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"THE WORLD AT OUR DOOR"

SCOTTISH AND IRISH SETTLERS AMONG MUSCOGEE (CREEKS) AND OTHER SOUTHEAST TRIBES, 1700 - 1830

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LAURA MARSHALL CLARK

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"THE WORLD AT OUR DOOR"

SCOTTISH AND IRISH SETTLERS AMONG MUSCOGEE (CREEKS)

AND OTHER SOUTHEAST TRIBES, 1700 - 1830

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE

DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES

BY

Dr. Amanda Cobb-Greetham

Dr. Raina Heaton

Dr. Gina Stuart-Richard

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ABSTRACT

By the time of the American Revolution, the colonial shores of the Atlantic had welcomed more than 250,000 Scottish and Irish immigrants to its harbors. With centuries of both war and subjugation in their blood, these Irish, Ulster Scots (known also as Scots-Irish), Highland Scots and Lowland Scots dispersed into cities, the Southeast frontier, and homelands of a confederacy of tribes called the Muscogee (Creek), or *Mvskoke,* and of neighboring tribes, the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Seminole people, known today as the 'Five Civilized Tribes'.

As a foray into Indigenous research methodology and multicultural historiography, this paper investigates historical narratives of Southeast tribes compared with that of the immigrant Irish and Scottish. With a primary focus on Muscogee Creeks, the work examines the Mississippian Culture Period, migration to villages and towns, the formation of the Creek Confederacy, traditions, warrior society paradigms, spirituality, matrilineal society, kinship, and identity. It also delves into ancient Irish and Scottish history, foreign invasion, ethnic overlaps and intermarriage, customs, warfare, patrilineal society, and British imperialist domination. The study compares and contrasts these histories and civilizations, the immigration of Gaels into America, reasons for and results of intermarriage, social mores, and the making of the tradesmen, "Indian countrymen," and the deerskin trade that drove the region.

Adding to the New Indian Story of Native American and European multiculturalism, this work seeks to synthesize the story of transformation in the Southeast, the contest for power among British, Spanish, French, and American leadership, and intrusions of federalism. It examines issues of race, kinship, and identity, and the phenomenon of the "shatter zone."

Amid the fight for survival, sovereignty, and cultural continuance of tribal nations, a new "mixed" generation of intermarriage arose as tribal leaders: culture bearers, cultural brokers, English-speaking interpreters, treaty makers, and traitors. Brief attention is given to Muscogee Creek mixed heritage leaders William McIntosh, William Weatherford, and Alexander McGillivray.

Like a painted palette of *este-cate* ('red people')—of blood and bone of ancients—striated with imposing visceral textures and ephemeral colorants of the Five Civilized Tribes, this canvas of histories, of mixed and altered destinies, emerges as salient and as powerful as the irrepressible Indian people it represents.

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PREFACE

As a child growing up in Indian country with exposure to Native arts, I innocently assumed Indians were just naturally creative. From the beginning, I was a creator of sorts, writing poetry or painting or rehearsing a Baroque *Solfeggietto* on piano. My artist heart and brain were blessed by a home of many books and walls hosting an eclectic mix of gilded-framed oil paintings, Chinese watercolor, and Native tempera. Art from every realm not only conveyed life to me—it begot life. Content and form, shades and rhythms, these lifeforces formed the canvas on which I experienced and interpreted the world. While researching this work, the promise of rich story emerged like a painting… first the physicality of blank canvas, worn brushes, dripping pigments, the pungency of solvents waiting for story—white pages slowly transforming.

Gravid canvas
sweeping strokes
toning ground
poised for vermillion
grey, copper, gold
ocheroid truths
tinged black
sharp as obsidian
excising shame
exposing beauty
refracting cultures
mingling blood of nations.[1]

Throughout this paper, the analogies and praxis of painting on canvas as purposeful design serve as extended metaphor to convey knowledge and create understanding based in traditions of Native aesthetics and storytelling. From cherished

experiences and relationships in Native communities, I have learned—and am still learning—that knowledges are birthed in many realms: the material, the visceral, the spiritual, the cultural, the relational, the ancestral. Therefore, my research *enheckv* (‘design’ in Mvskoke Creek)[2], is intentionally creative to evoke imaginative understandings of time, place, peoples, cultures, and events. It is *enheckv* that resists notions of Western ontology based in intellect as the highest form of knowledge. As practical *enheckv*, it is useful as an organized process of inquiry founded in academic discipline, and also as a tool to enhance comprehension.

On these pages comes a story of people, of histories, lives textured, tumultuous, enmeshed and torn, birthed again. In the spirit of Mvskoke oral tradition, I tell it through an artistic Indigenous lens.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Toned Ground: An Overview

When planning and developing a painting, the artist must first prime the canvas with a flat layer of paint, freely laying down colored tones as host for many layers of paint to follow. This toned ground becomes the underpainting for a background, then middle ground, and foreground, building and developing colors, contrasts, shapes, line and form, shadows and light. In like manner, this paper by design rests on a toned ground that began a thousand years ago on what is now American soil. Predating any notion of colonization or forming a union of states, the ground work begins in the time of ancient tribes, comes into focus in the opening of the eighteenth century, and concludes in the early nineteenth century prior to Indian Removal.

While most Americans have a little knowledge about the hundreds of tribes that are federally recognized today—573 at this writing[3]—the vast amount of information about North American tribes across centuries of history can be overwhelming, including new works of revisionist history. Herein is a narrower study, specifically of southeast tribes inhabiting the Southern and Eastern quadrant of our continent prior to Removal, known today as the "Five Civilized Tribes." These five southeast tribes include the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Seminole, Cherokee, and a confederacy of tribes known as the Muscogee, or *Mvskoke*, Creeks. Also among these were other tribes in the Southeast, such as the Yuchi, Alabama, Catawba, Chitimacha, Ofo, Houma[4], Tuskegee,

Yamasee, Caddo, Koasati, Natchez,[5] Chakchiumas (Chocchumas), Yazoo,[6] an incursion of Hathawekela Shawnees that threatened Chickasaw country,[7] and others.

Although many social, political, linguistic, and cultural correlations are historically congruous for the Five Tribes in particular, the rich histories of each of these five tribes in light of the objectives of this work required a further narrowing of our lens to clarify the causality for this research, guiding questions, purpose, and significance. While the study includes some detail about the various Five Tribes, it purposefully centers on Muscogee Creeks, their culture and society in the eighteenth century, and the arrival of Irish, Ulster Scots (known also as Scots-Irish), Highland Scots, and Lowland Scots that permeated Indian lifeways ripe with Euro-American invaders.

This work seeks to broaden a historical and sociocultural understanding for the Muscogee Creek people and others in examining a critical period in tribal history, and a re-telling of our story through an Indigenous paradigm. It also compares and contrasts elements of Indigenous, Scottish, and Irish identity among these groups that includes chiefs and clans, warrior societies, and spirituality. It then examines British imperialist domination, and colonial dispossession of lifeways and lands. The study further explores shifts in sociopolitical constructs during a period of crushing federal Indian policy, including Native American/Scottish/Irish intermarriage within Indian matrilineal societies that brought forth a new "mixed" generation of Indians: culture bearers and cultural brokers, English-speaking interpreters and treaty makers, tribal leaders, and traitors.

Red Ground: The Ancients

Before painting a background of eighteenth century tribal life central to this work, our canvas includes a brief examination of the red-toned ground of southeast tribes prior to European contact. These hues of primitive history provide rich sociocultural understanding about Indigenous identity and society, who they were, and in many ways, still are. Significant prehistoric evidence of lifeways and cultures of southeast tribes are found today in ancient, large mound communities of the Mississippian Culture Period, such as the great Etowah Mounds in what is now central Georgia, a Muscogeean complex built around 1100 AD and inhabited in phases. Archaeological data confirms that Etowah was a large, complex society, with a variety of mounds, buildings, and a large, flat platform on top of the mound for ceremonies, social gatherings, living quarters, and other purposes. Various mound summits from the Mississippian era reveal the presence of homes, public buildings, ceremonial grounds and ballfields, porches and courtyards, and wooden palisades atop the summits. [8]

While the people of Etowah left for a brief period, it was repopulated around 1300 A.D. Surprisingly, archaeologists discovered its chiefdom and social structure were re-established with a new sacred narrative found in copper plates, such as Birdman, of the Classic Braden style.[9] This was altogether new to that mound society, pointing to religious themes of the Upper Midwest around another mound complex called Cahokia. Birdman is found among Indigenous tribes adhering to practices of the Southeast Ceremonial Complex (SECC), and spiritual beliefs that became shared as the

result of extended contact and interaction, in particular for trade among communities throughout the Southeast and Upper Midwest.[10] This discovery revealed connections in trade, movement, and cultures involving an array of Indigenous groups. Cahokia was the largest and most densely populated mound complex of the period, with an estimated 38,000 inhabitants (some say up to 30,000) living densely in over five square miles at the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers (what is now St. Louis, Missouri). At the zenith of Cahokia's development between 700 AD and 1400 AD, Cahokia had reached its "highest cultural achievement," the same time period that other Southeast Mississippian Culture mound communities flourished. [11]

Nearly a century before Etowah was constructed, a vast Indigenous mound site at Poverty Point in what is now Louisiana and Lower Mississippi was the most elaborate and prosperous locale of its day in North America. Its earthworks were built one basket of dirt at a time—an estimated five million man hours—and contained nearly one million cubic yards of dirt constructed in the shape of a large bird similar to a falcon. The ceremonial mound itself was 640 by 710 feet. The mound region was still considered a prosperous crossroads of commerce for the lower Mississippi valley in 1500 AD.[12] Through the discovery of historical sites such as Etowah, Cahokia, Poverty Point, and many others, coupled with extensive research gathered by archaeologists and ethnologists, we are able to form a social, political, cultural, and spiritual picture of southeast people. Mississippian mound communities were politically complex, agrarian based, stable, and often led by powerful chiefs who governed labor, the collection of

tribute, the distribution of food, and decisions about war. In death they were interred in burial mounds with elaborate goods as if worshipped like deities.[13]

Much study and literature is dedicated to these and numerous other mound sites that were home to southeast tribes during this period, including Ocmulgee Mounds in Georgia, Emerald Mound site northeast of Natchez, Mississippi, Moundville in Alabama, the Choctaw mound Nanih Wayia, Chickasaw mounds of Northeast Mississippi, Pinson Mounds in Tennessee, and more. Mound-life discoveries provide abundant details about hunting and food practices, ceremonies, burial practices, ancient cosmology, pottery, weapons, clothing, and adornments. Speculation about the causes for eventual abandonment of mound communities in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries include population demise due to disease, a collapse of chiefdoms, destructions of war, soil exhaustion, or famine.[14]

Bloody Ground: The Invasion

Not long after tribal mound builders began to move away from their ceremonial plazas atop community mounds, Europeans on another side of the globe were moving rapidly into new knowledge. Cartography produced by Martin Waldseemüller in 1507 rendered geographical data collected by Italian explorer Amerigo Vespucci on his own voyages, and Vespucci's review of those by Columbus. Waldseemüller's map identified a new Western Hemisphere, a new continent between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and a whole new world christened 'America'.[15] Two decades after Columbus decimated the populous of the islands of Hispaniola, foreign ships cut again through deep green ocean. This time they sailed 800 miles north, commissioned in imperial self-

righteousness to find and conquer at all costs new shores—and people. European invaders emerged from the Atlantic horizon a second time like dark and terrored nightmares bound for new Indigenous lands.

Juan Ponce de Leon landed on our eastern continental shores from Spain as early as 1513 and immediately captured *Indios* for slave trade. His two ships sunk on their return home with those slaves aboard. [16] Not long after, Spanish marauders on numerous ships arrived under banners of violence and aggression, this time invading both southeast and southwest homelands of hundreds of distinct Indigenous nations. With an avarice for gold and armed with the Papal Bull's *Requiermiento*, Spain's raiders laid siege to everyone and everything in their path from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River, and from Mexico into the northern continent. Prior to their arrival, Spanish law had legitimized brutal empire building through the creation of the *Requiermiento,* giving rights to Spain to conquer everything and everyone met in exploration. Conquistadors in obedience to Spanish law read aloud the *Requiermiento* to the Indigenes they encountered, requiring the hearers to "acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world," the pope as their new high priest, and the king and queen of Spain as the new lords over their homeland.[17] That is, if they could understand a word of Spanish. If the Indians would agree, the *Requiermiento* promised, the raiders would "receive you in all love and charity," and leave their lands and children "free without servitude…," but if not, "we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them…and shall do all the harm and damage that we can…"[18] And thus they did.

Hernando de Soto earned his reputation among the Spaniards as the "Indian-killer," leading an army of more than six hundred men, two hundred horses, herds of pigs, and vicious dogs—large mastiffs and Irish hounds trained to kill—across present-day Florida to Texas, and north through Arkansas to the Carolinas. Their imprint from 1539 to 1543 was a four-thousand-mile wake of murder, rape, and destruction of Indigenous men, women, and children; with no gold discovered, no satisfactory wealth, in the end more than half of his Spaniards were dead. Southeastern Indians were not alone in suffering at the whims of Spain, as Franciso Vasquez de Coronado sought treasure among western tribes across the Mississippi at the same time.[19]

We find a more complete picture of the continent during this time period in noting France's assault from the North, whose ensigns were profit from trading and Jesuit conversions, pushing from the Great Lakes south along the Mississippi River all the way to the Gulf. [20] French explorers like Samuel de Champlain exploited lucrative fur trading among the Indians while Jesuits priests learned Indian languages to missionize "with characteristic zeal" four major tribes in nearly twenty-five villages along the lakes, an area which became known as Huronia.[21] Meanwhile the English as latecomers to the continent staked their claims up and down the eastern seacoast around 1585 with waning colonies at first, but slowly establishing footholds with catastrophic outcomes for Indigenous people in the formation of a New England.[22]

Against this toned ground of gold-seeking conquistadors, ambitious fur traders, land-hungry colonizers, and frontier opportunists came another decimation as equal a foe as any, an invisible, non-subjective abstraction carried throughout the land: disease.

The most devastating was smallpox, the worst of the new diseases, an unforgiving assassin communicated by airborne droplets breathed in from an infected host nearby. Notable historian Charles Hudson in his work, *The Southeastern Indians,* found diseases a greater affliction to southeast tribes than any Old World military oppression or warfare.[23] Smallpox was joined by epidemics of measles, influenza, cholera, and bubonic plague. It was smallpox and influenza that destroyed half of the tribes among the French in Huronia by 1640.[24] The first shocking lesson to new students of Native history is that disease combined with warfare, slave raiding, famine, and other traumas produced an 89 percent mortality rate, nearly destroying post-contact Indigenous societies.[25] This one fact makes it challenging to calculate precontact Indigenous populations in North America, although scholars estimate that the range may have been anywhere between 1.5 million and 20 million Indigenous people across the continent.[26]

Middle Ground: Enter the Scottish and Irish

By depicting the background of history of precontact southeast mound builders and a broad view of European invasion and contact, we have gained like an artist a depth and perspective of history that prepares our overview of the 'middle ground'. In the art of painting, the middle ground brings our eye forward in progressive sequences of color, tone, line, and form, into sharper focus of subject matter. The southeast tribes one hundred years after contact experienced shared histories alongside other North American tribes as both victors over and victims of imperialist invasion, subjugation, enslavement, wars, alliances, settler colonialism, prosperity, and loss of trade. In their homelands, the southeast tribes contended for power and stability among the British,

the French, the Spanish, rising colonial powers, and external tribal conflicts. But as a geopolitical group, they were enigmatic in one distinct, powerful phenomenon: the massive immigration of Scottish and Irish sects into the colonial South in the eighteenth century.

At the time of the American Revolution, the colonial shores of the Atlantic bore footprints of more than 250,000 Scottish and Irish immigrants who had settled in towns and communities across the eastern and southern frontiers of a burgeoning nation. Beginning as early as 1717, Ulster Scots, otherwise known as Scots-Irish, disembarked in Philadelphia,[27] bringing with them their own histories of dispossession and colonization. By 1790, a cohort comprised of Irish, Ulster Scots, Highland Scots and Lowland Scots had also penetrated the deep South, and together were the second largest immigrant group in the country.[28]

The southeast tribes were extensive and a significant force in the 1700s. As cunning traders and political strategists among the English, French, Spanish, and Americans, these tribes were superbly adept at forging economic and diplomatic alliances, including for purposes of settling their grievances with one another. Colonials and Indigenes found both success and suffering in intertribal and trade wars. Historian R. S. Cottrell identifies a period around 1670 when Creeks first became desirous of commodities bartered with deerskins and slaves. They traded a wide range of goods, such as guns and ammunition, hatchets, axes, hoes, scissors, knives, pipes, and beads. They also traded for kettles and pots and pans, salt and vermillion, and ready-made clothing such as shirts, coats, and hats, and wool and calico fabrics.[29]

And although the willingness of the southeast tribes to allow Europeans into their communities expanded trade and created new diplomatic alliances, it also led to alterations of culture, politics, and society through intermarriage. By the mid-eighteenth century, Scottish, Irish, and English tradesmen and settlers had married into the matrilineal societies of the Five Tribes, producing descendants who, in some cases, became wealthy, English-speaking Indians, prosperous landholders, and slave owners.[30] Others as mixed offspring held more closely to tribal traditions, tribal beliefs, and a resistance to acculturation.

Today some scholars define this amalgamation of nations, cultures, social classifications, races, and mixed races on one geographic land mass as the southern "middle ground," referring to the work of historian Richard White in *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1850*.[31] Dr. White describes a phenomenon where Indians and colonial powers developed their own amiable, enmeshed social space unique to its time. Reviewing White's middle-ground analysis, professor of history emeritus at the University of California, Santa Cruz, Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. writes, "The device of the middle ground enables White to synthesize an amazing amount of hitherto diverse information about 165 years of Indian history in a coherent narrative." However, Berkhofer faults White's version of this New Indian Story and the metaphorical device itself, which creates a narrative "with 'no sharp distinctions between Indian and White worlds.'"[32]

The importance of this critique is not lost on me as I synthesize a narrative of southern ground, myself a Mvskoke and a descendant of Creek-Irish ancestors. While

the southeast story is enmeshed in land, politics, cultures, communities, social constructs, commerce, and kinships much like White's *Great Lakes* account, I find it strategic to the narrative of this work as an Indigenous researcher to respect the singular histories and cultures of each group, to honor their uniqueness regardless of similarities or analogous experiences, and to hold in high regard their distinctive origins and identities. For me, this is an Indigenous paradigm.

Foreground: Purpose and Significance of Study

The field of Indigenous research is expanding, and our ways of thinking and knowing in Indigenous scholarship are ripe for compelling investigation, analysis, and fresh findings in our histories. Plains Cree and Saulteaux scholar Margaret Kovach offers Indigenous researchers a simple goal in developing conceptual frameworks: "We can call it decolonization, we can call it Indigenous praxis, or we can call it resistance. The point is that Indigenous research needs to benefit Indigenous people in some way, shape, or form—that is the bottom line."[33] The overarching questions then, the bottom line for the purposes and significance of this study, fall under the ***what*** and the ***how:***

Question 1: What are the purposes and significance of this study?

Question 2: How will examining the history and culture of southeast tribes, intermarriage with the Scottish and Irish settlers, and the study of their bicultural descendants serve to benefit Mvskoke people?

***Re-Examining and Re-Presenting History*.** The answers to these questions rest in the story of Scottish and Irish immigration into the tribal South that affected nearly a quarter of the American continent, which poses important considerations. The first

consideration is the American historiography itself based in documentation of Indigenous history by government agents, colonial scientific investigators, clergy, and frontiersmen. Historians and scholars have interpreted and, for the last two centuries, taught generations of students a version of American history rooted in an early consciousness of Euro-American imperialism. It began four centuries ago when Europeans first made clear distinctions between themselves and Indians, grouping all tribes into one group under the label, *Indios.* In his chapter "Identity Crisis" in *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*, Scott Lyons surveys the use of the term 'Indian' by Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., in his own 1979 book, *The White Man's Indian.* The term *Indios* exhibits problematic European themes interpreted through a European worldview: first, generalizations of a one-tribe society and of pan-Indigenous cultures; second, European perspectives of Indian 'deficiencies' according to White idealism; and third, a moral evaluation of Indians on this continent from European ideas of savagism and civilization.[34]

Another term, 'savage', was first popularized as an epithet throughout Europe, and as *sauvage* in France. The term comes from the Latin term *silvaticus,* referring to a person who lived in the forest, primitive and "animalistic," akin to the German term, *wilder Mann*. New World imperialist goals to subdue and to conquer—to civilize in any way possible the *silvaticus*—became both their moral and political imperatives, according to Lyons. The name Indian, or *Indio*, had come to mean savage, uncivilized, and literally devoid of Western "reason, democracy, science, enlightenment, literacy, law, and a true religion."[35] These observations were formulated from a colonial

worldview that objectified Indigenous people with little or no understanding for Indigenous experience or perspective. From our artist perspective, you might say these were the dirty brushes of Euro-American bias that muddied the waters of Indigenous life for centuries.

Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes the earliest holocaust of colonialism, racism, and scientific thought that exploited and dehumanized Indigenous populations:

> Research 'through imperial eyes' describes an approach which assumes that Western ideas about the most fundamental things are the only ideas possible to hold, certainly the only rational ideas, and the only ideas which can make sense of the world, of reality, of social life and of human beings.[36]

American historian and humanities professor Jack P. Greene agrees that the writing of our histories has been undermined. He challenges "Americanists who concentrate on the American Revolution and the creation of the American nation," and who maintain "…the traditional view that colonial histories are subordinate to national histories." This subordination, Greene suggests, "has exacted a huge price from national as well as colonial histories," and trivializes the history of these periods. A reinterpretation of our colonial histories, a redirection, according to Greene, begets "a massive reshaping of what scholars call American history."[37] Tribal histories are overdue for our own retooling, in terms of both how they fit in with and stand apart from national colonial histories.

The significance of re-examining and re-presenting new research was powerfully affirmed in conversations with Mvskoke cultural preservationist RaeLynn Butler and

others at Muscogee (Creek) Nation headquarters, identifying research as a form of activism, as repatriating knowledge for Mvskoke people.[38] Native American educators are concerned with long-held histories presented by non-Natives omitting the paradigm of tribes and Indians themselves. Scholar Elizabeth Cook-Lynn is an academic encouraging Native voices to take back the task of telling a "New Indian Story."[39] This paper fully embraces this premise. To tell the New Indian Story is to the bear the weight of activism, according to Smith:

> ...traditional Indigenous knowledge is something that activism has actually created and must also protect – in other words, it is a measure of the success of activism, but cannot be successful unless the knowledge scholars do the work they have to do to protect, defend, expand, apply and pass knowledge on to others.[40]

***Race, Kinship, and Identity*.** The second purpose for this work rests in complex matters as relevant today as in earlier tribal history, namely, matters of race or ethnicity, mixed race, kinship, and identity. Nearing the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, disease and turbulent pressures from European nations and settler expansion pushed numerous southeast tribes closer into homologous groups for stability and protection. Over time as a polity cohered, these evolved into a strong confederacy of tribes labeled by outsiders as 'Creeks' (because of their villages near waterways) in the mid-eighteenth century. These Creeks, or Mvskoke people, intermarried across tribes and grew into extended tribal families, developing political and diplomatic councils, and kinship ties through cultural and spiritual practices. The center of this polity was found in four Creek towns: Coweta, Abihka, Coosa, and Kasihta. Neighboring villages realized quickly the strength in both numbers and political alliances and joined the

confederacy of towns. Add to these a growing number of newcomers from unfamiliar outlying tribes and other ethnicities, strange in languages, appearances, and beliefs.[41]

The Scottish and Irish who would also come to live among them had their own long histories and stories of identity to tell. Challenged for centuries by repeated invasions across their channels and seas, the Gaelic people also suffered under the aggressions of a neighboring British monarchy. Colin G. Calloway, a scholar of both Scottish and Native American histories, addresses complicated and changing identities:

> Identities are constructed and are not static. They are often complex and fluid and sometimes rooted in histories and memories that reach to other places. How people define themselves may involve personal, family, regional, national, class, and other issues and allegiances that exert greater or lesser influence at one time or another; how others define them may change as they are incorporated into or stand apart from the dominant culture.[42]

As Creeks and European immigrants began to interact and intermarry, tribal "mixed-race" descendants moved through a duality of worlds in fluid identities. The shifting political and cultural ground included complex issues of race, mixed race, kinship, and cultures. Andrew Frank points out, "in what is now Georgia, Alabama and Florida, certain individuals could be both Indian and White, Creek and Southerner, and Native and Newcomer. The gap between these two perceived polarities was permeable, always in motion, and never a rigidly defined barrier."[43] Frank sees a constant blurring of these lines in history and asserts that identity is both ethnic and cultural.[44] The intricacies of race, culture, context, politics, and paradigms were moveable points in the tribal Southeast, like dots on a rolling horizon line where we lay our rulers to gain perspective and draw conclusions. This study seeks to examine and understand this

juxtaposition of binaries: ethnic and cultural, red and white, good and evil, Muskogean and English, civilized and savage, Creek and European. Culture did not follow blood,[45] nor behavior indicate race.[46] Inclusivity was as simple as "yes,"[47] and acceptance, as profound as ceremony.[48]

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Indigenous Research Perspectives

Significant contributions to Indigenous scholarship about southeast tribes are available today by scholars such as Colin G. Calloway, Margaret Connell-Szasz, Jace Weaver, Andrew K. Frank, R. S. Cottrell, Theda Perdue, Michael Greene, Amanda Cobb-Greetham, Tom Cowger, Mitch Caver, Claudio Saunt, and many others in the field. Nonetheless, more Native voices must be heard and included in Indigenous research as foundational for a growing field in academia.

A voice shaping Indigenous research methodologies is Linda Tuhiwai Smith, whose work describes the colonialism, racism, and scientific thought that exploited and dehumanized Indigenous populations. Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* examines historical and contemporary issues of long-standing colonization, social justice, and the relationship of activists and researchers. Her work provides insight into understanding 'decolonizing' and supported my methodology. Indigenous researchers will also be interested in the first-person tone and relatability of Shawn Wilson's *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods,* sharing the ideas and experiences of other researchers along with his own to provide a primer in Indigenous research.

Scholar Margaret Kovach introduces indigenous knowledges through oral tradition and a dialogic approach to the conversational method of indigenous research. In her article, "Conversational Method in Indigenous Research," she describes a

paradigmatic approach that flows from an Indigenous belief system centered on relational understanding and accountability to the world. She relays the basics of Indigenous research that influenced my own use of a paradigmatic approach for framework and methodology. She emphasizes relational, purposeful, and flexible methodology of ethics and caring.

Kovach's book, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts,* is also an important contribution to the field, creating vulnerable space to understand Indigenous methodologies—some ideological, some practical, and some personal. She offers concepts of research based on tribal perspectives, and provides commentary on the integration of cultural knowledges into research frameworks. Her work also serves to demonstrate "the interrelationship between epistemology and method, theory and practice."[49] Kovach, Smith, and Wilson provide foundational instruction for this paper in relaying the importance of choosing an Indigenous paradigm, in privileging cultural knowledges, and in finding the relationality of ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology.

Southeast Tribes and Tribal Leaders

Colin G. Calloway offers extensive detail and primary documents for early American History in his text book, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History, Fifth Edition.* He is a respected historian in Native American studies and informs this work about southeast tribes and tribal leaders, including his depiction of Creek leader Alexander McGillivray as defender of Creek people against a strengthening United States and an aggressive Georgia, and treating in Washington to

protect territorial boundaries.[50] Curiously, a peer-reviewed article from 1928 depicts the Creek-Scottish-French McGillivray as a schemer, stirring up his warriors and sending them out (while he stayed home) to attack other tribes and settlers on the frontiers of Georgia, Cumberland, and the colony of Muscle Shoals. The author, Arthur Preston Whitaker, concludes that McGillivray was a "neurotic half-breed."[51]

Additional insight into Alexander McGillivray was found in *Piominko: Chickasaw Leader*, by Thomas W. Cowger and Mitch Caver. The book identifies Piominko's interactions with mixed heritage tribesmen such as Chickasaw-Scottish-Irish William and Levi Colbert, sons of James Colbert;[52] and challenges from regional tensions with Creeks like McGillivray, who resisted the Chickasaws in every way until the Creek leader's death. "Spain had no greater Native American ally than McGillivray, and Piominko had no greater nemesis or rival," Cowger and Caver posit.[53] As an in-depth look at late eighteenth century political and tribal landscape in the Southeast, *Piominko: Chickasaw Leader* is a worthwhile kaleidoscope of insight into the period of war party raids, horse thieving, kidnappings, murders, scalpings, and factional alliances among the southeast tribes. Amid these tensions, Piominko was a fascinating Chickasaw statesman at home in the territories of Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, who also worked with President George Washington in Washington, DC. The book is expertly written by Cowger, a seasoned historian, professor, and director of Native American Studies at East Central University in Ada, Oklahoma, and Caver, a long-time researcher from Tupelo, Mississippi, and expert in history of the Chickasaw Homeland.

McInctosh and Weatherford: Creek Indian Leaders, by Benjamin W. Griffith, Jr.,

contributes to the study of multicultural Indian leaders is the book. It is a rich component for understanding tribal culture in the years that McIntosh and Weatherford were growing up among other Creek youth. Their leadership in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries proved to be a critical time for warring Creeks. If any of my supporting texts provide sweeping strokes of drama, intrigue, leadership, and betrayal, it is this one.

Adding insight into the history and culture of southeast tribes are Charles Hudson's *The Southeastern Indians,* and R. S. Cottrell's *The Southern Indians: the Story of the Five Civilized Tribes Before Removal*. I found *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians (Indians of the Southeast)*, edited by Gregory A. Waselkov and Katherine E. Holland Braund, to be a humble account of Creek activities and culture. While only referenced indirectly through other works in this paper, researchers will benefit from the insightful eye-witness accounts, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1896-1806,* Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, Vol. IX, published by the Georgia Historical Society, and the writings of John R. Swanton, including *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*.

Highland Scots, Lowland Scots, Ulster Scots, and the Irish

Comparative studies addressing the interrelated histories of Indians and Scottish and Irish immigrants are led by Colin Calloway and his contemporary Margaret Connell-Szasz. Calloway's *White People, Indians and Highlanders* includes nine chapters detailing "cycles of conquest and colonization, savage peoples and civilizing powers," warriors, removals, myths and new traditions, and identity in a changing world. "For American Indians and Highland Scots, identities were forged in part by their responses

to the power and policies of outsiders. In some cases they still are," he concludes in his epilogue.[54] Calloway expertly provides a side-by-side narrative to compare these cultures and draw parallels between both worlds. Although this is a beneficial method for providing these comparisons, I chose for the majority of the work to provide the context of southeast tribal culture and history as one segment, then Scottish and Irish history and culture in other segments. This was purposeful in allowing the reader to become engrossed in the social structure, military strategies, chronology, and details of history for each people group before bringing comparisons later in the paper.

Margaret Connell Szasz's *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth Century Atlantic World* is a treasure trove of Gaelic history, culture, social mores, and characterizations. As an example, in her chapter "Lands and Cultures of Gaels, Algonquians, and Iroquois," she remarks on the clan systems that mirror our own southeast tribal societies:

> Like their Native North American counterparts, the Highland Gaels have long traced their ancestry through the convoluted peregrinations of intermarriage among different peoples. In the Highlands, 'almost everyone is a genealogist,' early-eighteenth-century Englishman Edmond Burt noted.[55]

She provides great detail about Scottish society and Native America, comparative lifeways and education practices, the importance of original languages, and the revival of Gaelic language today in their homeland.

Irish journalist and filmmaker Karen F. McCarthy, a Dubliner now living in Brooklyn who covered Middle Eastern and US politics for the Irish Examiner, was also a news producer for Al Jazeera English in DC, and numerous TV programs. Her award-

winning four-part documentary series, *Made in America*, detailed the lives of "new Irish" immigrants turned millionaires during the 1990s. In her book, *The Other Irish: The Scots-Irish Rascals Who Made America*, McCarthy describes with striking imagery the first ships leaving port from Larne and Belfast Harbour in 1717, pulling away from beautiful, pastoral Irish shores belying the tumultuous and traumatic histories of the Scottish and Ulster peoples. McCarthy is careful to lay down the history of the Ulster colony that eventually led to their escape to the New World. While only limited portions of her text were beneficial for my time period, woven throughout was a transmission of understanding about the determined, wild warrior spirit of the Irish.

The New Generation

Andrew K. Frank, author of *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier,* examines the children of Creek mixed marriages and ways in which these descendants lived in both tribal and White worlds. He points out the inclusivity of the tribe, describing their attitudes toward bicultural children, and adoption, as well as their parenting practices, racial perspectives, and political factions in a matrilineal society. Additionally, in his 1998 doctoral dissertation, *A Peculiar Breed of Whites: Race, Culture and Identity in the Creek Confederacy*, Frank upholds the idea of "middle ground" in the Deep South, and admits his intrigue with the "Indian countryman."

Frank's work is complemented by Theda Purdue's *Mixed Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South.* Like Frank, Purdue includes critical details about matrilineal society, family life, and specific descendants of mixed marriages. Perdue's

book also covers a broader context of all Five Tribes in eighteenth century tribal society and prevailing attitudes about "blood" and "mixed blood." Despite being well-known for numerous scholarly works about Native American and southeast culture, Purdue's work conflicts at points with information provided by other scholars about southeast Indians. Purdue points out these discrepancies in her preface to *Mixed Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*, wherein Claudio Saunt is named as a researcher among others for the writing of her work.

Saunt's *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733 – 1816,* sometimes conflicted with information found in the works of Theda Purdue. Saunt's article, "Rethinking Race and Culture in the Early South", in the journal, *Ethnohistory*, along with three other authors, challenges Purdue's perspectives on racial ideology, kinship and clan systems.[56] Perdue followed with "A Response to Saunt et. al," stating that "…the point of this essay is to demonstrate how history has ''whitewashed'' Native societies by attributing cultural change to ''mixed-bloods,'' that is, to Indian people of European ancestry."[57] Purdue's point is well taken and built upon in this paper to demonstrate that tribal successes were not just the result of English-speaking, mixed heritage offspring who moved within and without both worlds.

CHAPTER 3: AN INDIAN RESEARCH JOURNEY

The Art of Discovery

Along with stepping into the world of Indigenous research methodologies comes the idea of "decolonizing." Decolonization as defined by Linda Smith is Indigenous activism as an act of drawing researchers (and consumers of research) away from Western disciplines. She calls it "the language of possibility" controlled by those who possess it "to make strategic choices, to theorize solutions," and to reimagine the world through Indigenous eyes.[58] In practical terms, this happens one individual at a time, each taking personal responsibility in their own way to reform thought, discourse, scholarship, literature, art, museums, education, culture, linguistics, and more.

In Mvskoke Creek, citizens of my tribe are *este-cate* (pronounced *isti-jadeh)*, 'red people', which also indicates all Native Americans. When we say it in our language, it is not a pan-Indian catch-all or myth of race about skin color as some might assume. In our language, ***este-cate is our identity***.[59] An even more specific term, *este-Mvskoke (isti-muhskogee),* identifies Muscogee Creek people. And although we may not understand its full meaning right away, what is important is that we come to know it—that we seek to know it. Kovach points out that "Indigenous ways of knowing is internal, personal, and experiential,"[60] adding also that it does not stop with identity; rather our tribal worldview must be passed to future generations.[61] As such, this art of discovering our

Indigenous history through a tribal, decolonizing lens is a 'revisionist' approach beyond the Westernized paradigm in favor of *este-cate*.

The Art of Words

Awareness of decolonizing one's research involves appropriately defining the origins of one's thoughts and, when necessary, redefining the use of words. Words are the products of our ideas, attitudes, and biases. I mention a few here in order to polish an Indigenous lens for the remainder of the work. While this information may have been positioned elsewhere in this research, its preeminence is more conducive to consideration and reformation of thought if addressed early on.

Full blood, half-blood, half-breed, mixed blood – These terms are purposely avoided as identifiers of tribal people. The notion of blood quantum was a European "scientific" development of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with categories that systematically objectified identity of Native Americans by blood. This was supported by the "father of eugenics" Francis Galton, who theorized that every person received half of their inherited DNA from each parent, a fourth from grandparents, and so on ("fractional inheritance"). This theory was not only bad science, it circumscribed collective tribal identity,[62] clan affiliation, and kinships. Acknowledging the Anglo history of this misappropriation for terms for the American Indian plainly reveals how we were historically, and still are, judged and classified in scientific terms—as if full-bloods are a distinct species and mixed-bloods, a subspecies or subset of the "truest" group.

The term 'half-breed' had its origins in English Common Law and was not an indication of race, but of siblings who shared a common parent. Its use arose as fur trade increased in America and referred to people of mixed races or mixed cultures, such as French-American Indians, or English-American Indians.[63] Andrew Frank chose to eliminate these terms from his book, *Creeks and Southerners*, first, because eighteenth century Creeks did not understand or use terms that indicated blood quantum or "hybridity,"[64] and second, because race and paternal identity were foreign concepts within matrilineal societies of Creeks and other tribes at that time.[65]

The impact of the blood quantum system still affects tribes today. In 1887 Congress imposed the Dawes Act, or General Allotment Act, to strip tribes of lands and identity by requiring a census of tribal members to determine who was and was not Indian, and to move tribes onto reduced spaces of land known as reservations. For the Five Tribes, this breach of sovereignty resulted in the loss of much land in Indian Territory beginning in 1898, including both individual land allotments for tribal citizens and reduction of Indian lands to free up land for White settlement. Across the continent this resulted in a loss of 90 million acres of Indian lands.[66] Although this paper does not extend beyond 1830, it is sufficient to note that blood quantum today is still tied to federal imposition of enrollment based on the Dawes Rolls, and issuance of a Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood (CDIB) to "qualifying" Indians.[67] Today, many tribes are exercising sovereignty by moving away from blood quantum requirements as a determinant of tribal citizenship.

Métis, Mestizo, Indian countrymen – 'Métis' and 'Mestizo' were non-English terms during the eighteenth century that also served as misnomers for Creek descendants with mixed heritage. The Métis are a recognized Aboriginal group in Canada, the descendants of First Nations-European marriages, and is not an accurate term for southeastern tribal offspring of mixed descent. 'Mestizo' is a word that typically applies to descendants from Native American and Spanish parents, with not only racial connotations, but indications of class, in which case it meant lower than a White man, but higher than an Indian.[68] Mestizos derived their identity traditionally as residents of colonial Spanish society, not in Indian clans as many of these children lived. 'Mestizo' could also imply African parentage. These French and Spanish terms, although used by scholars today, are not accurate terms for Creek or southeast tribal offspring.

The term 'Indian countrymen' is used in both older writings and in contemporary scholarship to denote individuals who made a conscious choice to live among Native people, according to Andrew Frank in "A Peculiar Breed of Whites."[69] Frank references this use in the eighteenth century from the writings of Benjamin Hawkins and Thomas Simpson Woodward. In the interest of telling a new Indian story about the pre-Removal period, we remember that the Creeks were multiethnic by virtue of their multitribal confederacy, neither recognizing race nor awareness of blood quantum as determinants of identity. Racial categories or the implication of "partial Indianness," as Frank iterates, were not cultural paradigms.[70] Matrilineal societies like the Creeks welcomed not only husbands—Indian countrymen—who married into the

wife's clan, but also their "mixed" children as wholly Indian. It was, and still is, the clan of the mother that determines identity.[71]

When considering *all* family members as clan members, and therefore, as tribal members, I struggled with terms like 'Indian countrymen' that perpetuated the notion of separateness. I evolved, however, in my perspective by layering subsequent thought and work with both Mvskoke Creek language and use of 'Indian countrymen' for clarity. For this work, Indian countrymen refers to non-Indigenous individuals who joined themselves to the tribe(s) through marriage or adoption, not as a subculture or less than Indian, but as distinct from descendants of intermarriage.

Andrew Frank resolved his own writing about Creek mixed descendants by using the term "bicultural" in *Creeks and Southerners.* While I understood his choice for employing that term, it did not define the deeper richness, the hues and tones that were emerging about my culture. I sought the counsel of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation language committee, hoping to find the best Creek language recognition for mixed heritage descendants. Members of the committee knew of no older word used for these descendants, but first recommended the use of *Catv-cvmelike,* 'of mixed-blood'.[72] With respect for the committee who did not at that time have the full context of this study, and the fact that "catv" is the Creek word for "blood", I contemplated again, "Is it about blood? Lineage? Culture? Belonging? What picture is forming on this 'gravid canvas'?" If the essence of matrilineal society is in the power of bringing forth life, in motherhood, in the ordered social structure of her clan family, then perpetuity of tribal people, tribal life, and culture continuance rests in her children.

Child of the woman, *echuswv*, 'her son or daughter', *cvmelke*, 'mixed'.[73]

Echuswv-cvmelke (pronounced ichuswuh-chamalge).[74] This is the Mvskoke Creek term I will use to refer to Creeks born into mixed heritage.

Scottish, Irish, Gaels, and Celts – The following terms identify Scottish and Irish groups relevant to our narrative.[75]

- ***Lowland Scots*** – Largely Scots-speaking people from the Scottish Lowlands, north of the border with England.
- ***Highland Scots*** – Predominantly Gaelic-speaking people from the Scottish Highlands and Islands.
- ***Scots-Irish or Ulster Scots*** – The descendants of Scots speakers who were removed from Scotland to Northern Ireland, beginning in 1610.
- ***Scottish*** – An adjective referring to the citizens of the country of Scotland, including both Highland and Lowland Scots.
- ***Gaels*** – Irish (Gaelic) and (Scottish) Gaelic speakers who have occupied Ireland since ca. 200-300 BC (historians debate the dates of origins in Ireland), and the Scottish Highlands and Islands since ca. 400 AD.
- ***Irish*** – Irish (Gaelic) speakers who were are the original inhabitants of Ireland.
- ***Celts*** – An ethnic and linguistic label referring to speakers of Welsh, Breton, Manx, Cornish, Irish (Gaelic) and (Scottish) Gaelic.

The Art of Designing Research

The aim of this work is to:

1. Fill a gap in comparative Indigenous studies, especially for southeast tribes, that speaks to the integration of these groups through a decolonizing lens;
2. Provide an historical and sociocultural comparison of transatlantic peoples prior to their convergence;
3. Examine similitudes in histories of colonization for these groups, and issues of trauma due to colonial aggression, forced removals, dispossession of lands;
4. Explore the impact of interaction among these groups socially, politically, and culturally.
5. Promote understanding and foster dialogue about Indian identity, race, and kinship.

This paper analyzes southeast tribal history and cultural practices from 1700 to 1730 with attention to Mvskoke Creeks, the effects of colonization, and interaction with Euro-American enemies and allies, the Americans, British, French, and Spanish. In particular, I examine British imperialism in Scotland and Ireland, issues of changing identity, the destruction of the Scottish chieftain, warrior, and clan systems, social classes, and loss of land bases, and compare these issues with similar colonial processes the Creeks experienced. This research will look for social, cultural, and political implications inherent within these narratives, and identity and kinships that may have made possible the creation of powerful bonds between Indians and Scottish and Irish immigrants.

The study briefly considers the lives of three *echuswv-cvmelke* Creek leaders to gain insight into the complex political and social landscape of the late eighteenth century into which these were born, and the loyalties to which each adhered. It challenges enlightenment thinkers of that day who believed that hunters and gatherers were at the bottom of human hierarchy, and that tribal success and civilization, the pinnacle of enlightenment, was attributed to this new generation of *echuswv-cvmelke.*[76] Observers of that time developed a racially-based paradigm that *echuswv-cvmelke* rose to the forefront of tribal economic systems and governments because of White ancestry, [77] although these new leaders had learned connectivity of spiritual, military, and political powers from southeast Indian tradition.[78] As the study will demonstrate, their successes were also met with human failure. Included in the study are William McIntosh, also known by his Creek name, Tustunnugee Hutkee, (White Warrior), William Weatherford, also known as Red Eagle, and Alexander McGillivray (Hoboi-Hili-Miko), all skilled at moving among tribesmen and statesmen, in White worlds and Indian, whether loved or hated, rising to power or falling from grace.

Framing History, Framing Culture

Opaskawayak Cree researcher Shawn Wilson describes how Indigenous research is different from Eurocentric research, arguing that the foundation of all knowledges, or the lens through which Native researchers see the world, is cultural knowledge, which guides the way wherein all societies are formed. Indigenous cultures, Wilson contends, hold a worldview comprised of inseparable relationality of ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology. In other words, our belief systems and assumptions, our

tribal and cultural knowledges, our Indigenous research methods, and our relational accountability and ethical protocols are based in a constant flow of all that informs our reality.[79]

In the case of Margaret Kovach who constructed a tribal-centered framework for her Indigenous research, a model arises in leaving behind Western research frameworks in order to yield to a tribal epistemology: "Once I understood that I was privileging Plains Cree knowledges, a research framework began to form and give meaning to what I had been doing (or at least attempting to do) but as yet could not name. This was an attempt to honour [*sic*] the tribal knowledge that emerged from a social encounter with my world."[80] Kovach realized that she had to make intentional efforts to encounter her tribal world and to deepen relationships in her tribal community, inevitably creating a path for others to follow. I choose this path as the infrastructure supporting my methodology.

A Blended Qualitative Approach

As qualitative research, this paper combines historical, ethnographical, and relational approaches to discover and interpret an understanding of Mvskoke people, Scottish and Irish immigrants, and their descendants during the period from 1700 to 1830. It is a blended investigative framework which first gathers historical data about the Southeast from 1700 through 1830, and pertinent historical information that predate the era. Second, it takes an ethnographical approach to paint a clear picture of who inhabited the southeastern United States and how their lives were changing. Within this framework, Creek culture and tribal knowledges become the revelators of Creek people

as inseparable within the pursuit of Native American scholarship. Scholars in the fields of Scottish and Irish history and culture provided data and context for analyzing the history, customs, and characteristics of those peoples.

The basis of relationality as a holistic component for tribal-centric study is implemented as praxis throughout the methodology.[81] Since 2005, relationality has been both the vehicle and the reward of my work with tribal initiatives—in valuable relationships in tribal communities, tribal gatherings, cultural immersion, teacher-to-student relations in Native studies courses. Rich friendships with southeast tribal members and Indigenous scholars over time have become the corner posts of tribal knowledges, providing insight and sensory perceptions, as Smith, Kovach, and Wilson discuss. Kovach explains that a relational approach serves the work itself in a reflexive manner. "Reflexivity is the researcher's own self-reflection in the meaning-making process," she posits.[82]

My own reflexivity during this study affirmed to me, "We belong to one another. We belong to the work." Approaching the work through an Indigenous lens affirmed permission to process information and ideas through the intuitive and sensory, allowing intellect and science to converge with art, religion, and emotion.[83] In this I moved from a Western aim of objectivity to a purposeful, Indigenous embrace of subjective work. C. W. Creswell encourages a researcher's admission of subjectivity as an integral part of a qualitative research strategy to "clarify bias and create a transparency," so readers may recognize an author's subjectivity as they form their own conclusions.[84] Within this Indigenous framework, I will re-examine and re-present

tribal, European, and mixed heritage histories, and explore issues of race, kinship, and identity.

By contributing to non-Western portrayals of this history, this study intervenes in existing Euro-American historical perspectives with an aim to improve historical accuracy in educational practice, and to offer support for a revisionist grid of American and Native American history, and scholarship (in other words, telling the New Indian Story). By decolonizing history, it deepens a collective southeast tribal identity for those who might not otherwise embrace this history as "our" history. As activism, this work serves to repatriate tribal knowledges in a manner that honors the historical record, our ancestors who lived it, and the people it continues to impact.

CHAPTER 4: IMAGINE DEEPLY

Readers may be unfamiliar with definitions of 'gesture' and 'contrast' in art vocabulary. Gesture connotes drawings that are performed quickly and loosely to indicate action or movement of a subject. There is no fine detail as the lines of the drawing suggest a full image. On the other hand, contrast identifies detail through differences in color, texture, and areas of extreme light or dark shades.[85] While some historical accounts of southeast tribal history and culture are clear, others are blurred, or conflict with one another. Historical accounts like those of William Bartram were accompanied by heartfelt notations that he did not want to offer conjecture, but provide the observations that seemed accurate at the time.[86] We look closely at southeast culture with the understanding that both gesture, those sometimes amorphous forms, and contrast, details "as sharp as obsidian,"[87] aid our understanding.

I was reminded by a podcaster whose work is dear to me that our stories are for telling and telling again. Storytelling is the oral tradition of Mvskoke people. This space, these words on paper, on a computer screen, through living voices, are Creek people telling again their story. Chickasaw historian and educator Dr. Amanda Cobb-Greetham describes how we can learn from our ancestors.

> For me, history is not merely about documenting and recording our past—it is about continuance—the remembrance of times, places, and people; the knowing of those times, places, and people through imaginative acts…not merely to memorize facts of the past, but to imagine the events of the past as if we are there; to imagine it as if we do not know what happened next; to imagine so deeply as to reach through time and touch the past. I believe through acts of imagination we can come to know our ancestors and learn what we need to continue.[88]

To imagine deeply is to step creatively into other worlds, reaching through time to touch the past so we may continue. It is an invitation.

Stepping In

When Mississippian chiefdoms crumbled and tribes left their large mound complexes, they forged communities out of forested and open lands and built villages and towns. Although some possessed differences in ancestry and language, southeast tribes re-established in similar social, cultural, and economic patterns. Their towns were positioned along waterways and extended across wide areas with scattered dwellings. A central square was the anchor of activity with tribal council or public utility buildings.[89] At first, early Creek homes were built to only last a few years, crafted from woven tree branches daubed with mud.[90] But log dwellings also joined family living with dirt floors and a place for fire in the center so smoke could ascend through a hole in the roof. The interior was often flea-ridden and uncomfortable, so whenever possible, cooking was done outside. It served as protection in inclement weather and a place for sleeping, but most 'living' for the southern Indian was conducted outdoors. The log home was cool in the summer and a separate "hot house" was built to keep warm in the winter.[91]

Within each town, Creek women farmed plots of gourds, peanuts, melons, rice, and sweet potatoes. Other accounts include beans, pumpkins, and fruits. William Bartram in his account added the harvest of corn and squash, and noted that families living on the outskirts farmed plots around their homes communally, but harvested

severally. Among almost every southeast tribe, land was never considered a possession. "Every individual inhabitant has an equal right to the soil, and to hunt and range over this region, except within the jurisdiction of each town or village…," Bartram wrote.[92] In spite of trading for European goods beginning in the late 1600s, the Creeks in the first half of the eighteenth century remained indifferent to material possessions. Their relationship to property was reflected in modest homes and dress; deerskins were their greatest riches.[93] Tribal societies did not remain static, however, and developed significantly in use of materials and trade goods in the latter eighteenth century.

Matrilineal Society: Flesh and Bone

The southeast Indian matrilineal social structure based in the mother's family bloodline and her clan was a living infrastructure that upheld tribal life. An understanding of the importance of family and clan life is essential to understanding southeast Indian identity. Together, kinship and clans were the inward and outward anatomy, figuratively the flesh and matrilineal bones that moved many details of Mvskoke Creek life and formed a tribal worldview. I wonder how a master painter would portray kinship and clans as a living *corpus humanum.*

Charles Hudson argues that clans were the single most important entity of tribal life. One's clan determined relationships to all other family members, movement in tribal society, decisions to go to war, and attachment to marital partners. Clan members were part of the same social category which provided identity, relationship, and safety. Whereas family lineages were traceable, members of clans across different communities did not necessarily know familial connections from town to town, but still experienced

the advantages of belonging in their clan. Outsiders to a southeast tribe had no legal rights or security unless adopted into a clan.[94] Both before and after the Creek confederacy of tribes formed, members of Creek society belonged to one of nearly two dozen clans that varied in size, and in spiritual and political influence.

Individual and collective Creek identity came from a child's mother and her clan, regardless of paternity. If outsiders were joined to a Creek clan, they became *este-Mvskoke* regardless of their race or national origin; but if they merely resided in the community and were not brought into a clan, they had no tribal identity.[95] Although Tecumseh was known in the early 1800s as a Shawnee leader from his father's tribe, his mother was Mvskoke. He spoke Shawnee and dressed Shawnee, and when he visited his Creek Council for political purposes, he had to speak through an interpreter. With no residency in the tribe, ability to speak the language, or affiliation to customs, Tecumseh's kinship and clan opened a door of acceptance to speak with the highest leaders in the Creek Council. One's matrilineal ties determined inclusion or leadership in town and national councils, hunting parties, ceremonies, as peace makers, or as spiritual advisers. These ties were so strong that US government agent Benjamin Hawkins complained that the clan system, which typically avenged the death of fellow clan members as a system of protection, also perpetuated a cycle of violence without a consistent form of justice.[96]

Since the days of ancient storytellers, southeast clans were based in the mythology of animals and natural phenomenon, such as Wind Clan, Wolf Clan, Deer Clan, Bear Clan, and others.[97] Anthropologist John R. Swanton recorded a Creek origin

story about the first group of Creeks to emerge from the soil. A dense fog hovered over the earth, but as a strong wind blew to clear the fog, those who first saw the earth and its animals became the Wind Clan. Groups who emerged following the Wind Clan embraced clan names from the first live animal they encountered, and became the Beaver Clan, the Bear Clan, and the Bird Clan. These were ranked immediately behind the Wind Clan in tribal importance, according to the story. As clan sizes grew, and were possibly disrupted by colonial expansion, families left the larger clan and segmented into new, smaller towns. At one time over fifty large and small clans were found among the Mvskoke, Natchez, Yuchis, Timucuas, Alabamas, Hitchitis, and Chickasaws.[98]

Clans were comprised of kinships, a series of lineages through tribal mothers, known as matrilineage. Ancestry was traced through the mother's bloodline with a strict social system of relationships and responsibilities affecting marriage and child rearing. When a Creek man and woman married, the husband left his mother's clan to live among his wife's clan. When she bore children, offspring were considered blood relatives, or "kinsmen" to the mother's relatives, but not to the father's. That meant the child's brothers and sisters and the mother's brothers and sisters were kinsmen, but not so for the father's side of the family. While their father was still an important figure to the children, family life centered in the clan; discipline and parenting became the responsibility of the mother's brother instead of the father. The maternal uncle became his nephews' closest male blood relative as a source of both correction and comfort, providing the nurturing and instruction to grow into manhood. [99]

The term *tcki* is used by a Creek male for his own mother, and *tckutci* 'little

mother' for his sisters. A mother's sister's family also held special names to identify cousins as lineal kinship. This did not, however, carry over to cousins who were children of the mother's brother.[100] In the 1700s, the roles of Creek men and women were well-defined and it was not customary for them to interact outside of the family. Saunt suggests that the fact that men and women in Creek and other Muskogean languages use different forms for some words is reflective of the fact that they operated within two different social spheres. While women cared for their families, made clothing, tended gardens, and prepared foods, tribal men hunted and engaged in warfare away from home for extended periods of time.[101]

Distinctions between genders were also apparent during the Green Corn Ceremony, the *Poskita* or *Poskitv* (literally, 'to fast', or 'Green Corn Dance'), an annual festival of purification and renewal when men and women feared harmful consequences if they touched or spoke to one another. They followed similar protocol during preparations for battle. Some southeast tribes ascribed dangerous magic and spiritual energy to a woman's menstrual cycle that symbolized her life-giving power, and tribes held to the practice of women separating themselves from the family during menstruation and childbirth.[102]

A New Polity: The Creek Confederacy

The incursion of European forces and American colonialism caused diverse southeast tribal groups to coalesce and strengthen into a geopolitical organization of confederated towns, becoming the most sophisticated political society north of Mexico. New tribal towns, called *talwas* or *etvlwv*, were organized from "Mother towns" as

populations grew, and towns were added as they were conquered by the Mvskokes or fragmented due to encroaching European conflict.[103]

Four towns were formed initially and reflected mound culture that survived their destruction: Abhika, Coweta, Cussita, and Tuckebatchee. Politically, these differed from previous hierarchical chiefdoms of the mounds whose accumulated power was inherited through lineage. Instead, these and later, other towns, were autonomous, reflecting the diversity of the Mississippian world, each *etvlwv* (pronounced eh-tahlwa) with a ruling chief (*micco, miko,* or *mekko*), a second chief (*henehv*), singers or spokesmen (v*yvhiketv*), medicine men (*heles-hayv,* sometimes *hajos*), and warriors (*tustunnuggee* or spelled today, *tvstvnvke*).[104]

By the time William Bartram traveled through Creek country in 1775, he recorded this method of governance as consistent throughout the confederacy. A hierarchy of headmen began with the *mekko*, who served as the leader of the council. He was followed by the Great War Chief, also called the second chief, then the older warriors, known as the "Antient [*sic*] Warriors," along with the heads of tribes and families. The *mekko* had no executive powers apart from the council, only the power of persuasion as decisions concerning matters of the town or wars were made. A high priest (or medicine man) also sat in the council and his advice concerning war and spiritual affairs carried great influence. They assembled each day around noon in the "great rotunda," a round house on the town plaza. A conch shell full of black drink, a heavily-caffeinated emetic for purification made from yaupon holly, was brought to the *mekko,* its bearer bowing low, almost at his feet, in homage to the dignitary.[105]

Towns evolved in the eighteenth century with more sophisticated plazas for "town houses" or council houses. Games such as chunkey were played on the plaza with a carved stone disc and spears. It also served as a place for community feasts, ceremonies, and public spectacles (poles remained in the plaza for punishment and torture of prisoners). Housing had evolved, too, with winter houses as warm as a Dutch stove, according to James Adair. Summer homes were adorned by gabled roofs and whitewashed walls inside, covered with powdered oyster shells or white clay.[106]

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many languages and dialects of the Muscogee, Natchez, Shawnee, and Hitchita were spoken from town to town as they were evolving into a formidable confederacy. Among the differing tribal societies of the confederacy, the language and culture of the Mvskoke people began to dominate and language became a unifier of tribal towns out of political necessity. The name *Mvskoke* was derived from an ancient and distinct language group (also known as Muskogeean), spoken by tribes such as the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Alabama, Apalachee, Hitchiti-Mikasuki, Koasati, and those who formed into the Seminole tribe. Because these towns were strategically built along waterways (such as the Ocheese Creek, known today as the Ocmulgee River) to facilitate agriculture, trade, and transportation, colonists began to call the tribal groups collectively "the Creeks," and their alliance the Creek Confederacy.[107]

Spirituality: As Thin as a Leaf

Southeast tribes had a unifying spirituality and cosmology, together formulating agency for resistance to creeping colonial invasion. Creeks shared a worldview of an

ordered and balanced cosmos, of an Upper World, a chaotic Under World, and This World, the "in between" of human existence and accountability. They believed in the guidance of *Hesaketvmese*, the Breath Maker, and practiced centuries-old traditions for cleansing, purity, ceremonies, and customs for daily living. Each year Creek towns gathered for several days and celebrated the Green Corn Ceremony through rituals of purification, fasting, dancing unto *Hesaketvmese,* and then feasting. Spiritual ceremony and reconnection to their Creator, to the earth, and to one another—rebirth and renewal—included forgiveness of offenses, receiving of new names for certain acts or coming of age, tattooing, and ritualized scratching. The ceremonial fire was relit and used to relight the fires in every household.[108] All were refreshed, purified, and strengthened, bound together in layered hues of collective understanding and experience.

The Green Corn Ceremony continues today, celebrated each summer on ceremonial grounds throughout the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. Southeast tribes still participate in stomp dances, ceremonial fire and tobacco practices, fasting, and purification ceremonies. Since the early decades of the eighteenth century, southeast tribes were visited by missionaries, Moravians, and preachers like John and Charles Wesley in attempts at Christian conversion in exchange for tribal ceremonies.[109] While the Wesleys were unsuccessful, many southeast Indians eventually adopted various forms of Christianity as ritual worship, bringing hymns on their 'Trail of Tears' to the West, sung in Muscogee Creek. Creek hymn singing is still a regular practice in Indian churches around Oklahoma.

I had moving conversations about inseparable Creek culture and spirituality with tribal elders who subscribe to either Christian beliefs or ceremonial beliefs. "You'll find Creeks on every point of the spectrum—180 degrees apart—between ceremonial and Christian beliefs," relayed Sandra Medrano of Thlopthlocco Tribal Town (Muscogee Creek). Medrano attended outdoor Christian camp meetings as a girl with her father, listening to preachers as they taught from brush arbors while she cooked outdoors with the women. "I am a Christian, but I also believe that missionaries were the cause for the great divide among us with theology."

Oklahoma City resident and Muscogee Creek Tressa Gouge was raised in a ceremonial family and attended ceremonial grounds each weekend while growing up. She shared how in ceremony tribal people find order and purpose, and everybody knows their place. Mvskoke Creek language is the most important part of ceremony, especially for prayers and chants. Language was how Gouge learned from others who practice ceremony; some things spoken in tribal language are too sacred to be spoken in English.

Bill Davis of the Oklahoma City Creek community believes that worship is also a search for identity, a place where "you find out who your people are." Gouge learned firsthand about spiritual conflicts among tribal people. She experienced rejection as a young girl from adults at a Christian church who knew about her ceremonial beliefs. "I didn't understand it," she said. "Christianity was supposed to be a loving religion and I was deeply hurt by those who judged us as a ceremonial family. My family had told us to watch out if someone came at you with that 'black book.' As a child, she did not

know that her family was talking about a Bible; She had never heard of a Bible.

An overlap of spirituality and tradition is also part of Gouge's experience through Creek storytelling, discovered in cultural symbols such as those on ceremonial handwoven yarn belts. Symbols and patterns in tribal regalia continually speak of cultural knowledges and elements of the spirit world. While Medrano's father was not a storyteller, he was a constant teacher, relaying the importance of spiritual and tribal values: honesty, truth, respect for life and death, watching for signs in the world around us that are lessons ready to be learned.

"We live our spirituality," Gouge said. "Our spiritual beliefs are told to our children from the day they are born. As soon as kids open their eyes each day, we talk about the spirit world. We are always aware of it. It's as thin as a leaf. That's how close it is."[110]

Polarities in White and Red

Much has been emphasized about southeast matrilineal society and the importance of clans and kinship, but the emphasis of leadership for tribal towns and later, an extended nation, began in shared governance of headmen of the council. The Creek *mekko* of each town was usually elected from a "white" clan, those devoted to a path of peace. In his induction ceremony, the *mekko* wore unsmoked white buckskin, his face smeared with white clay to indicate his choice of the white path. Black drink, a European moniker for the dark, potent tea, was actually called "white drink" by southeast Indians. It was swallowed after the *mekko* chanted a song, then passed to others. The emetic was consumed in large quantities by those present at the council,

with repeated vomiting as a symbol of purification. This ritual created bonds among men of the council as did tobacco. The *mekko* loaded his pipe from tobacco in a pouch made with the skin of his clan animal and first blew smoke toward the East, and the other cardinal directions. The pipe was then passed and the meeting began. In diplomatic fashion, anyone in attendance spoke freely, regardless of views.[111]

A duality of political organization in the council also included two chiefs, the peace chief and a war chief. Alongside the *mekko*, a war chief, or "Great Warrior" was designated because of his courage and feats in battle. Warriors commanded great respect and the Ancient Warriors, the older war leaders, were the wise and "Beloved Old Men." When war was declared by the council, Great Warrior announced it in the town and led his warriors into the charge.

As town alliances formed for trade and protection, they evolved as either peace towns (white towns), or war towns (red towns). Each of these groups acknowledged their loyalty to their affiliates by saying, "We are of the same fire."[112] While the English gave strength to the notion of a Creek Confederacy, tensions prevailed among town political leaders as alliances were forged. Creek towns allied geographically along rivers into groups, the northern known as Upper Creeks, or Red Stick towns along the Alabama, Coosa, and Tallapoosa rivers. Upper Creeks were about twenty towns in the eighteenth century, but grew to about forty just prior to Removal. Lower Creeks coalesced along the Ocmulgee, Flint, and Chattahoochee rivers. A third alliance further south would become known as the Seminoles.[113]

Another Art of War

The Art of War by fifth century military leader Sun Tzu is one of the most famous summaries of military strategies in the world, written at a time when many of China's vassal states competed for power and control over vast amounts of land. Tzu understood that life and death, safety or ruin, were at stake to survive the turmoil of his day.[114] In understanding southeast culture after European contact, it is important to remember that strategies of tribal warfare and development of Indian men into warriors revolved around issues of life and death. Prior to defending their homelands against colonial invaders, southeast tribal warfare was not for territorial or economic gain, but typically was in retaliation to murder, and to earn war honors. There were some exceptions, such as war between tribes sharing Mississippian cultures who warred over expansionism, or reciprocal reoccurring raids between geographic disparates, such as the Cherokees and the Iroquois. By 1725, the Cherokees were fighting Senecas, tribes affiliated with the French, the Choctaws, Creeks, and most likely the Chickasaws.

Tribal warfare was restricted by season, waged in spring, summer, and early fall. The goal of young men was the reward of a war name gained through victorious feats. These names meant a rise in status among the headmen of their town and also their clan. When a Creek warrior's death was to be avenged, the Creeks were rarely unanimous in wanting to attack, but the spilling of blood demanded retaliation by the dead man's clan. Sometimes members of another clan would join the efforts.[115] I elaborate on the following (sometimes grisly) details of war to grapple with tribal warrior mentality and southeast customs of warfare. It also provides a glimpse into the

kind of world that Scottish and Irish traders would soon enter.

The Chickasaws went to war with great ceremony and once the Great Warrior rallied his young warriors with an impassioned speech, the women sang war songs to further inflame the cause. After three days of fasting and purging in the Great Warrior's house, all were ready for combat and painted their skin red and black, symbols for conflict and death. The war party of typically twenty men, but never more than forty, followed a leader carrying a square wooden box on his back, replete with medicine bundle, holy objects made by old women, and animal horns and bones. They departed town in single file with great war whoops, yelling, and singing a solemn war song. Cherokees carried a similar medicine bundle on live coals in a rectangular clay container with a lid, and a divining crystal.[116]

Southeast warriors traveled almost naked in a breech cloth and moccasins, and carried a pack containing a blanket, a bag of parched corn meal and sometimes dried cornbread, a wooden cup, and extra leather to repair a moccasin if needed. Warriors never sat directly on the earth, but on fallen logs or on stones. Quietly and with great stealth, they sometimes followed in the exact footsteps of the warrior in front of them to hide the number in their party, and only communicated by imitating animal sounds. Chickasaw scouts were known to attach bear paws or buffalo hooves to their feet to disguise their tracks.

The bow and arrow were the great prowess of southeast warriors before guns became a commodity, but the main symbol of war was the war club. These were long, between twenty and thirty inches, and carved out of dense wood in various shapes.

Some had a sharp spatula end, and others held a three-inch ball carved into the end. Warriors took great pride in developing agility and skill with the war club.[117]

If a man was killed, the scalp was the warrior's prize. Making an incision around the head, the attacker would place his feet on the victim's neck and pull off the scalp. To show it off, it was tied to a hoop, painted red on the inside and preserved, then hung on a tall pole. Sometimes they were tied on a warrior's bow as decoration. At Moundville in Alabama, evidence of scalping was discovered, indicating the practice existed during the Mississippian period. It was not unusual to see a severed head atop a pole in some tribes.[118] Even in the latter portion of the eighteenth century, Bartram witnessed multiple scalps hanging from a "slave" pole in a Creek town chunkey plaza, the central point of a Creek town where prisoners were tied up and tortured, suffering horrible deaths. He cites a chilling image: "…the pole is usually crowned with the white dry skull of an enemy…6 or 8 scalps fluttering on one pole in these yards."[119]

Southeast tribes would also engage in the rituals and violent game of stickball, sometimes known as "the little brother of war."[120] Stickball was played with numerous players, each using two long, wooden sticks that pocketed a ball and made possible throwing the ball long distances toward a goal, much like lacrosse. A player could not touch the ball with their hands but scoop it up with his sticks. There was great wealth to be gained for those who bet on the games, and many participated in tribal ritual and ceremony before the game. The night before the game included ceremonial dancing, with numerous rituals prior to the game led by a medicine man, or high priest, including scratching the limbs with animal teeth until they bled, painting portions of

the body with red and black paint, singing songs, and ritual fasting. These mimicked the preparations for warfare. In that time, women were not allowed to play or even touch a ball stick, which rendered it unusable.[121]

Stickball is still "the little brother of war," and a vital part of southeast culture today with important rituals practiced before each game.[122] As cultural continuance and protection of cultural sovereignty, stickball engrosses the development of individual strength and collective strategy, ceremony, honor, and perseverance, all warrior-like principles that were vital to the life and security of tribal people during the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER 5: LIGHT AND SHADOW, COGADH GAEDHEL

> I have found that, like doing Indian history, doing Scottish history involves peeling back myths, identifying their roots, and examining the enduring power of the imagined past in shaping national, tribal, and individual identities. Grappling with the imagined past among American Scots involves layers of myth, memory, and identity on both sides of the Atlantic.[123]
>
> —Colin Calloway

Celts and Gauls

Americans without family connections to Scotland or Ireland may know relatively little about these countries or people. The term 'Celtic' is used today to reference everything from sports teams to local establishments to overromanticized movies. The word Keltoi 'Celt' was first recorded in the late sixth century BC by a Greek geographer. The same people were called Gauls and identified as a barbaric people by the Roman Empire. A century later their presence was noted near the Danube River, identified as the territory of the Celts.[124] In fact, their territory covered present-day France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, parts of the Netherlands, and a valley of Italy.[125] However, Celtic peoples had no cohesive identity across a very large network of autonomous societies, other than some shared cultural beliefs and practices, functioning in very different and separate polities. While the Celts were not an empire, they have a formidable history of expansionism, and were the first to discover iron smelting on the European continent. They carried their culture of the Bronze Age and the added technology of Iron tools and weapons from Iberia (Spain) across Europe, and as far east as Turkey. Celts ushered in the Iron Age and brought it to the far reaches of the continent, not as nation building,

but through raids and establishment of settlements. This fearless quest to occupy far-away lands led to their migration to "Pretanic Island" (British Isles, or Britain) around the fifth century BC.[126]

Greco-Roman narratives promoted a classical stereotype for Celts based in barbarism in contrast to their own "civilized" societies. Centuries after the Celts had long dispersed across the North Sea, the French were still building their identity with a romanticized version of Celtic history from the time of Napoleon into modern day.[127] The only true exclusively Celtic land today is the island of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, England, Cornwall, and the Isle of Mann.[128] Modern Celtic languages include Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, Manx, Breton, Cornish, and Welsh.[129] Of the Celtic groups, Irish and Scottish Gaels are the most relevant to this history since they comprised a large number of those who emigrated to Creek territory in the 1700s.

Origins of Lands and People

The inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland fought furiously for their lands against invaders and oppressors for over two thousand years. Attachments to the land were spiritual and emotional in communal land-holding practices in Scotland. Gaelic place names are both factual and mythical, born of intimacy and personal meaning that "bind the landscape with human imagination and experience."[130] Regrettably, no written Celtic origin stories about their land remain, possibly due to the secrecy of the Druids or altered narratives by the cultural brokers of their region, Catholic monks.[131]

The Picts (meaning 'painted ones' as they were heavily tattooed), another Celtic group, invaded northern Scotland, originally called Alba, and were followed by

Norsemen (also known as Vikings or Normans). Norsemen, like the Picts before them, perpetuated four centuries of raids and expanded settlements during the Middle Ages, intermarrying and creating a Celtic-Norse culture. Norsemen were succeeded by Anglo-Normans, Flemish, and French invasions from the south, bringing the feudal systems to the Highlands and Islands. Highland Scots enjoyed a "golden age" of Gaeldom in the thirteenth century.[132]

During this golden period for Scotland, the knights of Normandy, who had conquered England a century earlier, crept in slowly from their English settlements to claim pieces of Ireland. Anglo-Norman King Henry II strategized to conquer it all for England. For four hundred years, the Irish fought for their lives and their land, thwarting a succession of brutal attacks by the monarchy. The northern province of Ulster finally staged a bloody revolt in the sixteenth century that toppled the military strategies of Queen Elizabeth I.

When Queen Elizabeth I died in 1603, James VI of Scotland assumed the crown and became King James I of England and Scotland, initiating a new wave of imperial aggression. King James VI/I wanted Ireland, and went after the Ulster plantation estates of Irish chieftains, eventually seizing all as Irish chieftains fled. The king awarded these large estates to English nobles and merchants from London in order to resettle and lease lands, cultivate crops, and ultimately, bring in a profit. Being both Scottish and Presbyterian, the king also wanted his new territory to be inhabited by Scottish and English Presbyterians, so while more English were dispersed to Ireland, he ordered the forced migration of the Lowland Scots to Ulster to work the land and

become loyal to the church. The king purposely avoided the Catholic Highland Scots, cousins to the Catholic Irish, in order to restrain religious and political opposition. To make way for his émigré, King James VI/I forced out the Ulster Irish who had inhabited their lands for generations; any who stayed would serve as forced labor to their new English landlords. King James, in his offensive to make Ireland his first colony, thus paved the way for centuries of Protestant-Catholic conflict to follow.[133]

Patrilineal Society: Kinship and Clans

Scottish Highlanders lived in a patrilineal culture, tracing lineage through the father. Identity was passed down through the paternal bloodline and the family name. Strikingly similar to our southeast tribes, Highland Scots assumed very logical, distinct gender roles. Men threshed grain and women ground it. After men dug up the ground, women planted. Men performed heavy domestic work, built homes, thatched roofs, and mended furniture. Women handled all the chores of the dairy for Highland cattle, goats, and sheep. Men were warriors and hunters while women made clothing, and cared for the children and the home.

Margaret Connell Szasz provides a parallel of patrilineal society to that of our matrilineal "flesh and bone", calling Gaelic clans "the connective tissue for the nurturing bonds of kinship." The fifth-century Irish, then known as Scotti, brought clan life across the waterways, resulting in the birth of Gaelic clans. Irish clans were tribes and numerous, each with a king, its own customs, and laws. Because the Scottish Highlands were a mixture of high mountains and expansive woodlands, with deep lochs of fresh water and ocean separating the islands, geography caused very small

communities to each organize under a chief, develop laws, and handle its own political and social affairs. The social structure of clans in the case of both Scottish and Irish became based not only in kinship, but in the nature of land. Scottish clan culture evolved, inlaid with rich mythology, oral tradition, and deep connections to land and family as the result of *Scotti* immigration.[134]

The Gaelic term *clann* meant kinship to a family that claimed descent from a common ancestor. Some blood ties, however, were mythical rather than actual, and kinship fully embraced emotional bonds. The extended Highland clan was bound by the paternalism and patronage of the *fine* (pronounced finnuh), a title of the clan chief and land gentry. In the Middle Ages, these clan names emerged as those familiar to us today: MacDonald, Campbell, Fraser, Cameron, and many others.[135] Clan origins were rooted deeply in storytelling, much like Indigenous people on our continent. Heroic figures, poets, and warriors were the mythic legends of Ireland and Scotland, and bardic oral traditions included the stories of kings, commoners, and supernatural beings and powers, such as shapeshifting.[136]

Across Two Divides

A good portion of southeast Indian history from mound builders to Removal was a preliterate period, while Irish and Scottish history across two thousand years is a dense literary record. We would probably be hard-pressed to accurately imagine the time period of 122 AD when marauding tribes of fierce tattooed, warring Picts ran raids into the Roman territory of Britain. Roman Emperor Hadrian sought to stop the constant mayhem of Pict attacks by building a stone wall ten feet wide and fifteen feet

in height. He placed thousands of sentries on its nearly 80-mile length, which took ten years to build. It sits inside England and was a military defense for 300 years. Today it is considered one of the most important historical sites of England. [137]

When Roman soldiers were building the wall, a hostile Irish tribe call the Dal Riata rode into Alba and both tribes burst through the wall to accost the Roman province. The Roman Empire never invaded Ireland.[138] The Dal Riata laid siege on the Picts for the next five hundred years, and during one effort to viciously retaliate, an immense army of the Dal Riata massacred the Picts.[139]

Cultural divides in any nation are just as real as Hadrian's Wall, and in Scotland, the demarcation was distinct. The Highland Line became most noticeable between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, a geographic Northeast-Southwest line established by terrain. It demarcated the cultural divide that separated the Highlands and Western Isles from the Lowlands. Szasz argues that it was as real as the "frontier line" across our continent that, for a time, separated the Europeans from the Indians.[140] They called the northerners the "wild Scots," the half of Scotland that spoke Gaelic. They were 'Highlanders and Islanders', considered by medieval chroniclers to be savage, untamed, independent, rude, exceedingly cruel. The Lowland Scots, conversely, were domestic, with civilized habits.[141]

By the mid-1500s, the Scottish Reformation had shifted Lowlanders to the Church of Scotland, the Presbyterians, and intensified the separation. They were not only divided by religion, but by language, dress, land management, clans, and a culture of violence in the Highlands versus the Lowland orderly society.[142] Highlanders were

both pragmatists and spiritual. As Catholics some isolated themselves in more remote areas, while other Gaels clung to folk traditions mixed with the "Reformed faith," a syncretism of Protestantism of Episcopal and Presbyterian beliefs mixed with ancient healing powers, holy wells, venerated stones, and other rituals.[143] King James' desire to eliminate the Highland spirituality was mixed with his intent to destroy Gaelic uniqueness altogether, including chiefdoms, clans, and language.[144]

Over time, economic pressures forced Highland Scots to build political and economic links with Lowland Scots who "wore the mantle of agriculture like a protective cloak." Highland Scots still thrived on the symbiotic relationship of chiefs, clans, and the protection of kinships, which contrasts with the relationships had by Lowland Scots as tenant-landlord relationships grew. Highland chiefs in obedience to the Crown also sent their children to be educated for a time with Lowland Scots, who developed a workable system of education; their children, although only schooled for a period of two to four years, emerged as a literate peasant society when they returned home to become laborers.[145] The Lowlands would later become a center of higher education, and home to large Scottish cities like Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Culture Thieves

Before the Scottish Reformation, Scotland was extremely impoverished and became one of the most backward countries in Europe.[146]A feudal system introduced centuries earlier now left Highlanders powerless over control of land, in debt from high rents as farmers, and living in homes bereft of any permanence. Stone hovels with mud floors could not keep the rain out, and had no chimney to aerate the thick smoke of

their fires. Cattle were brought into the huts at night, bringing with them infestations and disease. While bubonic plague wiped out a hundred million people during the 1300s, Scotland still had evidence of the disease in the 1600s. Winters were so harsh, that without much sustenance, the cattle became so weak that they had to be carried to the pastures in Spring.[147]

At the turn of the eighteenth century, Queen Anne approved the formation of the Presbyterian Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) to send "warrior schoolmasters" into the Highlands and Islands to stabilize Britain and culturally unify Scotland. The aim of the SSPCK was to eradicate Gaelic religion, language, clan system, and what they perceived as barbarous, backward ways using religion as a tool of acculturation.[148] To tribes who suffered under Indian boarding schools, this sounds all too familiar.

While Presbyterians wanted Highland "salvations", the English and Lowland Scots were convinced the Highland Scots needed "civilizing" to transform their laziness and lawlessness with husbandry, and eradicate their guns and need for hunting.[149] This eerily mirrors the policy to "civilize" Indians that Thomas Jefferson would implement in the latter 1700s with the government agent, Benjamin Hawkins. Military troops would arrest Highland Scots who wore their tartan clothing, which had been outlawed, and Gaelic was banned in the classroom. Conversion to English became the mode of education and commerce, and the SSPCK goal for common society.[150]

Both Light and Shadow

The title of this chapter, "Light and Shadow, *Cogadh Gaedhel*," was chosen as both empathetic and critical examination of the peoples of Scotland and Ireland, as good and bad, oppressors and oppressed, both heroes and manipulators of politics, people, and lands. *Cogadh Gaedhel* comes from Middle Irish literature, ca. 1100-1111 AD, known in Ireland as *The Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh.* The translation of the title is 'The War of the Irish with the Foreigners', but the work is commonly referred to as *Cogadh Gaedhel*, lit. 'Irish War.'

While it reads like epic poetry in passionate language, the piece is believed to be propaganda commissioned by an Irish king to assuage aggression of foreign powers. It extols the fierce battle skills and courage of King Brian Boru, albeit dead a hundred years, who was the patrilineage of the living king, himself exceptionally powerful. The reigning king sought to bring all of his great-grandfather's Ireland under his control, and by virtue of blood and history, to welcome *Cogadh.* A small portion of the longer piece warned of terrifying weaponry:

> …for their defence [sic], sharp, swift, weapons. bloody, crimsoned, bounding, barbed, keen, bitter, wounding, terrible, piercing, fatal, murderous, poisoned arrows, which had been anointed and browned in the blood of dragons and toads, and water-snakes of hell…[151]

In modern understanding this smacks of keen image management couched in military strategy—one might even suggest monarchal brand marketing. But the *Cogadh* is a lesson in reality of kings grappling for power, wearied multitudes fearful of invasion, narratives that veil truth, and histories inflated by the dramaturge. It is emphasized to dispel the temptation to romanticize Celtic people in similar stereotypes

as Native people, all "noble savages", an exotic "vanishing race," or heroic possessors of water-snakes of hell. It is a reminder to lose the imagery of *Braveheart* and reimagine people of history: in long seasons of arduous warfare, challenged in virtue, starved for life and hope, joyous in clan life or fighting to survive with every last ounce of breath.

Calloway asserts that the movie *Braveheart*'s William Wallace historically wasn't even a Highlander. Wallace was in fact a Lowlander, but Mel Gibson's theatrically painted Pict face, stirring up warrior imagery likened to Indians, appears heroic in his "congenial ideology" for the ultimate quest—freedom. It's imagery was so powerful, it brought a surge of nationalism in Scotland, and a ridiculous fortune in commercialization. In the US, it sparked a "tartan travesty" of Scottish identity in marketing, and a fantasized "American Scotland," as Michael Fry puts it, in "a desire to assimilate Scotland and the Scots into an American construction of the world and into the American requirements for multiculturalism."[152]

Acknowledging the influences of contemporary stereotypes is a healthy pause in Indigenous axiology—our ethical protocols—to reflect and identify our own personal biases and assumptions. *Cogdh Gaedhel* reminds us that our story is neither all light, the fully heroic world, nor all shadow, a world clothed in deception. Gaelic/Scottish post-colonial studies scholar Silke Stroh warns that the discursive construction of parallels and alignments between Gaelic (in this study, Scottish and Irish) and Native worlds must be thoughtfully examined. She notes comparisons of these cultures often through literature, such as the popularized 'dying race' of Scottish people in Sir Walter Scott's *Waverly* in 1814. The *Waverly* novels were the most circulated books in the British

Empire and did for Scottish people what James Fenimore Cooper did for Indians in *Last of the Mohicans* in 1826, namely, create icons of inferior Scottish to superior Anglo-Saxon races, similar to Cooper's vanishing Native savages to rising dominance of Euro-Americans.[153] Dr. Stroh challenges "anglophone" writings about "transperipheral translations," her term for creating connections between racial or cultural experiences of marginalized people, and finds fault with a constructivist approach to history. Stroh does admit, however, that she sees several parallels about these cultures are real, even if mostly restricted to White discourse.[154]

In exploring these histories and cultures as an Indigenous researcher, I return to the inseparable relationality of ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology. I reflect on my worldview, on my own perceptions of reality, on tribal-centered belief systems, and on the ethics of fairness and truth to the people groups I am re-presenting. It is an analytic step back from the canvas we are painting to take a good, long look at ourselves as a painter, and at the material we produce.

CHAPTER 6: THE WORLD CAME TO OUR DOOR

It has been said that we come to know ourselves and others by what makes us laugh and what makes us cry. Recently, this became my reality.

The Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma in recent years has created a beautiful array of short video and television productions that give insight into the lives of Chickasaw people, art, culture, language, and other topics. Along with feature films, it has also produced a series on tribal history. One morning a brief Chickasaw Nation infomercial came across my television. Between video segments of seventeenth century historical reenactments, Chickasaw Lisa Billy, a former Oklahoma State and Chickasaw Nation legislator, expertly narrated the saga. I had an opportunity once to interview Mrs. Billy who quickly became one of my heroes. When she speaks, I pay attention. In a gallery of extraordinary paintings of Indians and early Americans, a large globe—the world—stood in the center of the room next to her. She concluded her narration: "Chickasaw history is world history because the world came to our door."[155]

In that moment my throat tightened and tears surprised me. Another day when the video re-aired, I was moved again in the same way. When something moves us repeatedly, we heed its signal, allow mystery unlocking within our deepest selves to show its key, a very personal key. I am—not just in remembrance—but in essence the journeys I took to foreign nations… moments here with Indian nations. I've known colored skins, aged eyes, fragrant spices, frightening squalor, strangers' kindnesses, and

the beautiful music of tongues. We are the reaching back and the reaching forward, the conduit of history. And the world came to our door.

"No Surrender!"

These final additions to Scottish and Irish history are offered to render an understanding of the state in which the immigrants of this history would flee to our door. As Lowland Scots battled the English in the South during the sixteenth and seventeenth century and Highland Scots raided in the North, starving farmers stole livestock to survive; in return their houses were burned down for revenge. Vigilante nobles, ferocious and unprincipled, fought one another over herds of cattle gone astray. By the time Martin Luther nailed his Ninety-Five Theses on German church doors, the Catholic clergy had nailed the Beggar's Summons to Scottish friary doors: "The blind, crooked, lame, widows, orphans, and all other poor visited by the hand of God as may not work, to the flocks of all friars within this realm, we wish restitution of wrongs past and reformation in times coming." Scotland was two-hundred-years ripe for a violent uprising, and a maelstrom exploded in response to the friars' demands on the "flock." It was the last straw. Only the fiery preacher John Knox eventually soothed the rebellion and brought reform.[156]

The 'reformed' Lowland Scottish peasantry, eight thousand of them, were sent to colonize the Irish Ulster plantations after the forced removal of Irish land holders by King James VI/I. These Lowland Scots living in Ireland became known as the Ulster Scots, or the Scots-Irish. The evicted Irish who had lived there for a thousand years hid in thick woodlands and foggy inlets, and in guerilla warfare fashion, came out for

murderous rampages, burning homes, destroying crops, then retreating again. When the Ulster Scots rebuilt, the Irish attacked and the cycle began once more. By 1642, the rebellion had spread across all of Ireland as Presbyterians fled the country. In response, Oliver Cromwell and his army descended upon Ireland with unmatched fury and crushed the Irish, killing half a million. Those who remained were stripped of any lands, possessions, religion, and right to an education. Ireland was destroyed.[157]

From 1685 to 1691, James II, a Catholic, and William of Orange, a Protestant, waged the War of Two Kings which saw William the victor. The disgruntled James II who had fled to France released Catholic regiments across Ireland to destroy every Protestant garrison. One regimen of seven thousand men called the Redshanks was sent to march on and seize the town of Derry. Set in an idyllic forested hillside near the winding River Foyle, Derry had twenty-six-foot-high walls that were thirty feet wide. The only way in or out were four heavy oak gates, each guarded by large cannons. What began as a city of two thousand swelled to twenty thousand as the neighboring populace poured in to avoid the Redshanks. Citizen soldiers held to their posts and King James arrived with eight thousand more men. The city soldiers fired first, killing a few of James' men with a shout, "No surrender!"

The rest of the story is a script for Hollywood, with a Redshanks barricade built across the river, soldiers prepared to starve out the Derrians, cannons and muskets ready, then—the merciless barrage. The cannonballs fell on the inside of the walls, killing hundreds, then thousands, maiming others. People dug holes to hide in the dirt while corpses rotted everywhere. The siege lasted for one hundred and five days with

still the words on their lips, "No surrender!" The starving women and children lived on rats and mice and dogs fattened on those who had died. King William's frigates finally arrived up the river, but it took another month to down the barricade. At last they broke through cannons blazing. William of Orange sent the once-formidable regimen into retreat.[158]

"Enough!"

As if Scotland was not weary enough, by 1702 the production of Ulster wool had been hijacked by British parliament to make the English market the only buyer; England then resold it throughout its empire at considerable profit. While attempting to adjust to the linen market, Ulsters suffered six years of drought which ruined crops of flax to make linen. Food crops also failed and food prices escalated. The English monarchy also used the Anglican Church to wield power over the Ulster Scots communities to restrict all religious activities. Bishops were only appointed by the Anglican Church, Protestant pulpit ministers were forced into exile; those who remained could not teach, or preside over weddings or funerals. The "Crown-ing" blow was a religious tax to the monarch's church. When land leases expired and landlords raised rents or auctioned off farms that Ulster Scots had worked for decades, bankrupt Ulster Scots decidedly surrendered.[159] They finally said, "Enough!"

The immigration to America began in 1717. Desperate Ulster Scots families sold all they owned or committed to indentured servanthood (some sources say four years, other say seven), for passage on the ships that embarked for the New World. As ships pulled up anchor and drifted away from their harbors, the passengers aboard did not

know their ships were called "ships of misery and death." Violent storms accosted the Atlantic as well as hot, calm seas that exhausted water supplies. Months of stalled out seas caused food to run out and cannibalism to sometimes occur. Passengers were packed under the ship's deck in dim, filthy quarters teaming with rats and cockroaches. Pirates waited for these ships to blast with cannonballs, come aboard, loot all at will, and kidnap whomsoever they pleased.[160] Nonetheless, Ulster Scots and Irish just kept coming—a quarter of a million—before the end of the century.[161] One Ulster, still suffering under oppressive land leases, lamented in a letter to a friend already in America, "Yea, we cannot stand more!"[162] And so they came.

Scots and Irish in Creek Country

As cities and settlements in the North filled with other colonizers and immigrants, thousands of Scottish and Irish immigrants made their way south. While some traveled the Great Wagon Road from Maryland to Georgia, others landed in the ports of Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, and Mobile. South Carolina and Georgia governors attracted numerous immigrants and settler colonials with land grants and provisions to settle there. Irish immigrants found the southernmost ports oppressive with heat and disease. Many died of malaria and yellow fever.[163]

Mounting ethnic discrimination against the Scottish and Irish drove the settlers deeper into the South and into the homelands of southeast tribes. The most prominent immigrants in Creek Country were Scottish, from one sect or another. Hundreds of Scottish Highlanders sailed from Inverness at the invitation of Georgia Governor James Oglethorpe beginning in 1735 to protect the new southern colony and settle New

Inverness.[164]At least 350 displaced Scottish Highlanders landed in North Carolina in 1739 as the result of Scottish and English interventions in land management, overpopulation, and food scarcity; many more would arrive mid-century.[165] Thousands more Scottish settlers came after the Revolutionary War following a period in Scotland known as the Highland Clearances.[166]

Throughout the eighteenth century, Scotsmen sought deerskin trade as an escape from escalating racial discrimination, a problematic southern economy, and waning political influence in South Carolina as 'American'-born white elites grew to control the colony. Later, the American Revolution proved even more troubling for Scotsmen as it became known that some immigrants were loyalists, supporting the English Crown.[167]

Struggling settlers, packhorsemen, and assistants moved among Creek villagers to grow their deerskin trade and rise up out of an impoverished backcountry. As their deerskin trades flourished, not only did southern trading firms include lucrative Scottish business partners, but Scottish traditional fabric patterns became integral to Creek clothing. Men like Samuel Mims and Lachlan McGillivray, who would become the father of Alexander McGillivray, journeyed into the Creek Confederacy of tribes and became some of the most lucrative traders among their Scottish peers. Mims had come as a packhorseman and over time took a Creek wife, developed a ferry on the Alabama River, grew numerous acres of cotton, and held African slaves. The McGillivrays became influential in trade, land holdings, and politics among southeast Indians and Euro-Americans.

European nations and American colonies competed for control of the deerskin trade by issuing "passports" or licenses to permit trade in the region. While British and Spanish passports to regulate trade were ineffective, colonial South Carolina and Georgia battled over licenses issued indiscriminately to traders. Creeks used marriage to regulate newcomer behavior, but when that failed, Creek leaders sought for trading licenses to be revoked for the fraudulent, or evicted those who lacked an Indian wife. The truly deviant were occasionally killed.[168]

Although exact numbers are unknown, between 1700 and 1830, at least eight hundred European Americans, mostly men, married into Creek villages and homes. Many came as "fugitives" of colonialism in search of a new life, fleeing their own homelands fraught with poverty and debt, ethnic discrimination, political oppression, forced labor, and imprisonment. Along with some welcomed through adoption, most married into Creek clan life, conformed to ways of a matrilineal society, and helped rear Creek children. Captives of Creeks—both white and Indian--were also found within tribal towns. Unlike those captured by other tribes, white prisoners among the Creeks usually were returned to their families through a process of negotiation of either ransoms or prisoner exchanges; treaties between Creeks and White governing powers often included provisions for prisoner exchanges. Others like adolescent Hannah Hale were white captives who became permanent "Creek" residents. When her parents in Georgia sought her return, she refused to leave that which she had embraced as hers. Hannah matured and married a Creek headman in *Tholthlagalga* town, and bore five Creek children. She also accumulated significant wealth, including livestock and slaves.

Like many who selectively came to stay, she acculturated. She "became" Creek. She belonged. [169]

Intermarriage

As politically and culturally sovereign, Native nations in the eighteenth century allowed newcomers into their societies "on their own terms and for their own purposes."[170] Creeks were strategic in pursuing their own interests to intermarry with Euro-Americans. This not only provided commercial gain through deerskin-trading husbands and a constant flow of trade goods and fair pricing for skins, but also gave access to colonial society through commerce and English-speaking interpreters. Conversely, traders often paired with women of the Wind clan more than other clans, a clan of prominent status above other clans, whose Creek leaders were frequently headmen of towns and decision makers for both war and peace. It is unclear whether the reputation of the Wind clan as "royalty" prior to Euro-American integration matched its assessment or if its reputation was exalted by Whites after the spread of intermarriage. The Creek origin story of the Wind Clan provides a clue.

Creek social structures often baffled onlookers, as did other practices. While Creeks did not forbid short-term cohabitation between a man and woman, including with outsiders, White observers passing through their territory criticized traders for their "Winchester-Weddings," or "casual marriages" to Indian "trading girls," as prostitution. Sexual relations were permissible outside of marriage and included offering one's daughter as a sign of hospitality; however, strict rules governed physical relationships just before battle, festivals, during pregnancy, or before a hunt. Adultery

was punished severely with ear cropping and hair cropping of females, and with beatings for male adulterers.[171]

Theda Purdue posits that ceremony was required for acceptance into a Native community, and that southern Indians believed people were either relatives within the community or enemies who didn't belong.[172] Andrew Frank adds that adoption rituals "turned strangers into Creeks,"[173] but also that Creek villages became asylums for runaway indentured servants who married neighboring Creek women. In some cases, villages became a haven for criminals and deserters from the military. Most intermarried, became deerskin traders, and raised their children in the Indian villages as a member of their wife's clan.[174]

Matrilineal society as described in chapter five brought many advantages to Indian countrymen. Marriage into a clan as a social bond to the community meant access to agricultural land, homesteads, and acceptance as a parent. Indian women held power over land use, and wisely understood how their matrilineal position benefited their husband as tradesman.[175] William Bartram wrote, "White traders are fully sensible how greatly it is to their advantage to gain their [Indian women's] affections and friendship." Creek wives wielded power on behalf of their trader husbands and families to "labour [*sic*] and watch constantly to promote their private interest, and detect and prevent any plots or evil designs which may threaten their persons, or operate against their trade or business. [176]

The "Shatter Zone"

The arrival of the Ulster Scots, Highland Scots, Lowland Scots, and Irish coincided with European-introduced systems by the French and British whose impact scholars identify as the "shatter zone." The shatter zone altered, splintered in some way, and stressed Native American communities, thus, effecting a change or shift in society. An example of this was Indian slave trading. Tribes such as the Chickasaws and Choctaws competed against one another in slave raids for commercial gain as they allied with European competitors. Choosing to do so meant survival and defense against other raiders, according to Cowger and Caver. However, it also meant an active participation in significantly decimating populations in southeast tribes.[177]

The realities of tribesmen pursuing violent raids on other tribal villages to kidnap and "traffic" humans brings to light the brutality of the time period. Colonists also paid bounties for the return of escaped African slaves, and Native people joined other settlers in hunting and capturing runaway slaves. The bounty reward system not only served a slave master's personal gain, but made African slaves a commodity, creating enmity between Indians and Africans to thwart their potential to become allies. By the end of the eighteenth century, the illicit slave trade became the sole occupation of some warriors.[178] It is easy to imagine its destructive force to fracture the stability of tribal societies, create distrust and fear from tribe to tribe, and provoke retaliations. It may also suggest that the instability of betrayal by one Indigenous group against another may have forced a tighter bond between tribes and the Indian Countrymen who proved himself committed to the welfare of the tribe and tribal needs.

Deerskin trading, the predominant vocation of the Indian countryman in the eighteenth century, contributed another disruptive layer in the shatter zone of the Southeast. Prior to European invasion, deerskins and furs were utilitarian for families and members of the tribe as food, clothing, material for making tools. They were also ceremonial, and presented as gifts of diplomacy. Their exchange among southeast tribes represented bonds of friendship. When deerskin trade increased and it became a commodity in high demand, it shattered social systems in place for millennia. Hunting and tanning, the preparation of hides, became labor-intensive to stay competitive among other traders, and drew many into mercantile practice. It also created hostilities among neighboring tribes, leading to increased warfare. Cowger and Caver argue that southeast tribes and colonial powers formed perilous relationships during the slave and deerskin trade periods and irrevocably transformed the region.[179] Andrew Frank aptly labeled it a "consumer revolution."[180]

Amazing Grace and Sacred Fire

Creeks found identity in customizing their bodies with tattoos, and recognized others by the same. Adoption ceremonies included tattooing of the adoptee, sometimes with a clan symbol.[181] Bartram provides a description of tattooed Creeks that he encountered:

> …the most beautiful painting now to be found amongst the Muscolgulges is in the skin on the bodies of their ancient chiefs & micos which is of a bluish, lead or indigo colour. It is the breast, trunk [,] muscul[ar] or fleshy parts of the arms & thighs & sometimes almost every part of the surface of the body that is thus beautifully depicted or wrote over with hieroglyphics.

He goes on to describe cosmology, animals, and ancient motifs likened to European art as "…a very ingenious impression from the best executed engravings." Bartram was not shaken by their ceremonies, but found their religion pure, "as that which was in the beginning revealed to the first family of Mankind."[182] Whether or not the Indian countrymen, whether Catholic or Presbyterian, found any beauty or purity as Bartram did in their religion, the supernatural powers presented by the town high priest may have found connections in the Scottish distant past of syncretism.

Bartram reported these symbols and "mystical writings" were also conveyed in their houses, particularly the four houses that surrounded the public square. They were beautifully colored paintings on plastered walls and also "ludicrous and even obscene" drawings. The walls covered in red clay held figures drawn with white clay paste or chalk. If the walls held white clay, the artwork was drawn in red and other colors. Animals, flowers, tress, and writings were likened to ancient Egyptian drawings, accompanied by men drawn in naked poses, and men depicted with animal heads or body parts of wolves, horses, deer, snakes, turkey, tiger cat, or crocodile. Bartram was not aware of their meaning.[183] I have yet to discover any texts that indicate how the newcomer to the clan translated this from the Scottish or Irish knowledge of Christianity into tribal life and ceremonial ways.

Similar to Protestant Christian virtue was tribal generosity and reciprocity. European colonizers and travelers were often met with hospitality, which naturalist Bernard Romans reported: "They carry to excess; a savage will share their last ounce of meat with a visitant stranger." When visiting Native towns, Bartram experienced the

generosity of Creek chiefs, and others documented kindnesses of chiefs to visitors. Southeast tribal women were also to known for their hospitality in providing food to strangers, and in their own families as instructors to incoming White husbands in adapting to tribal life and learning their tribal language.[184]

Creek and Scottish spiritual connections in time convolved through church music. Seminole/Creek filmmaker Sterlin Harjo in his 2014 film, *This May Be the Last Time*, documented the relationship of pre-Removal Creek hymns with Scottish "line-singing," and with African American spirituals.[185] Yale professor and musicologist Willie Ruff found that centuries-old a cappella line-singing is still sung in congregations from the Scottish Hebrides to the Indian tribes of Oklahoma. African American congregations, as slaves of Scottish plantation owners in the Deep South, sang hymns in Gaelic like the ancient call-and-response Gaelic intonations in the Highlands of Scotland. Line-singing hymns became an expression similar to other Alabama and Georgia nineteenth century churches.[186] Indian churches still sing them today in regular worship services across Oklahoma.

CHAPTER 7: THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ISLE

A final examination of Mvskoke Creeks, Scottish, and Irish settlers involves race, kinship, and identity. While much more eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century history is critical to a full story, including federal intrusion into tribal sovereignty, Euro-American difficulties, wars, intertribal conflicts, treaty-making, and Removal, this paper's purpose is not only a New Indian Story, but understanding how the complex lives of our ancestors—Creek, Scottish, Irish, or other—influences who we are today. It aligns with Calloway's observation that "Identities are constructed…not static… often complex and fluid and sometimes rooted in histories and memories that reach to other places."[187] In this, "we can learn what we need to continue," teaches Dr. Cobb-Greetham, also known as Foshhommak.[188]

Congratulations, it's a boy!

The children born to Mvskoke and non-Creek unions were, as demonstrated previously, considered by the mother, the clan, and the tribe as wholly Creek children. Kinship identified Creeks, not race. Creeks were willing to threaten violence to protect their kin regardless of skin color or ethnic origin, and their sovereign right to determine who was or was not Creek.[189] Denying Creeks their own identity, whether Indian countrymen or children as was sometimes the case, diminished their sovereignty and ability to make choices on their own terms. Euro-Americans had trouble understanding that Creek children were not still fellow Euro-Americans.[190] This became especially important as legal precedent when George Stinson was accused in 1824 of trading

without a license, even though he was an Indian countryman in the Creek tribe. Stinson sought to prove he had been adopted into the tribe and able to trade under their sovereignty, but was challenged by the district attorney, who produced the Treaty of Fort Jackson. The document expressly stated that Creek Indians could not admit anyone to their tribe, other than those approved by the United States as traders. The judge adamantly claimed that the Creek Nation could not regulate its own borders, and that the defendant had violated the laws of Congress. Fortunately, the jury found Stinson to be a Creek man, and therefore not guilty.[191] Students of Indian history may remember that one year earlier marked the beginning of the "Marshall Trilogy," a series of three Supreme Court cases that interpreted an increased federal intrusion into tribal sovereignty, including Congressional plenary powers over Indian affairs, common law trust, inherent Indian sovereignty, and divestiture of sovereignty by Congress.[192]

Creeks also disassociated race from biology, physical appearance, and culture. Regardless of origin, Creeks determined that identity and nationality were mutable categories. As strangers became kin by adoption into clans, they adopted Creek customs of manipulating their own physical appearances as identifiably "Creek." Not only did this include tattoos as previously mentioned, but haircuts, hairstyles, the use of animal and body paints, jewelry, and adornments.[193]

Three individuals born to Creek mothers and Indian countrymen stand out repeatedly in Creek history as cultural brokers of two worlds, White and Indian. They are William McIntosh (White Warrior), William Weatherford (Red Eagle) and Alexander McGillivray (Hoboi-Hili-Miko).

We Three Kings

Benjamin Hawkins gave a firsthand account of the ceremony initiating Creek boys into manhood. William McIntosh and William Weatherford would have each engaged in this rite of passage at about the same age. McIntosh, also referred to as White Warrior, was born around 1778 among the Lower Creeks at Coweta on the eastern Alabama border, twenty miles north of present-day Columbus, Georgia. His lineage was Scottish through his father, a prominent Tory, and Senoya, a Creek mother of the Wind Clan. William Weatherford was also born into a distinguished family; his great-grandmother Sehoy, of the Wind Clan married a French officer at Fort Toulouse in Creek country. Sehoy bore a daughter, Sehoy II, who bore Sehoy III, the mother of William Weatherford, or Red Eagle. Later, Weatherford's grandmother, Sehoy II took a second husband, the Scot Lachlan McGillivray. Their son Alexander was born in 1787, uncle to William Weatherford.[194] McIntosh and Weatherford were raised within the tribe. While Weatherford refused to learn to read and write, his uncle Alexander taught him English. He later learned French from a maternal uncle, and could converse in Spanish.[195]

I found McIntosh at the age of six living among my own ancestors in Coweta. The story recounted by Benjamin Griffith and also Benjamin Hawkins is of seventeen-year-old William Marshall, Irish brother of Thomas Marshall, my ancestor, an Indian countryman with two Creek wives. Young William was murdered, and Thomas took the alleged crime to the tribe. The tribesman responsible for the death was killed by his

own clan according to custom and the will of the clan. McIntosh, as Griffith points out, was most likely a witness to those events.[196]

As children of mixed marriages, *echuswv-cvmelke* often maintained dual identities as multi-lingual speakers. Many grew up in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as messengers, advisors, interpreters, and intermediaries.[197] William McIntosh became a Creek leader of mixed exploits, accepting bribes from US commissioners in Washington to agree to sell Creek lands, and was suspect in embezzling annuities paid in cash.[198] He led a group of "law menders" who carried out violent retaliations against tribesmen who murdered whites and innocents to enact revenge, and concerned himself with all matters of Creek politics.[199] At the same time that he was considered a great Creek leader, he aligned himself with the United States. In the end, he negotiated and became the first signatory on the illegal Treaty of Indian Springs in 1825 ceding a large portion of Creek lands, an action taken without the approval of the Creek Nation and an act of high treason. Four hundred Creek warriors torched the main house of his plantation, and when McIntosh escaped along with a Creek who was his second signatory of the treaty, they were struck down by dozens of rifle volleys, leaving behind several small children; the warriors confiscated cattle, horses, and hogs. [200]

Weatherford, too, was a notable Creek leader, a Nativist in the Red Stick War. He owned a vast plantation, slaves, cattle, and a racetrack, but he became known as a hostile Creek. With a reputation as a "savage," he was one of many Red Stick Creek warriors who led a retaliatory bloody massacre at Fort Mims in 1813. On a hot day, seven hundred Creeks arose from their hiding place in a ravine with war whoops at the

drumbeat of the evening meal in the fort. Although Red Eagle led his warriors into the stockade, the attack by the warriors that followed was so gruesome he begged his tribesmen to spare the lives of the women and children. When the Red Sticks refused his plea, he mounted a horse for the twelve-mile ride to his half-brother's plantation.[201] Andrew Jackson led the retaliation for Fort Mims at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend where Weatherford eventually surrendered. For whatever reason, Jackson allowed him to return to the Creeks, and in the following decade Weatherford moved to a white settlement.[202]

The reputation of Alexander McGillivray varies greatly from account to account. It seems some loved him and others distinctly hated him. McGillivray was well educated and moved among White and Indian societies and politics. He was a large plantation owner, and was known to dress in fashionable clothes among Euro-Americans, and like a Creek when he was traveling through the Creek Nation. This decision to dress Native and appropriate mannerisms gave him great influence with the Creeks and Seminoles. He became a respected Creek advisor and built relationships with other *echuswv-cvmelke* of mixed marriages.[203]

McGillivray proved to be a deceiver and a schemer, committing the Creek Nation to a Spanish trade agreement and receiving monthly payment for those services. The Spanish also sent munitions for McGillivray to orchestrate raids on non-Native settlers in Georgia. He rarely led them himself. He also became a manipulator of American and European powers. When signing the Treaty of New York in 1790, he renounced his earlier treaty with Spain. President Washington made him a brigadier

general, doubling his monthly stipend. Shortly after, he repudiated the New York agreement and signed a new treaty with Spain in exchange for a very large, annual sum.[204]

Whereas Theda Perdue argues that having White ancestry does not guarantee success, Andrew Frank claims that these leaders who embodied European American culture were most considered by White society as "civilized" and trustworthy.[205] These *echuswv-cvmelke* leaders were respected leaders in their own realms of influence, but were also clearly flawed. Tustunnugee Hutke, or McIntosh, initiated a treaty on behalf of the Creeks with no regard—no honor—for the will of the Creek National Council. For that he lost his life, and rendered his wife and children destitute. [206] Red Eagle, later called Billy Weatherford, was a strange contradiction, brutally savage in his raids by most accounts, but the most admired by Whites. Some say his gaze was so powerful that they couldn't look him in the eye; [207] another said that "nature had endowed him with a noble person, a brilliant intellect, and a commanding eloquence." [208] McGillivray may have had the most advantages of the three, well-educated by a doting father with influential business relations, but arose as a deceiver and schemer with all appearances of wholly selfish motives for his political actions. His judgment was questionable with no faith in the Republic, believing in 1784 that he would "hear that the three kings [of Spain, France, and England] must settle the matter by dividing America [the United States] between them."[209]

CHAPTER 8: SIGNATURE

The goal from the beginning by America's leaders was to end the "Indian problem" (President George Washington), eliminate the "wretches" (Thomas Jefferson) and civilize the "savages" (early American records replete with this intent from Congress to US militia to federally commissioned agents in the field). While the Five Tribes awaited the vote in Congress to pass or reject the Indian Removal Act in 1830, which would forcibly remove the Five Tribes West, debates from the floor repeatedly focused on whether or not the tribes were "civilized".

By this time, many southern Indians were involved in commercial agriculture, republican forms of governance, and had adopted Euro-American dress and manners. They often spoke English and even went to church. Some concluded that this was due to the new category of "mixed-blood" Indians, and that only by this new category was civilized success possible.[210] President Andrew Jackson thought Indian resistance to his demands was due to a natural response of their race, simple, naïve, and childlike. His ire was ignited by these "half-breeds and renegade white men." He defined them as "native of the forest.[211] Centuries later—still *silvaticus*. I used to be mad at Jackson until I discovered Jeffersonian policy toward Indians.

Through this research, I am reminded that all humanity since our origins lived in defensive posture—sometimes for a very long time. I was reminded that when we are threatened, we go to war. I have also become very aware that our post-modern minds without historical or cultural knowledges have little or no understanding of ancient

ways of thinking and knowing. In this wide gaze to analyze the finality of our painting, I find several parallels between the mad Irish, wild Scots, and warring tribes. From an Indigenous perspective, our colonial experience and efforts to survive appear the same. European invaders wanted land and as much of its resources as they could get. Their kings and queens did not care how they took it, only that their strategy was successful. Foreign invasion and British colonialism slowly but surely imposed its will and created multiple "shatter zones" on all sides of seas.

The first time I read *How the Irish Saved Civilization: The Untold Story of Ireland's Heroic Role from the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Medieval Europe* by Thomas Cahill, I was struck with Cahill's primary question about Roman conquest. What was lost? In this study, it is clear both the Irish and Indian tribes lost much—lands and lifeways, chiefdoms and clans; they lost their families to disease, marauders, slavers, and wars; their subsistence dried up in drought, famine, colonization, and feudalism; politics manipulated religion (ceremony, Druid, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Catholic, Anglican, and syncretic); and acculturation stole their traditions, languages, and societies.

When Europeans arrived on this continent, the Indigenes were the "problem" that had to be eradicated. When the Scots-Irish arrived, many formed communities to solve their problems in the East and the Appalachians. Those who pushed South toward the Indian borderlands—the frontier line—had to find solutions to their own problems. Whether Irish, Ulster Scot, Scottish Lowlander, or Highlander moving into tribal lands, the outsider alone had to make it. Although he knew full well the effects of

British imperialism, the impact of colonialism, the competition among settlers, and maneuvering among tribal peoples, the outsider became an insider and survived.

The Re-Telling: A Multicultural Indian Story

One of the primary goals of this paper was to re-examine and re-present an understanding of these people groups and discover, if any, historical and sociocultural parallels, and the potential to create powerful bonds. Additionally, its aim was to foster understanding about issues of race, kinship, and identity through a Mvskoke Creek paradigm. After completing this study, my assessments have unraveled and are less complex. My questions seem simpler. Were the southeast tribes, Scottish, and Irish compatible because of their comparative histories of dispossession and suffering? Did their commonalities actually draw them to one another? Or in truth, were they just maneuvering multiple "shatter zones"?

On the background of our canvas, the red ground of pre-contact mound builders and ancient ground of the Irish and Scottish reveal fairly different societies. While the preliterate records tell us much about Mississippian Period civilization, we do not have evidence at this time that Indian tribes underwent the repeated upheaval and invasions as Irish and Scottish literate history demonstrates. Although southeast tribes were invaded by three European nations and American expansionism, the timeframe was across four centuries, compared to two millennia in Ireland and Scotland. They were, however, all warrior societies. Beginning with Pict warfare and the Dal Riata on the isles, and ritual observations of warriors in southeast tribes, they were painted, fierce, tribal, and accepting of violent extremes to reach social, political, and economic

outcomes. The will to survive at any given time could mean they were either the oppressed or the oppressors on "both sides of the isle."

All of these cultures had rich cultural expressions that made them unique. Southeast tribes had artistic expressions of tattooing, hair styles, ceremonial dress, painted imagery, and pottery design, but with trade came adoption of European cloth, Scottish wool, and colorful Celtic patterns. Some backcountry people thought that the Scottish were trying to mimic Indians, and that a kilt was a breech cloth. Tribal knowledges and studies based in archaeological finds of Mississippians and Woodlands tribes also reveal distinctive motifs and intimations of customs preserved in pottery, cave glyphs, funerary objects, textiles, effigies, and textiles from the days of mound builders. Similar designs are found in ancient Gaelic motifs, stone carvings, and tombs of Newgrange in County Meath, a mound built in 3200 BC, older than Stonehenge or the pyramids. The curvilinear designs and parallel lines in Newgrange stone carvings remarkably resemble Mississippian motifs.[212]

Some may think that the Scottish are British, unaware that Highlanders have more in common with Indigenous America than with the English, Calloway posits.[212] Similar to the Scottish, relationship to the land, and not only land, but animals, rivers, rocks and trees, both inanimate objects and living creatures, is a long held understanding of tribal people. Dene Philip Blake asserts three interrelated meanings of land: "Land-as-resource," central to survival; "land-as-identity," which constitutes who we are as a people; and "land-as-relationship", as I interpret, personal sense of place.[213] Prior to embarking on a ship to America in the 1770s, a man from the Isle of Skye, an

island off the western coast of Scotland, passionately claimed, "I grow out of this ground," a statement reminiscent of origin stories of numerous North American tribes. Creek poet Joy Harjo writes, "My house is the red earth; it could be the center of the world."[214] And so felt the man from the Isle of Skye.

These groups were also deeply spiritual, ceremonial, from the land of the Druids who converted to Catholics and Presbyterians, and the homelands of Indians with both ceremonies and Christian hymns. When the Mvskoke elder spoke of her family's knowledge of the realm of the spirit, she said that the veil between us and the other world is as thin as a leaf. I then remembered the saying of contemporary Irish and Scottish Christians. Many call the same veil between heaven and earth "a thin place."[215]

Mvskoke Creeks, the Irish, and the Scottish all had chiefdoms, clans, and kinship societies in common. While the Creeks are matrilineal and Scottish and Irish are patrilineal, clans served as the center of each of these societies. The chiefs, both in Indigenous communities and Scottish or Irish communities, protected the welfare of their tribes in positions of responsibility while the clans held their chiefs in high regard. Kinship was explicit and governed by more traditions in Indian communities than in Scottish and Irish societies (whose kinships were sometimes mythical), however, all were fiercely loyal to kinship relations, their clan, their chief, and their tribe.

The intermarriage of Gaelic settlers and Indian women was also symbiotic. Creeks were hospitable and generous, and more often opened their boundaries to outsiders than they closed them. Indian countrymen when welcomed in provided

economic stability for tribal families, clans, and the community, and provided trade goods. Wives and tribal chiefs also protected the tradesmen when outsiders might harm the tribe. Notably, Creek life for the newcomer, the adoptee, or the established was all-inclusive. When you married into a clan, your relationships were based in kinship. You were not just an Indian countryman, you were a Creek man, and lived in the same way all Creek men lived. Your headship was the council, and your lifeblood was the clan. One wonders if the infusion of patriarchal men marrying into matrilineal society was ever problematic. Oddly, that was not mentioned in any of the literature I am aware of.

As Indian countrymen married Creek wives and became clan members and wholly Creek, their *echuswv-cvmelke* came into the world like every other child without concern for race, kinship, or identity. They had many varying families, backgrounds, educations, language abilities, and political influence, yet they were fully *este-Mvskoke*. Learning a little about McIntosh, Weatherford, and McGillivray barely lifted the lid on the complex world in which they lived, and the choices that they made. And that is always the bottom line—personal agency, regardless of dual identities or oppositional cultures.

As I close this study, I will leave further conclusions to the reader. Truly, the questions provoke my curiosity further, and I am grateful for my Master's program that allowed me to pursue tribal ways of thinking and knowing. The complexities of two thousand years of civilizations on both sides of an ocean offer many more factors, many more contexts into an equation that caused these groups to bond. I

offer in conclusion a tribal-centered paradigm, a personal experience that carries deep meaning for me.

> A few years ago, a friend and colleague, Chickasaw composer Jerod Impichchaachaaha' Tate, wrote a stage production called "Lowak Shoppala', Fire and Light." It was the story of mound builders and Chickasaws across time, performed in classical and traditional dance, included soloists and a children's chorale, was voiced in narrative poetry, and accompanied by an on-stage, 80-piece youth symphony orchestra. I worked for the Chickasaw Nation at the time, the producers of the work, assisted with writing text for the program and promotion, and assisted the costume designer.
>
> The night of the production, midway through the music and narrative, the house lights went down and all fell quiet. From one side of the auditorium in the silence and the dark, a rattle shook. An ancient rattle. After another moment of stillness, a singer loudly sounded a call across time, and in unison, turtle rattles began to shake as the legs of many dancers rhythmically stomped. Something within me recognized it. Something ancient within jumped—and woke up.
>
> This spring, a segment of "Lowak Shoppala'" was produced again with the Oklahoma City Philharmonic. Onstage, three clan members stood. The headman, Jerod Tate, sang out a chilling, sonorous invitation in Chickasaw, a solitary voice. My throat closed and tears stung my eyes. Something was calling again.

I wonder if something ancient in the Indian countryman jumped within as he heard the ancient call of the headman, heard the turtle rattles, connected with Mvskoke people, Creek culture, ceremony, and Mvskoke lifeways. I am proud of my tribe. Our culture is so beautiful, and our future so promising. We are noble. But we are not vanishing. I merely do now what all artists do before they put down their paint brush.

I affix my signature,

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