in far away. His supervisors did not know what he was up to and he did not want them to know. If the Baptist Foreign Mission Board had known of Jones' political activities outside his role as missionary, they might well have called him home.

After the treaty of New Echota was signed on May 17, 1836, which achieved the removal of the Cherokee people to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma, the United States Government did not waste any time in sending its representatives to the Cherokee Nation to begin the preparation for the removal of the Cherokee. No Baptist had signed the Treaty of New Echota, nor had any Cherokee Chief of the Western North Carolina mountains signed the treaty. When a Government negotiator, the Reverend John F. Schermerhorn, a retired minister, came into the mountains seeking

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11 Ibid, pg. 176.


13 Ibid.
the signatures of other tribal leaders outside the Treaty Party (Boudinot, Ridge, and Waite), Evan Jones thwarted him. Schermerhorn complained:

I visited the North Carolina and Georgia Indians in order to explain the treaty to them and obtain some of their signatures to it, but through the influence of the Baptist Missionary, who was under the influence of Ross, I did not succeed in getting any of them to sign. ¹⁴

Jones was a solid supporter of Chief John Ross, and opponent of the removal of the Cherokees, as was Bushyhead and the other native preachers he had trained. When Andrew Jackson became president in 1830, he forced through Congress his Indian Removal Bill with the goal of moving all Indians west of the Mississippi River. Jones quickly expressed his opposition to this Bill. He was largely responsible for the reversal, in 1830, of the earlier stand by missionary members of the Baptist Foreign Mission Board, who had initially expressed some sympathy for removal. ¹⁵ He was against enslavement of any kind, and when it came to the matter of the Cherokee slaves he was an abolitionist. He spoke out in plain language about the evil of black enslavement. ¹⁶

Jones, in local speeches, and in numerous letters to officials in Boston,

¹⁴ Ibid.


2. Evan Jones's Gravesite, Tahlequah, Oklahoma
3. The Reverend Jesse Bushyhead.
vigorously denounced Jackson's programs and wrote that the state of Georgia was "cruel, unjust, and oppressive." Jones and Bushyhead spent much time with Cherokee principal Chief John Ross during this period. Because of Jones' support of the Cherokees, his preaching stations in Georgia were taken over by state officials, the school at Valley Town was closed, some of his property was lost and he was briefly imprisoned by U.S. military forces at Camp Hetzel near Cleveland, Tennessee.

The Cherokee people, because of the treaty of New Echota, were forced to walk what history has recorded as the Trail of Tears in the fall of 1838. When the Cherokees eventually were allowed to choose the conductors of their immigration parties, two of the fourteen parties of about 1,000 each that left in October 1838 were led by Evan Jones and Jesse Bushyhead. Both of these groups followed the overland Trail of Tears from Chattanooga to Nashville, to Cape Girardeau, Missouri, and then to the final destination in Indian Territory in present day Oklahoma. It is of interest to note that in the Jones and Bushyhead parties a complete small white church was carried along. This Baptist Mission church was re-erected in the Cherokee Nation at a site Jones called simply "Baptist". This site is also known as "Bread Town" as it was the area where the United States government gave out food commodities to the Cherokees for a year following their arrival in the New Cherokee Nation. The Baptist Mission Church gave the Cherokees a place to gather, worship, and plan where they were going to start up their new homes. This church is still

4. Evan Jones and Jesse Bushyhead's Old Baptist Mission Church.
in use today near Westville Oklahoma. The Reverend Jesse Bushyhead, who died in 1844, is buried in the cemetery near the Church.

Evan Jones in the New Cherokee Nation

The temper of the ancient adversaries of the gospel manifest itself in efforts to impede the progress of the truth. A priest of conjurer, an old man of some influence sent messages through the county warning the people against us.18

Evan Jones was devout Baptist missionary and he had no doubt that the Bible was a divine revelation to which all persons must give faith.19 Before the removal and after Jones found himself engaged in constant spiritual warfare. On one hand he had the Methodist missionaries trying to convert the same people he was and on the other hand he had the traditional Cherokees and their medicine men, conjurers or adonisgi. Jones simply disliked the adonisgi, and spoke out against them. Attacking "the idolatrous system...which set up a number of imaginary beings as objects of confidence in times of trouble," Jones tried to learn all he could about Cherokee medicine and then sought to reason with them about the differences between the medical theories of Christians and Cherokees. Jones never succeeded in overthrowing the old religion. The adonisgi, after 1830, avoided confrontations with him and other missionaries, but


5. Jesse Bushyhead's gravesite at Old Baptist Mission Church.
continued their activities, leaving the people to make their own choices in religion. 20 Although Evan Jones was a devout Christian missionary, his Abolitionist political beliefs led him to help the Cherokees form a secret society. The quote which begins this section was written in a letter to the Baptist Missionary board on June 02, 1837, a year prior to the Cherokee removal. Perhaps this statement to his superiors was what they wanted to read. The readers of his journals in the Baptist missionary magazines in these years saw his battles against heathenism in heroic terms, especially when he reported that his pagan opponents often threatened him with bodily harm. He also learned that the best way to avert the criticism of the Mission Board was to provide glowing reports of new conversions among the Cherokees and the growth of the Baptist mission churches. It was one thing to battle shamans but his growing political involvement with the Cherokee was another. Missionaries were not supposed to meddle in politics. 21 In what appears to be a strange twist of fate, it would be the organization of the fullblood Cherokees that would preserve the rituals, ceremonies and even the existence of the medicine man whom he describes in the aforementioned quote. For the next twenty years, Jones ministered to the Cherokee people. He was a religious man, set on converting the Cherokee to the Christian religion. Yet he was a man of political conviction and an abolitionist when it came to the issue of slavery. In 1859, as the rumors of a war between the states began to

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be heard in the Cherokee Nation Indian Territory, Evan Jones organized the fullblood Cherokees to the abolitionist cause under the ancient name Keetoowah. The term "Fullbloods," here is meant as ethnic, not racial, or biological. A fullblood was defined as a person whose primary and preferred language was Cherokee.

Reverend Jones had become alarmed by the activities of the relatively wealthy mixed-blood (white and Cherokee), slave-owning planters, and businessmen. The Cherokee Nation had digressed into a lawless state. Murders and disorders among the Cherokee were commonplace. The Civil War plunged the Cherokee Nation into strife and utter confusion. Jones was highly suspicious of the new secret societies that were being organized by the Southern sympathizers. The progressive mixed blood element formed chapters of the "Copperhead Society." This pro-slavery group called themselves "Knights of the Golden Circle." This was the reason for the organization of the Keetoowah Society near the Peavine Baptist Church, in the Goingssnake District of the Cherokee Nation. The basic fear was that at the end of the White Man's Civil War, the Cherokee Nation would be in danger of being dissolved because of the political factionalism between Chief John Ross, who did everything to keep the Cherokee out of the war between the states, and the progressive mixed-blood white and Cherokee who

22 Hendricks, Janey B., Redbird Smith and the Nighthawk Keetoowahs, Park Hill, Oklahoma; Cross Cultural Center, Inc., 1984, pg. 5.


24 Hendricks, Janey B., Redbird Smith and the Nighthawk Keetoowahs, Park Hill, Oklahoma; Cross Cultural Center, Inc., 1984, pg. 10.
were led by the descendants of Waite, Ridge, and Buoudinot, members of the Old Treaty Party. Waite, Ridge, and Buoudinot were all murdered within two years of the arrival of the Cherokees in the Indian Territory, because their signing of the treaty caused the sale of tribal lands. This according to ancient Cherokee law was punishable by death.

Thus, the Cherokee Nation's people were divided. The mixed blood progressives were on one side, and the fullblood traditionalists were on the other. This caused as much misery and bloodshed among the people as did the opposition to the white man. Would the Cherokee Nation be able to survive the coming United States Civil War? The Cherokee had been able to rebuild their Nation after their removal in 1838-39, but there was going to be an all out war and the Cherokee would be caught in the middle of it, forced to join one side or the other. Even if they took no part in the war, their homes and property would most likely be damaged. Evan Jones consequently encouraged the fullbloods to form an organization that might be able to prevent the destruction of their government and culture at the conclusion of the Civil War. The fullbloods met in the vicinity of Baptist Max, near Evan's church, in the woods in the darkness of night in 1859. There, they drew up a constitution, divided the land into counties or sections, elected a set of officers, and thus formed the Keetoowah into a legal political entity. The instigators of this movement hoped it would be able to save the Cherokee Nation if worse came to worst. Bud Gritts, a Baptist preacher, was called upon to write the constitution.

for the society. This constitution was studied and discussed by all of the members and was adopted a year later, in 1859. The constitution for this early phase of the Keetoowah is still intact today and was revised somewhat to meet new conditions in 1895. The English interpretation of this constitution was submitted to the United States government, and the original copy written in Cherokee has been carefully guarded by the Keetoowah. This paper is probably the only reliable document written in English that gives the original goals of this secret society. This constitution should not be confused with the charter that was granted to the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee, a group which is discussed below.

The year that Jones revived the Keetoowah Society was a stormy one. Rumors began to circulate about a secret society of Indians that met in the woods. Articles such as this one from the Fort Smith times, on April 26, 1860, gave the public an erroneous idea of what the Keetoowah was:

**Secret Society Among the Cherokee**

We learn from good authority that between 100 and 150 Cherokee Indians, in the Flint District, a few days ago held a meeting on a high mountain, where they could see any approach from a distance, to initiate a number of Indians into their secret Society. The fullbloods appear to be banding themselves together for some purpose and many half-breeds are becoming uneasy. This new society is somewhat on the plan of the Kansas Aid Society and perhaps came from that country. The half-breeds say that John Jones, son of Evan Jones, is at the head of it. There is trouble brewing among these Indians, and there is no telling where and when the
first blow will be struck. The abolitionists are at work among the Cherokee.26

A week later the same paper stated:

**Trouble Brewing Among the Cherokee—What Does It Mean**

We are informed that the organization is growing and extending daily and that no half- or mix-blood Indian is taken into this secret organization. The strictest secrecy is observed, and it is death by the order to divulge the object of the society. We fear that something horrible is to be enacted on this frontier, and this secret work will not stop among the Cherokees, but will extend to other tribes on the frontier. The government should examine into this matter before it becomes too formidable.

As can be seen by these articles, it was easy for people outside the Cherokee Nation to have gotten the wrong idea of what the Keetoowah Society was. The origin of the Cherokee people has been a mystery for centuries, but embedded within the history of the Cherokees lies even a greater mystery, the origin of the Keetoowah.27

James Mooney, a 19th Century anthropologist wrote:

The name by which the Cherokee call themselves is Yunwiya, signifying "real or principle people," and that on ceremonial occasions they frequently speak of themselves as Kituhwagi....Among the western Cherokee this has been adopted by a secret society.28

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26 Hendricks, Janey B., Redbird Smith and the Nighthawk Keetoowahs, Park Hill, Oklahoma; Cross Cultural Center, Inc., 1984, pg. 15.


28 Mooney, James, Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees, Nashville, Elden Bookseller, 1987, pg. 15.
(Used by permission of Janey B. Hendricks)

33
Mooney, according to my sources in the Cherokee Nation, was never accepted into the religious or medicine circles among the Western Cherokee and only marginally by the Eastern Cherokee. It is interesting to note that in his report he mentions a secret society, one of which he was unable to gain access to. He states a secret society had adopted the name Kityuha or Keetoowah.

The word "Keetoowah" has taken many forms and may be found written several different ways: Keetoah, Kee-too-wah, Ketuhwa, Cuttuwa, Cottochwa, Kittuwa, Kittoa, Kittowa, Godoo'wha, Keedoowhu, and Keetoowah. In an article written for the Chronicles of Oklahoma, J.W. Duncan wrote, "The word Keetoowah meant key." The Cherokee word for key is stu-ist-di, and does not correspond with Keetoowah. However, the key theory has been used in various historical publications.

When the Civil War began the Cherokee were simply trying to make provisions for the preservation of their nation's many historical sources from this period referred to the Keetoowah as also being the same as the "Pin Indians", this was not necessarily true. "Pin Indians", "Secret Society" and members of the "Loyal League" were titles that became associated with the Keetoowah during the Civil War. The fullblood Cherokees were opposed to violating their treaty obligations by joining the Southern Confederacy


and the Confederates attributed their loyalty to the Government to the influence that Evan Jones had exercised over them. They wore a small badge or crossed sewing pins upon their hunting coats as an emblem of their society and outsiders nicknamed them "Pin Indians." About three thousand of them joined the Union Army and fought for the Union.

The present day members say there is confusion about what the Keetoowah and the "Pin Indians" were. Members of the society say the purpose of the crossed pins, which were worn on the hunting shirts and coats, was to ensure in the event of hand to hand combat that they would not harm any one wearing the crossed pins, a sign to those of the Keetoowah society, much like the secret hand signal given by the members of the Masonic lodge when they are in trouble. They further claim that many Cherokees were forced to join the confederate forces, thus breaking their nation's treaty agreement not take up arms against the United States Government.\textsuperscript{31} The Civil War widened the breach between the two factions of the Cherokee Nation. The slave-holding element was banded together under the names of the "Blue Lodge" or "Knights of the Golden Circle", while those who favored the North were organized under the name "Keetoowah". According to Cherokee historian, Leon Gilmore:

The Pins were an activist group and were known by the crossed pins on their lapels as a recognition sign during the Civil War. Not all the Keetoowah's belonged to Pins, although probably all the Pins were Keetoowah. It was an organization within an organization.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{31} Gilmore, 1992, pg. 2.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid, pg. 3.
After months of the most grueling political infighting between the Cherokee factions and the Commissioner Dennis N. Cooley, the Cherokee Reconstruction was at last signed in July 1866, and became known as the Treaty of 1866. In this treaty they did gain some financial relief by selling some of their lands to other tribes. The price was so low it was like having to sell the family jewels to feed the children. Another provision of the treaty allowed the railroads to build across the Cherokee Nation. This concession insured the strangulation of the Cherokee Nation because after the railroads were built there was absolutely no way to stop the thousands of white settlers that followed and the inevitable push for statehood.33

At the same time that the Treaty of 1866 was being negotiated with the United States, there was an important meeting of the Keetoowah in the Saline District near the present site of Saline, Oklahoma. John Smith, one of Redbird Smith's sons, told the story as it had been told to him:

All the people camped out up there. All the old men were seers. They kept themselves clean with medicine. The could see a long way ahead. The medicine men investigated the future of the Keetoowah in the time of their greatest trouble. Pig Smith saw that his life was short and his son was just a boy. He looked for a man to teach his son the ways of the Keetoowah and to guide him spiritually. He decided on Creek Sam, a Notchee Indian. He told him he could leave his son in his care and teaching and that he would be his adviser even to the time of his (Pig Smith) grandchildren.34

33 Ibid, pg.10

34 Hendricks, Janet B., Redbird Smith and the Nighthawk Keetoowahs, Park Hill, Oklahoma; Cross Cultural Center, Inc., 1984, pg. 11.
7. Silver ornament, originally used on a horse's bridle, or saddle, now a belt buckle, bearing the insignia of the Nighthawk Keetoowah Society, made in the 1860's.

(Courtesy of the Institute for Cherokee Studies, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.)
The next change of events for the Keetoowah Society was the death of Evan Jones, on August 15, 1873, at the age of 76 years. He had become a threat to the southern sympathizers during the Civil War and had to flee to Kansas in 1861. He and his family returned at the close of the war. He was given citizenship in the Cherokee Nation after the Civil War and was buried in Tahlequah, capital of the Cherokee Nation. His son John Jones continued as a leader with the Keetoowah Society.

In 1889, those fullbloods who considered the Keetoowah Society to be altogether too political and who perhaps also objected to the guerrilla tactics that were used by some of the more militant members, decided to modify the rules and change the direction of the Society. The old idea of the White Chiefs and the Peace Party of the Cherokee Nation in the East was beginning to resurface. The Peaceful Keetoowah Society had a new beginning in the GoingSnake District at a place called Long Valley. The three men who were responsible for the amendment were Blueford Sixkiller, Ned Bullfrog, and "Old Man" Chewey. These men were prominent in the Keetoowah and Cherokee circles. George Benge was the head chairman of the Keetoowah society at the time, and Daniel Redbird second chairman. Although George Benge was not present at this rump session, he later approved the amendment. They drew up an amendment to the constitution of 1859 in which they said that the Keetoowah Society would be a religious as well as a political organization. After this time the meetings were in the open, and a church was built in Long Valley, where Christian services were held during the Keetoowah

convention. This convention had formerly been held at Moody Springs for three or four days on the second Monday in August. At these conventions all the officers met along with many members, and passed laws and determined Keetoowah policy. At this time the governing structure of the Keetoowah Society was: three head chairmen (first, second, and third), a secretary, and treasurer for the whole Society. Each District of the Cherokee Nation had three head captains, and each full blood community had a little captain. Each community also had a secretary, and a treasurer for the local chapter of the Keetoowah Society. The governing body of the Keetoowah Society was the Committee, a body made up of one or two representatives from each community, elected for one or two years.

It is at this time that the Cherokee Nation and its people began a period of forced acculturation. In 1887 the so-called Dawes Act was passed in Congress. This called for the allotment of Indian land throughout the U.S., and the chief provisions of this Act were:

1. A grant of 160 acres to each family head, of 80 to each single person over 18 and to each orphan under age 18, and 40 acres to each other single person under 18.

2. A patent in fee to be issued to every allottee but to be held in trust by the government for 25 years, during which time the land could not be alienated or encumbered.

3. A period of four years to be allowed the Indians in exit which they could make their selections after should be applied to any tribe—failure of the Indians to do so
would result in selections being made for them at the order of the Secretary of the Interior.

4) Citizenship to be conferred upon Congress and upon any other Indians who had abandoned their tribes and adopted "the habits of civilized life." So the Indian was to become an independent farmer and a citizen of the republic.36

Who was this man Senator Dawes who wrote a piece of legislation that would affect the lives of thousands of people and assure his name a place in history? Senator Henry M. Dawes of Massachusetts was an Indian Theorist and had actually paid a brief visit to the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes. After this visit he gave a speech at the third Mohawk Conference in which he said:

The head chief told us that there was not a family in that whole Nation that had not a home of its own. There is not a pauper in that Nation, and the Nation does not owe a dollar. It built its own capitol, in which we had this examination, and built its schools and hospitals. Yet the defect of the system was apparent. They have gone as far as they can go, because they hold their land in common. It is Henry George's system, and under that there is no enterprises to make your home any better than that of our neighbors. There is no selfishness, which is at the bottom of civilization. Till these people will consent to give up their lands, and divide them among their citizens so that each can own the land he cultivates, they will not make much progress.37

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36 Hendricks, Janey B., Redbird Smith and the Nighthawk Keetoowahs, Park Hill, Oklahoma, Cross Cultural Center, Inc. 1984, pg. 50.

37 Ibid.
Here was a man who was judging another culture by his own cultural values. Who was the Henry George he referred to in his speech? George was a self-taught economist and newspaperman. He repeatedly ran for public office but was always defeated.

In 1879 George's most important work was published. It was a book on economic theory called Progress and Poverty. His theory was that the large landowners were seen as the cause of much poverty in the world, because they deprived people and limited productivity. He felt that these landowners should pay a kind of perpetual "rent". His view was that this would generate so much revenue that there would be a surplus. The book was popular, and George was in demand on the lecture circuit in the United States and in England.\(^{38}\) It was these two men who were the force behind the Dawes Act. The Dawes Act was passed in 1887 by Congress. This called for the allotment of Indian Land throughout the U.S., although the Five Civilized Tribes were exempted from this Act because of treaty obligations held by the United States toward them. The delegates in Washington had worked diligently to defer its passage.

In 1888, an intertribal council met at Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation. Delegates from twenty-two tribes attended and two to three thousand people were in attendance as spectators. The Plains Tribes were very much disturbed by the Dawes Act as it effected them directly, and most of the council's time was spent on their problem. S.H. Benge, a Cherokee, was elected president of the council.\(^{39}\)

\(^{38}\)Ibid, pg. 33.
This was the Cherokee's first hint that they too would be affected by the Dawes Act. From this time on, after 1887, the fullbloods began to feel more the encroachments of the white settlement.

In 1893, the Dawes Commission was appointed and headed by Senator Henry L. Dawes, Of Massachusetts, the famous author of the Dawes Act of 1887. The Commission negotiated with the Five Civilized Tribes to extinguish the land titles, to allot the land worked for the dissolution of the tribal government. This committee was made up of three members, and later, in 1895, increased to five. The Commission arrived in the Indian Territory in January 1894 and at once began negotiations.40

The Cherokee Nation appointed a committee to negotiate with the Dawes Commission. The membership of this committee shifted from time to time, but there were always several fullblood Cherokees serving. Two of these men, Dekinny Waters and Wolf Koon, were Keetoowah, and were to become leaders in the Redbird Smith revitalization movement. The negotiations went on for many months each year at Tahlequah after 1894, and were a constant reminder of the coming disaster to the Cherokee people.

The Commission authorized a survey of Cherokee land in 1895 and in 1896, then further authorized a census of the Cherokee Nation. These events set the stage for the revitalization movement that was beginning. The Keetoowah leaders felt that somewhere

39 Ibid

along the line they had taken a wrong turn. They felt that the troubles befalling them were their own fault; somewhere along the line they had forgotten God's Rule, and because of this fact, God was no longer on their side.

It would appear that it was at this time that the old medicine man's vision came true. For the Keetoowah leaders or chairmen met and appointed Redbird Smith to get back what the Keetoowah had lost. A committee was appointed to help him. This committee consisted of Wilson Girty, Anderson Gritts and Ned Bullfrog, with Charlie Scott taking Ned Bullfrog's place. Thus the stage is set, all the characters in place for the birth of the revitalization movement led by Redbird Smith. This movement and its leader are discussed in the following chapter.

THE UNITED KEETOOWAH BAND OF CHEROKEE INDIANS

While researching the religious Keetoowah groups, terrific political struggles were going on between the Cherokee Nation and the third group of my study, the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians came to my attention. Now, as the Cherokee Nation strives for self-determination freedom from Interior Department control for the first time in more than thirty years another intertribal argument has surfaced.

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42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
This difference is between the Cherokee Nation and the United Keetoowah Band. This very heated argument again brings the word Keetoowah to the public's attention. Today the United Keetoowah band of Cherokee Indians of Oklahoma, is a federally recognized tribal governing organization. The elected officers as of 1992 are: Chief (John Ross Jr.), Vice Chief (Jim Henson), Secretary (Jimmy Lou White Killer), Treasure (Nora Jean Fourkiller) and one elected representative from each of the 10 districts of the Cherokee Nation is divided into.

As I have shown the Keetoowah Society and the NightHawk Keetoowah are both religious groups having both been linked to Redbird Smith and his nativistic revival of the Cherokee culture and religion. The United Keetoowah Band history begins in the later part of the nineteenth century. At this time the United States Congress was passing various laws that would effect the Cherokee people. In particular the Curtis Act of 1898, which sought to abolish the governments of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes; these are the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole. These tribal governments were stripped of their functions, tribal courts were abolished, and the tribal schools were merged into the non-Indian public school system.44

The most devastating thing to the people was the allotment of the land into parcels with individual ownership. The territory of the Five Tribes, along with the remainder of Indian Territory, and Oklahoma Territory was officially proclaimed the state of Oklahoma, by President Theodore Roosevelt on November 16, 1907. After this the only

44 Welch, 1989, pg. 2
time the Cherokee had a semblance of tribal government was when the Presidents of the United States appointed a "Chief for a Day," to act on behalf of the Cherokees in matters that needed attention. In 1936, the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act (OIWA) was passed by the United States Congress, this act extended the provisions of the Indian reorganization Act (IRA) to those tribes within the boundaries of the state of Oklahoma. The United Keetoowah Band was chartered as a corporation rather than a tribe. On October 3, 1950, under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. The UKB, according to its constitution and bylaws, was organized for the purpose of "securing relief, conservation, rehabilitation, resettlement, welfare, education, health and other programs...to promote the general welfare of the Band and its members." The name Keetoowah was chosen because of the familiarity of the term Keetoowah to the Cherokee people and not because of historical relationship to the original Keetoowah Society. John Hetcher was first chief in 1939, followed by Jim Pickup in 1945. John Ross Jr. is Chief for the United Keetoowah Bands as of 1992. The group claims a membership of 7,000, and as of 1995, and it has informed its members that they may belong only to the UKB and not also hold membership in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma.

The struggle between the UKB and the Cherokee Nation is one that warrants observation because both organizations are political governing bodies in one small area. As of this final draft the Cherokee Nation is the sovereign tribal government over the

45 Ibid.

territory of the Cherokee Nation. For these two groups to splinter and fragment would not be healthy for the Cherokee people's future.
Chapter 4

The Spiritual Revitalization of the Keetoowah Society: The Redbird Smith Movement

The Keetoowah Society gave Redbird Smith a task: "to get back what they had lost." Who was this man that the Keetoowah elders had said would lead them in their time of trouble? Redbird Smith was born July, 1850, as the Smith family was moving from Arkansas into the Cherokee Nation. They traveled across the southern tip of the nation all the way to the Illinois District before they stopped to make their home.

Redbird was born into the Wolf Clan, his mother's clan. His mother's father had been a German miller named Hilderbrand, and his mother's mother was a fullblood Cherokee. Redbird's father was Pig Smith, a fullblood Cherokee. In 1859 when Redbird was nine years old, as rumblings of the coming Civil War began to disrupt the peace of the Cherokee Nation, the Reverend Evan Jones organized, the fullbloods to the abolitionist cause under the name Keetoowah.47

In 1866 there was a very important meeting of the Keetoowah in the Saline District near the present site of Saline, Oklahoma. John Smith, one of Redbird's sons, told this story:

...All the people camped out up there. All the old men were seers. They kept themselves clean with medicine. They could see a long ways ahead.

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47 Hendricks, Janey B., Redbird Smith and the Nighthawk Keetoowahs, Park Hill, Oklahoma; Cross Cultural Center, Inc., 1984, pg. 5.
They saw that Pig Smith's seed would be the leader of the Keetoowah in the time of their greatest trouble. Pig Smith saw that his life was short and his son was only a boy. He looked for a man to teach his son the ways of the Keetoowah, and to guide him spiritually. He decided on Creek Sam a Notchee Indian. He told him he would take his son in his care and teaching and that he would be his adviser even into the time of his (Pig Smith's) grandchildren.48

Prior to the appointment in 1889 by the Keetoowah leaders, Redbird belonged to the Keetoowah group which met in secret in a "holler" in the Illinois District where Redbird lived. He had been a little captain: but after 1889, he rose rapidly and in a few years he was head captain of the Illinois District.49

Redbird married Lucie Fields, who was born near Braggs, Indian Territory. They had ten children, eight of them boys. The boys were named John, Sam, Richard, Thomas, George, Mose, Kahi, and Stoke. Their two daughters were named Ell and Susie.50 In 1889, Redbird was twenty-nine years old when the old man's 1866 prediction came true. The Keetoowah leaders also appointed a committee to help Redbird. The members of this committee were Wilson Gerty, Anderson Gretts, and Ned Bull Frog. Later Charles Scott took Ned Bull Frog's place.

The Cherokee Nation was facing forced acculturation, the forced census of the Cherokee people, the forced survey of Cherokee lands, a forced enrollment of its people, and the destruction of their tribal government as the Cherokee people had known it.

48 Ibid.


50 Ibid, pg. 42.
The Keetoowah leader felt the stress their culture was under. The Keetoowah leaders saw all of this as a punishment for not having been more spiritual. This was the beginning of what can be called the Redbird Smith nativistic movement. A nativistic movement may be defined as "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's member to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture." As a social movement, nativism has been the goal of reconstituting a way of life that has been destroyed for one reason or another and retaliating against the group responsible for the loss. The Redbird Smith Movement, as it may be called, fits the criteria of Anthony F.C. Wallace's theory of what such a movement does to a culture to revive and revitalize it. The criteria, according to Wallace, for a revival or revitalization movement is:

1. Premovement phase,
   (a) Steady state. The society is satisfied with itself; no major group is experiencing sufficient stress, or is sufficiently disillusioned to be seriously interested in radical change.
   (b) Period of increased individual stress. As a consequence of one or more of many possible circumstances--depression, famine, conquest by an alien society, acculturation pressures, or whatever leads to the awareness of a growing discrepancy between life as it is and life as it could be (and is for someone else)--growing numbers of people experience psychological and physical stress.
   (c) Periods of cultural distortion. As increasing numbers of individuals, singly and in small groups, find their situation both intolerable and without hope of relief by the use of available, culturally sanctioned means, they turn to idiosyncratic or systematically deviant means. This period of anomie leads to the distortion of the cultural fabric by the

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institutionalization of socially dysfunctional customs as drug and alcoholic addictions, organized crime, excessive corruption of officials, mob violence, sabotage, and vandalism, etc.

   (d) Prophetic formulation of a code. A prophet formulates a code, frequently (in religious movements) as a result of a vision in which he is instructed by supernatural beings and in which he and his people are promised salvation if the instructions are followed. The code defines what is wrong with the existing culture, delineates a goal that is described as better than the existing culture (if not utopian), and outlines a cultural transfer, by the use of which the people can move from the bad existing culture to the good future culture.
   (e) Communication. The prophet preaches his revelation to the people, promising salvation to the convert and to the society if his code is accepted.
   (f) Organization. Special disciples and then mass followers join the prophet. As the number of members in the group increases and as the complexity of the mission grows, a division of labor develops. Different disciples take over the responsibility for various aspects of the movement's activities.
   (g) Adaptation. The movement will encounter resistance from vested interests. These must be either defeated in political or military combat or converted; sometimes conversion is accomplished by making modifications in the code that will remove the fears of the reluctant.
   (h) Cultural transformation. As the whole, or a controlling portion, of the population comes to accept the new code, the system of cultural transfer, and perhaps even the goal culture, is instituted.

3. Postmovement phase.
   (i) Routinization. Once the cultural transformation has been accomplished, or is well under the way, the organizational structure is divested of executive control of many spheres of the culture and contracts, maintaining responsibility only for the maintenance of doctrine and for the performance of ritual. It thus ceases to be a movement and becomes, in effect, a church or a political party.
   (j) Steady state. Once the cultural transformation has been accomplished and the movement's organization has been routinized in its activities, a
new steady state may be said to exist. Even if the professed aim of the movement was revivalistic, this new state will almost certainly be different from the initial steady state. Now the cycle is ready to begin again.52

Redbird's movement can be further defined as a rational Nativistic movement. Almost without exception, these movements are associated with frustrating situations and are primarily attempts to compensate for the frustrations of the society's members. The elements revived become symbols of a period when the society was free or in retrospect happy or great. Their usage is not magical but psychological. By keeping the past in mind, a group reestablishes and maintains self-respect in adverse conditions. The "Redbird Smith Revitalization Movement." was mainly a reaction to white contact and forced assimilation.

The movement was also reacting to two other problems. One was the social disorganization caused by the interference of the railroads, white settlers on Cherokee land, whiskey peddlers, U.S. Marshals, and unfamiliar procedures of the federal courts.

The second problem was the allotment of Cherokee land, with the accompanying forced census, survey of Cherokee tribal land, and break up of the tribal government by the Curtis and Dawes Act. Organized efforts to perpetuate a culture can arise only when a society becomes conscious that there are cultures other than its own and that the existence of its own culture is threatened.53 Keetoowah leaders were very aware of the impending threat to their culture.


53 Ibid, pg. 499.
For the next 29 years, Redbird Smith worked to revive and revitalize the Cherokee culture, with the help of his teacher, Creek Sam. The Keetoowah leaders appointed a committee to assist him in this goal. This committee, as noted earlier, consisted of Wilson Gerty, Anderson Gretts, and Ned Bull Frog. Later, Charles Scott took Ned Bull Frog's place. Redbird was not, in a strict sense, a prophet, rather, he was simply the leader of the movement to regain what the Cherokee had lost. The recovery of the Wampuns was not his achievement alone, as others helped him, but the interpretation of them was the accumulated knowledge of that generation. The Redbird Smith movement was a return to the older pattern, and this was to be accomplished by rationally, according to Cherokee logic, reconstructing the old beliefs. The three symbols of this Nativistic revival were the White Path, The Sacred Fire, and the Wampuns. Redbird Smith preached the White Path of Peace, at a time when some of his people would have preferred the Red Path of War and Bloodshed.

Redbird, as his first step, recovered what the Keetoowah had lost, the Wampuns. They had been hidden during the Civil War, and their location uncertain. They were recovered from a member of a the deceased Chief John Ross's family. These Wampuns represented the Keetoowah spirituality. The Wampuns, seven in number, are made of shells from the Atlantic Coast. Each Wampun has a definitive meaning, which is characterized by the beadwork. The Wampuns vary in length from
8. Redbird Smith and his son, Stoke Smith, Leaders of the Keetoowah Society.
8. Stoke Smith and the sacred belts of the Keetoowah Society.
about 7 feet, down to about 2 feet, and vary in width from 6 inches, to single laced beads in the form of a necklace. The age of the Wampuns is unknown, but were supposedly made after the Great Spirit gave the seven wise men the paths of righteousness to follow. The Wampuns have the same message for the Keetoowahs as the Ten Commandments do for the Christians. The Cherokee name for the Wampuns is De'ka-nuh-wa-tus', which means "a way to touch, to keep the direction." The Wampuns are usually kept by the Keetoowah Chief.\textsuperscript{54} Redbird, in 1896, restated the Stomp Dance. This is discussed later in this work.

Between 1902 - 1906, the Sacred Fire, which became a major part of the Cherokee spirituality, was relit. In 1906, the number of arbors at the stomp dance was increased from 4 to 7.

In 1907, the Indian Territory became a state, and it was through this very rough period of adaptation, and forced acculturation, that Redbird peacefully led the Cherokee people.

In 1915, knowing who your mother's clan was, as a cultural identity, was revived and brought back into the culture. Redbird passed away in 1918. His had been the White path, by choice. It was the peaceful way, the way of love and passive resistance.\textsuperscript{55} This movement continues today, binding the Cherokee people together.

\textsuperscript{54} Smith, Benny, The Keetoowah Society, Master's Thesis, North Western State College, Alva, Oklahoma, 1967, pg. 4 andf 5

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
Chapter 5

The Shaman/Medicine Man, Crosslin Smith

As the red of the lighting
As the fog,
As the panther,
As the white of the smoke,
As the red wolf,
To you the Sorcerer
To you I present myself
That we may walk together
Joined by the spirit of the Soul.

Parolle Coule
Medicine Book
Cherokee Nation
1840

Human communities, since prehistoric times, have required the services of a mediator between the bright world of myth and ordinary reality. The shaman/mystic fills this role; he is the priest, the dramatist, the physician, the psychologist, and psychiatrist all rolled into one. Ethnologists have fallen into the habit of using the terms "shaman," "medicine man," "sorcerer," and "magician" interchangeably, terms which designate certain individuals possessing magic-religious powers and are found in all "primitive" societies.\(^\text{56}\) The term shaman has entered our language, via the Russians, from the

Tungusic word shaman. Shamanism also occurs in the North and South America, among the Australian Aborigines, in Indonesia, South East Asia, China, Tibet, Japan, and Africa. The Shaman/mystic is defined by Mircea Eliade as being:

The Shaman and mystics of primitive societies are considered—and rightly—to be superior beings; their magic-religious powers also find expression in an extension of their mental capacities. The Shaman is the man who knows and remembers, that this is, who understands the mysteries of life and death.

There are two ways in which a person may be called to this magical profession. The first way is when the individual is selected because of heredity or lineage. However, in many Native American tribes, they do not choose to ask for this initiation till they are 35 to 40 years old.

The second way for a person to become a Shaman is to experience "spontaneous vocation;" that is, to be called or selected by the spirits. This can happen at any age. Belief in personal visions is the basis for much of shamanism in many Native American Indian tribes. This vision might come during an illness, or it might come during a vision quest on a mountain top. Usually, this type of shaman also does not begin to practice until 35 years of age or older.

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57 Ibid, pg. 4.
In research for this project, I have interviewed various shaman/medicine people. These men and women asked not to be written about because they had work to do among their people and preferred to remain unknown to another culture. Some had seen what publicity had done to others and believed it could cause the loss of their healing gifts.

For the purpose of this project I chose to focus on the Cherokee shaman. In Chapter 2, I wrote about my experience with Alice, a Cherokee medicine women. Because of my experience with her, my talks with Chief Allrunner, and my observations of the New Age Cherokee Shaman Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, I decided to call the Cherokee Nation in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. I spoke with a representative of Chief Wilma Mankiller's office, and explained that my research had to do with traditional Cherokee medicine people in comparison with the New Age Cherokee medicine. I was referred to their Cultural Adviser/medicine man, Crosslin Fields Smith. After several phone calls with this man, he said "You need to come see me." With the help of several professors, and moneys from the Graduate Research Committee at California State University San Bernardino, I was able to accept Smith's offer to go and do field research with a modern-day shaman of the Cherokee Nation in Northeastern Oklahoma.

The Cherokee people rely heavily on this medicine man. The shaman has always been an important part of Cherokee culture. Much of what was practiced by their shaman's was lost in 1839, during the Trail of Tears to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma. What survived was the individual medicine person's ability to do healing work, and to do medicine for good as well as bad.
The grandson of nativistic revival leader Redbird Smith, Crosslin Fields Smith, chose to take the job his father and grandfather had accepted: that of being the medicine man/spiritual leader to the people of the Cherokee Nation.

Crosslin was born in 1839, the seventh of eleven children on a small farm near Vian, Oklahoma. After a stint in the Army, he obtained an education degree at North Eastern State University, got married, and taught at Indian Boarding Schools in Utah and Arizona. Crosslin took a job as a loan specialist from the Tahlequah Indian Agency, under the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He then worked as a tribal resources officer for the Cherokee Nation, helping, in 1971, to inform Cherokee people when it was decided to hold their first election of a chief since statehood in 1907. Before 1971, the chiefs were appointed by the President of the United States.

Smith, who is fluent in the Cherokee language, became the Cherokee's Cultural Adviser in 1982. That title was another way of saying he was that Nation's medicine man. "They wanted a cover up of the name because people shun things they don't understand," he said. "If you say you're a medicine man, people compare it with voodoo or something negative."

Smith is what Mircea Eliade tells us is the first type of shaman: "a person who by hereditary transmission of the shamanic profession becomes a shaman." The Cherokees believe that shaman can be good as well as bad. The formulas used in their medicine translates the word for shaman as wizard and sorcerer. There are those in the

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rolling hills of Oklahoma who are born to be both kinds of medicine man or woman. Smith is "adawahe" medicine man, which is the term for a good shaman.

Cherokee tribal historian Leon Gilmore said of Crosslin, indicating his ability to bridge ordinary reality and the "bright world" of spirit: "He can and does walk in both worlds. He has the best of both." Crosslin is called to various hospitals in the area by his Cherokee people. He is to them their Indian Doctor. He is recognized as a medicine man/spiritual person, and in the hospital setting, assisting the doctors as a Chaplain. Having the right kind of outlook on an illness can be an essential tool in the healing of a person; the traditional Cherokee people believe this man to be their physician, their psychologist, their psychiatrist, and their medicine man all rolled into one. He is respected in the hospitals as a spiritual person, for he has the reputation of being a healer of the body, mind, and soul. I heard many stories about him while doing my field work. For example, former Cherokee Chief Ross Swimmer was diagnosed with lymphatic cancer and is still cancer free eight years after having Crosslin doctor him. Many people I spoke with said they felt he was one of the last of those who could truly heal.

The door of Crosslin's home is always open to his people, no matter the time of day or night. If his people have a need, he is there for them. I lived with the Smith family for a week, and I have visited with them several times when I have been in the Cherokee Nation. His daughter, Cathy, on one occasion said, "It's kind of strange, but it's like they know when my dad's not here, and as soon as he's back, then they come for help."

Crosslin is called in the Cherokee language a didaa; sg(i) (Curer of them, he). In contrast, the individual who uses knowledge for evil ends is a dida:hnes:sgi(i) (putter-in
and drawer-out of them, Hes-a-sorcerer, a witch.) Any didaa; sg(i) knows everything a
dida:hnes:sg(i) knows and even more, but he uses his knowledge in a selfless and
socially acceptable way to practice good and crush evil. He works with the body, mind,
and soul of his patients. The Cherokee medicine people have always been users of ritual
magic, herbs, and spiritual healing. This method of therapy has to be experienced before
it can be fully understood. When I asked Crosslin about the healing abilities, he said, "I
do not do this by myself; those that came before me also help me."

By the final draft of this project, I have occasionally lived with and visited with
this man over a six year period. I have seen many of his people come for help: for a
troubled marriage, a spouse who is missing, a person in the hospital who needs him. I
have seen people at the stomp grounds ask him to "remake" their tobacco if they have
need of a ceremonial smoke. He opens the container of tobacco, blessing it by spitting on
it and speaking some words over it, and then returns it. I also saw this man as a husband,
a father, a grandfather, and as a medicine man.

Crosslin Smith would be hard to pick out in a crowd of Indian people. He doesn't
dress in an identifiable way. It is his presence that one feels. There are three experiences
with this man I will always remember.

My flight had left California in a blinding rain storm, which produced a ninety
mile per hour tail wind, which gave an exciting start to my research trip to Oklahoma. A
fifteen minute landing delay over Denver caused a three-hour delay getting to the Tulsa
Airport. Fortunately, I could call the Smith home in Tahlequah and Crosslin was notified
at the airport. The delay proved no problem for him; he had doctoring to do in the Tulsa
area. I was more disturbed from my delay than he was. He welcomed me with a firm handshake when we found one another in the crowd at the airport. We chatted for a while, waiting for my luggage. It felt like I had known this man before. I commented on the feeling to Crosslin and he said "You have." We chatted a while longer and I saw reflected on his eyes a fire. At first, I thought the airport had turned on a gas fire behind us. I turned to look: there was no fire behind me. I remembered Chief Allrunner's words, "The real medicine men don't step outside their sacred circles very often. You will know when you have met a real one."

I looked up at Crosslin and still the reflection of the fire was on his eyes.
"Crosslin, you scare me," I told him in a faltering voice. His reply was, "I should, I don't open the door very often. You will have an experience." I walked to his pick-up truck, opened the passenger door and laying on the dash board was the largest eagle feather I ever seen. This trip began as a journey of faith, and in the eighty miles to Tahlequah I got acquainted with this medicine man.

The second observation I will always remember was one that occurred on a cold frosty December morning. Crosslin was in his front yard, saddling his horse. He was preparing to join a friend for an evening of raccoon hunting. The family had recently received a cordless telephone. It rang as I walked into the living room. I answered the phone, and on the line was frantic woman asking, "Is Crosslin home, may I speak to him please?" I told her he was, and if she would hold for a minute I would get him. I took the phone out the door, down the steps, and out to where Crosslin was saddling his horse. He looked up as I approached, "Phone call for you, a lady needs you." He finished cinching
up his saddle, and turned and took the phone. His side of the conversation went something like this. "Are you Indian?" "Humph," "What is your clan?" "Humph." "What is your problem?" He turned and walked a short distance and began an earnest conversation with the caller in Cherokee.

As I walked back to the house, I shivered from the December cold. No matter the time of day or what he is doing, Crosslin stops to see what a person needs. I came 1700 miles with the help of my University to meet, and observe a modern day medicine man. The books in my University library only cover the Cherokee people up to their arrival in Oklahoma. The subject of their spiritual practices or medicine ways is only vaguely referred to.

I watched him work with so many people, I found myself asking him before I had to leave for California, "Could you take me to the water, Crosslin?" This was the ceremony for taking away old troubles, which was my third unforgettable experience.

I got up for three morning before the sun rose, to go to the place of the fresh running water. I knelt on the frosty ground near the stream we came to. I had recently gone through a very stressful divorce, and my life was still very unsettled. "Carol Woolery of the Blue Clan," Crosslin sang as he began to chant for the ceremony in Cherokee. I dipped my hands into the cold running water and bathed my arms and face. And then I stood up to face the dawn, as the sun rose over the Oklahoma countryside. John Ehale, in his book The Trail of Tears, describes this ceremony in 1838-39, when the Cherokees were forcibly removed to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma. To fully understand the ceremony, it has to be experienced.
After the songs and prayers were finished, Crosslin crouched down by the creek, took a stick and swirled it in the shallow water and read my future for me. His concern was that this ceremony had come so late in my life, but it had come. In the morning I would pack my bags and return to California. I had had a chance to observe and experience Cherokee medicine ways that no book could have taught me. I thought of Alice and Lionel as Crosslin and I reached the top of the hill above the creek. There was so much to this shaman and his medicine ways. Some of what I had observed and experienced I was sure my readers on my committee for this project might not understand. As Crosslin and I walked to the car, I realized that the water had washed something away. And the trees and the sky were a lot brighter as we drove home.

The telephone, fax, and car have replaced many old modes of communication and travel. But the old ways of the doctoring are still the same as they were when the Cherokee people arrived in the Indian Territory in 1838-39. Time and progress changes some things, but not the rituals, the ceremonies, the listening to the people's problems, the constant work with the community's mental, emotional, and spiritual health: The medicine man does this as his father and grandfather before him did.
Chapter 6

The Stomp Dance

The Sacred Fire is humble
Built low on the breast of the
Mother Earth.

From the shadows I watch the dance
The Cherokee have come together.
One each from each clan, seven men in all
Form the line, but without the women,
The Shacklers, the dance cannot
Start. The women begin to stomp
Their feet.

"Hi Ya Ho," the caller speaks,
The dance begins.

Carol Scott-Woolery
Winter, 1989

On Highway 82, somewhere South of Tahlequah, Oklahoma, off a winding
country road, there is a cleared off area. The members of the Keetoowah Society call it
the Stokes Smith Stomp Dance grounds, named for the grandson of the man who brought
the full-blood Cherokees together more than eighty years ago. It gets cold in
Northeastern Oklahoma in December, but even the coldest, foulest weather does not deter
the Keetoowah from their religious duties twice a month at this spot. This place is sacred
ground to the Keetoowah Society. It is where I was taken by Crosslin Fields Smith, head medicine man and great grandson of Redbird Smith.

In the center of the grounds is a mound of earth about two feet high and seven feet across. Upon this mound of earth the sacred fire is built. To the Cherokees, the sacred fire is more than just a symbol of a deity; it is the living manifestation of God. From their beginning, they say, the fire has always been with the people: first in the center of the temple, later in the town house, and finally, today, built low on the Mother Earth, it is the center of their ceremonial dance. It is the smoke which carries the spiritual messages from place to place on the earth. The fire and smoke are believed to be forces that can do good and evil, depending on the way the fire is built and the way it is used.

Early in the Cherokee history, according to legend, the sacred fire burned continually and the fire keepers had no other job than to attend to it. Now the fire is "made new" with the proper procedure for each ceremony. The fire keepers are chosen for their job by the medicine men of their group. When the Keetoowah are scheduled to have a session on the grounds, the fire keepers start the fire before the sun appears in the east. The fire must not be started with a match, but through the old custom of flint, steel, friction, and wood shavings.

Around the edge of the grounds are seven small wooden open air arbors to provide shade and shelter, one for each of the seven matrilineal clans of the Cherokee. A ball playing pole is usually located several hundred feet east of the fire. Directly behind each arbor a hundred feet or so are the clan shelters. Here a kitchen and an eating area for each clan is located. On big gathering days, communal meals are cooked and served here.
The ball pole and the place to cook are of secondary importance, but the arbors are very essential to the worship. They serve the same purpose as pews do in a church, for this is where the members of seven clans sit during the ceremonies. Each arbor is called by the clan's name. During the stomp dance and any other ceremony, those who are not dancing are seated with their clan in their respective arbors. The offspring in each clan always inherits their mother's clan affiliation. Dr. Thomas Ballinger, a professor of history, left in his personal papers an account of how he saw the clans and their arrangements in the early 1920s.

In Ballinger's observations, the arrangement of the clan houses was in the pattern of round council houses they had used in former times. The Ani-Gilchi clan house is in a direct line on an east-west axis with the ball game pole. This line passes directly through the fire that consists of the four logs that are placed in the direction of the council circle. The north side was called the war grouping and consisted of the Deer, Bird, and Red Paint clans, while the south side was called the peace grouping and consisted of the Wild Potatoes (or Savanna), Wolf, and Blue Paint clans. The Twisted Hair clan was independent of the two sides and acted as a Chairmen or Mediator.  

Before the Removal of 1838, clan affiliations had been the basis of all the political and religious structure of the Cherokee. Today because of the Redbird Smith revival in

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59 Ballinger, Dr. T.L., The Keetoowah and Their Dance, 1927, unpublished papers held by the Institute for Cherokee Studies, Leon Gilmore, Director.
the 1890's, the clans are again an important part of Cherokee religion and their ritual magic.

The Dance

The Stomp grounds are lit only by the fire. Very tiny lights have in recent years been strung as a safety measure for the women and children, so they might see their way to the clan shelters more safely.

The dance itself does not begin until nine p.m. or later, usually on Saturday night. For me, to observe this dance from the shadows cast by the fire was like going back in time, before the Removal. Had it not been for Redbird Smith's quest put to him by the Keetoowah council "to get back what we lost," this religious dance would not be done now. At every Stomp Dance, which is held usually every two weeks, men are appointed by the fire keepers to lead the dances. They are named "a-ni-na-wis-ti-ski," callers; They choose the seven men, one from each clan, who start each dance.60

The dance begins with the fire keeper stepping into the dance circle. He calls, "Hi-ya-ho." calling the dance to commence. He has all ready chosen a dance leader and this man now steps out. However, the dance cannot begin without the women. The women of the Keetoowah Society provide the musical rhythm that is the only accompaniment to the men's singing. The women wear ankle rattles called "shackles," made of box turtle shells which are each filled with pebbles. The shells are tied with a leather thong to a

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leather base. In recent years the upper part of a pair of old cowboy boots are cut off and the shells are wired and tied to the leather uppers. Along the sides of the leather upper are placed six brass grommets. These grommets are tied to cloth ties that are used to tie the shackles to the dancer's legs. To keep from chaffing the calves of the legs, the dancers wrap an old towel on under the shackles. The shackles are strapped to the outside of dancer's legs. The shackles shown on the following page are very heavy, weighing a total of twenty-five pounds or more. The dancers begin as children with very light shackles, and work up to the very heavy adult shackles.

I would never see, or participate, in any New Age ceremony that would come close to this ceremonial dance. In the next chapter, I compare the New Age Cherokee Medicine man and his tribe in California with the traditional Cherokee medicine and ceremony I saw in Oklahoma.
9. This diagram shows the layout of the Stomp dance grounds.
10. Shackles worn by the women in the Stomp Dance. They are pictured with the author's daughter, Laura, to give an approximation of scale.
10. Shackles worn by the women in the Stomp Dance. They are pictured with the author's daughter, Laura, to give an approximation of scale.
Chapter 7

Plastic Medicine Men and Bogus Gurus

As I walked down through the streets of Laredo
As I walked down through Laredo one day
I spied a young Shaman all dressed in white face paint.
All dressed in white face paint made with some clay.
He said, "I can see by your outfit that you are a Shaman,
You can see by my outfit that I am a Shaman too.
You can see by our outfits that we are Shaman too.
You can see by our outfits that we are both Shaman.
If you get an outfit, you can be a Shaman too".

(Shamans Drum Coyote 1990, pg. 94)

Sometimes, while observing and participating in New Age Native American gatherings and ceremonies, things became so confusing and intense, what I heard began to sound a little silly, like the adaptation of this song which I came across while doing research in New Age magazines. I would find myself humming this version of the "Streets of Laredo" as I made notes on what I had observed at small gatherings in people's backyards, and at large, advertised, paid admission gatherings. What I saw and heard at some of these meetings made it begin to feel like someone, or something, had dropped a bomb somewhere in the distant past. It was rather like observing a scene from a grade B movie where there are only scattered groups of people left on the earth. These people have only a vague memory of what their old religion and or culture was and in their New Age groups, they are trying to revive their old way of life. However, this was 1990-1994,
and the people practicing these rituals and ceremonies were mostly white, upwardly mobile, educated individuals, who believed that what they were being taught was truly from the Native American religions. The individuals were very serious about how they practiced and performed the ceremonies and rituals as they had been taught by their new Age teachers.

It was in the New Age communities in Southern California that the material for this chapter was gathered. The New Age Religious movement in Southern California covers many different religions and paths. I do not wish to condemn the entire New Age movement, for many religions and paths are being revived and revitalized by legitimate teachers. My research for this thesis was focused on the Deer and Bear Tribes. These two New Age native American Groups were said to be teaching ceremonies, rituals, and traditions from Cherokee, Lakota, and Navajo Native American religions, and the personal visions of their teachers. That does not take away from the seriousness or sacredness of a situation, or, at least, it shouldn't. As a result, things did get a bit confusing for this researcher in trying to understand where all the elements of these New Age Native American groups came from.

First, I felt I had to understand what the New Age movement was, as a whole. The New Age movement, as it came to be called, grew on what many have perceived to be a great spiritual hunger in the West. It can be further said that the New Age movement was, and is, the attempt to find the socio-religious, political and cultural

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convergence between the new eastern and mystical religions, on the one hand, and the religious disenchantment of many westerners on the other. The New Age movement can be dated from the early 1970's. By that year, eastern religions had opened ashrams, and centers, and books had been published representing the various strains of New Age concern, and self-conscious political movements (e.g. the People's Temple) began to emerge.\(^{62}\) Once the idea of the New Age was defined, the early exponents began to build the networking circles that have became so definitive of the New Age organizational priorities. The early directories sold by New Age stores listed those groups and organizations which they considered to be aligned, at least partially. They included groups which dealt with everything from herbs to past-life regression.

In the early 1980's to the present, a new element became part of the new age tradition: this element was the New Age native American spiritual teachers and the tribes and/or groups they formed. I believe that this element of the New Age was in fact given birth to in 1978, when in an effort to clarify the status of traditional practices and practitioners, Congress passed a joint resolution entitled "The American Indian Religious Freedom Act." It was within a few years that the New Age Native American teachers and groups came into being.

Native American Indian spiritual traditions are as varied as the lands they live on, and as diverse as the tribes are one to another. Non-Indian people are most familiar with traditions of the Plains people (Lakota or Sioux) which presently center on the Sun

\(^{62}\) Ibid, pg. 58.
Dance, Sweat Lodges, and Pipe ceremonies. Any casual browsing through bookstore shelves reveals a glut of books on modern spirituality that claim a vague authority by beginning with variation of "a medicine man once told me . . ." Why, I wondered, did a culture that so clearly tried to wipe out the Native American culture in the late 1800's now turn and embrace their religion and their ceremonies? There is no sign that books such as Lynn Andrews' best selling Medicine Woman series or Carlos Castanada's almost-classic The Teaching of Don Juan: a Yaqui Way of Knowledge, have lost any of their legitimacy or attractiveness to New Age readers, despite mounting criticism from the Native American community.

So, what can a bit of research into these New Age writers and teachers show a social scientist? I had no idea that Carlos Castaneda had caused so much ire in the anthropology community until in an interview with Dr. Florence Shipick, PhD. I was told:

Castaneda is the worst embarrassment for UCLA. He told his committee he could produce his field notebooks, and research. After he got his degree in Anthropology, and published his books, the questions began to be raised. He was asked to produce his field research by the academic community. He declined to do so. They couldn't recall the degree. It makes it much harder now for anyone doing research in the area of Native American spiritual people. Make sure you can produce your notes or your people.

It was in a faculty-graduate student gathering, at a professor's home in San Bernardino, California, that the subject of Carlos Castaneda's books came up. The group was mostly English majors and they expressed thoughts about his work. I shared the information I had learned from my interview with Dr. Shipick. The group was shocked.
The stories were true: how could any one doubt them? Carlos Castaneda had convinced a while generation of people by claiming his experiences had really happened. Lynn Andrews is appealing to a new generation of readers in a similar way, claiming that her stories are true, and she really did experience the things she writes about. As I pursued my research on "New Age" shamans, a similar patter could be found. All the leaders had to do was convince their followers of their legitimacy. Very seldom would people question a person's, or a group's, credibility.

Field research brought me in contact with two such teachers, and their apprentices, who relied on claims to Indian heritage. These teachers were Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, the founder of the California-based Deer Tribe, and Sun Bear, the founder of the Washington-based Bear Tribe.

Sun Bear's death, in June of 1992, removes him from the New Age Native American road circuit. He was never a harm to anyone: indeed his Medicine Wheel gatherings were quite helpful to some of the people with whom I spoke. In 1990, Sun Bear and Harley Swiftdeer Reagan formed a partnership of sorts. Thus, they offered shamanism, "magick," alchemy, and "the secret sexual practices of the Cherokee" to the followers in both groups. In my field research, I observed that Sun Bear became greedy for money in the later years of his gatherings and, consequently, less concerned with the welfare of those who attended his Medicine Wheel gatherings. For many people who were of Native American lineage, but who had never been able to embrace that part of themselves, his gatherings were an enjoyable weekend, if you could afford them. The minimum fee charged even with a work exchange was $100.00.
In the years between 1982 and 1991, I found many individuals who said they were apprenticed to these teachers at ceremonies and gatherings I attended. These apprentices were white, educated, upper-middle class; they ranged, in age, from 28 to early 50's. None that I saw or interviewed were of Native American heritage or upbringing. What had attracted them to these religious groups? If they came to a function where the greater part of those attending were Native American, how could they fit in? What if what they had been taught by their shaman teacher was not authentic? What did the long range effects of being involved with these shamanistic groups have on the lives of these apprentices and their families? What if the Native American nations that these teachers said they were from refuted them and their teachings? These were all questions that needed to be answered, I believed.

The Deer Tribe, and its founder, Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, are what Anthony F. Wallace calls a "Revitalization movement". A revitalization movement is "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." Revitalization is thus, from a cultural standpoint, a special kind of cultural change phenomenon: the persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major area of it, as a system (whether accurately or not); they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory; and they must innovate, not merely discrete

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items, but a new cultural system specifying new relationships, as well as, in some cases, new traits.\(^{64}\) (See also Chapter 4 above.)

The circus great, P.T. Barnum, once said, "There is a fool born every minute." In Barnum's time, he, and the traveling medicine shows of the nineteenth century, sold elixirs which were said to be healing potions from the Indians. The medicine shows, and circuses, of that time, brought a bright spot to an otherwise boring life of work and very little play. Today, the New Age teachers, it appears, have just reworked the old medicine shows. As Solomon said in the Bible, said, "There is nothing new under the Sun." The New Age teachers publicize the upcoming gatherings in magazines, in newspapers, and on the radio. Thus, the new age can be looked at from the prospective of both P.T. Barnum, and A.F.C. Wallace. There actually is nothing new; the show is simply reworked with a bit of dazzle, mysticism, and Indian spirituality worked into the new production.

Perhaps, the most unusual thing about these two teachers is the fact that the Native American religions, on which Swiftdeer and Sun Bear have based their groups, are completely alien to the predominately white culture where these two men are seeking followers. Swiftdeer calls his path the Sweet Medicine Sun Dance way. Thus, the pipe, sweat lodge, vision quest, sundance ceremonies, Blessing Way ceremonies, Hindu Tantra, "magick" and sex magic are taken from different Native American nations, and other cultures. These ideas are then remade, woven together, in a revised form, and marketed

\(^{64}\) Ibid, pg. 230-240.
as the medicine show of the 90's, to a culture where these ceremonies are totally alien. The Native American Indian Nations, and the predominately white culture, exist side by side in many places in the United States, but seldom do they truly intermix. In fact, many of the original ceremonies and rituals have been lost to the Native American culture because of the United States Government's early actions against the Native American Nations.

If the predominately white culture does not have an every day interaction with the Native American Culture, how does it have any knowledge of the Native American spirituality? The Hollywood movie industry is probably the greatest source of information for the white culture. Another source is the glut of New Age Native American books found on the shelves of just about any book store. For many, if the New Age Indian teachers fit the Hollywood Image of what an Indian was, then they would believe what the teacher was teaching. Many of the people I spoke with did not question a spiritual person's credibility, or the path they taught. I found it was easy for a bogus guru to create a new movement; all the spiritual leader had to do was convince his peers that he was what he said he was. Even though Swiftdeer told his followers, "question what I tell you," none of them did.

The situation I describe is similar to Wallace's idea of the period of increased individual stress. Wallace tells us that depression, famine, conquest, or some other social stress leads to the awareness of a growing discrepancy between life as it is and life as it should be. We might as well ask why upwardly mobile white yuppies feel such stress that they would embrace Swiftdeer's path? Growing numbers of people experience
psychological and physical stress because of a failing economy, the ever increasing possibility that a person is simply a couple of paychecks away from being a street person in California, stressed out on the job, the riots, the earthquakes, the fires. The situation produces a culture under stress, and, some people are ready to hear a message that will make life better. At this point, the medicine show comes to town, with flyers, promotions on the radio, ads in local newspapers, and introductory lectures in neighborhood New Age stores. If we combine A.F.C. Wallace's concept and the medicine show scam, the result is the New Age Native American Deer and Bear Tribes. The following examples illustrate how these groups work.

Example 1. Participation Observation:


The location of this participation observation is the "Gathering," held at a private spiritual retreat center near Joshua Tree, California, in 1991. The price of the spiritual retreat weekend was $260.00 per person, including room, board, and food every one was complaining about. A volunteer who does a work exchange gets such a weekend for $85.00. When I made a pre-event phone call to get information, I asked how many people were coming? I was told over 700 people. Of these about 99% appeared to me to be
white upwardly mobile yuppies. Only about 1% of those attending are Native American. This included those presenting the lectures.

FRIDAY EVENING: I arrived early Friday evening. I signed in as a volunteer for the weekend. The evening musical concert is just beginning. A huge crowd was in front of the stage area probably 500 people. As I came in to the concert area, I heard the traditional Cherokee greeting "Osio Tohegaha". Then I heard someone say "In my language, that means you walk in my soul." I had recently returned from a trip to the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. I had heard that greeting often. But it means "Hello, how are you?" I asked one of the people watching the concert who had just spoken? The individual answered, "It was Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, the Cherokee Medicine man."

Okay, I thought to myself, he just told this crowd of 500 people a wrong translation of a traditional greeting. I shook my head. I wondered what else I would hear him say over the weekend.

Several groups performed, including the Hale family, a Native American dance group. Harley Swiftdeer's drum group performed. It is called Hummer's Drummers. Many of the drummers are women. This is a break with Native American tradition. The drum is the heartbeat of the people. The drummers are almost always men. Women may sing at the drum, but they do not drum at Pow-Wow's or ceremonies. After the concert was over, people were standing around talking. I suddenly heard a drum, and its drummers, begin traditional Lakota (Sioux) Sundance and pipe songs. A Lakota spiritual man, Wallace Black Elk, was there. He had sent a man to their truck to get the drum. The Native Americans didn't like the fact that Swiftdeer was even here. His reputation
was not good. I was told, by several of the Lakota men helping Black Elk that all they could do was to try to counterbalance Swiftdeer's negative energies with traditional songs. The average person attending had no idea of what was really going on. I told my friends good night and went to my cabin to write about what I had seen that evening.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON: The day was broken into various spiritual workshops and lectures. Harley Swiftdeer was doing a pipe ceremony. This was a chance to actually observe his practices. The following observation was done at what was advertised to be a traditional Native American Pipe ceremony.

PIPE CEREMONY: 27 people came for this workshop. In Swiftdeer's lecture preceding the ceremony, he claimed it was a traditional pipe ceremony.

Swiftdeer and the four pipe carriers did this ceremony. Swiftdeer is pasty faced, he chain smokes, and drinks can after can of Dr. Pepper. He had complete control.
of the ceremony and the people. Only on his signal did the pipe carriers began the ceremony. Each pipe carrier had a pipe. None were made from red stone from the Pipe Stone Quarry, as traditional Native Americans expect. Each pipe carrier had a large propane gas lighter and a crystal skull the size of a small orange sitting in front of them on the blanket. They also had sage and sweet grass on the blanket. Swiftdeer asked the group, "In your dreams, what are you questing?" The pipe carriers tapped the ground with their pipes and then they tap the crystal skulls with their pipes. "Open the portal of mystery." They called the spirits to come to the ceremony. I asked one of the Swiftdeer people, "What are the skulls for?"

She answered, "I will have to ask Swift if I can tell you." The pipe carriers moved in a counterclockwise direction in this ceremony. Each held his pipe to the sky and said, "Saturn, portal of the North, (South, East, West) Rainbow warriors conjure and command. Lajum, Lajum, Jupiter and Saturn, open the Western (Eastern, Northern, Southern) Portal." We each took a pinch of tobacco from a bag and were told to do our give away. The pipe carriers lighted and smoked their pipes; when finished the pipes were taken apart in unison. We each took a pinch of corn meal, ate a bit, and sprinkled the rest on the earth. We were told to keep our promise that we made to the universe. The crystal skulls used in the ceremony were supposedly attuned to the four crystal skulls which they said held the knowledge in the universe. Swiftdeer's people were very serious about what they were doing. Swiftdeer continues to speak,
Make life a ceremony. What does the earth ask for? Nothing. Ceremony is the act of giving, when we enter into ceremony we give away a problem or a disease. The heart or the alchemical ceremony... If you do not have the heart, you do not have ritual. People are coming back to the Alchemy. Lose the heart, you lose the people. Ritual is putting the cake in the oven, Alchemy is eating the cake. "Give back." Don't believe all that you are told. Alchemy the heart, the ceremony.

The lecture was then over, and the people went off in different directions. Some talked with Swiftdeer. This was the strangest pipe ceremony I had ever seen. I later went and asked my sources in several Wiccan groups about the "Lajum, Lajum, Saturn open the Western Portal." I was told that the closest any one in their circles had come with to anything like that in one of their ceremonies was Aleister Crowley, a turn of the 20th century magician of black and gray magick. His philosophy was, "Be the whole of the law." They further say that this is a kind of magick they want nothing to do with. Never in any Lakota ceremony have I ever heard such an invocation as this one. The pipe carriers from many different Native American nations I have spoken with said that this invocation was not, to their knowledge, used by any Native American spiritual person. It was for this reason, that I made inquiries with the aforementioned sources in the Wiccan and Pagan groups I have contact with in Southern California.

Example 2. Participation Observation:

One week after the L.A. Riots. In Santa Monica, California at the Electric Cafe. Harley Swiftdeer Reagan in lecture on Shamanism.
The L.A. Riots had been on the television for a week when I found out that Harley Swiftdeer Reagan was going to be giving one of his rare public lectures at the Electronic Cafe in Santa Monica. I had to go, since I had few chances to see the leader of the Deer Tribe in public. Just going in to L.A. was scary. My driver Jim Mardis kept saying, "This is like the twilight zone." The freeway was like an empty street; no traffic at all. Once we got through the area of the riots, we relaxed. In Santa Monica, everything was life as usual. The Electronic Cafe is a gathering place for yuppie lectures. The price was $10.00 per person at the door. Reagan gave the second part of the lecture, after Sam Tenneson lectured on Ancient Alphabets. Several of Swiftdeer's women apprentices were selling crystals, books, and jewelry. The crowd was made up of mostly upwardly mobile yuppie college educated folks in the 28 to 50 age range. Thirty of the hundred or so present in the small building were female followers of Swiftdeer. On a signal from him, they would sing songs for him.

The lecture was a strange mix of many subjects. It was sort of like following someone with an eight track tape playing in his mind. Swiftdeer combined so many different stories in one lecture, one really had to listen and take notes to figure out where he got all his information from. He used his voice in a way to almost hypnotize the listeners.

A source in Arizona, who went to one of Swiftdeer's lectures, told me, "The lecture was on Druids. I was really sucked in, his voice is so kind and convincing. That is until Swiftdeer began talking about druid temples in Vietnam. That snapped me back
to reality. There are no druid temples in Vietnam. He's slick, you really have to listen to how he mixes truth and fantasy together."

I had to agree with my source as I listened to Swiftdeer's lecture. He was talking about these huge granite blocks that are scattered from the tip of South America to Canada. He also had a set of cards which had these twenty eight blocks on them available from his Sweet Medicine shop. The basis of the lecture was about how our culture was in need of deep profound healing: us, our children, others. "It is through ignorance that we surrender our freedoms. Take the journey of the hero." These stones were the basis of his medicine teachings; the stones or the gates each person had to pass through to achieve spirituality. The lecture was hard to follow because he wove so many different thoughts together.

The thing that bothered me with this lecture, as it had with the one in Joshua Tree, was Swiftdeer's ever constant talk of revolution, that the warrior needed to be ready to fight. He also told his audience that, in August, he was to be seated on the Twisted Hairs Council as an elder. In fact, according to my Native American informant, there is no such council, yet he claimed that having passed through the gates of the warrior he was now a respected elder. During the coffee break, I asked him where the ceremony was to be held? He said, "In a deep, dark Kiva somewhere." He didn't seem aware that as I wrote down what he said I had actually doubted him, since Kivas are not used by the Cherokee, but by the Pueblo peoples. This man believes what he says, and, if you actually listen to what he says, or try to find out where the material comes from, it's difficult. Yet those
listening to him that afternoon felt that they had an afternoon with a "real" Native American medicine man.
In my field research, I began to hear more and more strange stories concerning Swiftdeer's group. I had sources in the New Age and Native American communities who contacted me. I made it known that I was doing a research project on the difference between the New Age medicine people and the traditional Native American ones. Some of the stories were told, in hushed voices or with arched eyebrows, that Swiftdeer had orgies, that his followers sat around and looked at each other's genitalia to see what kind of animal they were, according to Swiftdeer's criteria, and that sex played a big part in his medicine.

According to the people I spoke to who had been to Swiftdeer's meetings, Chulaqui-Quodoushka teachings are an integral part of the Deer Tribe's Sweet Medicine Sun Dance Path. These teachings, according to pamphlets given out by the Deer Tribe, say that these teachings come from some ancient Cherokee traditions of spiritual sexuality. Swiftdeer's pamphlets say that Chulaqui a Cherokee term for is the inner energy-essence of all beings and the serpent fire of spiritual-sexual creation, and that Quodoushka is the magical energy created when two or more Chulaqui (life force energies) come together in complete union of emotions, body, mind, spirit and sexuality to create a new energy which is much greater than the sum of the original energies. These teachings have been brought forward by Chief Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, who calls
himself a "Metis Medicine Chief" in a seminar which is offered all over the United States and Europe. The series of Quodoushka workshops are offered in four 3-1/2 day retreats. During the research for this project the workshops were facilitated by Dr. Liz Chandra, and as of 1993-94 the facilitator was listed as Batty Gold, a fifth gateway apprentice, a sacred pipe carrier, and an 11-year apprentice to Swiftdeer. His helper was Karen Kruss, a fourth gateway apprentice, a sacred pipe carrier, and co-founder of the Sweet Medicine Lodge.

In gathering my research material, I had many sources in both the traditional and New Age groups. When I began to hear more and more stories of sex, magic, and "Alchemy" from people in both groups, I was puzzled, since this was unlike anything I'd ever heard about traditional Native American Cultures. Daniel Fulton, a nearly full-blood Cherokee, was born and raised in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Daniel was 32 years old, well over six feet tall, and a long-haired, traditionally raised Cherokee from the Deer Clan. He did repairs on my property and traveled with me during the early research for this project. One day, I went to Daniel with many questions about the Quodoushka and Harley Swiftdeer Reagan. I found him repairing a fence. I asked Daniel if he had ever had any experience with the Quodoushka in Oklahoma? He answered, "The Quodoushka what?"

"This group I am researching, the Deer Tribe," I said, "its founder, shaman Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, he says he is Cherokee, and he's teaching to his followers a seminar in sexual practices. He calls it the Chulaqui-Quodoushka, the secret sexual practices of the Cherokee. He says it is the old Cherokee way."
Daniel stopped what he was doing, raised one eyebrow and said, "Isn't that getting under the covers and going for it?" and then he exploded in gales of laughter. He finally collapsed on the grass, he was laughing so hard.

"Daniel, I am serious," I said. He looked up at me as he wiped tears from his eyes.

"You really are serious, aren't you?" he said.

"As a heart attack, my friend. I've heard all kinds of stories, and something just doesn't sound right."

Daniel stood up and dusted himself off. The laughter was all gone. "Carol, I was raised very traditional, I speak my language, and go to Stomp Dance. I have never heard of the Chulaqui-Quodoushka, nor of secret sexual practices. We aren't kinky people. You need to take a road trip, go and see for yourself what my people are like. What this man is teaching is not Cherokee. I don't know what it is or where he got it."

Daniel's statements confirmed my suspicions that Swiftdeer's movement was alien to Cherokee traditions. But I needed to understand it better, so I interviewed several people who had been involved with the movement. The following four examples are some of these real people who I met, and shared information with. All had been touched by Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, and his seminars. The names used are pseudonyms.

The thing that these people had in common was the terrific need that each one of these people had for healing mentally, emotionally, spiritually and physically when they had encountered Swiftdeer and his Deer Tribe.

Source #1
One woman I interviewed several times was Pam. Pam is about forty years old, a divorced mother of two high school children. She is blond and blue-eyed, and is of Pawnee Indian Heritage. During the period of the interviews, she was recently injured in a car accident and spent months recovering from her injuries. She is an artist who recreates traditional Native American artifacts for the Motion Picture Industry. She displays her art in many art shows. A doctor of acupuncture purchased a piece of her art work at a show. He later contacted her at her home, to see if he could deal with her directly. It was then that he realized, because of the art displayed in her home, she was Native American. For a while, they exchanged his acupuncture treatments of her injuries for art work he wanted. He was, my source found out, involved with Harley Swiftdeer Reagan and the Deer Tribe.

He told her that several times a year he had to have gifts to give away at ceremonies. My source asked the doctor how he had become involved with the Deer Tribe? He told her that he had become discouraged with the religion he had been raised in, and was searching for a new spiritual aspect to his life. He and his wife of twenty years had attended a introductory workshop with the Deer Tribe. The doctor said he had always been interested in the mystic warrior aspect of the Native American. He and his wife were accepted as apprentices with Swiftdeer's group. As their apprenticeship progressed, the teachers strongly suggested the couple attend the Quodoushka workshops. The teachers suggested the doctor go to a mixed male-female Quodoushka workshop, but the teachers wanted the wife to go to a female-only workshop. After the couple attended their respective workshops, the wife announced to the doctor one night
after they made love, that she wanted a divorce. She had met her real love, a woman in her workshop. The couple remained together for another year, then divorced. Each remained in the Deer Tribe, progressing in the teachings of Harley Swiftdeer Reagan. It was at this point that Harley told the doctor that behind every strong man was an even stronger woman, and that the men of the group should go out and bring strong women into the group. My source said at first the doctor was very rude and pushy, but when he realized she was Native American, despite the blue eyes and blond hair, his whole attitude changed. He felt that she would fit right into Swiftdeer's group. An upwardly mobile, blond, yuppie bimbo. However, she knew what the traditional Native American medicine ways were, and was very active in the urban Native American community in her area.

As time went on, the doctor began a very persistent push for a sexual relationship. He was in his late 40's, and had for several years following his divorce sampled many women in the Deer Tribe. He told my source that no matter what ceremony they were doing, it was done in the nude, and in the advanced Quodoushkka workshops, each person could act out the wildest sex fantasy they had. His had been for multiple women partners, which he had been able to make a reality. As my source got to know this man, he began to push her for a sexual relationship. He had a ceremony that he very badly wanted to do with the right person. Swiftdeer had told him that in doing this ceremony, he could help conjure better things in his life. (A description of this ceremony is contained in the appendix of this thesis). He said he had been told to gather their sexual secretions, after
this ceremony, in a bottle, and take it to Swiftdeer, who would do a conjuring ceremony so that the doctor's practice would improve for his financial gain.

My source, by now curious and eager to expose this wrong use of Native American ceremony, accepted when the doctor invited her out to dinner. She was shocked when he arrived for the date with sleeping bags in the car and the Quodoushka manual on the dashboard. He made it clear that his plan was to have dinner and, then go back to his subleased office space to have sex, at which time my source would be allowed to look at the Chulaqui-Quodoushka manual he had been telling her about. She would be allowed to touch the sacred book. My source told him she was up to dinner, but the Quodoushka manual was not her cup of tea. They went to dinner, and she again made it quite clear that she was not going to the office for fun and games. He then offered a motel room for their sexual ceremony. My source again declined, and the doctor took her home.

She had a few more calls from him persistently pushing for her to go out with him, for her to go to Deer Tribe functions, and to have the sexual ceremony he so much wanted to have with her. My source wondered how many other women the doctor had pursued for his ceremony through his practice. My source had heard stories about Swiftdeer and his sexual medicine. She felt that the doctor had truly been searching for a new spiritual path in his life. When asked if there were any Native Americans involved in the group, the doctor told her, "Not one that I know." When she asked whether he thought that odd, since this whole group was suppose to be Indian, he said, "No." Pam told me she felt that this was one of the weirdest groups she had ever come in contact
with. What concerned my source was the fact that all of what the doctor told her was supposed to be the teachings of the Cherokee Indians. She knew traditional Cherokee people, and what this man, Swiftdeer, was marketing just wasn't what she knew to be the teachings of the Cherokee people.
A woman in the Indian community introduced me to Jan and Sarah, two white women in their late twenties or early thirties. Jan and Sarah had read about the Deer Tribe and were interested in finding out about it. They read an ad in a Riverside, California, metaphysical paper. The Deer Tribe had several other sister lodges which were located in towns in Southern California. The ad advertised the Golden Wind Dreamers Lodge. Jan and Sarah called the lodge and made an appointment to find out about the group. They went to a private home in Riverside, California. Sarah went into a room with a male and a female apprentice while Jan waited in another room. The room where Jan waited contained all kind of dead animals, skins, furs, feathers, and it smelled very odd. Sarah was interviewed as a potential apprentice to Swiftdeer. She told me the couple doing the interview was odd. They were very domineering and aimed crystals at her. She was told that if she was found acceptable, the apprenticeship program would cost her $2,000.00 for a year. In addition, she would have to commit many of her weekends to the Deer Tribe. After the interviews were over the girls decided that they didn't want to get involved with the group what seemed to them to be a very strange group.
One of the women I interviewed was the mother of a Deer Tribe member. I met this source after I gave a lecture on old Native American Photographs from the Arizona Territory. This woman came up to me and asked if we might talk. She said she had a daughter who was involved with a cult, and the leader said he was Indian, but she had her doubts. I asked, "What group is your daughter involved with?"

"The Deer Tribe and the leader calls himself Harley Swiftdeer Reagan," she said. I told her I knew a little bit about the man and his group. It was evident that she was very concerned about her daughter's well-being and mental health. To that point, she had looked into having her kidnapped and deprogrammed, but she had also heard that deprogramming did not always work.

We exchanged phone numbers, and agreed to talk later. I could not believe the luck of having someone so closely related to a person on the inside of Swiftdeer's group contact me. My concern that morning was for this mother. She was in great emotional pain concerning her daughter. The daughter, in her thirties, had dropped out of graduate school, rejected the lifestyle her family had wanted her to live, become totally immersed in the Deer Tribe, and become controlled by Swiftdeer. As an example, the mother said that if Swiftdeer thought the daughter needed to lose ten pounds, she immediately lost ten pounds to make him happy. She was involved in the administrative level of the Deer Tribe and was apprenticed to Swiftdeer.
Over the next three years, I remained in contact with this mother, and on one occasion was able to talk with her daughter. In the interview with the daughter, she was very suspicious. I would find later that, when I talked to other followers, they would have to ask permission before they could tell me anything. The daughter did cautiously answer my questions.

One thing I asked her was how she and the others had gotten the Indian names that Swiftdeer and other members of the Deer Tribe called each other. She told me, "Swiftdeer gives us our Indian names after we have gone through the apprentice program. We are all healers and a lot of us are pipe carriers." At this point in our interview, she asked me, "Are you Indian?"

I told her my great-grandfather, on my father's side, was full-blooded Sac and Fox Indian, but I had been raised in the white culture. She asked if I had an Indian name. Yes, I told her. I earned it with the Chumash Nation: "They call me Katut Enick, which means woman bitten by spider." Did I have a pipe? Yes, a personal one for my own prayers. It was given to me a long time ago, when I started this project, to protect me in my travels.

"Why, you're like us," she said. "Who are you apprenticed to?"

"No one." I said.

"But you have to be. Who is your teacher?" I tried to explain that just because a person has a name he or she has earned in a traditional Native American vision quest or ceremony or has a pipe, that does not necessarily mean that person is a shaman/medicine person. This just meant that I had spent time among Native American people. The
daughter just shook her head. Swiftdeer had told them that once they had a name, and a pipe, they were on the way through the gates of the Sweet Medicine Sundance path to being shaman.

Over the years, I have talked with the mother often. I suggested books she could read, people she could talk with, and functions she could attend that could give her a better idea of what Native American culture was. As of 1994, the daughter had left the Deer Tribe. When I asked what finally broke Swiftdeer's hold on her, she said it was the "boyfriend she had met in the Deer Tribe. He was from out of state. Her relationship with him is what finally loosened Swiftdeer's control of her." The daughter is now working and again going to school. The mother still worries about her, but not in the same way, as, least now, she is not involved in a cult.
Source #4

This example concerns a support group for women who had been involved with Swiftdeer and the Deer Tribe.

I met Chris at a Dragon Wood Renaissance Fair, at a booth where she was selling crystals, sage, and sweet grass. She is in her early forty's and is of Celtic and Native American heritage. She is a hypnotherapist, working with incest survivors. We kept in contact after our first meeting and we spoke several times about both Sun Bear and Harley Swiftdeer Reagan.

Chris had been watching Sun Bear and Swiftdeer's groups. Her concern was the negative impact the groups were having on the traditional Native American medicine people.

In early 1993, Chris called me one day. She was so angry that I just held the phone away from my ear and listened. She told me about a woman who was on the outer fringes of the Deer Tribe, who had become concerned for women in the group who were having emotional problems as a result of the workshops they had gone to. This woman had heard of Chris's work with other women. She referred at least six women to Chris for hypnotherapy, and she had pulled them together in a group. Each one of these women had been molested or victimized before they came to medicine man Harley Swiftdeer and the Deer Tribe. Each one had been re-victimized in the Deer Tribe's classes by Harley Swiftdeer or an apprentice.
My source had just finished a session with these women. "You would not believe the amount of pain I have heard, since I said I would help this group get free of this man. This man and his apprentices are animals. You just don't re-victimize a victim. This goes against all Native American or white counseling practices."

My source remained in contact with me through 1994. She made a trip to Oklahoma and conferred with Cherokee elders in the Keetoowah Society. When she came back she held a open meeting to Deer Tribe members, at this meeting she told those attending that Harley Swiftdier was a fraud and a phony. and that what he was teaching was not from the Cherokee people. The followers said, "Harley said people would tell us stuff like this. They don't want the teachings taught to whites." Some listened to Chris, and weren't sure about Swiftdeere anymore. The group of women she worked with began to make progress. "It was like breaking mental bands on their minds," she once told me. "They believe he knows their thoughts, and can control them still at great distances. He's like a Jim Jones," except this is all under the guise of Native American healing and medicine.

My source began to fear for herself and her family when she received several death threats on her answering machine. She suspected that her working with the women was being put up with by the Deer Tribe. But someone quite clearly did not want her talking to other people about what she had found out. She had asked if a woman working on a research project might come and talk to her group. They did not have a problem with that. But someone else apparently did. Chris's son's truck was run off the road late one night. He was not injured, but his truck was damaged. Chris suspected this incident was
not unrelated. I felt it was not worth someone getting hurt, for me to go in and meet with the women, because I knew the basic story, and how hard they were trying to get free of the man they had called teacher. As of this writing, all of these women have worked through their problems, and have gotten on with their lives. One member of the group was referred to another professional for more intense counseling work. All had been looking for a teacher, a healer, a spiritual path that would have helped them in their every day lives.
Chapter 9

Swiftdeer: Shaman or Bogus Medicine Show?

"If man loses sight of these essential elements, he is deprived of a care of cultural and sacred symbols, he becomes fundamentally incomplete; a kind of formless monster with neither sense of direction nor power of self control, a chaos of spasmodic impulses and vague emotions".

Clifford Geertz

According to Anthony F.C. Wallace, revitalization movements may be composed of other religions to create something new. The new creation is supposed to revitalize the culture. The leader of the movement can either be the reason the new religion blooms, or he can also be the reason the movement withers.

This describes the basic idea behind the Deer Tribe and its founder, Harley Swiftdeer Reagan. The students and apprentices of Harley Swiftdeer Reagan were absolutely certain he was a Cherokee medicine man. But yet others in the Native American community questioned Reagan's credibility. The Deer Tribe was incorporated in the early 1980's, which is the beginning of the Spiritual New Age. His Deer Tribe offices were located in the Temple City, California, area. From here, he sent apprentices out all over southern California to recruit new members to his Deer Tribe and the Rainbow Powers Center. Some apprentices opened up small shops specializing in crystals, books, and jewelry, while others gave classes in the Sweet Medicine Sundance
Path. From the classes, new members were taken to Reagan and the members of his road team would give them further teaching at further cost to the new members. Their founder, and teacher, Harley Swiftdeer was a most interesting character. He claimed in lectures and publications to be half Irish and half Cherokee Indian, to have Sac and Fox Indian lineage, to have been born on the Pala Dura reservation in Texas, to be affiliated with the Native American Church, to be a Psychologist, to be a Psychiatrist with a clinical practice in the Los Angeles area, to be a Cherokee medicine man, to have been apprenticed to Grandfather Two Bears, to be an elder on the Twisted Hairs Council, to be teaching traditional Native American ceremonies, to be teaching the secret sexual practices of the Cherokee Indians, to have had several tours in Vietnam and to have been decorated with several medals, and to also be an Alchemist. My question was "Who or what was this man's real story?" My research was assisted by other people who were also curious about who Harley Swiftdeer Reagan really was.

His birth certificate gives his name as Harley Claude Reagan. He has produced a certificate with the aforementioned name penciled out, and the name Claude Draper penciled in. He is not an enrolled member of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians in North Carolina. The Western Band of Cherokee Indians located in Telequah, Oklahoma and the Sac and Fox Nation of Oklahoma also do not have any record of Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, alias Claude Draper, or his family line. He claims to have been born on the Pala Dura Cherokee Reservation in Texas. There is a Pala Dura Canyon, but there has never been a reservation for the Cherokee in Texas. He claims to have seen four tours in Vietnam with medals for distinguished service. He actually served only 11 months with
the U.S. Marine Corps and saw no action in Vietnam (see appendix). A Lakota (Sioux) veteran Gerald Ice talked with Reagan/Draper at "The Gathering." He came to me and said, "I don't care what he says, he did not do any in country fighting. He couldn't tell me who flagged for him on patrol. Believe me, you know who that person was if you were in Vietnam. He may have been in the service, but he didn't do any fighting like he says he did" (see appendix). The degrees he claims to have are bogus, except for a Bachelor's Degree in Physiology from California State University at Los Angeles, and two years post-graduate work. I and others went looking for the schools he said he had earned his Ph.D. and D.D. from. We checked every source and conversed with each other to see if we had missed a diploma mill. These schools did not exist and were not accredited by the State of California (see appendix). The publicity packet from the Rainbow Powers Center portrays Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, alias Claude Draper, as being a psychiatrist, philosopher, and lecturer, and that he has a prestigious clinical practice in the Los Angeles area (see appendix). The prospectus further states that Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, alias Claude Draper, has a Doctorate from the unaccredited Pacific Cultural Institute for Advanced Studies. As I have already mentioned this school was unfindable. To be a psychiatrist, Reagan/Draper would have to have a M.D. degree and he does not have this (see appendix). His clinical practice is carried out at the Rainbow Powers Center, now located in Scottsdale, Arizona. The advertising for this center differs vastly from California to Arizona. The California advertising was far more shamanistic in nature (see appendix). Shortly before the group left California in 1992, his followers were claiming to be "Alchemist." by which he means magicians capable of transmutation. The
advertising in Arizona is worded very differently, and looks for those who have been given the "death sentence" by traditional medicine.

The Deer Tribe was located in the Temple City until its relocation to Scottsdale, Arizona, in December of 1992. The Deer Tribe is not recognized by other Indian tribes or the federal government. The tribe bills itself in its publications as a "Multi-cultural center dedicated to carrying the Twisted Hairs dream of world peace to all religions and races." As of March 25, 1992, the Cherokee Tribal Council passed a resolution:

Members of the tribal council also passed a resolution stating they do not endorse or support the views presented by Harley Swiftdeer, who claims to be Cherokee medicine man. Swiftdeer appears on an HBO show entitled "Real Sex 3". The resolution indicates Swiftdeer is making false, incorrect, and damaging claims to the reputation and way of life of tribal members.

The Chief Wilma Mankiller, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, gave the following statement concerning the Deer Tribe and Harley Swiftdeer.

If Mr. Reagan doesn't speak Cherokee, he probably is not Cherokee medicine man. Drug use and sexual acts are not part of Cherokee traditional or medicinal history. Alcohol and drug use are forbidden.

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At this point in my research, I was beginning to suspect that I was dealing with a plastic medicine man and a bogus guru. My sources in the spiritual groups in Oklahoma refuted Reagan/Draper as a fraud and a phony. So many people had been taken in by this man. The problem I saw was that he marketed his teaching under the guise of it being Native American, much the same way the old time traveling medicine shows marketed their elixirs which would cure your every ill. Reagan/Draper formed a gun club for the Deer Tribe, just before the group left California for Arizona. In Arizona, all of the security for the Deer Tribe were wearing guns. At this time, he began to tell his group he was the reincarnation of the old west gun fighter Billy the Kid. After the group left Arizona, former members told my sources that the group was stockpiling guns and ammunition. In a lecture I attended in California in May of 1993 Reagan/Draper was talking protection, almost revolution against the government. It was hard to follow his lecture because he hopped from subject to subject and back again. But he was evolving again, from Alchemist to medicine man to survivalist. And he was slowly beginning to take on a shape that had aspects of both Jim Jones's and David Koresh's cults. If Reagan/Draper and his group further evolved as these other revitalization groups had, it is likely that disaster will befall the group, such as a shoot out, or a mass suicide. I feel that my research has demonstrated that this group, and its teacher, were definitely heading in a direction that would not benefit Indian people.

Psychological Profile
What kind of individual becomes involved with a New Age Native American teacher? The individual is usually upper middle class white, educated, and fairly affluent. He has probably grown up without a sense of cultural identity. He is seeking a self-identity, constantly moving from one guru or teacher to another. He has usually been reasonably successful in his life, but yet has a need to be different. He may be seeking a surrogate father figure, an individual that they may again trust in, confide in, and learn from. If the seeker has had a childhood of physical or sexual abuse, this may also be a factor in their search for an alternative religious path, in which they may wish to achieve spiritual and emotional healing for the past abuse. Traditional counseling techniques may, to this seeker, be uncomfortable, and as a result, he is seeking an alternative counselor. When the New Age teacher professes to be a counselor, a shaman, or a healer, he claims that he is a person to be trusted with the seeker's innermost thoughts and problems. The seeker then feels that he has found what he has been looking for. Seldom, if ever, does the seeker check the New Age teacher's credentials or credibility, relying on his peers around him, and materials written by the New Age medicine person to provide the credibility he feels the teacher has.

Thus does the New Age Native American teacher begin to remind us of the turn of the century traveling medicine shows. The shows usually had a medical doctor associated with the show, to give it a aura of credibility. But the waters, elixirs, or salts that the barker hawked to the crowds that came were said to cure your every ill. The New Age teachers, I believe, have simply reworked the old medicine show scam, in a time when the white culture is in a time of severe stress.
As the old shows came and worked an area for a short time and left, so did Reagan/Draper have his apprentices work the Orange, San Diego, Riverside, and San Bernardino counties of Southern California. They would offer introductory lectures in store front shops, in already existing New Age shops, in ads in New Age magazines and newspapers. All of this was done with the Reagan/Draper okaying the locations and watching his show open and close in many new locations. The old time medicine show grafters would be envious of how this New Age medicine man is able to have so many shows running at one time. They were lucky if they could have two medicine shows working an area.
Chapter 10

Conclusion

Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed citizens can change the world; Indeed its the only thing that ever has.

Margaret Mead

During the writing of this final draft, I received a phone call that perhaps is the closure that I personally needed to finish this project. In the beginning, I promised the Cheyenne Peace Chief that my thesis would be the book he felt needed to be written concerning the traditional uses of the Native American spiritual practices, and the abuses that were being done by plastic or bogus white medicine people.

With all the material gathered, thousands of miles traveled, the final draft finished, I still did not want to say the project was finished. I had no closure to the New Age medicine men, in particular Harley Swiftdeer and the Deer Tribe. My investigations into the ceremonies and rituals of the Deer Tribe were disturbing. Their ceremonies and counseling practices went against all ethics in traditional Native American medicine way, and against accepted white counseling practices.

At this point, a phone call came from an organization that I had only heard or read about. A older Lakota woman was calling to see if I would come and present my research on the New Age medicine people at a meeting of Indian people. This was not just a local
group of Indian people, this was a meeting of the American Indian Movement during the upcoming Thanksgiving Pow-wow.

I was an undergraduate when the takeover of Wounded Knee occurred in South Dakota, in the 1970's. Over the years I have met Indian people who were at Wounded Knee, and participated in the events of that period. This has included several of the spiritual or medicine people who I interviewed for this project. In November 1992, I met with members of this movement, to present my research material on the New Age medicine people, and their groups. In the original phone call asking if I would come, the words that kept being said to me were, "We have been told we can trust what you say." The main concern of the group now, once known for its militant stand concerning Native American injustices, was the uses and abuses of traditional Native American religious rituals and ceremonies by New Age teachers claiming to be Native American shaman or medicine people.

The group I met with at the Radison Hotel were mostly Lakota (Sioux), but Modoc and Cherokee were also represented. Their concern was the same as Chief Allrunner's had been. The stories of strange ceremonies, orgies, and drug usage, other than Peyote, in ceremony had been heard by the founders of AIM. But each time they themselves tried to attend the ceremonies they had heard about, they were either turned away, or the ceremony was shaped up so as not to appear to be any different than the traditional ceremonies were.

The Native American rituals, ceremonies, and medicine or spiritual people have only been protected in the United States since 1978, when the then President Jimmy
Carter signed the Freedom of Religion Act for the Native American. With this law came the religious freedom for the Native American that was granted the white population in the Bill of Rights, but something more came from this action. It was the New Age medicine men, shamans and/or messiahs, those who began preaching their own brand of Native American religion to the white population searching for a religious way. As I stated in the previous chapter, there is an intense spiritual thirst among the baby boom and flower child generations. A revitalization movement should offer to these people a bit of a spiritual center, a way to gain spiritual health, and a way to worship, and, one would hope, to grow closer to God.

The Native Americans have, despite great hardships, retained their medicine people and their medicine ways. These men and women are the core of their communities. They help to maintain the mental, emotional, and spiritual health of the reservation and urban Indian. For this reason, the plastic or bogus medicine men and women in the New Age movement cause concern. The traditional medicine people may have an exchange or a fee for the ceremony or ritual, or in many situations they provide a service and neither get, nor expect, payment. Most do not have an apprentice, and the ceremonies and rituals are passed from one generation to another.

Their medicine is, in the Native American culture, a way of life. In many nations their spirituality is tied to the land they have lived on for generations. I presented to this group of Indian people much of the material already presented in the previous chapters, and more. I was specifically asked about Harley Swiftdeer, and his Deer Tribe. In discussing my observations and written materials, I was advised that, as far as the sexual
materials, the subject was not traditionally discussed in a mixed group. I asked for their understanding, that my male counterpart was not with me, and could not take the men aside, and discuss this sensitive material with them. I did not wish to offend anyone, so I would keep my lecture to generalities. The materials they needed to read, or look at, that were offensive, I would give to them privately.

This group of Indian people were tougher than any academic group could ever be. They were worried and concerned that their sacred ceremonies were being used and abused. There were seven people in this group, but what they did had long range effects on the New Age teachers, especially Harley Swiftdeer and the Deer Tribe.

In November and December of 1992, Harley Swiftdeer Reagan moved his Deer Tribe to Scottsdale, Arizona. Vernon Foster, a full-blooded Modoc Indian, was at the lecture I gave. He went home to Mesa Arizona with copies of the written materials I gave him from my research. I had asked Vernon to check my facts, and if he found my research to be correct, contact me, and then make a decision about what he would do with a bogus guru in his own backyard.

He soon met with thirty-five members of AIM, and their medicine men. They conferred about what they should do about what appeared to be a very real threat with Reagan/Draper and his Rainbow Powers Center which had just opened in Scottsdale, Arizona. They discussed the problem, and asked their spiritual men for guidance. The decision was quickly made: they needed to do something about Reagan/Draper.

Vernon Foster began to dig up his own facts. Soon, I was receiving guarded phone calls from private detectives, court investigators, and newspaper reporters. The
amount of information that changed hands was unbelievable. When contacted in Oklahoma, the spiritual heads of all three Keetoowah groups immediately refuted Reagan/Draper as a Cherokee, or as a medicine man, by fax.

Vemon led the protest, along with thirty-five Indian men and woman from the Arizona Chapter of the American Indian Movement. Native American spiritual people from all over the Southwest joined the peaceful protest. Many groups and people helped compile information on Reagan/Draper, the Deer Tribe, the Rainbow Powers Center and the Quodoushka seminars. On several occasions, people from the Deer Tribe tried to cause Vemon, and his family, problems.

Vemon, and the members of Arizona AIM, peacefully protested the Rainbow Powers center and its Director Reagan/Draper as being a fraud and phony. They took their protest to the radio and television media, and here, AIM presented the facts it had found, and publicly debated Reagan/Draper on the radio. Even when facts were presented, Reagan/Draper ignored them and stuck to his prepared story. By December, 1994, The Rainbow Powers Center had been evicted in a court action from it's landlord. The Deer Tribe, and its founder Harley Reagan/Draper, have left the State of Arizona, and are reported to be setting up a new operation in Chicago, Illinois, after having had the AIM chapter in Colorado speak with the landlord of a new facility Reagan/Draper wanted to rent in Colorado Springs. The leaders of AIM Colorado simply advised the new potential landlord of what had happened in Arizona.

It appears, at this time, Reagan/Draper is setting up his operation in an area where he feels the population is more white than Native American. He has told his followers
that Vernon Foster has poisoned his dogs, and is sending bad medicine against him, and
the Deer Tribe.

Vernon Foster, and the members of Arizona AIM, have made a vow. Wherever
Reagan/Draper goes, he will see Indian people wearing the black and red T-shirts of the
American Indian Movement. They will silently protest his crimes against Native
American spirituality, and advise those that come to him for teaching that he is a fraud
and a phony. And perhaps, just perhaps, they hope he will cease his operation for good.

In the beginning, I wanted to understand what the Shaman and their medicine is. I
have come to believe that the Shaman, or the ability to be one, lies within certain families
in each Native American Nation I researched. It is passed from generation to generation.
As the twenty-first century approaches, where once there were many that practiced the
medicine ways, now the practitioners are few and far between. Each old
shaman/medicine person must choose who from the next generation will follow him. In
many cases, if the next generation does not produce one able to carry the medicine, it is
lost. In my research, I met several who I believe are like Alice, and Crosslin, and can be
called shaman/medicine person. I further believe that because there are so few real
medicine people left, it is easier for the bogus New Age Medicine people to flourish.

The real medicine people choose only one person, if any, to follow in their
footsteps. They do not hold workshops, have huge followings, or charge huge fees for
what they do. The medicine cannot be bought, it is given when asked for. A thank-you
in whatever form is always appreciated, but not expected. They do not often step outside
their sacred circles, or area. They are an essential element of the Native American culture
in each and every tribe, but many have not passed the medicine on. And many nations now must look to medicine people outside their tribe. Once the knowledge of the generations is lost, it is almost impossible to reestablish that element again.

The apprentices the New Age shaman are creating are perhaps good counselors, but the real medicine person cannot be recreated in weekend workshops. The bastardization of traditional ceremonies only further damages an already weakened part of the Native American culture. When the white and Native American communities do not know each other's traditions, this gives the bogus gurus, and their medicine show, a fertile field in which to flourish.

My research further showed me that the reason the New Age had such a great following was that, in the last few years, our culture had defrocked its spiritual, medical, and psychological practitioners. Thus, we discovered that they were not "Godlike," and so, we seek those who seem to have a "more divine" or spiritual connection, because we refuse to believe we have our own answers. Many of those I spoke with were looking for an alternative method of helping themselves to heal for there is a distrust, or a fear, in the White New Age community of the traditional counselors such as Psychologist or Psychiatrist. Perhaps it is the need for the quick fix, and not the long term therapy that made them look toward the New Age Shaman as where they could bare their souls.

The failure of the New Age followers to check the Shaman's credentials was even more of a surprise. If the Shaman was able to convince the followers that he was what he said he was, not even true facts could convince them that their teacher was bogus. They had placed their faith in their teacher, and it was unshakable.
The shamanic aspect of the Native American tradition is one that is widely misunderstood by the non-Indian public. Until rather recently, anthropologists and other scholars have recognized and determined that shamanism is a powerful spiritual healing force. In Redbird Smith's revival of the Cherokee Keetoowah Society spirituality, he searched for, found, and returned the Wampuns. He found persons who still remembered the old Stomp Dance, and could reintroduce it to a new generation. Redbird always conferred with the medicine men when he wanted to reintroduce something to the spiritual ceremonies.

Redbird revived what he could of the old Cherokee spirituality. The age old use of ritual magic for healing or curing he recognized. He preached the White path of peace for the Cherokee to follow. Redbird's revival follows Anthony F.C. Wallace's blueprint for what a successful revival could be.

Just as Indian and non-Indians find inspiration today in Oklahoma, when they attend a Keetoowah Stomp Dance in comparison with the New Age shaman, Harley Swiftdeer Reagan's ceremonies, there is no sense of years of revival, no genuine Cherokee spirituality. Reagan's group also fits Anthony F.C. Wallace's blueprint, but is not necessarily a successful revival or revitalization effort. His teachings are a mishmash of Native American, Hindu Indian, etc. It is clearly a successful con job on people who are honestly looking for a spiritual path that will make their lives happier.

I believe that the true Native American Shaman is a crucial element for the Native American Nations. The practices should be encouraged and fostered by the genuine inheritors, who can keep the shamanic practices alive in their Native American
communities. Further, to protect what is left of the shamanic practices, the local Native American leaders can place ads in local papers, flyers, news releases and/or television news conferences to let people at large know when a bogus medicine person is in the area. This was the format used by Vernon Foster and the members of Arizona AIM. This worked very well for alerting the general public to the concern the Native American community had for someone committing crimes against Native American spirituality.
APPENDIX OF SOURCE MATERIAL
APPENDIX

These sources were checked to provide facts concerning Harley Swiftdeer Reagan's credibility as a medicine man and/or counselor.

1. Academic records at California State University, Los Angeles. Reagan has only a Bachelor's degree, and two years post graduate work. He has no Master's or Ph.D. degree from this school.

2. State of California - State and Consumer Services Agency - State Department of Consumer Affairs Medical Board of California: A search of the records for the past ten years did not show Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, alias Claude Draper, as ever being licensed in the State of California as a physician, surgeon, or psychologist.

3. State of California Board of Behavioral Science examiners: A search of the records showed that Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, alias Claude Draper, was not licensed with the Board of Behavioral Sciences Examiners as a marriage, family, child counselor, licensed clinical Social Worker or Licensed Educational Psychologist.
4. State of Arizona Board of Psychologist Examiners: The following individual is not licensed with the State of Arizona Board of Psychologist Examiners, or has not applied for licensure: Harley Reagan Swiftdeer Reagan, alias Claude Draper.

5. Arizona Dept. of Health Services Division of Health and Child Care Review services Office of Health Care Licensure. As of February 16, 1993, Re: The Rainbow Powers Center, 9449 North 90th St., Suite 100, Scottsdale, AZ 85258 To date a permit application for the aforementioned facility was never received.

6. Tax and License Registration City of Scottsdale: Rainbow Powers Center applied for a transaction Privilege sales tax license for a retail sales and educational center. No other license was applied for, or issued to The Rainbow Powers Center/Harley Reagan.

7. The Arizona Board of Medical Examiners: State of Arizona Board of Medical Examiners: Elizabeth Chandra MD. is the holder of License to practice medicine number 13142 in the state of Arizona. Her license, as of February 19, 1993, is not current for her to practice medicine in the State of Arizona.

8. Medical Board of California. As of February 22, 1993, Elizabeth Stuart Chandra (DOB 12/10/50) was issued Physician and Surgeon's certificate Number G50135
by the board on 06/24/83. Said certificate is in a delinquent status with an expiration date of 12/31/88.

9. The Arizona Board of Medical Examiners, State of Arizona Board of Medical Examiners as of February 19, 1993. A search of the records of the board for a record of the license to practice medicine in the State of Arizona having been issued to Russell Smith MD. No record exist. However, Elinton Russell Smith MD. is the holder of license Number 3361 to practice medicine in the State of Arizona.

10. Medical Board of California Licensing Records of the Medical Board of California, do certify that Frederick Smith, MD. (DOB: 05/30/28) was issued physicians and surgeons certificate Number C42761 by the board on 06/18/90. Said Certificate is paid and current with expiration date of 05/31/94.

11. State of Arizona Board of Chiropractor Examiners, as of February 17, 1193, Naile Bruno, DC. has not been licensed to practice or applied for licensure in the State of Arizona.

12. The Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma does not have Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, alias Claude Draper, as an enrolled member.

14. The Keetoowah Society of Oklahoma does not have Harley Swiftdeer Reagan, alias Claude Draper, as a enrolled member.

15. The Night Hawk Keetoowah Society does not have any record of Harley Swiftdeer Reagan as a member of this group.

16. The United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians does not have record of Harley Swiftdeer Reagan as a member of this group.

17. The Sac and Fox Nation of Oklahoma does not have Harley Swiftdeer Reagan as an enrolled member of this tribe.

18. The Twisted Hairs Council: This group does not exist. The medicine people consulted in Oklahoma, Arizona, South Dakota checked with all their sources and could not find that such a group exists for teaching medicine ways.
ALERT CONCERNING
"HARLEY SWIFTDEER REAGAN"
AND THE "DEER TRIBE" CULT

Center for the SPIRIT (Support and Protection of Indian Religions and Indigenous Traditions) is a nonprofit organization of American Indian people devoted to the preservation and revitalization of American Indian spiritual practices and religious traditions. We are issuing this bulletin to warn the public about a dangerous cult currently based in southern California, which calls itself "the Deer Tribe Metis Medicine Society," headed by a non-Indian who calls himself "Harley SwiftDeer Reagan."

Harley Reagan is described in "Deer Tribe" literature as a "medicine man and shaman, warrior, author, martial arts Master, healer and psychologist." He and his followers are dedicated to the systematic exploitation and desecration of American Indian sacred traditions through their aggressive sale, promotion and performance of phony, bastardized imitation "Indian ceremonies." We would like to disclose some of the alarming information we have learned about the "Deer Tribe" cult in order to help protect the public from the fraudulent and harmful enticements proffered by this cult, and in order to generate greater public awareness of the dangers posed to legitimate American Indian sacred traditions by the spread of pseudo-Indian "New Age" spiritualism so rampant in California in recent years, of which the "Deer Tribe" cult is an especially malignant example.

Harley Reagan and his "Deer Tribe" cult have amassed a huge following in California, sponsoring weekend "sex workshops" purportedly based on "ancient Cherokee traditions of spiritual sexuality." These so-called "Quodoushka workshops" are reported to consist of sex orgies involving drug use, in which participants pay as much as $350 each to be guided by Harley Reagan and his disciples through "powerful ceremonies" that teach participants "how to reach total body orgasm through a special healing breath called the "Firebreath."" For promoting such obscene and scandalous "workshops" in the name of Cherokee spirituality, Harley Reagan, who has claimed publicly to have been born and taught on a non-existent Cherokee Indian reservation in Texas, has been denounced by the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma. According to a resolution issued by the Cherokee Nation Tribal Council, Harley Reagan "has presented to the public incorrect and defamatory material on Cherokee culture" that "is not only offensive, but harmful to the self-image of the Cherokee people."

Manuals used by participants of Harley Reagan's "workshops" contain explicit photographs of male and female genitalia engaged in sex acts. Such pornography supposedly is distributed to illustrate what Harley Reagan claims to be essential categories of genitalia averted to in the performance of "Cherokee spiritual sexual ceremonies." Surviving victims of the "Quodoushka workshops," some of whom have sought psychotherapy to help them recover from their traumatic involvement in the
"Deer Tribe" cult, report having witnessed and been subjected to many instances of severe sexual abuse in the cult's "ceremonies."

One of the cult's "ceremonies" in which abuse and exploitation are most prevalent is the so-called "Sweet Medicine Sundance," held each year by Harley Reagan. This atrocious "ceremony" is a grotesque and profoundly sacrilegious mockery of the Sundance ceremony of the Lakota and other Northern Plains tribes, one of the most sacred annual ceremonies of these American Indian peoples. Harley Reagan and his "Deer Tribe" cult have succeeded in attracting followers to their cult "ceremonies" by exploiting non-Indians' lack of awareness of, and lack of respect for, legitimate American Indian spiritual traditions. Thus the "Deer Tribe" continues to con the public by prostituting their abominable pseudo-Indian "ceremonies"—imitation Cherokee ceremonies, imitation Lakota sundance ceremonies, pipe ceremonies and sweatlodge ceremonies, imitation Hopi kiva ceremonies, etc.—which comprise the most violent forms of desecration imaginable of authentic American Indian spiritual traditions.

The "Deer Tribe" cult also has been linked to right-wing neo-Nazi occultism in Europe. In a startling letter published in 1988 by the national Indian newspaper Akwesasne Notes, an Austrian supporter of the American Indian rights movement writes the following:

SwiftDeer's "Planetary Rainbow Ceremony," held in Interlaken, Switzerland, in 1988, was strongly supported by Ansata publishers, who publish not only Lynn Andrews, but also the books of Mussolini's main occultist, Julius Evola, who is now the most important occultist for modern extreme right-wing occultism. Followers of SwiftDeer... make "Hopi rituals" and "Katchina magic," and work closely with so-called "Druids," who stand near the political extreme right wing. ... SwiftDeer... even says traditional Indians have "race hatred" and have to die out according the Great Spirit's plan because they do not fit into the new time, the "New Age." I believe that this is not what Indian nations need.

We urge all supporters of American Indian people to help us in our struggle for social justice and religious freedom by actively opposing the "spiritual genocide" manifest in the exploitation and abuse of our most precious sacred traditions by cultists, con artists, hucksters, charlatans and "phony medicine men" like "Harley SwiftDeer Reagan" and his "Deer Tribe" cult. And we invite you to contact us at Center for the SPIRIT whenever you become aware of situations in which American Indian sacred traditions are being exploited and abused, so that we may help you and your community develop and implement an effective strategy of community education and active resistance to such exploitation and abuse:

CENTER FOR THE SPIRIT
P.O. BOX 17002
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94601-7002
(510) 535-0505
THE PERSONAL QUODOUSHKA MAGIC CEREMONY

The PERSONAL QUODOUSHKA MAGIC CEREMONY is a way to utilize the Quodoushka energies in a sacred and beautiful way for the purpose of creating that which you need in your life (abundance, healing, growth, job opportunities, relationships, etc...) In so doing, it is essential to always honor the two sacred laws: "That everything is born of woman" and "Let nothing be done to harm the children".

This ceremony can be done alone or with a partner.

***** ITEMS NEEDED FOR THE CEREMONY *****

1. Three long red candles.

2. Three brass or wood chalices (cups will do). Fill one with red wine, one with white wine and leave the third one empty. This will be used to capture the sacred fluids at the end of the ceremony.

3. Incense: sage, cedar, sweet grass and lavender mixture. And add small piece of copal or dragons blood.

4. Four element bowls:
   - SOUTH: Red bowl—fill with water and have white or red flowers floating in it.
   - WEST: Black bowl—fill with earth.
   - NORTH: White bowl—can burn incense here to represent air.
   - EAST: Yellow candle—represents fire.
5. 12" by 12" by 12" red construction paper triangle. On this write your prayer for exactly what you need. Be as specific as possible. Do not ask for more than three things. In fact, it seems to work best if you are focused on a single request or perhaps three that are interconnected. The more you can formulate and visualize your prayer in a concrete and specific way the easier to manifest it into the physical. Ask for this to come within one moon cycle or 28 days.

**** CREATE A CEREMONIAL SPACE AND MAKE AN ALTER ****

The altar can be placed in any direction but make sure to place the apex of the triangle pointing East. Then arrange the other components as shown in the diagram. You can also place any crystals or special medicine items on the alter.
YOU ARE NOW READY TO BEGIN THE CEREMONY

1. Cleanse and prepare yourself or selves: Smudge self and room, bathe, etc...

2. Enter the room in a ceremonial way.

3. Sit in front of the altar to call in the special powers of the universe to work with you. Use your pipe if you have one, otherwise you can use a cigarette as a heart pipe.

4. Call first and invoke the sacred female energies to come and be with you in your sacred circle:
   1. Wah-Kawhan: Great Grandmother
   2. Ehehtohmah: Grandmother Earth
   3. Quetzal: Earth Mother
   4. Wahheytan: Sister Moon
   5. All sacred sisterhood societies of the light
   6. The Grandmothers: the matriarchy
   7. The Goddesses

   Drink the red wine and align yourself with the feminine.

5. Call in and invoke the sacred male energies to come and be with you in your sacred circle.
   1. SS-Kawhuan: Great Grandfather
   2. Sohotohmah: Grandfather Sun
   3. Quatal: Earth Father
   4. Mareiya: Father Sky
   5. All sacred brotherhood societies of the light
   6. The Grandfathers: the patriarchy
   7. The Gods

   Drink the white wine and align yourself with the masculine.

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6. Next **invoke:**

16. Achalotahey: the Enlightened Masters
17. Kachinahey: Dream Teachers
18. Chulamadanhey: Karma Teachers
19. Hokshidehey: Highest Higher Self
20. Wankan-Tanka: Great Spirit

7. Next **invoke:***

1. The elements: fire, earth, water, wind and void
2. The four worlds: mineral, plant, animal, human
3. The Ancestor world: (Only those that love you)
   * Tolilahqui—the little people
   * Toushilahey—all our personal spirit selves
   * Tungashilah—all of the blood relations of our Toushilahey
   * Omahtaqueasin—spirits of all ancestors of all humans on this planet since always and for always

****** NEXT... PRAY ALOUD ******

I invoke a new sacred dream to help my personal dream give away to the collective dream.

I choose not to step into any Karma.

I ask for Dharma.

I sit in trust and innocence.

I ask for a new design of energy in all my movement and I ask it to manifest itself through the law of the triangle.

I ask to release my conscious mind blocks to having comfort and security in my everyday life.

I ask to release from my subconscious all energy not in harmony with cosmic consciousness.

I ask to channel through unconscious mind the changes I am asking for.

I call upon the collective conscious force of all energies in alignment with the cosmic to bring my prayers from spirit into substance.
I call upon the collective unconscious force of all energies in alignment with the cosmic to bring my prayers from spirit into substance.

**** NOW READ YOUR PERSONAL PRAYERS OUT LOUD WITH HEART ****

**NEXT...**

Begin to make love, taking all the time you need to merge and build the energies. Use the mutual heart pleasing exercise: bring yourselves almost to orgasm three times, focusing the energies on your hearts. Then the fourth time allow the orgasm.

During orgasm, see yourself having actualized your request(s) and focus on this during entire orgasm. When orgasm is complete, release the image and do not think of it again.

**** Now ****

* Put your fluids into chalice/cup. Using your fingers, take some of the fluid and make a star on the triangle.

* Allow what's left of the three long red candles to burn down.

* Burn the triangle with flame from the yellow spirit candle. Add the ashes to the chalice/cup.

* Add the remaining red and white wine into the chalice/cup.

* Take this sacred mixture to a tree and give it away and ask to let it be done.

If your request is not actualized in 28 days you can repeat the ceremony using the exact same prayers. The ceremony can be repeated a total of three times. If your prayers are not actualized at this point then let them go.

If and when it is actualized it is essential to do ten acts of give away in return.
DEEP WOMAN

outer labia majora
sacred butterfly

the clitoris
sacred serpent

inner labia minora
sacred moth

entrance to cave
black hole
Preferred Intercourse Positions: pillow under small of back to change angle; tight penetration; doggy style with straight back and manual stimulation of clit.
Types of Orgasm: combination
Preferred Male Body Types: coyote best for they seem to grind alot naturally; dancing man good and others ok

Deer Woman (east)
Clit Distance: Clit is tiny and right next to cave and almost a part of the cave
Hood: usually not hooded, clit is exposed, and if hooded, clit is toward the front
Moth: very thin, small lips
Size of Cave: very deep, 7”-9” with tight entrance, 3/4”-1” diameter
G-spot: close to opening and easily reached, 1/2 fingers depth and back toward front
Lubrication: dry
Temperature: hot
Taste: sweet-tart
Time to reach orgasm: 2-5 minutes average
Types of stimulation: Doesn't like much foreplay or oral sex and direct clitoral stimulation can be painful, so be gentle; can try stimulating clit by squeezing outer lips together. Because clit is so close to cave it receives a lot of stimulation from penetration alone. Likes hard, fast fucking with deep thrusting penetration, head popping.
Preferred intercourse positions: Likes them all, but especially with legs up and backwards.
Orgasm types: Shot gun explosive.
Preferred male body types: Likes them all, but especially deer and horse. Has trouble with coyote because of size.

Sheep Woman (south)
Clit distance: 2-3 fingers average
Hood: long, smooth tunnel-like hood with clit at far end
Moth: fairly thin lips but thicker and larger than the deer woman
Size of cave: fairly deep, 5”-7”, 1 1/4”-1 1/2” opening
Male Anatomical Types

Dancing Man (center)
50-60%
Length (at full erection): 2 hands
Thickness: from thumb tip
Loads or spurts of ejaculate: 4-8
Timing: fast
Temperature: medium-warm
Taste: salty
Consistency: creamy

Deer Man (east)
Length: 2 hands and head
Thickness: slightly thinner than dancing man
Loads or spurts of ejaculate: 3-6
(testicles tend to hang lower)
Timing: fast
Temperature: hot
Taste: slightly tart, very salty
Consistency: milky thin

Coyote Man (south)
Length: 1 hand and head
Thickness: same as deer or thinner
Loads or spurts of ejaculate: 6-12
Timing: very fast
Temperature: hot
Taste: sweet
Consistency: watery thin
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Jan* and Sarah,* 1992

Chris,* 1988 - 1992

Mother of daughter in Deer Tribe,* 1989 - 1993

Daniel Fulton, 1988-1989

*These persons' names have been changed or concealed for their protection and privacy.