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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

**THE SHAPING OF A CREEK (MUSCOGEE) HOMELAND IN
INDIAN TERRITORY, 1828-1907**

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

**DOUGLAS A. HURT
Norman, Oklahoma
2000**

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THE SHAPING OF A CREEK (MUSCOGEE) HOMELAND IN
INDIAN TERRITORY, 1828-1907

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

BY

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Submitted to

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B. Hon.

Robert Anderson

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Acknowledgements

The author thanks my advisor, Dr. Richard L. Nostrand who patiently gave his time, input, and advice from the genesis of this research idea in 1995 to its conclusion. His generosity, kind spirit, and mentoring were a constant blessing. I also thank my committee, Dr. Bret Wallach, Dr. Bruce Hoagland, Dr. Bob Rundstrom, and Dr. Morris Foster. Each contributed to the development of this work.

I am especially grateful to those who influenced my growth as a geographer at the University of Missouri: Dr. Kit Salter, Dr. Gail Ludwig, Dr. Walter Schroeder, and Dr. Bob Kaiser (who unwittingly began my interest in homelands in his seminars). All played indirect, yet important, roles in this work. Close geography buds Matt Engel (University of Nebraska) and Hank Rademacher (The Pennsylvania State University) gave me constant suggestions and advice. My peers at OU, Jason Hilkovitch, Pete McCormick, Blake Gumprecht, Dave Robertson, Jeff Roth, Mike Stevens, Kent Sanmann, and John Marshall all helped in various ways. I also thank the archivists and librarians at the sites which house Creek Nation collections, in particular John Lovett and his staff at the Western History Collections.

Ultimately, my professional or personal successes belong to my loving wife Jill, who endured much to see this project completed. Thanks are also due to my animal friends Hester, Henry, Tobias, Jones, and Meramec, who could always put my work in a larger perspective. Without the constant support of my extended family, this dissertation would not have been completed.

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Abstract

Federal authorities removed the Creek (Muscogee) Nation from Alabama and Georgia to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) beginning in 1828. By the time of statehood in 1907, the Creek had shaped a new homeland in a ten-county area south of Tulsa. This study discusses the transfer of place names, tribal towns, ceremonial grounds, rural churches and other elements that characterize the new homeland. The role of Anglo intruders and individual allotments complicate the story, yet bonding to a new place, especially through the institution of the Creek tribal town, is clear. The study goes beyond the Creek to identify five new parameters by which geographers might better define homelands: a tightly knit and spatially integrated ethnic community, a limited geographic territory, a distinctive cultural landscape, an emotional loyalty that includes heightened feelings of attachment, home, and compulsions to defend, and a partial social or spatial segregation from other communities in order to maintain unique forms of cultural life and history.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Overview and context

The history of Oklahoma is unquestionably tied to its occupation by sizable and diverse Indian Nations. Scholars have argued that this American Indian presence has been the state's most significant attribute, giving Oklahoma a unique regional character. Indian dispossession and removal, Anglo desire for the opening of native lands, allotment, and an often uneasy interaction between Indian and Anglo cultures are several elements in this place personality. However, Oklahoma's Indian story is not a relic history but an evolving, adaptive past and present. As the historian Muriel H. Wright wrote, "more Indian tribes have retained their character and identity in Oklahoma than in any other state of the Union."¹

Some academics consider the residents of Oklahoma to have a weakly expressed or confused identity. In part, this opinion stems from the quest to understand Oklahoma's diverse cultural origins. Generally, scholars have divided the state into two to four competing zones, or culture regions, making Oklahoma a diverse cultural mosaic. Others have called Oklahoma the "land of the drifter," questioning whether Oklahomans have developed a heightened attachment to place owed to the recent nature of statehood, the diverse population sources, its boom-and-bust economic cycles, and the supposed cultural disappearance of the state's Indian Nations. Certainly, the historical geography of Oklahoma has been an overlooked and understudied enterprise with many past cultures and landscapes waiting to be investigated. Only three geographers, Michael Doran, Leslie

Hewes, and John Morris have made significant contributions to the historical geography of Oklahoma with regularity.²

The story of American Indians in present-day Oklahoma is thus an important key to understanding the historical geography of the state and has largely been ignored by geographers investigating sense of place. In reality, many of Oklahoma's Native peoples had—and continue to have—a heightened attachment to place, investing their surrounding landscapes with meaning, emotion, and significance. **This geographical synthesis attempts to explain the historical geography, identity, and sense of place of the Creek (Muscogee) Nation in eastern Oklahoma through the lens of the homeland concept—an idea that attempts to understand how a group relates to and bonds with a place through time.** The Creek were able to shape an Eastern Oklahoma homeland through the maintenance and adaptation of their social construct of the tribal town.³

Often, American Indian history since European contact has been written as an epic struggle between noble, but misguided, savages and an advancing tide of progressive, righteous Anglo explorers and land-seekers attempting to find a better life through a highly developed Protestant work ethic. This version of history is full of dramatic military battles, the settlement of vast areas of wild virgin lands, and the transformation of these lands to the production of agricultural commodities. American Indian dispossession, removal, and allotment are reduced to a regrettable, but inevitable, footnote of continental manifest destiny and advancing Euro-American civilization. American Indian history written as an epic struggle between “civilized” and “savage,” in addition to other

problems, refuses to recognize that Native peoples tend to view Indian history as being “holistic, human, personal, and sacred”—a more intimate, introspective, personalized narrative.⁴

Recently a “New Western History” has emerged, emphasizing grand themes of regional unification—aridity, racial and ethnic diversity, issues of gender, conquest and colonialism, boom-and-bust economic cycles—and highlighting the multiculturalism of the western half of North America. Unfortunately, internal diversity in the West is often overlooked while the New Western historians search for more general, stable paradigms that draw the West together as a single unit. Often the regional components of the West are viewed as academic problems to overcome, not as areas deserving of study and understanding before the entirety of the West as a large sub-continental region can be assessed. The distinctive regional parts are ignored, or sometimes only peripherally noted, to concentrate on new, often postmodern, assessments of the West as a distinct region whose significance is tied to its connections and contributions to the American national scene.⁵

Unquestionably the American West was and is a dynamic region—or set of regions. But to understand the West as a unit, its sub-regional parts must be investigated and understood. Specific places and landscapes, real people, and specific environmental attitudes and adaptations need to be the focus of historiographic study. Creek dispossession, removal, and resettlement in Indian Territory is but one chapter in one small region of the complex whole—the story of how a people chose to cope with life in a new region by developing attachments to place and creating a cultural landscape. **This study**

is a description, assessment, and interpretation of the evolution of the distinctive regional character of Creek land in Eastern Oklahoma between two significant geographic benchmarks—removal from the Southeastern United States and the allotment of Indian lands coupled with Oklahoma statehood. I make no attempt to author a definitive historical narrative of the Creek Nation in Indian Territory and Oklahoma.⁶

A unique place identity based upon a heightened attachment to and sense of place of the Creek Nation has emerged in Indian Territory and Oklahoma. Creek identity has not been static, nor has the expression of their attachment to place been unchanging. Instead, the Creek shaped their surrounding landscape in unique ways to support their cultural ideals and beliefs and to maintain an identity in the face of changing geopolitical situations and colonial relationships with the United States government. Understanding the Creek in Eastern Oklahoma provides clues that add meaning to understanding Oklahoma, the American West, and even the United States (Figure 1.1).

This Creek shaping of place contradicts commonly held beliefs about the ability of American Indians to recreate homelands and develop a heightened sense of place. Dispossession, forced settlement on reservations, and the continued interference and meddling by governmental agencies and officials in tribal customs and politics seemingly preclude bonding with place. Michael Conzen argues that applying the homeland concept to American Indian communities is problematic precisely because of these reasons. Geographers tend to recognize the existence of homelands for sedentary and long-

The Creek TJSa--Political Context

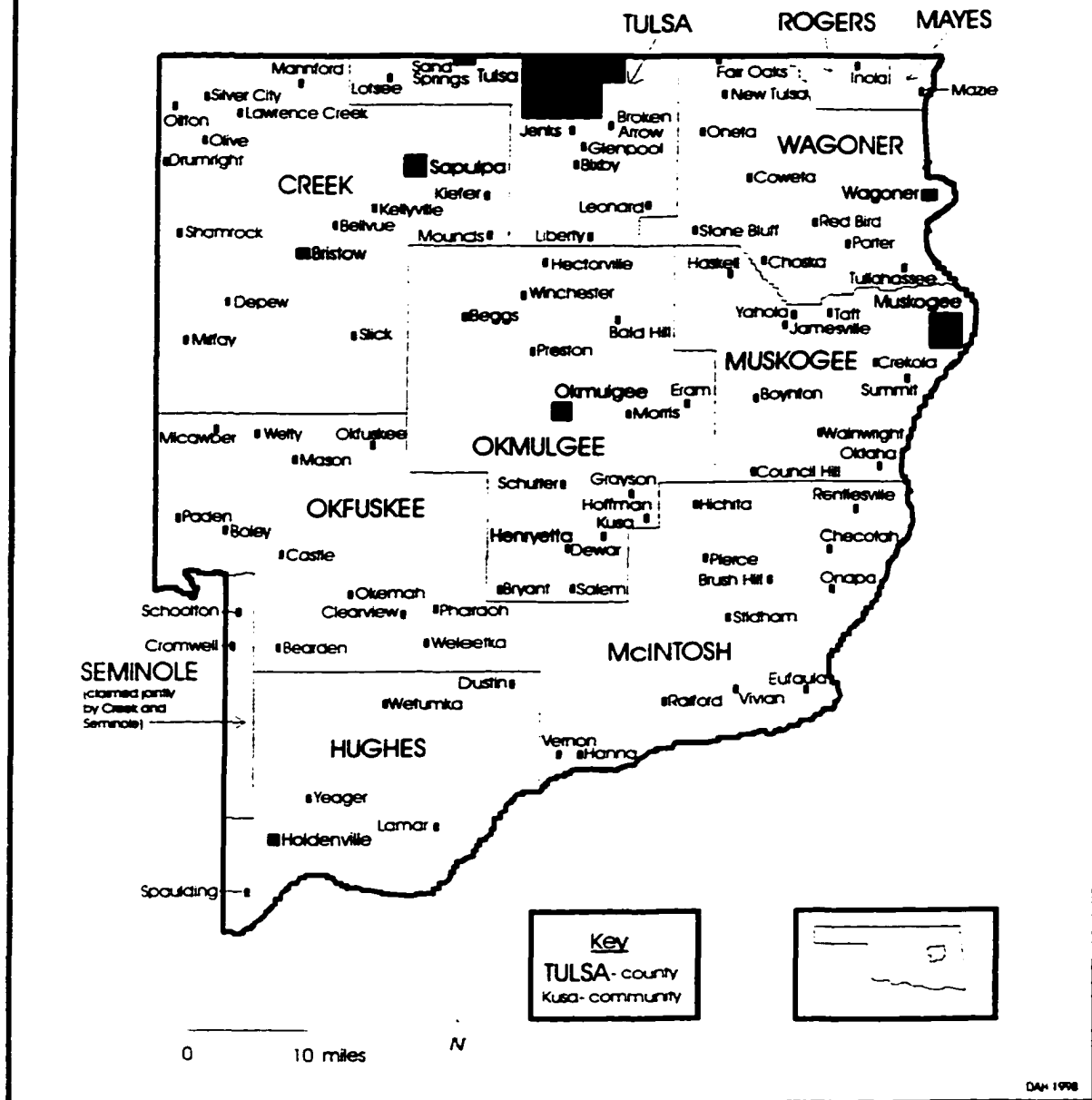


Figure 1.1: Contemporary Creek political boundaries.

established Navajo and Puebloan peoples but not for groups such as the dispossessed and seemingly less-attached Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory and Oklahoma.⁷

This Creek case study attempts to refute the claim that the concept of the homeland is incompatible with the history of many Native groups. Dispossessed American Indian communities did readjust to new environments, did modify their cultural and social traditions, and did shape their surrounding landscapes to best suit their needs as a community with a shared past and common future. Using the homeland concept as a lens in which to view ethnicity and attachment to place is one strategy for studying the interplay between land and life. Moreover, new intellectual rigor can be added to the homeland concept from the lessons learned from this case study of the Creek.

Methods and sources

For geographers, homelands are places where people have bonded in an uncommon way with their surrounding natural environment. Typically, geographers consider homelands to be composed of five very broadly defined components—a people, a place, sense of place, control of place, and time. While the investigation of places, regions, and sense of place have been long-term traditions of geographic inquiry, the study of homelands and the debate over the scope of the concept is of recent origin. (In Chapter 2 I review the homeland concept in geography.)

At its essence, the study of homelands is the study of place: the people who live there, their environmental interactions and perceptions, political attempts to control their surrounding area, and historical circumstances that contribute to a unique regional

personality. Simply put, forming homelands is one way that people make sense of their world, connect to their past, and prepare for the future. However, developing a sense of place and creating distinctive landscapes can be viewed as a human condition, not as a distinctive characteristic of just homelands. I will argue that in a place-making continuum, homelands are places where a people have most fully developed their sense of place and have most completely bonded with their surrounding landscape.

Thus, homelands are inherently humanistic and are best suited to qualitative study. The acquisition of subjective knowledge about a group's everyday attachment to place and interpretation of the meaning of that knowledge does not lend itself to quantitative methods. A checklist of population percentages, length of residence, and number of house types, while giving clues to sense of place, is not the most effective method to measure something that is intensely emotional, personal, even sacred and spiritual. Yet, these qualities also limit the ability of "outsiders" to observe the homelands of "insiders." Thus, the study of homelands should probably be viewed as one interpretation of a people and place—another methodological possibility to understanding the historical and cultural geography of North America that is intrinsically a selective and personal project.

In addition to using homelands as a conceptual framework to investigate ethnicity, this work embraces a variant of D. W. Meinig's "shaping" theme in historical geography. In his attempt to view the history of the United States as "a gigantic geographic growth with a continually changing geographic character, structure, and system," Meinig emphasizes themes such as pattern and process, identity and place, and imperialism. He uses terms like implantation, formation, and elaboration found in my chapter headings.

Additionally, Meinig views the study of regional differences, connections, and systems as a key to interpreting the changing historical geography of America on a large scale. This study is an attempt to investigate the changed geography, the altered identity, and the effects of American cultural and economic imperialism upon the Creek in Indian Territory.⁸

The Creek Nation is only one area in a dynamic system of Western and American regions, and it is only one aspect of the story of national expansion and integration. Altering the investigative scale from the continental to the sub-regional requires that additional themes be emphasized. Local landscapes, specific places, and the actions of individuals become necessary components for interpreting the story of the Creek in Oklahoma. Combined, the homeland concept and the “shaping” theme provide a method to situate the transforming actions of a specific people in a unique and ever-changing place on a sub-continental scale.

This study utilizes a combination of archival investigation, secondary sources, field research, and landscape interpretation to try to understand the historical and contemporary Creek. Archival sources on the Creek Nation are particularly rich, although few documents are available before the American Civil War. I accessed significant collections at the University of Oklahoma Western History Collections in Norman, Oklahoma, the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and the Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Two unedited oral history collections were especially significant resources: the Indian-Pioneer History Papers compiled in the mid-1930s by the Works Progress Administration and the Doris

Duke Oral History Collection completed during the 1960s and early 1970s. Each collection is comprised of interviews with American Indians and Euro-Americans reflecting on everyday life within the boundaries of present-day Oklahoma, although both sources are predisposed towards the progressive elements of Native societies. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs also provided useful, if biased, yearly summaries of Creek life before statehood. A significant number of small collections, rare documents, and published and unpublished books, diaries, and journals provided insight to a specific era, person, or event.⁹

To complement archival sources and fill gaps in manuscript materials, a synthesis of secondary sources is pervasive through this work. Angie Debo's *The Road to Disappearance*—the comprehensive history of the Creek before Oklahoma statehood—like most other secondary studies, tends to focus on inter- and intra-tribal political issues instead of highlighting social changes, aspects of changing cultural identity, or to delving into sense of place. In addition to the standard interpretations of Creek history by Angie Debo and Grant Foreman, I consulted a diverse list of ethnographic, historical, and geographic sources. A main effort of this study, owed to the dearth of geographical writings on the Creek and American Indian communities in general, was to interpret the writings of historians and anthropologists in a geographical manner.

To supplement the written record, I conducted field research over a three-year period. Although this dissertation is based primarily upon written sources, Creek gatherings, services, and ceremonies provided additional insights and interpretations, particularly for the section on the Creek since Oklahoma statehood. I gathered

information largely through observation and informal, sometimes anonymous conversations with Creek citizens at tribal ceremonies, church functions, and other social occasions in an attempt to minimize the biases inherent in cross-cultural fieldwork. However, many elements of Creek identity and social interaction are largely private and hidden to outsiders. The field research I conducted was weighted heavily to those cultural components and the historical and contemporary interpretations the Creek wished to make known to a non-Creek.

Additionally, I attempted to “read” the human landscape as a primary document for the contemporary component of this project. I made regular, often unstructured, visits to parts of the Creek Nation over a three-year period to assess the Creek and Anglo landscape “signatures” in an eight-county region of Eastern Oklahoma. The landscape, a resource underutilized by other social scientists, gave me insights on the nature of Creek identity and helped to confirm or refute many written interpretations of contemporary Creek cultural activity and worldviews. While not explicitly cited anywhere in this work, observations gained from landscape analysis helped in my attempt to interpret the spatial aspects of Creek identity and sense of place.

Significance

Much can be gained by studying American Indian communities and American homelands. These studies support the contention that certain American ethnic and self-conscious groups have shaped distinctive landscapes and places that can be delineated and assessed geographically in order to gain insight into group identity. Homeland case

studies are a useful method to understand the significance of heightened senses of place and the relevance of cultural landscapes to American Indian, Oklahoma, and Western historical geography. Few historical geographers have studied American Indian landscapes and cultures and even fewer have delved into issues surrounding the possible development, existence, or decline of historical and contemporary American Indian homelands. This project seeks to contribute to existing literature on the Creek, Oklahoma, the American West, and homelands.

Hopefully, this study will encourage Americans to view the historical and cultural geography of American Indians in a new light, with a greater appreciation for how their unique geography was formed, what it means today, and what the future may hold for the Creek Nation in Eastern Oklahoma. In an academic context, this study is a response to a dearth of book-length historical geographies about American Indians and their changing geographies. Most importantly, understanding the story of Creek (and in general terms Indian) dispossession and the subsequent development of attachment to new places should help return their history to a central location in contemporary American historical thought. I hope to highlight Euro-American attempts to radically modify, suppress, and ignore Creek history, and illustrate how the Creek resisted the alteration of their identities and landscapes, creating their own geography, authoring their own history and future, and ultimately shaping a Creek homeland in Indian Territory.¹⁰

Chapter 2

The Homeland Concept Revisited

Prologue

In Spanish bull-fighting culture, *la querencia* describes the spot in the ring to which a wounded bull returns to recover from a painful encounter with a matador. The word has also been modified for general use. *Querencia* also refers to a site where “one feels secure, a place from which one’s strength of character is drawn.”¹

Awareness of home is measurable in all people, in all nations. People have utilized a term, homeland, to delineate an area where similar people feel a common sense of home. Home and sense of place are longstanding geographical ideas relating to a bond between humans and their environment. The topic of home has been the subject of geographical research, especially by Yi-Fu Tuan. In fact, Tuan defines home as the key element of geography.²

An increasing number of scholars and authors are attempting to understand the concepts of home, homeland, and a heightened sense of community. Popular writers including Edward Abbey and Wallace Stegner have pondered the meaning of home, community, and place through personal experiences. Students of ecology and environmental studies have sought to establish intimacy with landscapes in an attempt to forge successful relationships between humans and nature. Barry Lopez argues that local knowledge fosters a sense of home, sense of place, and sense of community that protects the integrity of the earth.³

Advocates of strengthening community ties have argued that it is necessary to counteract American trends of individualism and mobility by constructing organized human communities that integrate into the natural landscape of a place. It is necessary for people to connect to the land, for humans to become “homecomers” and to become native to their places. By becoming native and establishing a sense of home, “the lived-in land then becomes an extension of the self, the family, the group.” Home, then, is the awareness of a self-identity that is linked to a merging of human communities and natural ecosystems. By extension, homelands are regions in which cultural and natural surroundings have coalesced into an intimate connection resulting in a heightened sense of place.⁴

Post-colonial writers have also struggled with the meaning of home and place. Post-colonial cultures have sought to create or recreate independent local, ethnic identity after a dismantling of European imperial and colonial domination. A struggle with the disoriented sense of place of post-colonial people complicates their attempts to gain voice, form new identities, and create homes. Salman Rushdie has used the term homeland in the context of creating imaginary, fictitious, intimate places of the mind. This is an attempt to reclaim history. Rushdie himself experienced physical alienation and exile from his homeland. His homeland is a personal attempt to recover a lost relationship between self, place, and home, and this example illustrates that homelands are human constructs, created or dismantled to meet human wants, needs, and desires.⁵

Some geographers have traditionally dealt with the idea of home by creating and studying culture regions, distinct areas where an identifiable ethnic group or culture

dominates a place. However, imbedded within the homeland concept are the ideas of place, sense of place, community, and ethnicity. Humanistic geographers, including those scholars who use the homeland concept as a lens in which to view place, sense of place, community, or ethnicity, have often studied these categories. Two of the most relevant perspectives (from scholars not directly writing about the homeland concept) come from the humanists Edward Relph and Yi-Fu Tuan. Relph notes the ability of community and place to reinforce each other so that “people are their place and a place is its people.” Tuan discusses the subjective nature of place and sense of place. He argues that rootedness, or being “in place” may be a construct of “outsiders” instead of “insiders,” who are busily engaged in their every-day human experiences. Each highlights the subjective human experiences and attachments to place that students of the homeland concept attempt to address.⁶

Only recently have geographers shifted focus to the specific study of homelands, an adaptation to and extension of the culture region concept. Homelands can be described as “places that people identify with and have strong feelings about.” Unlike culture regions, however, homelands require that a more exact criterion be met: emphasis on the cultural impress that a people place on the natural landscape and the natural environment itself in order to formulate an heightened sense of home.⁷

The evolution of the geographical homeland concept is the focus of this chapter. After tracing the primordial origins of geographical homelands, viewing the homeland concept from a social science perspective, and analyzing geographical predecessors, the maturation of the ecological homeland conceptual framework is discussed. This overview

is the preface to a case study of the Creek Nation's development of an Indian Territory homeland after dispossession in the Southeast United States.

Geographical origins

Early twentieth century American geography did not focus on the study of ethnic geography or the study of areas of ethnic or cultural similarity, but instead concentrated on issues involving the dictation of cultural options by the natural environment. Several American geographers such as Ellen Churchill Semple also delved into issues of people and place. In addition to her more controversial environmentally deterministic works, Semple studied the concept of ethnic islands that embodied small areas of homogeneous ethnicity.⁸

The study of ethnic regions, and regions in general, by American geographers gained favor early in the twentieth century as satisfaction with the concept of environmental determinism decreased. When describing the scope and focus of geography, Nevin Fenneman stated in 1918 that "the one thing that is first, last, and always geography and nothing else, is the study of areas in their compositeness or complexity, that is regional geography."⁹

However, the regional perspective was not the undisputed focus of geography. Fenneman's argument had a different emphasis than that of Harlan Barrows, who in 1923 viewed the true scope of geography as human ecology. Barrows downgraded the impact of regional study. He argued that regions had meaning only when established within a

human ecology framework. Geographic study must “make clear the relationships existing between natural environments and the distribution and activities of man.”¹⁰

In 1925 Carl Sauer merged these views. He combined regional geography, the theme of natural and human landscapes, and the ethnic component of geography by delving into the relationship between a people, their place, and the environment. He used the term hearths to describe places of cultural development from which diffusion occurred to a cultural area and landscape. According to Sauer, the essential focus of geography was the “contact of man with his changeful home, as expressed through the cultural landscape.” He continued by stating “we are concerned with the importance of site to man, and also with his transformation of the site. Altogether we deal with the interrelation of group, or culture, and site, as expressed in the various landscapes of the world.” Sauer’s view of the relation between land and people is today a characteristic that distinguishes geography from other sciences and is an enduring, if not controversial, tradition within the discipline. Natural environments and their human occupants and modifiers remain a basis for modern geographic study.¹¹

This twentieth century American tradition of studying people and their place has its roots in European geographical thought, especially the German and French traditions. Michael Conzen states that an interest in regional cultures arose in the United States during the late nineteenth century as European academic ideas diffused across the Atlantic. Of great influence were the German and French geographers Friedrich Ratzel and Elisee Reclus who investigated variations among specific racial and ethnic groups.¹²

The German geographic tradition had a great influence on American geography in general. Specifically, the nineteenth century German school emphasized regional study, especially the study of landscape, as a unifying theme of geography. Included in German geographic thought were the investigation of small regions or landscapes (*landschaften*) and very small localities (*ortlichkeiten*). To this regional tradition Friedrich Ratzel added another dimension. Minority ethnic groups and their relations to the land and to more powerful ethnic groups had a great influence on his thinking. According to Ratzel, cultural differences were viewed as having a greater impact upon the landscape than physical features. Thus, cultural differentiation became a seminal aspect of geographic studies.¹³

Ratzel extended his line of thought by establishing the idea that political states are organisms that must grow or die. In works such as *Anthropogeographie* he stated that cultural groups establish ecological bonds in their natural space (*raum*) that enable them to grow and expand. Expansion into neighboring lands was viewed as a natural and necessary occurrence of a stronger political unit. Ratzel's observation has been compared to *lebensraum*, the right of a people to enlarge their territory by conquering inferior neighbors, and his views influenced German Nazi leaders as justification for the expansion of the Nazi state.¹⁴

Ratzel's views and *lebensraum* have much to do with homelands. Both concepts involve a group that establishes a bond with place. Furthermore, control of that place is essential to the persistence of the community. The degree of control is where the two views diverge. Contemporary American geographic homelands are seldom expansionist

while *lebensraum* demands territorial growth to protect the core area of the culture. In the twentieth century, control of homeland has been a motivating factor in activating *lebensraum*, or national territoriality, in Germany, the post-Soviet realm, and southern Europe, to name a few prominent examples.

The French geographic tradition also influenced American regional and ethnic study. Paul Vidal de la Blache was the most influential French geographer during the late nineteenth century. He studied *pays*, or small homogeneous regions, especially concentrating on the differing relations between people and their environment. In retrospect, *pays* have been described as one method of interpreting the homelands and landscapes of unique groups.¹⁵

Vidal de la Blache's conceptual framework included traditional ways of living evident in the *pay*. This traditional way of life, or *genre de vie*, represented the human system of the region that was the result of the impact of a specific type of environment on a people. *Genre de vie*, then, focused on the way a people adapted to their natural environment and the cultural impress that was placed on their region, or *pay*. This resembles the central tenet of geographic homelands—bonding with place and alteration of the natural landscape. However, the French view did not account for other more detailed aspects of the homeland concept. Also, the focus of *genre de vie* was economic. Similar economic groups, such as nomadic or agricultural peoples, would develop certain patterns of living that they imprinted upon the landscape. This adaptation and impress encouraged bonding with a particular natural environment. Less emphasis was placed on

ethnicity in the French tradition. *Pays* and *genre de vie* can be viewed as important predecessors, but not a French equivalent, of the geographic homeland concept.¹⁶

Neither Semple, Fenneman, Barrows, Sauer, Ratzel, or Vidal de la Blache combined all of the elements of people and place into a single concept such as culture regions or homelands. However, each scholar narrowed the scope of study of areas of ethnic or cultural similarity so as to encourage geographers to delineate culture regions and homelands. The geographic homeland concept, one can argue, has its primordial origins in this epoch, although the development of the specific components of the concept would evolve years later. Although the homeland concept was not used as a tool for investigating place, ethnicity, and sense of place for these geographers, their work helps to place current homeland studies in a historic academic context. These early scholars made important contributions to the investigation and delineation of cultural and ethnic regions. Contemporary studies of homelands continue this tradition of examining people situated in a place.

A social science perspective

The first significant use of the term homeland in international politics occurred in 1897 at the first Zionist Congress in Switzerland, where Jewish leaders searched for a homeland prior to the creation of the state of Israel. Indeed, many academics and much of the general public today view the term homeland in the political context of nationalism, or nation-state formation. Prominent geographers such as Robert Kaiser, Robert Sack, and

Edward Soja identify with this social science perspective instead of the more ecological perspective that emphasizes the process of a culture bonding to place.¹⁷

The development of the idea of a homeland is not a phenomenon limited to a particular people or place. The belief that people are emotionally tied to their land, or homeland, has been commonly held in the human experience. Although the word homeland is heavily used in contemporary societies in regard to historical times, the term is not a recent invention. Northern Europeans developed the idea of homeland during the late Renaissance when landscape began to be viewed as an autonomous changing form, reflecting particular qualities of a culture instead of merely representing the social and legal status of a people.¹⁸

While the ecological homeland perspective focuses on the human element of bonding with place, the social science view stresses ties to nation formation. It has been argued that the basic geographic concepts of ethnicity and nationalism are attachment to territory or development of a homeland. The seminal prerequisite for a nation, according to Robert Kaiser, is a geographic space that a nation can claim, regardless of the degree of control over that place. And, Anthony Smith believes that a national space, or homeland, is a central tenet of nationalism. In this homeland “the indigenous nation’s cultural attributes (i.e.: language, religion, way of life, etc.) are predominant,” which allows for a potentially high level of autonomy, as well as possible expansion of the homeland. Thus, it is argued that nations require autonomous space—homelands—in which their ideas, goals, and values may be expressed.¹⁹

Studies of nations revolve around two ideas. Because the nation is a modern construct, it usually has an identity tied to a modern perspective—a dynamic, contemporary community with shared interests. Additionally, most nations claim a primordial dimension, or a perception of shared historical origins. Primordial evidence is seemingly ubiquitous in contemporary nationalist arguments and has a greater level of study in the social science perspective than the ecological perspective.²⁰

As many academics have observed, the primordial dimension is complicated. Colin Williams and Anthony Smith state that, to many nations, “history has nationalized a strip of land, and endowed its most ordinary features with mythical content and hallowed sentiments.” Another way of describing the bond between a culture and its historic place is use of terms such as “motherland,” “fatherland,” “land where my fathers died,” and “homeland”—terms that introduce an emotional tie between people and their land.²¹

Although the majority of modern nations claim shared origins in a specific place, historically a homeland encompassed only the area immediately surrounding a person’s village or region of birth. Yet today, as a method to develop a heightened sense of place, nationalism focuses on the idea of an ancient homeland and a bond between an extensive territory (usually the sum of the area that a nation is able to claim that members historically lived in and traveled through) and the ancestors of a people. The national homeland is the location that is “the geographic cradle of the nation and also the ‘natural’ place where the nation is to fulfill its destiny.”²²

Owing to these feelings of a historic sense of place, control of the homeland is of utmost importance. Furthermore, it is important to preserve the homeland so that future

generations may prosper. These protective feelings are heavily incorporated into studies in the social science tradition. Social territoriality, or the “attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographical area” has been coined to describe this concept. Thus, territoriality can be an easily communicated method of establishing control of place and limiting the role of others in the same area.²³

A sense of exclusiveness is present as one ethnic group organizes its spatial territory so that it is present while all other groups are excluded. Both ancient and modern nations tend to believe that “a people has its land and a land has its people.” To ardent nationalists, these territories never overlap, thus giving a nation unquestionable claim to space. Anthropologist Keith Basso reiterates this sentiment. He argues that historically, cultures viewed home as an idea of “our” territory as opposed to “their” territory. Thus, territory represented regions where the investment of thoughts and values of a people resulted in the establishment of a sense of belonging with the landscape. Exclusionary distribution of space can lead to nativism, or an intense opposition to minorities, because they are not members of the nation and homeland. Nativism is thus a method of defining membership in a cultural group, which can then be viewed as a prerequisite for dwelling in the homeland. Nativism is also an expression of the tendency of groups “to define themselves not by reference to their own characteristics but by exclusion.” Nations can look outside their homelands in order to find cultural differences and develop exclusionary policies in an attempt to shape their own cultural space.²⁴

Even with the use of territoriality for some explanations, the social science perspective does not typically emphasize the ecological element of homelands, exemplified by an adjustment to the environment and the possibility of a cultural impress. This factor is the main difference between the social science perspective and the ecological homeland concept. Also, elements of nativism are typically not included in ecological homelands. A central aspect of homelands, as well as culture regions, is that a people recognize the differences that exist within the realm instead of focusing on the differences that separate them from other neighboring ethnic groups.

The ecological homeland concept can involve concepts found in the study of nation-states, although ecological homeland studies continue to depend on the concept of bonding with place instead of nation formation or group identity to legitimize their studies. Nation-states are defined as a “polity of homogeneous people who share the same culture and the same language, and who are governed by some of their own number, who serve their interests.” However, often the homeland polity lacks self-government control or has no aspirations for an autonomous government. Even with their similarities, the ecological homeland perspective and the social science view contain divergent approaches to understanding the relationship of a self-conscious people and their place. It is my contention that a melding of the two academic viewpoints would result in the most effective study of homelands where ideas such as group identity, territoriality, and attachment to place are each emphasized in case studies. (My proposal for the study of American homelands is outlined in Chapter 8.)²⁵

Geographical predecessors

In the tradition of Ratzel and Vidal de la Blache, modern geographers have been investigating ideas relating to the homeland concept through the study of sense of home, culture regions, and homelands. One interpretation of homelands stresses the development of a heightened sense of home in relation to a place. This view holds that a homeland is ultimately the “land that a group of people love to the degree that they call it home.” Thus, to understand homelands, one must consider interpretations of the key aspect of homelands—sense of home.²⁶

Yi-Fu Tuan defines home as the key element in the study of geography. He argues in his humanistic interpretation of geography that “home is the key, unifying word for all the principal subdivisions of geography” as the study of home incorporates aspects of place, location, and space. Specifically, Tuan believes that a culture must add its impress on the surrounding landscape and invest feelings of significance into its territory in order to make the world livable in a meaningful way. This developed sense of home in a culture is possible only if people consciously choose to “organize the world, to integrate the social and natural orders, so that man may feel at home in it [the world].” Tuan summarizes by stating that establishing a sense of home is the central aspect and goal of human life.²⁷

Tuan also argues that the establishment of home involves organizing space both mentally and materially in order to address the biosocial, aesthetic, and political needs of a people. However, he stresses that it is possible that home can easily be moved from site to site, as a person or culture migrates. Sacred space is another topic that Tuan investigates. He ponders sacred space in the form of landmarks and recognizes that people make

emotional investments in different places when establishing symbols such as landmarks on their surrounding landscape. Landmarks, and thus sacred space, can be considered as being a function of a people adapting to their landscape in order to establish a sense of home. David Sopher argued that for groups the landscape of home consisted of remembered experiences situated in specific places, in which landmarks stand out as reminders of important events.²⁸

Tuan's study of a developed sense of home has advanced the use of two terms. "Topophilia" is the affective bond between a people and a place, or natural environment, in a reasonably compact area. It combines sentiment and place. Topophilia results from the aesthetic pleasures from a place, the sensual delights of physical contact, or the fondness of a place because it is familiar and evokes memories of home. Feelings that one has of home are the most complicated of the forms of topophilia, according to Tuan. Expressions of home are the most permanent, but are the hardest to express.²⁹

"Geopieté" is the attachment to a particular part of the earth's surface. Geopieté occurs in all ranges of peoples and at all spatial scales. Both terms capture the essence of the strong bonding between a people and their place. However, they fail to outline the ethnic and spatial nature incorporated in the homeland concept. While senses of topophilia and geopieté may be felt on a national or state level, geographic homelands typically involve smaller ethnic groups bonding to a specific area. Yet homelands are larger than the bond between one family and a single residential area. Instead, a community bonds with place much as an individual would bond with their home.

Attachment to place and investments of feelings of home are found in homelands, but are not exclusive to homelands.³⁰

Perhaps the greatest influence on the homeland concept has come from the culture region tradition, an extension of the regional studies paradigm that was a central tenet of American geographic thought during the first half of the twentieth century. It is a specific method of outlining a people, their place, and their strong degree of cultural influence in that place that has its origins in anthropology. Geographers define a culture region as “an area portraying some degree of cultural homogeneity, an area occupied by a people with similar cultural attributes.”³¹

The most influential work on culture regions, one that made the term a common geographical expression even though it was not the first study of culture regions, was D. W. Meinig’s 1965 article “The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964.” Meinig outlines what he terms the “Mormon region” where The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints has developed “a highly self-conscious subculture whose chief bond is religious and one which has long established its mark upon the life and landscape of a particular area.” Meinig delineates the region’s gradations using the labels core, domain, and sphere to represent areas of greater and lesser Mormon influence and attachment to place.³²

The article is highly respected in geography, “scholars have accepted Meinig’s model,” and his work “has stimulated attempts to apply it and its morphology to other groups and areas in the U.S.” Examples of the lengthy list of literature investigating culture regions includes works by Brownell, Dunbar, Estaville, Gastil, Hudson, Jackson,

Miller, Mitchell, Nostrand, Pillsbury, Roark, Tudor, Shortridge, Wacker, and Zdordkowski and Carney.³³

Although geographers differ in their views on the concept of culture regions, basic emphasis rests on the interpretation of the interaction between a homogeneous people and their place. It is a relation that Meinig summarizes as ecology, or a people's relationship with their physical environment, and strategy, a group's organization of an area. For example, Richard Nostrand emphasizes the Hispanic legacy of settlement patterns based upon missions and presidios, the Spanish language, and place names. Richard Jackson describes a relic landscape of the traditional Mormon value system that included nucleated villages with wide streets, distinctive architectural styles, construction related to the development of irrigated agriculture, and Mormon chapels that were giving way to American suburban form. Raymond Gastil focuses on the Pacific Northwest, arguing that cultural characteristics including Protestantism and a rural and Northern origin of population combined with isolation to make the region distinctive.³⁴

Wilbur Zelinsky built upon Meinig's framework of outlining single culture regions by developing "an integrated interpretation of American culture regions that has been the subject of immense discussion and notably little substantive revision since." Zelinsky delineates fourteen vernacular regions, a variant of culture regions, in his article "North America's Vernacular Regions." His purpose was to identify potentially self-aware, distinctive regions as perceived by common citizens in the United States. James Shortridge and Terry Jordan also studied vernacular, or perceptual, regions representing the spatial perception of average people. To develop his version of culture regions,

Zelinsky drew upon the ideas of Fred Kniffen, Henry Glassie, and other religious and linguistic geographers. His study resulted in areas of common cultural heritage that were distinctive from surrounding regions. James Shortridge and other geographers have used the Zelinsky model to outline historical and contemporary culture regions in the central and northern Great Plains. Shortridge emphasizes that the ideal of the yeoman farmer and the development of the Middle West label have impacted that region's landscape, both historically and today.³⁵

Culture regions and homelands may appear to be directly linked as two methods used to study ethnic settlement zones. However, the culture region framework does not directly support the homeland concept. Many social scientists studying culture regions view homelands as overseas old-world phenomena that predate settlement of North America by Europeans. Often, culture region studies ignore issues such as recognition within the region that the region exists, bonding with place, and control of place. Each of these concepts is a central tenet in the homeland framework.³⁶

Homelands expand on the study of culture regions by asking about the degree of cohesiveness of a single group situated in a place. Thus, "the concept of a culture region ignores consideration of a group's relation to place, which is the key element in the concept of homeland." Indeed, Nostrand and Estaville argue that homelands are more closely tied to traditions in cultural ecology than to culture regions because homeland scholars emphasize the impact of people upon a place and the effect that a place has on a people.³⁷

Many authors writing on homelands emphasize ties to cultural ecology.

Inspiration is garnered from the tradition of George Perkins Marsh and Harlan Barrows who, at an early period, focused on the interactions between people, resources, and place.

In his work *Man and Nature*, Marsh highlighted the relations of action and reaction between humans and the world. Barrows drew attention to the connections between humans and the environment by stressing the need for study of the relationships between natural environments and man. William Pattison included the interaction between humans and the environment, or cultural ecology, as the man-land tradition in his four traditions of geography.³⁸

Like culture regions, cultural ecology has influenced, but not determined, the development of the homeland concept. Homelands use ideas found in cultural ecology to move beyond the culture region framework that often does not focus on the human-environmental interaction in the region. The cultural impress and potential environmental adaptation of a people is seminal to the homeland concept.

While there is not a direct connection between culture regions and homelands, it can be argued that culture regions establish a framework upon which to build homeland study. Both involve people, place, and the heightened influence of a people on that place. However, homelands are not just a more specific, or more elaborate study of regional geography or culture regions. At the heart of the homeland concept is the ecological framework of a people's bonding with place, the expression of that bonding on the landscape, and the great feelings of attachment with a specific area that encourages people to exert control over that place, either numerically, politically, or culturally.

Maturation of the homeland conceptual framework

Alvar Carlson seems to have first used the term “homeland” in a geographic context in his dissertation, *The Rio Arriba: A Geographic Appraisal of the Spanish-American Homeland (Upper Rio Grande Valley, New Mexico)* in 1971. However, Carlson did not develop the concept other than to claim that homelands revolved around “a people’s ability to acquire, use, and retain land.” In fact, the geographic literature that investigates the homeland concept is of more recent origin. Thus, the study and delineation of homelands is in its infancy.³⁹

Although Carlson seems to have been the first to use the term homeland in a purely geographical sense, Nostrand, in his work *The Hispano Homeland*, is apparently the first to attempt to develop the homeland concept. He outlines three elements: a people, a place, and identity with place. The key thought is that the people must have lived in a place long enough to have adjusted to its natural environment, to have stamped that environment with their cultural impress, and to have developed an identity with both the environment and the cultural landscape. The result is “emotional feelings of attachment, desires to possess, even compulsions to defend.”⁴⁰

As a response to input by other geographers to Nostrand’s three elements of homeland, Nostrand and Lawrence Estaville expanded the triad to include five criteria for the delineation of a homeland: people, place, bonding with place, control of place, and time, which Nostrand had implied. They did so in an edited issue of *The Journal of Cultural Geography* devoted to an overview and case studies of American homelands.

The five criteria will be used again in a forthcoming book edited by Nostrand and Estaville, *Homelands in the United States*. These five elements provide the framework for contemporary geographic research on homelands.⁴¹

The first homeland requirement is a people. Usually ethnic groups, such as Hispanos or American Indians, are the basis for this requirement, but Anglo-Texans, Mormons, and other self-conscious groups have also been studied. Homelands also tend to involve a sizable population. A significant size is important, but not mandatory. Groups that number less than a 10,000 people, such as the Kiowa and the Older Order Amish, have also been studied. The key to this requirement is recognition that a homeland exists, both internally and externally.⁴²

Place is the second criterion of a homeland. Two alterations must be visible. Adaptation of a group to the natural environment and the creation of a cultural landscape, or imprint upon the natural environment, must occur. Issues such as size and contiguity may also be addressed under place, although the range of homelands studied incorporates a variety of responses. The size of American homelands studied varies from several contiguous counties to portions of a dozen states. Although most homelands are contiguous in nature, several, such as the Old European Homelands and the Jews, are fragmented or historically were fragmented.⁴³

The third criterion is bonding with place. The people must “adjust to their natural environment, stamp that environment with their cultural impress, and from both the natural environment and the cultural landscape create a sense of place.” While sense of place can be a vague concept, qualities such as landmarks and sacred sites help build a

sense of place and thus bonding with the landscape. Examples of the cultural impress include the Hispanos clustering in villages (*patrias chicas*) and using long lots in agriculture, the Anglo-Texan devotion to shrines such as the Alamo and Sam Houston's home and grave, and the Louisiana-French who established unique foodways and also Catholicism in their region. Whatever differing qualities are used, bonding with place has been interpreted as the key element for distinguishing homelands from other types of place making. Conzen argues that this psychological bonding of a people to a place is not replicated in areas of newer or weaker ethnic settlement and is the direct result of a combination of geographical isolation, the fusing of ethnically distinct people into a single ethnic group, and the emergence of a lasting cultural landscape.⁴⁴

The fourth requirement is control of place. The simplest way to control place is to own land and important resources. However, political and economic influences may also be used to control place as shown by the Cubans in South Florida. Population size allows for control of place using political or economic influences as shown in the Texas-Mexican homeland. Control of place does have a degree of similarity to territoriality, a component of the social science perspective.⁴⁵

Time is the final criterion of a homeland. While the amount of time needed for homeland formation is a subjective element, it is necessary to remain in one place long enough that a group can develop intimacy with the area and a sense of place. While some geographers have argued that centuries are necessary to develop gradually a sense of homeland, Michael Roark suggests that many American Indian tribes developed a strong sense of homeland within two generations of their land dispossession and forced removal

to present-day Oklahoma. Additionally, geographers have argued that groups such as the Cubans and Jews have bonded with homelands in a matter of decades, not centuries.⁴⁶

Some geographers question the very existence of homelands. Michael Conzen, for example, doubts whether homelands exist in the Americas, even among Indian tribes. He argues that:

of all the ethno-racial groups North American Indians have by far the longest-standing claim to call the continent home. But the history of widely shifting native occupance both before and after European intrusion, together with the artificial nature of 'reservations,' renders the present-day application of the term homeland with respect to even these peoples an exercise in ambiguity and potential confusion.

According to Conzen, the centuries needed to foster homeland development are more likely to be found in long-occupied places such as Europe, not areas of European colonization including the Americas. He adds "if ethnic homelands exist in the United States, they should be considered as a special type of culture area or culture region."⁴⁷

Nevertheless, geographers have outlined a series of more than a dozen homelands in the United States. They are divided into the categories ethnic or self-conscious and viable or moribund. A significant division exists between ethnic versus self-conscious homelands. The majority of the homelands studied, to this point, have been ethnic. Examples include the Older Order Amish, Louisiana French, Texas-Mexican, Hispano, Navajo, and Kiowa homelands. Self-conscious homelands include New England Yankees, Upper Southerners, Anglo Texan, and Mormon. Although self-conscious homelands are justifiable, the focus to this point has mainly been on ethnically based homelands. Ethnic

homelands appear to be more easily distinguishable and are considered to be the most legitimate homelands by some geographers.⁴⁸

While the details of each homeland noted above can be outlined, this is not my purpose in this chapter. Nor is it for me to speculate which homelands best meet the homeland criteria. In the forthcoming volume *Homelands in the United States*, each author focuses his or her efforts within the general sphere of the Nostrand-Estaville five-pronged framework, while each liberally adapts his or her approach to fit personal interests and the unique situation of the group studied.

The future of the concept

To delineate and describe sites with a sense of *querencia* is a growth area in geography. Although the homeland concept has matured, further investigations are warranted. Calls-for-action have been made that "the concept of homeland should be given greater attention in the geographical study of American ethnic groups. It is a term in need of conceptual development and substantive testing."⁴⁹

Due to the inclusive nature of the Nostrand-Estaville homeland framework, several issues remain to be considered. Many homelands, or proposed homelands, have not been studied. Specifically, only two American Indian homelands, the Navaho and Kiowa, have been discussed in a geographical context. Tribes such as the Creek (Muscogee), Sioux (Lakota), and Apache need investigating, as do other non-Indian peoples with a strong regionalized sense of place.⁵⁰

What of the disappearance of homelands? Are homelands ephemeral spaces ready to waste away in the modern and mobile age of America? Is the Hispano homeland indeed doomed to decline as its stronghold continues to be eroded by Anglo influences? Now the domain of cultural and historical geographers, will homelands be a subject only for historical geographers in the future?⁵¹

Further discussion and debate on the five components of homelands is needed. The five elements provide a viable framework for further study, but questions remain. How much time is needed to establish a homeland? What methods can the homeland group use to effectively control a place? How homogenous must a homeland's people be? What are the spatial limitations of the homeland? Do three-dozen Germans living on farms in central Missouri or 20,000 Puerto Ricans in a barrio in New York City constitute valid geographic homelands? Successful attempts to answer a few of these questions are already forthcoming from a few scholars. Ethnic homelands, ethnic islands and archipelagos, ethnic substrates, and ethnic neighborhoods are being studied and delineated in order to provide focus and definition for a grouping of a people and their place.⁵²

Most importantly, why study homelands? In an era where the idea of "freeing people from the land" is common, understanding people's intimacy and adaptation to their surrounding landscape deserves further investigation. Delving into this relationship is not just another type of regional study, but an analysis of self-conscious cultures, made evident by attitudes expressed in an impress on the landscape. Tuan states "we raise deep questions concerning our own humanity when we explore the meaning of our homes." By ignoring homelands and thus a unique way to investigate cultures and ethnicity, an

unfathomable amount of knowledge about the human-environmental interactions of other peoples, and possibly our own culture, will be lost.⁵³

Perhaps further investigation and discussion of the homeland concept will answer these questions. Additionally, the historical influences of Semple, Sauer, Ratzel, Vidal, Tuan, Meinig, Zelinsky, and numerous other authors whose writings are the antecedents of geographical homelands will hopefully become clearer as the homeland concept becomes more precisely defined. As questions are answered, homelands will remain a viable, growth edge in historical, cultural, and ethnic geography. Based on past endeavors, the geographical homeland concept continues to establish its own niche within geography.

Chapter 3

The Creek in the Southeast and Removal

Prologue

The Creek were dispossessed from their Southeastern lands in the mid-nineteenth century. Prior to removal, they were a culturally diverse political and social Confederacy, occupying parts of the present-day states of Alabama and Georgia since the time of European contact. The Creek Confederacy maintained an adaptive, sophisticated society, altering its foreign relations to the changing Euro-American geopolitical situation. Their success enabled the Creek to become one of the most significant political and military tribes east of the Mississippi River. This allowed them to resist many Euro-American efforts to restrict them territorially or to be moved as a tribe. By the time of Creek dispossession, the tribe had adapted to and bonded with its Southeastern landscape, creating a distinct homeland while developing significant social and political structures that would enable the Confederacy to adapt and continue many of their cultural habits in Indian Territory.

To understand the processes that shaped the revised Creek homeland in Indian Territory after removal, a review of the basic structure of the life and history of the Southeastern Creek Confederacy is necessary. Three historical eras precede Creek removal to Indian Territory: pre-contact (before 1528), contact (1528 to the early 1700s), and colonial (the early 1700s to 1828).¹

Landscape and environment in the Southeast

Creek migration legend tells of an extended eastward trek around 800 to 1000 AD from the original home of the tribe near the source of the Red River to an area east of the Mississippi River. Whether that migration was fact or created history, at the time of European contact the Creek homeland was located in the Southeastern quadrant of the United States, occupying parts of present-day Georgia and Alabama. The homeland core centered on the Coosa, Tallapoosa, Chattahoochee, and Flint river systems and was marked by approximately 80 to 90 riverine towns (*talwa*) and villages (*talofa*) linked together in a loose confederation. The two divisions of the Creek Confederacy, the Upper and Lower towns, maintained a low level of political cohesion and were separated by a dense forest approximately 100 miles in width. Population reconstructions estimate that 15,000 Creek may have inhabited the Southeast in 1685, a number that likely fell to a low of 9,000 fifteen years later due to the introduction of European diseases, before recovering to near-1685 levels by the time of forced removal of the main body of the Creek in 1836 and 1837.²

Although the Creek core was tightly clustered along four major rivers, their domain extended through much of the Southeast between the landmarks of the Savanna River, the St. Johns River, Apalachee Bay, and the escarpment of the Appalachian Highlands. Having fluid boundaries that shifted in response to the North American geopolitical situation, the Creek territorial extent was sparsely settled and utilized primarily as a hunting reserve and military buffer zone between neighboring confederacies (Figure 3.1).³

The Creek core and the majority of their domain lay in the Piedmont, characterized by hilly topography. The majority of Creek towns were located in a region known today as the “Black Belt,” abutting the Fall Line and named for its rich, fertile soils. Rapidly flowing river systems cut through the Piedmont before tumbling over the Fall Line onto the Atlantic Coastal Plain to become broad and slow streams. Vegetation of the Piedmont is classified as a oak-pine forest, composed of a mixed growth of oak, pine, sassafras, chestnut, and hickory trees forming a dense, heterogeneous vegetative cover. The forest vegetation was thick but not impenetrable, and the dense forest canopy provided deep shade for most of the forest floor and rich habitats for a variety of animal life.⁴

Euro-American observers of Creek Southeastern lands remarked about its beauty and economic potential. In the late eighteenth century, naturalist William Bartram described the Piedmont area as being “a charming rural scenery of primitive nature” comprised of “magnificent terraces supporting sublime forests, almost endless grassy fields, [and] detached groves and green lawns.” During his tenure as Creek Agent, Benjamin Hawkins gave an extensive description, watershed by watershed, of the region. With an eye for economic profit, he characterized the majority of the land as having “the appearance of being healthy” with an excellent potential for large-scale herding operations.⁵

In order to take advantage of the generous Southeastern environment, the Creek, like most of the Southeastern tribes, choose to settle in riverine villages. Observers noted the typical Creek settlement as being situated near a stream where “the lands are fertile, the water clear and well tasted, and the air extremely pure” (Figure 3.2). From these

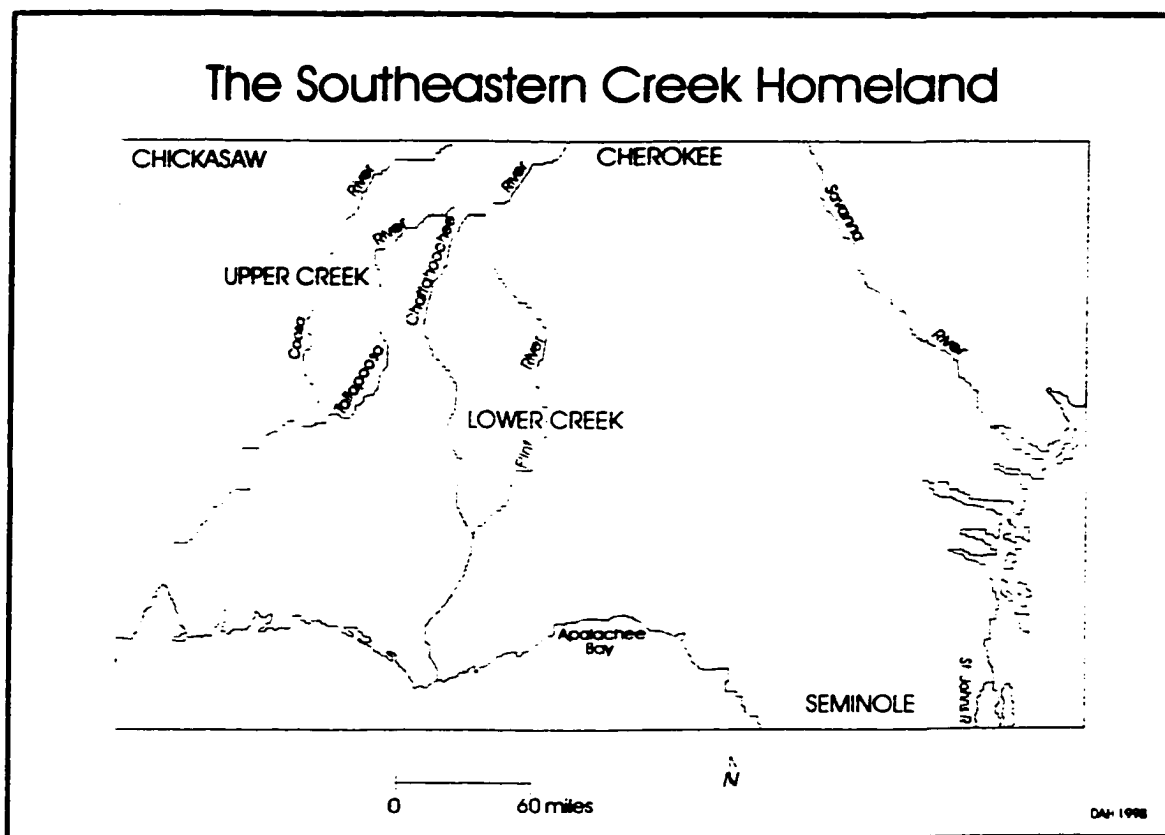


Figure 3.1: The Southeastern Creek homeland.

villages, the Creek disturbed the natural environment by clearing (often girdling) the surrounding oak-pine forest for settlement, agriculture, and fuel, hunting fur-bearing animals and deer, and habitually utilizing burning as a method of controlling their environmental surroundings. In fact, fires were regularly used by Southeastern Piedmont and Coastal Plain Indians to enhance soil nutrients, attract browsing animals such as deer, clear land for agriculture, and facilitate travel.⁶

The Pre-contact era (to 1528)

Prior to European contact, the Creek had not formed an easily identified political Confederacy, but were an assemblage of chiefdoms of varying sizes and power. Chiefdoms were widespread throughout the Southeast and the Americas and were a common form of indigenous political organization prior to European contact. Therefore, the Creek did not constitute an ethnic group that had a primordial origin in the Southeast but instead were only one facet of a 10,000-year-sequence of human occupation of the region.⁷

The ranking of society and the economic redistribution of trade goods and food characterized chiefdoms. Ranking, a hierarchy of social positions based on birth order, cut across kinship groups and established an elite segment of society that could collect wealth and then redistribute it to lesser-ranked community members in order to promote the development of personal loyalties.

Chiefdoms arose during the Mississippian period, although scholars are unsure what motivated their ascent. The largest and most complex societies before European



Figure 3.2: The Coosa River. (DAH, June 1997)

contact, Mississippian cultures (700-1550 AD), represented a shift in the Southeast from an egalitarian, dispersed population of hunters and gathers to societies based on increased population densities, settlement size and permanence, and the evolution of social complexity from that originally found by the first European explorers. Although pre-contact chiefdoms maintained some trading relations, the degree of trade and social networks connecting chiefdoms remains unclear. Also uncertain is how different groups defined themselves ethnically.⁸

The most dominant landscape feature of the Mississippian cultures was their large earthen mounds that signified large ceremonial centers such as Moundville (Alabama), Spiro (Oklahoma), and Cahokia (Illinois) (Figure 3.3). These Mississippian urban areas ranged from elaborate multiple-mound conglomerations to single-mound sites that acted as ceremonial, trade, and religious centers. Smaller, more egalitarian non-mound-oriented groups known as hill tribes also existed in the Southeast. Generally, these groupings avoided the larger power nodes in order to maintain a high degree of autonomy. Thus a vast diversity of the levels of political control and a stability of Mississippian cultures existed. Yet, most mound cultures maintained locational similarities. Riverine habitats were settled since those sites provided the most reliable agricultural yields. Food surpluses and their distribution were of key importance to the maintenance of the permanent political hierarchies that were a hallmark of the chiefdoms.⁹

Another unifying feature of the Southeast was kinship. Kinship ties helped to stabilize social relations by providing an intricate support network. The kinship group



Figure 3.3: Moundville, Alabama. (DAH, June 1997)

controlled ownership and distribution of resources. Although individual households maintained some economic autonomy, communal resources allowed smaller villages and hamlets to survive hardships more easily. Additionally, ranked clans provided a leadership structure through the formation of a social hierarchy. This hierarchy was an important aspect of chiefdoms and later confederacies.¹⁰

Southeastern kinship groups expressed a Crow-type kinship system. They were matrilineal, with descent being traced through the lineage of the mother. The matrilineage has been called the “most important family unit in Creek society.” Believing that a common ancestor related members of a clan, not actually proving that belief as fact, was the key to unifying the Creek. The combination of matrilineal descent and matrilineal residence, or residing in the town or section of town of the wife’s clan, favored the male gender roles and power relations as traders, hunters, and warriors, while women were responsible for agricultural cultivation and retained land and house ownership.¹¹

The European contact era (1528 to the early 1700s)

The Spaniard Hernando DeSoto made contact with Southeastern indigenous peoples during his travels in the region from 1539 to 1543. When European expeditions led by Tristan de Luna in 1559 to 1561 and Juan Pardo in 1566 to 1568 followed, the Southeastern Indians had already been reduced in population and perhaps social complexity, largely due to European diseases.¹²

Over 100 years passed before European explorations of the Southeast resumed. However, changes brought by Europeans in the forms of disease, military conflict, and

starvation were felt immediately after contact. Although exact numbers are not known, Henry Dobyns argues for a 20 to 1 depopulation ratio (20 times more American Indians were alive in 1492 than after the introduction of European diseases) for eastern North American Indians due to European and African diseases such as small pox, influenza, and measles. Archaeological evidence supports large-scale population decline. As an example, studies show a significant decrease in the number of northern Georgia and northern Alabama town sites that were inhabited from 1540 to 1670.¹³

The grouping of native peoples known today as the Creek had not formed a cohesive confederacy by the late seventeenth century. The “territorial assemblage of many small groups” with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds found in the Southeast were apparently organized in varying types of chiefdoms at the time of European contact, bound by military, economic, and political ties of varying intensities. However, these small, vulnerable groups experienced rapid change in their geopolitical situation. Weakened by disease and threatened by European-led slave raiding on smaller population centers, Southeastern chiefdoms were forced to form powerful military confederacies for their own protection and survival as the Southeast became a region of demographic instability, political volatility, and social fragmentation.¹⁴

Lacking physical or social barriers to prevent migration, large-scale displacement of Southeastern native peoples occurred. Some regions, such as northern Georgia and northern Alabama, experienced heavy out-migration and net population loss. Other areas that were located in buffer zones provided at least a degree of minimalistic refuge from Europeans gained population. Political centralization resulted.¹⁵

As population remnants clustered in safer locations, emerging confederacies such as the Creek evolved. The success of the Creek in power consolidation resulted from their interior location between several competing, colonizing European powers. Although the Spanish poorly documented social and political relations among the Creek during this era, the Creek consolidated power and increased political stability by an ongoing process of incorporating former chiefdoms (such as the Coosa, Ocute, and Ichisi) into a confederacy of tribal towns. These larger clusters of native peoples were better able to resist European pressures and more effectively assert their claims to territory and autonomy, a situation that encouraged more groups to join, rather than withdraw, from the Creek Confederacy.¹⁶

Slowly, native peoples including the Alabama, Hitchiti, Koasati, Natchez, Muskogee, and Yuchi who migrated from the present-day states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana formed the Creek Confederacy. Most peoples joining the Confederacy spoke Muskogean languages such as Creek, Alabama, Koasati, Hitchiti, Mikasuki, Choctaw, and Chickasaw. Although the Creek language appears to have evolved into the unifying language for trade and political dialogue, linguistic diversity existed. Other non-Muskogean languages such as Yuchi, Natchez, Shawnee, and Biloxi were commonly spoken as well.¹⁷

The centrifugal forces of the Creek Confederacy that included ethnicity and language were offset by the continued importance of the tribal town (*italwa* or *tulwa*) as the basic unifying element of Creek life. Tribal towns varied from 20 to 200 houses, were usually fairly tightly clustered in groups of four to eight homes of related clan members,

and occupied the fertile banks and floodplains along the margins of streams. Specifically, the Creek situated their houses on the land sloping towards the streambed from the higher, broken lands. Commonly, entire towns migrated and even split when they reached 400 to 600 people, owed to overpopulation and the accumulation of waste and rodents that were byproducts of prolonged habitation of an area. However, Creek towns were not just residential groupings with well-defined political boundaries. Instead, they were entities of socially related people who acted together in political, economic, and religious arenas.¹⁸

Creek tribal towns historically were independent entities whose political autonomy superseded regional or national alliances. Tribal towns, not membership in the Confederacy, provided the basis for Creek self-identity in the Southeast and after removal. Individual towns had political officers, owned land and public buildings including the town square and ceremonial grounds, and maintained unique traditions and ceremonials. Confederacy towns acted independently from each other and were not forced to submit to the treaties or alliances negotiated by the Creek national government unless agreed to by the town officers who ruled largely by consensus building among town members. During the contact period, towns maintained relations with culturally similar neighboring towns instead of acting in collaboration as a unified confederacy.¹⁹

Centripetal forces were also important to the Creek Confederacy and its individual towns. Forces for town unification included clan membership, marriage, trade, religious customs, shared language, ties to common ceremonial centers, and military alliances. Most importantly were the military alliances that arose as a reaction to the post-contact warfare and slave raids.²⁰

This trend of increasing military organization, which helped to cement the Confederacy, also affected individual tribal towns as they divided into red (war) and white (peace) classifications. The political dualism served to decentralize political decision-making. White towns were supposed to concentrate upon peaceful resolutions to disputes and treaty making while red towns handled warring, raiding, and aggressive relations with other peoples. In the context of rivalry, members of the same color town were considered to be friendly (*anhissi*) while opposite colored towns were considered to be opponents or enemies (*aykipaya*).²¹

Lying in the center of the Creek tribal town was a ceremonial ground, summer and winter council houses, ball ground, and various ceremonial poles and four arbors. The ceremonial ground was the most important location in the religious life of the Creek as it represented a unique relationship with their deity. New or adopted towns were not officially recognized until an independent ceremonial ground was established so that annual ceremonies could be performed. The ceremonial ground also housed the town hearth and fire, said to have originated and transferred from the four “mother” towns of Tokipahchi and Kawita (red towns) and Kasihta and Apihka (white towns). Located in the center of the ceremonial ground, the town fire was a significant religious and cultural symbol that has been labeled “the most important religious symbol of the Southeast and the Creeks.” The fire was called grandfather (*poca*) and connected Creeks with their ancestors, adding a dimension of social order to the Creek world. Furthermore, the houses of all tribal town members had to be located within a distance equivalent to the sound of a drumbeat from the town fire, forcing residents to remain in close proximity to

each other. When new towns formed, through adoption or the splitting of established towns due to resource depletion or population growth, they took the color identity of their sponsoring town. Fire embers were then transferred from the established town to the newly created town to further connect the new town to the social and religious hierarchy of the Creek.²²

The two most important Creek ceremonies and rituals were the busk and the ball game held in the town center. Busk (*poskerv*), often called the Green Corn ceremony by Euro-Americans, celebrated the ripening green corn crop and was widely practiced by Southeastern tribes. Held once a year, the main purpose of the four-to-eight-day busk was to rebuild a covenant relationship with the Creek deity by restoring “the connections of the tribe with the universe which a year of civil or profane living had tended to rapture.” During the multiple-day ceremony the old town fire, polluted by a year of social interactions, was extinguished and the ashes were removed and replaced by a new fire (which was then transferred to individual homes). Most personal transgressions during the past year were forgiven. The entire community attended and was purified, town identity was reconstituted, and relations with the spiritual world were properly reestablished. The past, the future, and the identity of the town that was tied to a specific place were celebrated. The busk also promoted relations with neighboring towns, as visitors to the ceremony were welcomed.²³

The ball game (or stickball or match game) was also a significant aspect of town relations as only the males of rival color towns played each other in a lacrosse-style game. The match game was an outlet for town relations in a highly competitive event that was

termed “a younger brother to war” (*holiicosi*). The event was traditionally held once a year for each town. If defeated a certain number of times by the same town, the losing town took the town color of the winning town as a penalty. This color shift seems to have happened on an irregular basis. The ball game also could be played in order to settle disputes with other tribes, such as boundary conflicts or reparations.²⁴

In order to participate in annual town ceremonies or political decision-making, individuals had to be members of a clan. As many as 50 matrilineal clans of the Creek Confederacy were also ranked and segmented into red and white divisions, with four to six leading clans. Ideally, the white clans assumed leadership in the white towns, while red clans led in the red towns as the chief (*miko*) and secondary chief (*heneha*) of the towns were selected by two leading clans. The chief then presided over the town council, although rule was by consensus instead of unilateral decision making.²⁵

Additionally, clans regulated marriage relations, punished adulterers, conducted blood revenge, prescribed behavior during ceremonies, and provided assistance and support to disadvantaged clan members, and in general dictated personal behavior and social interaction between clan and tribal members. Clan membership meant that a person was fully incorporated into Creek society that was unified by mutual obligations, responsibilities, traditions, and similar worldviews. Clans were dispersed in several towns and each town contained multiple clans. Unlike town color affiliation, clan membership was static. Creek clans were matrilocal. After marriage, male tribal members moved to the family residence of their wives, often leaving their family in another town.²⁶

The colonial era (early 1700s to 1828)

The Colonial period marked the incorporation of Southeastern native peoples into the European-dominated global economy. Frustrated by the continued lack of political centralization, European and then American powers attempted to group, classify, and exploit economically the indigenous peoples of the Americas. The result was a massive alteration in native social, political, and economic structures and the precursor to forced removal from the Southeast for most native peoples.

The loosely organized Creek Confederacy, with its continued focus on local allegiance and alliances instead of regional or national organization, was problematic for European capitalists wishing to have direct relations with, and hopefully influence and control, a maximum number of native peoples. In reality, the Creek Confederacy constantly changed in reaction to the needs of its members and the geopolitical situation of the region. Before trading relationships could be established, indigenous peoples had to be grouped and labeled, and a native political hierarchy had to be established. Colonial governments were interested in “welding cohesive Indian groups together and in strengthening native leaders’ control over these groups,” creating leaders the English first called “kings,” or “emperors,” and later “chiefs,” in order to gain access to Native people and their resources.²⁷

For the Creek, this process began along Ocheese Creek, a tributary of the Ocmulgee River. In a zone of transition between the Carolina colony and Muskogean speakers, the two groups had regular trade and military contact in the area. Needing to name the group they were having continued contact with, the South Carolinians labeled the Muskogeans as

the Creek Indians or Creeks. The term was later applied to all Muskogees in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century and the word “Creek” became a well-used part of the Spanish, French, and American vocabularies as being representative of a unique people in fixed geographical space.²⁸

Scholars interpret the naming of the Creek as a British strategy to centralize Muskogean political structure in order to increase the effectiveness of British geopolitical relations, including trade, land cessions, and other negotiations involving reparations for depredations against British citizens. Use of the term “Creek” has been construed as “symptomatic of European pressures toward the formation or recognition of ethnic and political units larger than the towns.” Clearly, the loosely organized town-based political hierarchy of the Creek did not meet European requirements for native peoples in North America. Indigenous groups, such as the Creek and Seminole, that are taken for granted today were largely the creation of outsiders and were little more than artificial constructs.²⁹

European trade with the Creek probably began in 1687 when Dr. Henry Woodward and 250 men left South Carolina and arrived at the Creek town of Coweta on the Chattahoochee River. Soon, the Creek joined other Southeastern tribes as active, large-scale participants in the global deerskin and slave trades acting as inexpensive labor for European corporations. As a result, the traditional Creek economic structure changed radically. Males spent the majority of the time away from their villages capturing Indian slaves and hunting deer whose skins were exchanged for guns, textiles, and other trade goods. They disregarded the traditional male roles of seasonal hunting and gathering,

agriculture, and trade with other indigenous peoples. A dependency of Southeastern native peoples upon European goods evolved as the Creek attempted to hold onto their base social and cultural beliefs. This stress between economic progress and long-standing traditions also quickly altered social and gender relations and began to foment factional struggles that would fully express themselves later in the historical period.³⁰

Gender roles also continued to change during the colonial era. Traditionally, matrilineages were the dominant economic influence upon Southeastern native peoples. Matrilineages controlled agricultural patches, owned houses, and aided other members with their available labor pool. The traditional matrilineal structure deteriorated, as men became economic agents through commercial hunting and trading, curtailing their dependence on the matrilineage and reducing the relative power of women in their family units. Instead, women took the primary accountability in agricultural practices and were also responsible for the tanning of deer hides that males brought home.³¹

After incorporating Southeastern native peoples into their global economy, at the turn of the eighteenth century Europeans further regionalized the towns of the Creek Confederacy by organizing them into Upper and Lower divisions. This arrangement was an artificial geographic construct as the Creek did not view themselves as being separated into Upper and Lower factions. Upper Creek towns clustered along the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Alabama river systems in the northwest of the Creek domain and were comprised of the Alabama, Tallapoosa, and Abeika (Coosa) Indians. Lower Creek towns were much closer to the British and occupied the southeastern quadrant of Creek lands and lay astride the Chattahoochee, Flint, and Ocmulgee rivers, the two most important

towns being Coweta and Cussita. The Upper and Lower separation was surely a British construct, as they approached the Confederacy from the east. The French and Spanish traveled to Creek territory from the west or south, making the Upper and Lower orientation seem more artificial and confusing.³²

At times, leaders of the Upper and Lower Creek were promoted and recognized by Europeans as authorities for the entire Creek Confederacy. This further removed the Creek from their traditional political structure. The tribe segmented into additional factions attempting to retain European-recognized political power. The Southeastern tribes, including the Creek, continued to be alienated from their own histories, their social relations with each other, and their traditional relationships with the environment. The Upper and Lower towns developed different trade relations with Euro-Americans in the late eighteenth century due to their distinct geopolitical situations. Although the two groups had similar political organizations, the Upper and Lower divisions held separate councils and often pursued vastly different political relations with Euro-Americans. In general during this era the Upper towns, that were a greater distance from European influences, maintained a more traditional political and social structure. The Lower towns were more firmly in the European sphere of influence and adopted a greater number of European influences and traditions, thus becoming known as the most progressive element of Creek society.³³

Overall, the Confederacy achieved a high degree of success in trade, and thus enhanced their power and population, due to their geopolitical position. Lying between British, French, Spanish, and later American spheres of influence, the Creek played-off

Euro-American groups against each other and maintained several different sources of trade supplies and goods. Meanwhile, Euro-American powers competed for trade access and territorial control in the Southeast. The Creek also continued to incorporate additional towns into the Confederacy and to centralize some political power in an attempt to strengthen their geopolitical position relative to other Native and European powers.³⁴

During the Yamasee War of 1715 the Creek Confederacy emerged as a cohesive, political power in the Southeast. The inclusion of a large number of additional new towns and the continued commitment to a neutral foreign policy strengthened Creek regional authority in the Southeast. During the American Revolution, the Confederacy aligned with the British against the Colonists owed to the British near-monopoly of Indian trade in the Southeast after the loss of French and Spanish influence in the region in 1763. However, Creek Confederacy building continued with success after the war. The British military defeat and subsequent withdrawal from the Southeast allowed the Creek to begin a new play-off between the two remaining foreign powers in the region—the United States and Spain.³⁵

By the late eighteenth century, Creek political structure began to change radically owed to the rise of mixedbloods (also often known as assimilationists or progressives) to leadership positions. This trend hastened the Creek integration into the European global economy, and the sons of European traders and Creek women, often from leading clans, prospered in both Native and Euro-American realms. Scots-Irish traders in particular favored intermarriage so that they, and their sons, could gain political influence in the Confederacy. Creek leaders such as Alexander McGillivray and William McIntosh were

able to utilize their cross-cultural heritages to gain access to American and European traders. This in turn enhanced their ability to gain leadership positions within tribal towns as a greater number of inexpensive goods became available in exchange for furs. Younger men were also able to amass wealth and political power by hunting, an option unavailable to older males. These trends brought a dramatic shift from the conventional route to leadership positions held primarily by fullbloods (also labeled as conservatives or traditionalists) that were defined by a combination of age, life successes including warfare, and membership in a prominent clan. This factionalism was detrimental as Creek individuals continued to pursue their own divergent political and economic agendas.³⁶

McGillivray became the first mixedblood to have a significant impact upon Creek Confederacy-American relations. The son of a Scottish trader named Lachland McGillivray and a Creek woman from the elite Wind clan, McGillivray received a European style education in Charles Town (Charleston), South Carolina. He returned to his tribal town of Little Tallassee (or Hickory Ground) during the American Revolution, became an owner of multiple plantations, and due to his economic influence, assumed a rapid rise in leadership in his town and among the Upper Creek.³⁷

Soon the leading political figure of the Upper Creek, McGillivray used his knowledge of the American political system to increase his political power by centralizing Upper Creek government in order to foster more effective political and trade relations with the Americans. He was particularly successful in maintaining a beneficial business relation with the leading trading company in the Southeast (Panton, Leslie, and Company) which enabled McGillivray to control diplomatic gifts, favors, and trade goods (especially

the all-important gunpowder). This allowed him to punish non-allied tribal towns that disagreed with his policies. By 1783, the McGillivray-led Upper Creek councils were considered the official Creek National Council by American authorities, who recognized the Upper Creek as the official Creek Nation. However, the change was largely superficial for McGillivray had no national authority to negotiate or speak for the Upper and Lower Creek and Seminole. Additionally, the long-standing processes of negotiation, consensus building, and town autonomy undermined regional or national alliances, as McGillivray's American-sponsored status was not even recognized by a number of Upper Creek towns.³⁸

Yet, McGillivray was considered leader of the Creek Nation by American and European governments, in part due to his political connections and economic success as the owner of multiple plantations. According to those external forces, he was enfranchised to speak for the Upper and Lower Creek and to make binding agreements for the entire Nation. Often the Lower Creek were not represented in negotiations that ceded their lands or made sweeping concessions to foreign authorities. Tensions between the Upper and Lower Creek intensified as the artificial Euro-American promoted unity of the group became strained and the rift between progressive and traditional tribal factions widened.³⁹

Land cessions, usually negotiated by a small segment of the Confederacy leadership, continued to increase tensions among the Creek, who began to seek military solutions to the American encroachments on their territory. In 1790 McGillivray attempted to lessen the ongoing military conflict between the Creek and American land-

seekers by signing the Treaty of New York. This agreement ceded lands in Georgia (a Lower Creek hunting area) in exchange for American military protection against encroaching settlers, exemption from taxation of goods traveling through the Creek Nation, and an annual annuity. The treaty also established an Indian agent among the Creek.⁴⁰

The fragmentation of Creek society and efforts at political centralization continued after the death of McGillivray in 1793 and the appointment of Benjamin Hawkins as “principal agent for Indian affairs south of the Ohio” in 1796. With a hidden agenda of gaining influence among the Creek in order to aid American political relations with the Confederacy, Hawkins began an intense acculturation, civilization, and Christianization program among the Creek. His efforts were particularly effective among the Lower Creek as many reduced their hunting and communal village farming efforts, shifted to private family farming and ranching led by male household members, acquired Black slaves (and hence a new division of gendered labor), and adopted Christianity. A small entrepreneurial class of mixedbloods, modeled after the Southern plantation owner and businessman, developed. The civilization program was obviously in direct conflict with traditional Creek economic, social, political, and gender roles, although it was practical when viewed in the economic context of providing an option of commercial agriculture in the face of a severely declining fur supply.⁴¹

More Lower Creek slowly adopted commercial agriculture and ranching, resulting in increased cotton yields and expanded cattle ranching operations in the Southeast. Several Lower Creek towns became increasingly dispersed due to the extra acreage

needed for large commercial agriculture fields and cattle ranching. This weakened the social and ceremonial ties between townspeople. Nevertheless, the majority of Creek continued to resist Euro-American civilization programs by continued participation in traditional ceremonial events, deer hunting, maintenance of gender roles, and practicing communal subsistence agriculture with ubiquitous corn crops supplemented by rice and potatoes grown on floodplains near their towns. Because of the overall lack of agricultural reform, one observer described private, subsistence farming among most of the Creek as being “little understood and less practiced.”⁴²

Hawkins was also successful in continuing to centralize political authority. He established two capitals, Tuckabatchee for the Upper Creek and Coweta for the Lower Creek. He stationed sub-agents at the capitals, and promoted the greater authority of the National Council over the Confederacy of tribal towns. Alteration of traditional Creek social and political organization resulted, further factionalizing the Confederacy and augmenting the Upper and Lower split.

External pressures exacerbated internal change. As the deer supply dwindled due to over-hunting, Creek Confederacy males hunted for longer periods away from their towns and found themselves unable to pay rising debts from goods bought on credit. Now, European traders utilized the power structure that they had helped to create. Holding many of the same village chiefs that they had enabled to reach power responsible, traders demanded cessions of rich Creek agricultural and hunting lands as compensation. Many chiefs resisted using town property to pay individual debts. This created additional tension with the traders and gave American pro-removal politicians and military leaders a

potential rationalization for what they believed to be the inherent necessity of Indian dispossession and removal.⁴³

Added to the cycle of trade debt that resulted from a native dependency on European goods, westward expansion by Euro-Americans heightened territorial disputes. The establishment of the territory of Georgia in 1732 and American victory in the Revolution acted as catalysts for American settlement of the Southeast. Creek towns were forced to migrate westward or southward to escape the onrushing tide of Euro-Americans who demanded some of the most fertile Creek agricultural and hunting lands. Additionally, the Creek were no longer in a zone of transition between competing foreign powers. As the United States monopolized Indian trade in the Southeast, the Creek had to pursue the policies dictated to them by American traders in order to maintain their only sources of trade goods. Often, United States policies encouraged the accumulation of debts that could only be paid by the cession of Creek hunting lands, made possible by the American sponsored attempt to restrict the Creek to small agricultural plots and increase their dependence upon that economic form.⁴⁴

The influence of Hawkins continued. He successfully reoriented political power from the Upper Creek to the more progressive Lower Creek who were open to his agenda. A small number of Lower Creek had already become less reliant on hunting and communal farming and were in the process of shifting to individual farming and ranching, acquiring Black slaves in order to farm large labor-intensive cotton fields. As power and decision-making shifted, so did the general level of discontent among large sections of the Creek population. The resistant Upper Creek found themselves politically

disenfranchised, much as the Lower Creek had been when McGillivray wielded the greatest power in the Confederacy. The greatest dissatisfaction during the tenure of Hawkins came when the National Council, following the wishes of Hawkins, approved construction of a road through Upper Creek hunting lands in 1811 without the consent of the towns that were most affected.⁴⁵

These tensions, coupled with a economic recession, dominated the Creek world when the Shawnee brother prophets Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh arrived in the Southeast in 1811. The two Shawnee called for a pan-Indian military response to American intervention in native life. Tecumseh had the greatest influence upon conservative Creeks who wanted to return to a traditional lifestyle. He offered a “critique” of colonialism that rejected the American political and economic innovations that Hawkins promoted. In 1813, Creek traditionalists, who represented approximately half to three-fourths of the Creek population, reacted to the effects of the Hawkins-promoted ideas of American progress and the corruption of their traditional ways. They began a nativistic or revitalization movement, which declared war against progressive Creek mixedblood elites and American settlers. The Creek War (1812-1814) ended in the defeat of the conservative faction, known as the Red Sticks, by American troops led by Andrew Jackson and allied progressive Creek and Cherokee soldiers at Tohopeka (Horseshoe Bend, Alabama). This effectively ended Creek military resistance to American intervention, allowed the civilization program of Hawkins to proceed nearly unabated, and promoted an increasing level of political centralization through the auspices of the

National Council and its leadership. Large-scale military responses to American intervention was never again a viable option for the Creek.⁴⁶

Although the Creek War has been portrayed as an Upper Creek (conservative) versus Lower Creek (progressive) conflict, Creek and Seminole towns split according to political instead of geographic orientation. Further analysis shows that age was also a primary determining factor in Red Stick participation, as young males depended on war successes for upward social mobility in a time when the deer supply had been drastically reduced and the global economy was becoming stagnant.⁴⁷

The Creek War resulted in an aggressive American land grab designed to open the Southeast to American settlement. This action followed the example of the extinguishment of Indian land titles in the Ohio Valley. The military defeat of the Creek traditionalists, and subsequent cession of more than twenty million acres of Creek land as reparations, furthered a long-standing southward migration of some Confederacy members. By the late 1760s, Europeans and Americans recognized the native peoples in Florida as distinct from the Upper and Lower Creek, and by 1804 the Seminole were acting almost independently of the Upper and Lower Creek. Seminole towns continued to attract Confederacy members who were either harassed by Euro-Americans, dissatisfied with their previous location or role in the Creek Confederacy, or were attracted to Florida by the Spanish who wished to construct a buffer zone between their territories and those of the British and United States. The wave of southward migration after the Creek War increased the population of Florida from 3,500 or 4,000 people to over 6,000.⁴⁸

For years, the geographical situation of Southeastern Native peoples mattered little and may not have been recognized by indigenous peoples. Incorporation of the Southeast into the European global economy made location of paramount importance and altered the processes of ethnogenesis as European powers competed for economic spheres of influence and alliance with Native people. Now, ethnic self-identification dictated many political and social relations. Trade and political alliances differed in regions of the Southeast. The Upper Creek, Lower Creek, and Seminole had vastly different foreign relations, and their divergent histories caused them to begin to recognize the imposed, and somewhat arbitrary, divisions that were created by European and American nations. Most tribal members recognized several levels of political identity, from their town affiliation to their national membership. These ethnic categories became permanent, even after the fur trade went into a prolonged recession, and payments from land cessions to the United States instead of commercial hunting drove the Creek economy.⁴⁹

After the Creek War, many viewed Florida to be a refuge from American influence. However, isolation from American expansion was short-lived. After the acquisition of Florida from Spain in the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, American settlers began a new round of encroachment on Seminole lands. Instead of negotiating temporary land cessions to clear space for the homesteaders, the American government as early as 1817 considered removing the Southeastern Indians west of the Mississippi River.⁵⁰

Another mixedblood leader now came to influence Creek history and relations with the United States. William McIntosh, whose father was Scottish and mother was a Creek from the Wind clan in Coweta, achieved American backing as an official leader of the

Creek. Once McIntosh rose to power in the Lower towns during the early 1800s, the Americans considered him to be a spokesman for the entire Confederacy. McIntosh worked with the Creek National Council, supported Agents Hawkins and Mitchell, related the details of private tribal town meetings, and reported Creek citizens who were accused of crimes against Americans. The issue of local, tribal town control versus American government-supported centralized power emerged in the McIntosh period. The Creek National Council was the only American-recognized forum for the protest of land cessions and other diplomatic relations. Although he did not have widespread backing among the Creek, McIntosh gave in to pressure from Georgia, Alabama, and the federal government and agreed to the Treaty of Indian Springs in 1825, which ceded all Creek lands in Georgia and two-thirds of their lands in Alabama. To increase the National Council's dissatisfaction with the treaty, only members of eight of the 56 Confederacy towns signed the treaty, and only one signatory, McIntosh, was a member of the National Council.⁵¹

The land sale was a direct contradiction of a 1824 directive from the Creek National Council. It prohibited any further land cessions and dispossessed several dozen towns and thousands of people. Attempting to regain control of Creek politics, the National Council labeled McIntosh a traitor for ceding Creek lands and ordered him killed in 1827. Supporters of William McIntosh, losers of the factional struggle, decided to remove to Indian Territory in 1828 under the leadership of McIntosh's son Chilly in order to escape further possible reprisals, recreate Creek life in their own vision, and leave the bulk of the Creek to negotiate their future existence in the Southeast with the Georgia, Alabama, and federal governments. Led in 1829 by a second group of progressive Creek

and Seminole, these removal parties took their possessions, livestock, and slaves westward in search of new lives. For many of the emigrating Lower Creek, their progressive outlook and participation in the American agricultural trading system had weakened their ties to their tribal towns. Few progressive Lower Creek maintained significant emotional attachments to the Southeast. For them, removal ended the political and social stresses of inevitable dispossession and presented the Creek ranchers, plantation owners, and commercial farmers with a potentially lucrative economic opportunity.⁵³

Removal had begun in 1829, although Congress would not order forced removal until 1830, and large-scale dispossession of the Creek would not begin until 1836. The majority of the Creek remained subsistence farmers and hunters. They resisted economic and social change despite a prolonged depression in the Southeastern Native economy, they held onto the remnants of their traditional town-based society, and they attempted to balance their localized, town-based identities with a new national identity that incorrectly treated a diverse group of towns as a unified ethnic group.⁵³

Removal and the federal influence

The years between Congressionally ordered removal by the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and actual dispossession of the vast majority of the Creek in 1836 were characterized by American land grabs and Creek efforts to resist encroachment and maintain a sense of economic and community livelihood. What followed were a plethora of local, state, and federal reactions to a variety of proposed diplomatic and military solutions to the continued occupation of the Southeast by Native peoples. In the end,

authorities removed the Creek in parties of several hundred to several thousand people. The Creek left the majority of their possessions, farms, and towns without compensation as they began their physically difficult and mentally straining journey to Indian Territory. For many, the journey took six months to complete.⁵⁴

United States federal government policy dictated the pace of the removal timeline. The idea of Indian removal west of the Mississippi River had been regularly promoted since the Louisiana Purchase. By contrast, the maintenance of autonomous Indian-controlled geopolitical areas—east or west of the Mississippi—removed from Anglo settlement never received serious attention by the American government. Central to the idea of Indian removal was the concept of profitable land use—conventional thought held that Euro-Americans were better able to utilize land for economic benefit than Indians. However, until 1828 the federal government relied on a policy of persuasion and voluntary removal west of the Mississippi, instead of military force, to change the human geography of “the Old Southwest” and open the region to Anglo homesteading. The result was a lack of large-scale Indian emigrations, for the Southeastern tribes did not leave their homes for an uncertain life west of the Mississippi River.⁵⁵

Feeling the need to facilitate and quicken the removal process due to the advancing American settlement frontier, in 1829 President Andrew Jackson turned to legislation to solve the Indian “problem.” American military security and eminent domain became new justifications for dispossession. By 1845, when the removal of the Southeastern Indians was more or less complete, the American frontier had shifted to the trans-Mississippi

West. Anglo settlers now streamed into present-day Kansas and Nebraska, and a prolonged chapter in American-Indian relations east of the Mississippi River ended.

The Creek themselves were divided on the issue of removal. A large segment of the Creek Confederacy refused to consider removal under any circumstances. An increasing number of tribal members saw removal as their only feasible option, but objected to the land reserved for the Creek in the Indian Territory. The Creek National Council resisted removal and attempted to discourage any tribal members from moving west of the Mississippi. The Council did not formally agree to sell the entirety of their Southeastern lands until 1832. The conditions of the agreement gave the Creek some individual choice regarding their future, allowing individual Creek the option to “be free to go or stay, as they please.”⁵⁶

Tribal members were not required to remove to Indian Territory. Creek citizens could remain in Alabama on individual allotments (also called reserves). All American intruders on the Southeastern lands of the Creek were to be removed until the land was surveyed, allotted, and crops were gathered. The United States government agreed to pay all removal costs and subsistence for the Creek for one year after removal. However, as with many aspects of American-Indian relations, intention differed from reality. As soon as the 1832 treaty was ratified, more than 25,000 American land-seekers converged on Creek territory in an impromptu land run that forcibly evicted the Creek. New towns were constructed over the remnants of Creek towns and agricultural fields. Jackson ignored these depredations, and quickly closed the Creek Agency in Alabama, and shifted

all political relations with the Creek to Indian Territory in an attempt to stress further the need for removal to the Creek.⁵⁷

Intruding Anglos reduced drastically the available options to the Creek, many of whom were near starvation following a series of poor harvests, dwindling tribal herds, and an almost total lack of game. While some tribal members resisted dispossession and received individual allotments in the Southeast (the Poarch Creek today are recognized by the federal government as the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi) and others resisted the American removal order by emigrating southward to join the Seminole in Florida, most Creek were forcibly removed to Indian Territory. Emigration was the only viable option for self-preservation. The disadvantages outweighed the advantages of staying in the Southeast and the lure of living west of the Mississippi River with nearly total autonomy increasingly appealed to a large segment of Creek society. The Creek War of 1836 represented a final protest against the trend of creeping dispossession. Skirmishes between the Creek and Anglo intruders included the destruction of many houses and property. The short-lived and isolated conflict was effectively ended by the close of removal, which the United States Army conducted owed to the unsettled military situation in Alabama.⁵⁸

Removal of the Creek occurred in three primary waves. The first two segments found mostly Lower Creek of the McIntosh faction, mixedblood, planter class emigrating in 1828 and 1829. More than 2,000 Creek settled in Indian Territory by 1830. Practically all of the most progressive faction of the Lower Creek, numbering over 3,000, emigrated by 1835. The largest, final wave of approximately 20,000 tribal members removed in

groups of 1,000 to 3,000 tribal members between 1836 and 1838. Typically, larger groups representing two or three towns temporarily combined into one removal party. In this final “voluntarily” emigration, military escort accompanied the last wave of Creek. The government classified 2,495 Creek as “hostile” enemies of the government.⁵⁹

The Creek used two main routes of emigration through the “middle passage” of the central states and territories. Parties of Creek were guided either overland to Memphis, Tennessee and then taken by steamboats down the Mississippi River to the Arkansas River or they were shipped along the Alabama River to New Orleans, Louisiana where they continued their journey by way of the Mississippi-Arkansas rivers. The conditions under military escort were harsh, and many Creek died due to accidents, exhaustion, disease, or inhumane treatment. One removal party, led by Lieutenant J. T. Sprague in 1836, was composed of 1,984 Creek residents of Kasihta and Coweta towns. Officially, 29 members (1.4 percent) of the party perished, although many unreported deaths were likely, according to Creek oral history accounts. Upon arrival in Indian Territory, these Creek emigrants were destitute. The demands of removal combined with several decades of declining economic opportunities and crop failures in the Southeast explained why. The economically-prosperous McIntosh party already settled in Indian Territory extended only a cautious and suspicious welcome.⁶⁰

Fort Gibson, located at the confluence of the Arkansas, Verdigris, and Neosho (Grand) rivers, served as the entrepot for the Creek. Agreements between the private companies organizing removal and the United States government stated that the Creek must be delivered to within 20 miles of Fort Gibson to receive payment for services. After

the United States Army took over the removal of the Creek from private contractors, Fort Gibson continued to serve as the terminus for the immigrating Southeastern Indian nations. In addition to providing soldiers and the newly settled Creek with provisions and farm implements guaranteed by treaty, the Army garrison stationed at the fort provided protection for the Creek from raiding Plains tribes in the West.⁶¹

The haven provided by Fort Gibson was short-lived. Immediately, the Creek were forced to adapt to a distinctive Indian Territory environment in the face of cultural upheaval. The number of social issues was great and the response time was brief. Upper and Lower town members chose different strategies but maintained more cultural elements than they discarded. In time, the Creek implanted their cultural ideals in Indian Territory, shaping and marking a unique space.

Chapter 4

Implantation in Indian Territory (1828-1850)

Prologue

Implantation of the Creek Nation in Indian Territory in the early nineteenth century is a milestone in the history of the tribe. Their forced migration resulted in two interconnected processes: cultural continuation and environmental adaptation. After removal, a dramatic and harried event, the Creek recreated their basic social structure as they reinstituted elements of their traditional town organization and ceremonial practices in Indian Territory. This happened in a period of relatively low-level Anglo interference. The Creek also developed an attachment to Indian Territory by naming their newly sited towns after those found in the Southeast. However, dispossession from their Southeastern lands forced the Creek to adapt to a new environment characterized by a mosaic of oak woodland and tallgrass prairie with greater temperature and precipitation extremes than found in the Southeast. A subtle yet significant environmental adjustment was necessary. As the Creek struggled to recreate their Southeastern homeland, they forged a cultural impress on their western land that altered the landscape, environment, and culture of the region. This impress became a key factor in the ongoing development of a Creek homeland in Eastern Oklahoma.

Two environments, two landscapes

Removal to Indian Territory brought the Creek to a region with a greater range of temperature and precipitation extremes than their Southeastern lands (Figure 4.1).

Temperature and precipitation in Indian Territory were also less predictable. The precipitation rate was sporadic and decreased westward from 50 to 22 inches in Indian Territory compared to a range of 60 to 50 inches in their former Southeastern home. Unpredictable precipitation and temperature extremes would affect Creek agricultural options and their lifestyles. Additionally, instead of an environment characterized by a dense pine forest, the product of a humid Southeastern environment, Creek lands in Indian Territory were a mosaic of post oak-blackjack woodland, tallgrass prairie, and bottomland hardwood forest changing to a mixed long and shortgrass prairie on the western periphery of their territory.¹

The bulk of Creek Indian Territory lands encompassed a vegetational belt known as the Cross Timbers. In an environmental context, the region is a transition zone between the humid eastern forest and arid western prairies. After removal of the Eastern Indian Nations, the Cross Timbers served an additional role. The scrubby woodlands acted as a semi-permeable barrier separating the Five Civilized Tribes from the more nomadic Indians of the Great Plains. Randolph Marcy and other American explorers who slowly filtered westward thus labeled the Cross Timbers a “natural barrier between civilized man and the savage.”²

The Cross Timbers were distinguished by travelers and explorers as “pathless thickets” of “somber belts of timber” where “wooded hills prevailed” because the thick,

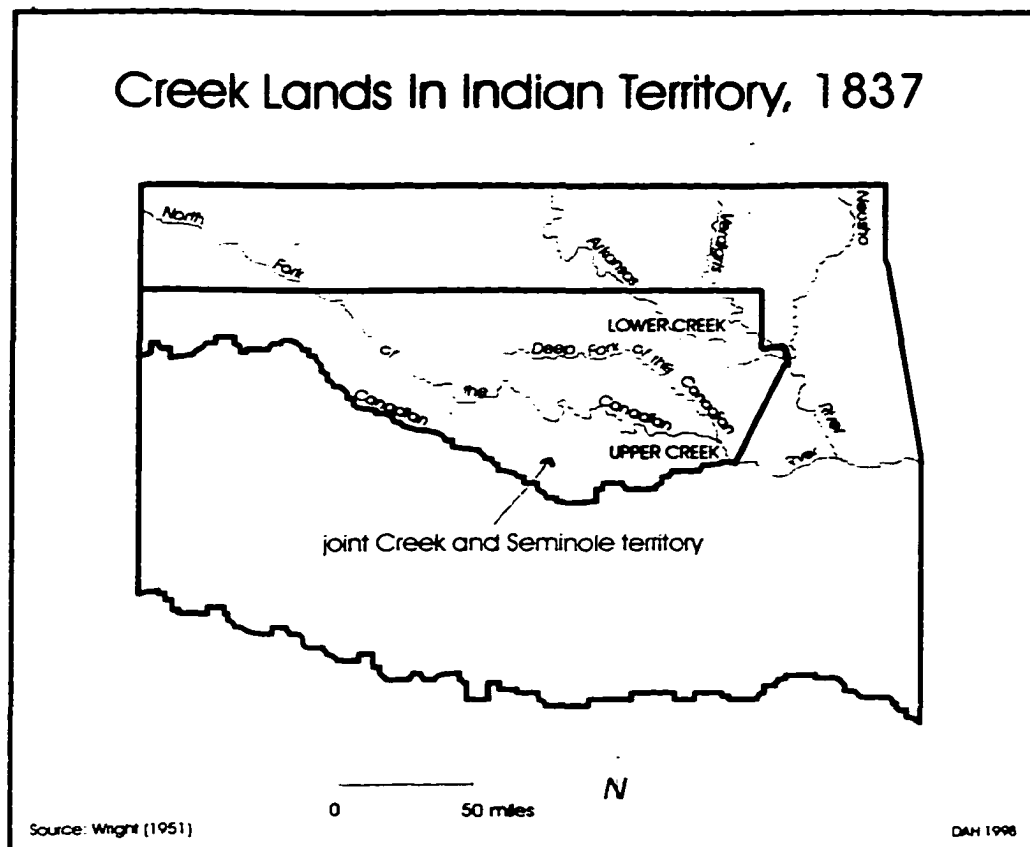


Figure 4.1: The Creek Nation in Indian Territory, 1837.

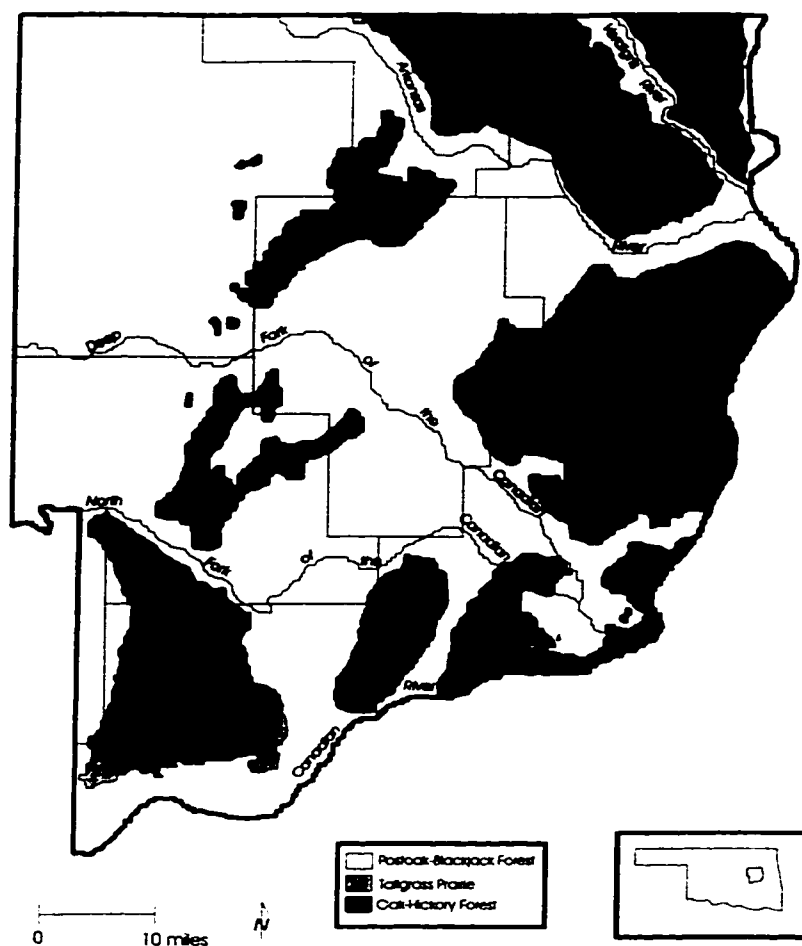
entangled oak growth often formed abrupt walls preventing easy movement through, or settlement in, the region. Two tree species, post oak (*Quercus stellata*) and blackjack oak (*Quercus marilandica*), characterize the Cross Timbers. Both tree species are adapted to the sandy and permeable soils derived from sandstone. They distinguish the Cross Timbers area from the moisture-retaining loams and clays derived from shale and limestone that underlie the surrounding grasslands.³

However, the Cross Timbers is not a monoculture of oak trees, but an undulating mosaic of forest, woodland, savanna, and prairie vegetation (Figure 4.2). Most commonly, thick oak forests are interspersed with tall grass prairies. Josiah Gregg, an entrepreneur working in the Cross Timbers in the 1840s, described “the celebrated Cross Timbers. . .[that] vary in width from five to thirty miles” and are “a continuous brushy strip, composed of various kinds of undergrowth; such as black-jacks, post-oaks, and in some places hickory, elm, etc. intermixed with a very diminutive dwarf oak.”⁴

Washington Irving, probably the best-known traveler through the Cross Timbers, wrote vivid depictions as he journeyed through the region. While struggling through the dense vegetation of the area, he characterized the Cross Timbers as a “rugged wilderness of. . .hill beyond hill, forest beyond forest, and all of one sad russet hue—excepting that here and there, a line of green cotton-wood trees, sycamores, and willows marked the course of some streamlet through a valley.”⁵

Other explorers who traversed the region before and during Creek occupancy wrote similar descriptions of the Cross Timbers. Charles Latrobe participated in an expedition whose purpose was to investigate whether the region was suitable for the

The Creek TJSA--Potential Natural Vegetation



Source: Duck and Fletcher (1943)

DAW-1998

Figure 4.2: Creek Nation potential natural vegetation.

settlement of the Southeastern Indian tribes. He described the Cross Timbers as a “hilly stony region, with its almost impenetrable forest of the closest and harshest growth whose rugged branches, black and hard as iron. . .cost us many a fierce scramble and struggle on our passage.” Yet, difficulty of travel aside, he had a favorable impression of the area. He noted abundant wildlife including numerous deer, antelope, wild horses, bison, wolves, beaver, turkeys, and quail. These animal resources would be important, as subsistence and commercial hunting formed a significant segment of the economies of the Five Civilized Tribes.⁶

Fire had much to do with the formation and appearance of the Cross Timbers. Gregg associated the modest tree size and dense undergrowth characteristic of the Cross Timbers with the “burning prairies” of the region. Fire limited the size of the fire-tolerant oaks and replacing them with an almost impenetrable undergrowth of vines, briars, and other regrowth. In part, the Cross Timbers were a product of Native attempts to shape their natural environment into a more useful and manageable resource. Historical accounts credit the Creek and other Native peoples with habitual burning of the Cross Timbers in order to expand certain types of animal habitat and increase soil fertility.⁷

Historically, tallgrass prairie was the dominant vegetation in a triangular area bounded by central Texas, eastern North Dakota, and western Indiana. When Europeans began to settle the Great Plains, oak forests expanded in the prairie regions due to the advent of large-scale fire suppression. At the time of Creek removal, forest and prairie were intermixed in Indian Territory, the largest patches of tallgrass prairie located in the eastern sector of their lands. In the early nineteenth century Marcy described the region

west of the Arkansas Territory as a “gently undulating district, sustaining a heavy growth of excellent timber, but occasionally interspersed with prairie lands, affording luxuriant grass. . .and intersected with numerous small streams flowing over a highly productive soil, thus embracing the elements of a rich and beautiful pastoral and agricultural locality.”⁸

Not surprisingly, most Creek avoided the heavily timbered upland areas of the Cross Timbers and areas of tallgrass prairie and settled instead in stream bottomlands in the eastern sector of their territory. In part, this settlement pattern was a product of Creek history and a tradition of riverine settlements in the Southeast. However, environmental perception played a role in Creek Indian Territory settlement. Even though the prairie environment offered a fertile alternative to the Cross Timber woodlands, the majority of the Creek considered prairie to be unhealthy for settlement for it lacked reliable wood and water sources. The dominant tallgrass prairie consisted of a mix of little bluestem (*Schizachyrium sloparium*), big bluestem (*Andropogon gerardii*), switch (*Panicum virgatum*), and Indian grasses (*Sorghastrum nutans*) that typically decreased in height in their westward range. Botanist Thomas Nuttall described the prairies north of the Red River as gently undulating terrain thickly covered with knee high grasses that had the potential for providing “an almost inexhaustible range to cattle.”⁹

The richest natural environments of Indian Territory surrounded the streams of the Arkansas and Canadian river systems. Seasonal floods built the ubiquitous sand bars in the stream channels and deposited alluvium in the wide floodplains. The gallery vegetation lining the stream banks included oak, cottonwood, sycamore, pecan, elm, black

walnut, locust, hickory, hackberry, and ash trees, dense canebrakes, and grasslands that prospered due to the rich valley soils. Travelers such as Nuttall characterized these alluvial soils as the most fertile of the region, waiting to be used for prosperous and productive agriculture. It was argued, with a certain sense of boosterism, that overall Creek Indian Territory lands were of “a more fertile character” than their former Southeastern holdings. Artist George Catlin added “there is scarcely a finer country on earth than now owned by the Creeks” in Indian Territory.¹⁰

Indian Territory traveler Augustus Loomis presented a different view of the new Creek land. He stated that a few years after removal, many Creek discussed their preference for their former landholdings in the Southeast with their “springs, and brooks, and rivers; its rich soil, and abundant timber; its hills and valleys, and genial climate.” He recorded the Creek as characterizing their new area as “woodless and waterless” with hotter summers, colder winters, heavier rainfall, fewer crops, scarcer game, and higher death rates due to the climate and disease.¹¹

The United States government recognized that an environmental adjustment was necessary for the removed Creek, noting changes in latitude, climate, soils, and disease rates between Indian Territory and the Southeastern United States. However, Indian Territory was considered by the government to be fertile with sufficient water and wood supplies and an abundance of game. Early Creek immigrants differed in their assessment of Indian Territory. Several parties actually returned to their old Southeastern homes, citing the unhealthy nature of Indian Territory as the reason. The dichotomy between outsider and insider perspectives of Indian Territory would soon become apparent as many

Creek initially struggled to adapt to their new land and then chose to use their new Western territory in a manner different than the intention of the Anglos observing their society.¹²

Arrival in Indian Territory

When Creek removal parties arrived in their new western land, they found an environment that had been little modified by human activity. Prior to about 1810 and the removal of the Cherokee Nation from the Southeastern United States to areas along the Arkansas River, present-day northeastern Oklahoma was firmly in the Osage sphere of influence. From their core in present-day southwestern Missouri, the Osage had used portions of the region to their southwest as a hunting reserve and a transportation corridor to reach bison and other Great Plains resources. Like Euro-American explorers and travelers of the era, the Osage viewed the whole of the Cross Timbers as an area to move through, not a region to settle intensively or systematically develop.

Osage activity concentrated near the Three Forks region surrounding the confluence of the Arkansas, Verdigris, and Neosho (Grand) rivers. The Three Forks site offered the Osage the advantages of nearby salt deposits, water transportation at the head of navigation on the Arkansas River, and abundant fur-bearing animals. Traders led by the Pierre and Auguste Chouteau families, who had associated with the Osage since the mid-eighteenth century, sought to exploit these resources. The establishment of a trading post in the Three Forks area at Salina, claimed to be the first White settlement in present-day Oklahoma, occurred as early as 1796 and acted as a node of economic and social activity

in a region that had previously seen little economic development. Prior to the establishment of the Chouteau trading post, few European or American trappers had been active in the area and only a few exploring parties had penetrated the region.¹³

The Three Forks region was only thinly settled when the first Creek saw Indian Territory. Two delegations, comprised primarily of progressives, came to the region to assess the viability of removing to the proposed Western territory. Government officials were cognizant of possible difficulties Eastern Indian Nations might have in adjusting to a different environment and thus encouraged the Creek and other dispossessed nations to select territory in a similar latitude as their Southeastern land holdings.¹⁴

In May 1827, a group of five Creek toured Indian Territory and reported favorably on the land along the Arkansas and Canadian river systems. After this exploration party returned to the Southeast and told members of the Creek Confederacy of their observations, including the particularly fertile, timbered land on the north side of the Arkansas River west of the Three Forks, a party of over 700 Creeks led by the McIntosh family migrated westward between February and November 1828 and settled near the site of Chouteau's trading post north of the Arkansas River and west of the Verdigris River at the Three Forks. In October and November 1828, a second Creek party, accompanied by representatives of the Choctaw and Chickasaw, explored the area surrounding the mouths of the Canadian, North Canadian, and Deep Fork rivers—the final destination for the bulk of the Upper Creek. By 1830, approximately 2,000 Lower Creek (and several hundred African slaves) were living along the Arkansas River, compactly settled in the valley between the Arkansas and Verdigris rivers.¹⁵

Initially, the Creek who removed had a difficult adjustment due to a lack of farm implements, a high disease rate, and a severe sense of emotional loss for their former homes. One observer characterized dramatically the recently removed Creek as “miserable wretches who had been dislodged from their ancient territory and were wandering about like bees whose hive has been destroyed.” A group of Chickasaw who visited Indian Territory in 1829 reported “the Creeks are in a poor condition. They are continually mourning for the land of their birth. The women are in continual sorrow.” However, after this initial period of intense emotional adjustment the Lower Creek “voluntary” immigrants soon constructed comfortable homes, expanding their area of settlement, increasing crop types and production, and raising a corn surplus that they annually sold to Fort Gibson.¹⁶

For the majority of the Creek who were forcibly removed from their Southeastern homes in 1836 to become the first large-scale effective settlers in this eastern region of Indian Territory, impressions, favorable or otherwise, of their new Western lands mattered little. After surviving a harried and poorly organized removal process that included the inherent mixing of tribal town members before, during, and after removal, the Creek faced the daunting task of rather quickly reforming their Southeastern society in what seemed to be a foreign land. As Creek removal parties arrived at Fort Gibson, they immediately faced a variety of considerations. Where would they locate their towns or individual farms? Which tribal leaders would they ally with? Which traditions would they keep, modify, or discard? These were seminal questions for the Creek in Indian Territory.¹⁷

The ongoing interference by the American government in the internal political structure of the Creek complicated this task. In addition to promoting Creek leaders that were believed to be sympathetic to assimilation, the federal government increasingly meddled in tribal town affairs. In particular, American officials demanded that Coweta be recognized as the leading town of the Lower Creek, replacing the influential towns of Cussetah and Hitchiti that had key roles in the 1836 Creek resistance against intrusive Alabamans. Tuckabatchee claimed leadership of the Upper Creek towns, and the entire nation, although American politicians continued to promote the more progressive town of Coweta.¹⁸

Many Creek sought to survive this cataclysmic time by attempting to hold onto their traditional customs. Other tribal members chose to adopt Americanized ideas. Kinship lines and clan affiliations continued to be important segments of the Creek social order and new religious sites were sanctified and traditional ceremonies, such as the busk, were continued. The factionalism and separate identities of Creek Upper and Lower towns continued, due largely to the lingering effect of the killing of William McIntosh. The two divisions shifted their relative locations with the Upper Creek led by Opothle Yahola settling in the southern part of the Nation in what came to be known as the Canadian District and the Lower Creek led by Rolly McIntosh—the brother of William—occupying the northern part of the Creek Indian Territory lands in what came to be known as the Arkansas District. Some tribal citizens chose this opportunity to switch intratribal allegiances. For example, approximately 4,000 members of Opothle Yahola's emigrating party settled in the Arkansas District instead of remaining under the leadership of Yahola.

No matter where they settled, the Creek, with the exception of a small minority of progressive Lower town members, began their adjustment to Indian Territory by naming the most important places in their lives—their tribal towns.¹⁹

The transfer of Creek town names and cultural continuation

Naming features of the natural and cultural landscapes remains one of the oldest cultural traditions associated with the human occupation of the earth. Exploration and naming, be it by indigenous peoples, the first effective settlers, or the latest most militaristic or politically powerful peoples of a region, has been a natural outgrowth of the need to understand, organize, differentiate, and control one's physical surroundings.

Attaching words to places gives character to otherwise meaningless landscapes and signifies that regions have become inhabited.²⁰

A cultural relic of these explorations manifests itself in place names and toponymy. Combining aspects of location, culture, and history, place names are representative of "location in cultural connotation." Although place names are seemingly permanent entities, the cultural meanings of places often represent a dynamic, complex web of human experiences involving emigrations, immigrations, and dispossession as people and their ideas spread unevenly throughout the land. As George Stewart noted, these themes were interwoven during the epic of American migration and settlement. The result was that "as the people went west, they took the old names along, just as their ancestors had brought them from England."²¹

The transfer and retention of place names give insight and understanding to these migrations. Imbedded within this process are the power relations inherent in cross-cultural geopolitical contact. Place names often become contested cultural constructs due to their representations of ethnicity. The longevity of a place name of a disempowered group is itself significant. Furthermore, when a dominant group accepts the place names of a subordinate group, the governing society has engaged in “cultural borrowing, and in time cultural synthesis may come about through acculturation.” Toponymy can then be used as a tool of regional analysis, as minority groups form ethnic islands, ethnic archipelagos, culture regions, and homelands in an attempt to ensure the continuation of their culture and traditions.²²

The study of the interrelationships between cultures, the names that they place upon the earth, and the attitudes and values expressed in this naming has been a productive connection between toponymy and onomastics with geographers and other social scientists interpreting various named landscapes. Wilbur Zelinsky, for example, has liberally utilized place names to gain insight into American cultural identity and historical geography.²³

An enduring theme in the study of North American Indian place names has been the enhanced intimacy between Native peoples and their territory resultant in the endowing of named places with “an intimate conglomerate of activities, genealogy, history, memory, belief, moral lessons, and future.” A body of Native cultural knowledge is the result. It is continually related to group members, reinforcing the bond between individuals and group identity. Thus, names can serve the purpose of bonding Native

communities to their physical landscape, allowing for a heightened attachment to place. Richard Nelson describes the naming process as weaving Native “people profoundly into the landscape” and infusing “landscape profoundly into the people who were its inhabitants.” Through the processes involved in naming and remembering place names, life is not divorced from the landscape and people are not alienated from their world.²⁴

The historical narrative of the cultural processes and meaning behind the town names of the Creek Nation interweaves many of these place-naming themes. As previously noted, the Creek Nation consisted of a loosely organized Confederacy of approximately 50 to 90 riverine towns and villages which extended through much of the Southeast between the landmarks of the Savanna River, the St. Johns River, Apalachee Bay, and the escarpment of the Appalachian Highlands.²⁵

The Creek Confederacy consolidated power and increased political stability in the face of Euro-American pressure by an ongoing process of incorporating former chiefdoms into its Confederacy in the form of tribal towns. The Confederacy was slowly constructed by a diverse group of Native peoples that Euro-Americans grouped together and labeled “Creek” for their own economic and political purposes. However, the centrifugal forces of the Creek Confederacy that included ethnicity and language were offset by the continued importance of the tribal town (*italwa* or *tulwu* or *etvlwa*) as the basic social reference point and unifying element of Creek life.²⁶

In the Southeast, tribal towns varied from 20 to 200 houses, usually clustered in groups of four to eight homes of like clan members occupying the resource-rich banks and floodplains along stream margins. Shifting the sites of towns was common owed to

overpopulation and the accumulation of waste and human-induced environmental stress.

Towns were independent entities of socially related people who acted together in political, economic, and religious arenas but were not bound to act as a unified Confederacy.²⁷

In the center of the Southeastern Creek tribal town was a ceremonial ground, council house and ball ground. This area was the most significant place in Creek life, connecting the Creek, their town, and the larger social, ceremonial, and political world of the Confederacy. New or adopted towns were not officially recognized until an independent ceremonial ground was established so that annual ceremonies could be performed. The ceremonial ground also housed the town fire, said to have originated and transferred from the four Mother towns of Tokipahchi, Kawita, Kasihta, and Apihka. New towns could not be formed, or even transferred from another site, until fire embers were transferred from the established town or town site to the newly created town.²⁸

For the majority of the Creek, the symbolic importance of the town fire was paramount. Faced with the daunting task of quickly reforming their Southeastern society in an unfamiliar place, the majority of Creek citizens attempted to cling to some of their most significant traditional customs in order to combat the feeling of a very temporary sense of place.

One of their final acts in their Southeastern towns was to gather embers and ash from the town fires to be transported to the West. As a method of cultural continuation, the symbolic meaning of these acts was immensely powerful. After traveling by steamboat or overland with the limited possessions of a town official, the ashes or burning coals from the Southeastern towns were placed at the new ceremonial grounds of the town sites

along the banks of Indian Territory streams, bringing the new site into the sacred ceremonial world of the Creek. The newly designated hearths formed the nucleus of new town squares. The traditional Creek also reignited their personal home fires as they recreated their physical town layouts and settled in village groups in order to preserve town rituals and sociopolitical organization. This preservation of the town fire allowed for town organization to be transferred to Indian Territory virtually intact. The town then became the refocused interest of Creek religious and social life instead of their previous landscape as the newly sanctified sites, such as present-day Tulsa, became distinctive Creek places. Anthropologist Morris Opler explained the Creek town transplantation in the context of the importance of the institution to the entirety of Creek life. He argued that “the town was so carefully wrought an instrument, so involved with the life of the individual and maintenance of other institutions, that it could not be easily surrendered” by the Creek after removal to Indian Territory.²⁹

In other words, the Creek thought in terms of core-periphery spatial relationships. The town fire was the spiritual and emotional center of the town, the core of Creek life for its members. As town members moved outwards from their town, they moved through a nearby hunting and trading domain to a distant and often ambiguous periphery of the nation—one that was increasingly becoming defined and enforced by the federal government through treaties. While the total area was regarded as Creek space, the Creek homeland was gradational. The area around the tribal towns was considered to be of seminal importance to the existence of the Creek as this part of the Creek landscape was invested with the vast majority of meaning and symbolism.

Creek towns were then named, often for former Southeastern settlements (Appendix A). This connected the Creek to their history and former home sites instead of initially mentally reorienting them to their Indian Territory landscape. However, due to the inherent confusion of forced dispossession, towns with the same name in the Southeast and Indian Territory were not necessarily comprised of the same townspeople. Disease contracted prior to and during the removal process decimated entire towns and forced others to consolidate. Often, several clans from different towns allied in order to form a new settlement, breaking down the traditional division between red and white towns. Additionally, the people of some towns, separated during the removal process and located in different areas of Indian Territory, kept their same town name. Clans from white and red towns also united in a new town and changed the color classification of their settlement.³⁰

Several additional adjustments were made. While attempting to recreate their Southeastern riverine villages, many Creek families settled initially in town units along the banks of Indian Territory streams, planting crops and herding livestock on the adjoining floodplains. However, when torrential rains quickly changed the placid Indian Territory streams into raging rivers, suddenly sweeping houses, crops, and livestock downstream relocation became imminent. The Creek were forced to locate their village sites above and away from major floodplains, although floodplain agriculture continued to be of utmost importance. Also, the internal structure of Creek towns became more spatially dispersed after removal. In the Southeast, ceremonial buildings and individual homes were organized as a compact town, centered on a plaza-like ceremonial ground. In Indian

Territory, settlement patterns were altered so that homes were dispersed throughout the surrounding settlement area of the town. This trend was particularly true among the more progressive Lower Creek whose town dispersion and the resulting landscape change to dispersed individual farmsteads was noted by the Creek agent by 1845. Public buildings associated with the ceremonial ground were separated from the residential dwellings and town members were sometimes forced to travel 20 or 30 miles to participate in activities (Figure 4.3). Although Creek tribal towns slowly lost their clustered urban form, their central meaning to the Creek worldview continued even though tribal towns did not maintain their traditional level of independence, but were increasingly placed under the authority of the Creek National Council.³¹

As the transportation of ashes and coals indicated, the Creek did not intend to devise a new hierarchy of Indian Territory place names descriptive of their new environment. Instead they transferred many of their traditional town names to their new western lands for functional as well as sentimental reasons that arose out of the nature of Creek dispossession. Thus, a landscape of place names, many descriptive of a Southeastern environment, was placed upon Indian Territory. The effect of the town transfer was lasting. Writing in the 1930s, Opler determined that “most of the Creek Towns of pre-Revolutionary War days have been reestablished in Oklahoma and are functioning as Towns today.”³²

Determining the exact number of Indian Territory/Oklahoma Creek towns is difficult. Estimates include Ethan Allen Hitchcock’s count of 45 towns in the early 1840s, the 50 towns that adopted the 1867 Creek Constitution, and Opler’s assessment of 44



Figure 4.3: A Creek ball ground and game in progress circa 1900 near Okemah. Note the separation of the ceremonial ground from public buildings. Courtesy: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries.

towns with a Creek identity in the 1930s. My thorough investigation of primary and secondary sources reveals that a total of 119 Creek towns existed or exist in present-day Oklahoma. This large number illustrates the kinetic nature of the social construct of Creek towns as they have changed “in number, individual importance, and alignment.” Of the 119 Indian Territory town names, 91 (76 percent) were documented to have been transferred from the Southeast.³³

Emotionally, these town siting practices allowed the Creek to bond more quickly with their new place, adapt more rapidly to a different environment, and begin to invest feelings of attachment and home into their landscape. Creek place naming was not a reaction to an intimate relationship with their new land, but instead represented a need to adapt quickly to and bond with a new territory in order to survive as a group. It was part of a larger human condition—the desire to name places in order “to identify a place and thus distinguish it from others.” The Indian Territory town naming process selected by the Creek enabled the Confederacy to re-situate its identity in a town-centered Indian Territory landscape that was designed to become its own space, free from the intrusions of Euro-Americans or other Native peoples.³⁴

The newfound isolation of the Creek in Indian Territory was short-lived. The relocated Indian nations began to compete for overlapping territorial claims. For the Creek, these conflicts were exacerbated in part by their accidental settlement on lands surveyed for and purchased by the Cherokee. Moreover, the Southeastern tribes remained clustered along the eastern margin of their new territories as a method of protecting themselves from the potential raids of the militaristically superior Plains tribes.

Unfortunately, this heightened the possibility of disputes and overlapping land claims. As the relocated Indian nations settled the eastern half of present-day Oklahoma, American interest in the region grew. Missionary efforts intensified in the Creek Nation in the 1840s with the blessings of the Creek Agent who approved of their Christianization and Anglization efforts. One role of many missionaries was to put Creek names and words into written form from the Creek linguistic tradition. Often, as the missionaries modified and Anglicized Creek words, town names retained their pronunciation, but differed in their spelling. Few Creek town names lack multiple variants, while some towns have as many as dozen recorded spellings. Although the spellings, location, and individual members of Creek towns changed in the matter of a few years, Creek tribal towns maintained their role in Creek society as the unifying social, political, and ceremonial element of traditional Creek life.³⁵

Environmental adaptation and landscape change

In addition to problems of siting homes and resanctifying towns, the post-removal Creek were forced to cope with rampant diseases such as malaria and pneumonia and with a lack of farm implements and construction tools. Disease took its toll especially among the young and old segments of the population; more Creek actually died from post-removal epidemic disease than from the removal process itself. Observers estimate that by 1839 over 3,500 Creek died during the removal process and an additional 3,500 Creek died of disease and the associated lack of medicine and doctors. Starvation also increased the mortality rate among the Creek during the first year after removal to Indian Territory.

Corruption of federal officials was widespread as these government employees failed to distribute foodstuffs and farm implements guaranteed to the Creek by treaty obligations. Overall, the federal government seemed unfazed by Creek losses, claiming that deaths did not exceeded “what might have been expected” from dispossession, removal, and the creation of new homes and towns. Creek population declined by almost 50 percent between 1832 and 1859.³⁶

Nevertheless, many progressive Lower Creek, whose settlements extended westward along the Arkansas River between the Verdigris and Red Fork rivers, quickly overcame these obstacles and adjusted to their new environment, raising crop surpluses only a few years after removal. In 1832, while traveling along the bank of the Arkansas River west of the Three Forks, Irving was impressed by the regularity of prosperous Creek farms and villages that had adopted “the rudiments of civilization” and had become economically prosperous models of the Southern plantation class. The Lower Creek location close to the Creek Agent became instrumental in determining the course of the social development of the Lower Creek, for close proximity aided the regular exchange of economic and political information, concepts, and ideas.³⁷

Meanwhile, the somewhat resentful, distrustful Upper Creek who were more isolated along the North Fork, the Deep Fork, and the Canadian rivers, protested Anglo influences and maintained a more traditional lifestyle by undertaking little commercial agricultural planting and few land improvements, by maintaining their communal fields, by refusing to imitate wholly Anglo styles of dress and behavior, and by practicing traditional ceremonials and religious beliefs. In addition to their divergent economic practices, the

Upper and Lower divisions maintained their political separation, and did not meet in a joint council from 1836 to 1839.³⁸

Although the small progressive faction received much attention from government officials and missionaries, in reality the vast majority of Creek continued to practice their traditional ceremonies, to maintain town organization, and to hold onto a distinctly Creek worldview. The erosion of conservative Creek values became notable, however. The traditionals felt compelled to pass tribal laws that attempted to restrict the influence of the progressive element of the Creek. Tribal members who did not attend busk or take medicine (the black drink) were fined between \$2 and \$3.50. Christian preaching or holding meetings was punishable by 50 to 100 lashes or cutting off an ear, and Creek caught wearing typically White clothing received lashes as well. While the traditional Creek were numerically and politically dominant, their influence was waning due to a shifting worldview of some tribal members and the unabating influence of Anglos, especially the Creek Agent and Protestant missionaries.³⁹

The success of some Creek agriculturalists allowed some observers to portray the tribe as being progressive. Lawyer and westward traveler Thomas Farnham noted that the Creek who arrived in the spring of 1837 quickly “broke the turf, fenced their fields, raised their crops for the first time on the soil, and sold their surplus of corn.” Other Creeks actively modified the natural landscape of the Cross Timbers by habitually firing the surrounding prairies with the intent of restricting timber growth and maximizing productive settlement and agricultural areas. By 1840, Gregg observed a Creek landscape of large communal fields that grew a plethora of corn and vegetables near the tribal towns

that he characterized as settlements of “sparse clusters of [log] huts without any regularity” (Figure 4.4; Figure 4.5). Few Anglo-style urban nodes were created. In addition to not being part of the Creek tradition, the abundance of subsistence farms did not warrant regularly spaced commercial centers. Scattered trading posts filled the need to buy and sell supplies. Other Creek who were commercially oriented utilized the Arkansas River system to import and export goods.

Breaking with past tradition, some of the Lower Creek adopted ideas of American land ownership and began to shift from communal to individual land holdings. Other Creek followed a more conservative, but inventive, course, planting small individual agricultural patches, but also contributing to a communal town field. Whatever the method of property ownership, corn and cotton were the primary agricultural products. Indeed, observers noted that “certainly no Indian tribe [is] more advanced in the arts and agriculture” than the Creek. While outsiders portrayed the Creek as among the most progressive of the Eastern Indian nations, most Creek farmers used traditional agricultural strategies and did not use advanced, environmentally sound techniques. Minimal fertilizer use and practically nonexistent crop rotation led to rapid soil nutrient loss, especially in the timbered areas of the Cross Timbers, which initiated the common practice of field abandonment after several years of cultivation.⁴¹

Coupled with the rapid depletion of surrounding woodlands, many Creek found it more useful to practice shifting agriculture. Anglos interpreted this environmental strategy as being backwards and unprogressive—hardly an example of the desired Protestant work ethic. Creek agricultural practices were characterized as being little more than repeated



Figure 4.4: An example of an elaborate two-story Creek log cabin. Courtesy: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries.



Figure 4.5: A Creek freedman's cabin circa 1890. Typical Creek houses were "dog trots" with a chimney at either end of the house. They were surrounded by outbuildings with a yard swept of grass and leaves. Courtesy: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries.

attempts to “tear down the cabin, and remove it and the fences to another place” in the “midst of standing trees where they can fell and burn them at their lazy pleasure.” By 1845, government officials noted a westward expansion of Creek settlement as the western edge of the Creek ecumene overlapped upon territory claimed by the nomadic Plains Indians, increasing the number of possible conflicts between tribes.⁴²

Small patches of corn, five to seven acres at the largest, appeared near most every house of the less prosperous, traditional fullbloods of the region, while cotton cultivation was initially restricted to the less common plantations, whose progressive owners often used slave labor—another cultural transfer from the Southeast—in order to increase their agricultural productivity, add manpower to their ranching pursuits, and enable the family to tap agricultural markets in surrounding states. Large fields of cotton, corn, rice, oats, and wheat were grown commercially and exported by riverboat to Fort Smith, Arkansas where crops (and slaves) were sold and traded. One observer compared the Lower Creek scene to a Deep South cultural landscape, noting that it was “no uncommon thing to see a Creek with twenty or thirty slaves at work on his plantation.” These mixedblood, slave-holding progressives also led efforts at increasing crop diversification, expanding crop exports from Indian Territory, and improving agricultural methods and implement use—strategies that influential Anglos continually encouraged the entire tribe to adapt.⁴³

Although expansive agricultural fields and clustered log houses dominated the most prosperous sections of Indian Territory, extensive cattle herding provided the majority of the less wealthy and less acculturated Creek with an economic staple. This

also impacted the environment of the Cross Timbers. In retrospect, historians have assessed the “rich grasslands and ideal climate” of the Creek section of Indian Territory as being “well suited to the development of a great livestock industry.”⁴⁴

Travelers noted the large numbers of cattle, hogs, and horses held by Creek individuals. In many ways the Creek were “subsistence herders” instead of agriculturalists, and soon after removal observers noted that the Creek were collecting livestock and building their herds. Cattle herding and hog raising also appealed to fullbloods, the majority of the Creek, who were characterized by outsiders as being “indifferent farmers.” Believed to be “indolent and inactive,” fullbloods were portrayed as being content to engage in minimal agriculture and pursue open-range herding, a significantly less labor-intensive activity, as their main economic pastime.⁴⁵

The Creek cattle herding tradition had been borrowed by progressive tribal members from Southeastern Anglo herders adjoining their territory in the late eighteenth century and transferred westward to Indian Territory. Although removal reduced dramatically the number of Creek cattle, by 1840 herds had recovered to pre-removal size and were estimated at over 250,000 head, the largest stock of the Five Civilized Tribes. In fact, cattle sales to buyers from Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and California were the main revenue source for the Creek and other Five Civilized Tribes by the 1850s. Hogs, although not a commodity like cattle, were also a staple of Creek subsistence. Most families raised hogs that comprised a basic component of their subsistence.⁴⁶

The spatial pattern of Creek settlement, which clustered along river valleys in the eastern edge of their territory, also benefited stock raising. The sparse population in

western Indian Territory, which was noted by explorers as a distinguishing characteristic of the region for several decades, left the vast majority of Creek lands in a type of communally owned public domain. This was a significant factor, as the large area of unsettled and unowned land was perfect for large semi-wild longhorn cattle that grazed over sizable tracts of land in order to maintain their economic viability.⁴⁷

Alexander Spoehr interpreted this post-removal environmental adaptation as being seminal to Creek economic activity, gender relations, and settlement form. He argued that the large communal landholdings found in Indian Territory enabled individual families to accumulate wealth by expansive farming and stockraising. Coupled with the end of Creek participation in the Euro-American fur trade, the economic role of men changed to become farmers and animal herders, instead of hunters. Creek women, who were agriculturalists in the Southeast, lost that economic role (Figure 4.6). Finally, Spoehr claimed that the greater emphasis on agriculture and open-range herding contributed to the dispersal of Creek towns into a rural Anglo pattern as Creek economic life became less centralized and more individualistic in nature. In fact, Creek town settlement lost its clustered form, as the houses of most town members were separated by at least one-fourth of a mile or more. Creek oral history also supports this contention, remembering compact, pallisaded towns in the Southeast and dispersed urban form in Indian Territory after the majority of the Creek adopted an agrarian lifestyle.⁴⁸

While providing the Creek with a substantial and consistent economic resource, the semi-wild longhorns altered the vegetative state of Indian Territory. In the forested



Figure 4.6: Creek women making sofky (grinding corn) near Thlopthlocco tribal town, northwest of present-day Wetumka, circa 1900. Removal, adjustment to Indian Territory, and Euro-American values changed Creek gender roles and placed stress on the family unit. Courtesy: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries.

areas of the Cross Timbers, grazing promoted a savanna-like landscape as cattle cleared low branches from trees and restricted new timber growth. In this sense, grazing in the region helped offset the effects of Anglo attempts to discourage fire, which allowed timber to expand onto areas of prairie.⁴⁹

Creek removal also altered tribal medicinal practices. Traditionally, scholars argued that Creeks were unable to find many of their Southeastern ceremonial plants and herbs in Indian Territory. Anthropologist John Swanton, after compiling an inventory of Creek ceremonial plants, reduced the severity of those beliefs, although he claimed that a “certain disorder was injected into Creek medical practice” by removal.⁵⁰

Swanton’s flora inventory shows that removal did have minimal impact upon Creek medicinal practices. Adjustment to finding new plant sources was probably brief as most Southeastern plants used by the Creek also had ranges in Eastern, although not Western, Indian Territory. Plants not located in Creek territory could be acquired from the Cherokee or Choctaw, who settled east of the Creek on the eastern boundary of Indian Territory. Sassafras (*Sassafras albidum*), which was boiled with goat’s rue (*Tephrosia virginiana*) to cure a chronic coughing called perch disease, is one example of a typically used plant with a range that includes both the Southeastern and Indian Territory zones of Creek settlement. Two exceptions to Swanton’s thesis of continued accessibility were ginseng (*Panax quinquefolium*), a versatile medicine used on cuts and to cure shortness of breath, and catfish food (*Ilex vomitoria*), used to establish ceremonial purity. With ranges only in the Southeastern United States, Creek ceremonies and medicine involving these

plants were obviously restricted, although over time, a regular trading network and increased garden planting may have developed to supply their needs.⁵¹

Coupled with other security and agricultural fertility benefits, access to traditional plants helps explain the spatial pattern of Creek settlement that clustered on the eastern margins of their territory. Beginning at the eastern edge of their territory, the Creek adapted to a new land. Although not dramatically different from their Southeastern homeland, Indian Territory required adjustments in medicine, agriculture, and herding practices. For the most part, the Creek were able to transfer and continue their town-based culture, largely unhindered by the Western environment. In the process of subsisting, the Creek, as the first effective settlers of the region, began to stamp their surrounding natural landscape with a distinct cultural impress.

Chapter 5

Formation in Indian Territory (1850-1867)

Prologue

Implantation in Indian Territory for the Creek ended about 1850, although the end of this era was not marked by a definitive date or event. Initial adjustment to a similar, if more unpredictable, environment was complete and tribal members had created a unique Creek landscape. The Creek had established two cores, the Upper and Lower towns, along the Arkansas and Canadian rivers on the eastern edge of their federally designated territory. The western extent of their tribal domain was utilized as a hunting reserve and as open-range for cattle. Towns had been resanctified, communities reestablished, and an agriculturally based Creek lifestyle continued, although not unchanged.

The Lower towns had achieved a comfortable level of economic prosperity while the Upper towns were less prosperous but more isolated with a high degree of freedom from intrusive Anglo influences. The era before 1867 was characterized by minimum federal pressure for land cessions or removal. The American Civil War dominated Creek-American and inter-tribal relations and set the stage for the period before allotment, the dissolution of the Creek government, and Oklahoma statehood.

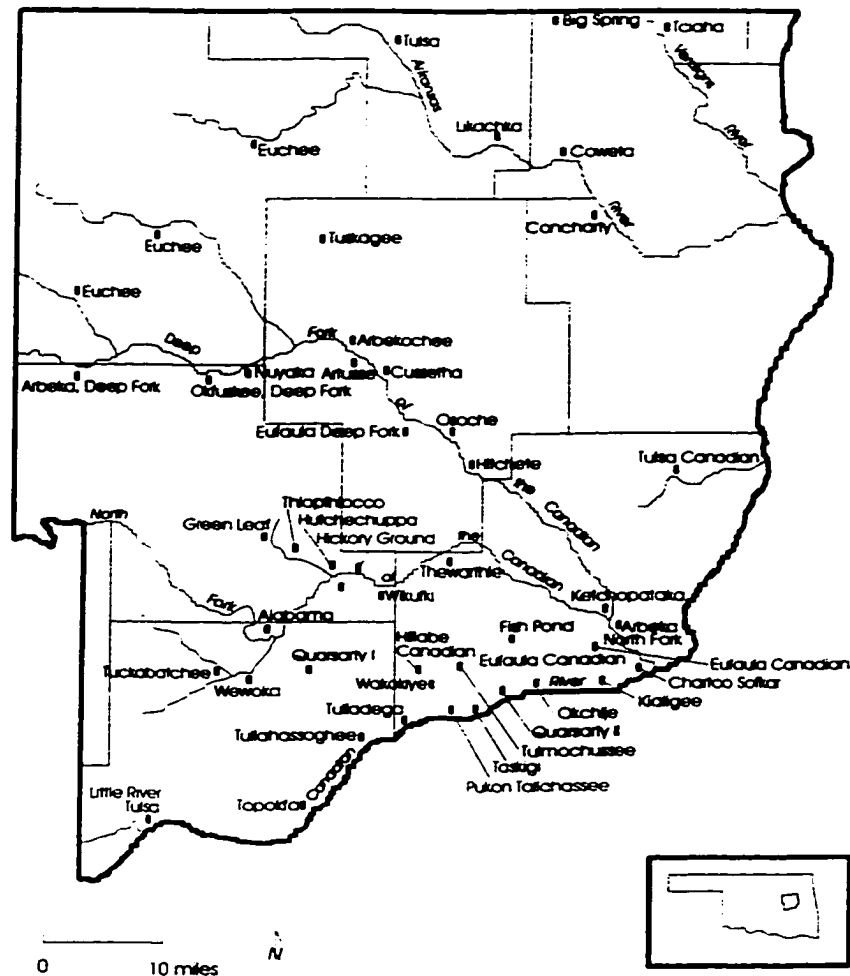
Between 1850 and 1867 the Creek Nation underwent three changes. First, several longstanding tribal towns ceased to exist or merged with neighboring towns. Other towns ended their traditional ceremonial life and adopted Anglicized religion. Second, most Creek town names were modified and Anglicized by missionaries or mixedbloods who were rapidly assimilating into mainstream American culture. Thirdly, the comparative

power of individual Creek towns continued to wane at the hands of the Creek National Council. The National Council existed in the Southeast and at times was an active player in United States-Creek relations, but its powers were increased in Indian Territory as the federal government continued its attempt to make the Council the “official” decision making body of the Creek Nation. The Council was comprised of the chiefs from the tribal towns, four leaders labeled “kings” from the Upper Creek and the two “chiefs” of the Nation and acted as the executive, legislative, and judicial arms of Creek government. Until Oklahoma statehood, the Creek National Council was increasingly forced to deal with the influences of the Creek Agent, United States government, and individuals such as missionaries and teachers.¹

Cultural divisions and institutions

Creek tribal town organization, although changed and modified, had survived the removal process, especially among the Upper Creek (Figure 5.1). Compared to the other Five Civilized Tribes, the Creek maintained a greater degree of their traditional social and political structure. For example, Cherokee tribal town organization survived in at least a diluted form through the removal process. Once in Indian Territory, tribal towns declined in importance and influence, although the extent is unknown, due to assimilationist pressures. Certainly, compared to the Cherokee, Creek tribal towns survived as stronger institutions. Groups of Cherokee males, called *gagugi*, assumed social and economic responsibilities and aid to community members. The *gagugi* are now interpreted as being a remnant of traditional Cherokee tribal town organization.²

Approximate Location of Creek Tribal Towns



Sources: Cate [box 6, folder 9]; Speck, "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town"

DAH 2005

Figure 5.1: Creek tribal towns in Indian Territory.

Seminole tribal town structure was also not recreated in Indian Territory, as organized towns proved to be impractical during decades of warfare with the United States Army in Florida. Even without towns, the Seminole did not totally lose their unique social identity. After forced removal they settled as a unit between the Deep Fork of the Canadian River and the Arkansas River. The social relationship between the Creek and Seminole continued to be fluid as some individual Creek and Seminole switched their tribal identities and affiliations in Indian Territory.³

From 1836 to 1859, the Creek red towns (especially Coweta and Tuckabatchee) dominated Creek politics in their districts while white towns were less influential. However, United States officials and progressive members of the National Council challenged that dominant political role of tribal towns by promoting Creek national unity. In keeping with precedent, the National Council was the focus of United States government efforts to centralize power under the guise of reducing the political influence of the "oppressive and arbitrary" town leadership. Based on democratic principles, officials considered it imperative that tribal government be accessible to a greater number of Creek citizens. The Creek Agent led these efforts with increasing success in influencing the Lower towns.⁴

By choice, the Upper towns remained largely insulated from these efforts until after the American Civil War. The political and social isolation of the Upper Creek frustrated the Creek Agent who made constant, thinly veiled attempts to usurp political power from the towns. Meetings of the National Council were celebrated as exercises in

American democracy while tribal town meetings were condemned as being a “rude and irresponsible form of government.”⁵

The conflict of political ideologies had little impact in the daily activities of most Creek. A yearly round of community social and ceremonial events marked life. Hunting and fishing trips, horse racing, ceremonial dances, ball games, community dinners, and church meetings provided opportunities for social interaction based on the traditional concepts of matrilineal kinship, matrilineal residence, and town organization. Most Upper Creek chose to ignore elements of Anglo culture, maintaining their physical and cultural isolation from many outside influences.⁶

The McIntosh party of the Lower Creek substituted economic motivation for traditional social and ceremonial organization. Large plantations, numerous slaves, and active participation in the American commercial economy allowed the Lower Creek to emulate the Anglo Southern planter society. Meanwhile, the Upper Creek had fundamentally different worldviews, illustrating the continued artificial nature of the Euro-American construct of “Creek” ethnicity. Political, social, and ceremonial tribal unity was almost impossible as the Upper and Lower Creek pursued vastly different goals.

This split in worldviews manifested itself in political and social isolation during the era. In addition to general animosity between the Upper and Lower divisions—a remnant of the Southeastern tribal political climate and the McIntosh killing—the Lower Creek viewed the Upper Creek as economic liabilities while the Upper Creek saw the Lower division as cultural traitors. Relations between the two divisions were tenuous at best until after the Civil War, when an artificial constitutional government was formed in 1867

under federal supervision. For example, the two groups did not reunite even cosmetically after removal until 1839 when the federal government convinced the Creek to reestablish the National Council in the spirit of national unity. A Creek council house was constructed the next year at High Spring (later named Council Hill by Americans). The first meetings were held at High Spring, since the location served as a neutral site located in a wide belt of uninterrupted prairie between the Upper and Lower Creek settlements.⁷

During the pre-Civil War period, the National Council was typically conservative reflecting the numerical superiority of the traditional Upper Creek. The body upheld “conservative Creek values and norms” including maintenance of the traditional political and social roles of tribal towns. Although the National Council supported traditional Creek ways, it was also the main conduit for the federal government, in the form of the Creek Agent, to influence Creek policy decisions and cultural development. In particular, the Creek Agent attempted to support the less numerous, progressive Lower Creek in order to mute the influence of the more traditional Upper Creek. This pressure caused the National Council to move to the political center, depending on the amount of influence exerted by the Agent.⁸

Examples of the political maneuvering typical of the era occurred in 1859 and 1860 with the adoption of two new Creek constitutions. The 1859 constitution supported the continued political autonomy of the tribal towns and also recognized the Upper and Lower divisions. Overall, it has been assessed as a conservative document that supported the status quo. One year later, the Creek Agent designed a new constitution that de-emphasized the two districts, appointed a principal chief, and restricted the autonomy of

the tribal town. Passed by the National Council, the 1860 constitution was largely ignored by Creek citizens—foreshadowing a future separation between political leadership and tribal membership.⁹

In addition to the incorporation of some Creek into the regional commercial economy and the lobbying efforts of the Creek Agent, Anglo religion became the primary threat to the traditional religious, ceremonial, and social roles of tribal towns.

Missionaries were assigned to Indian Territory to “civilize” and “Christianize” the “savage” Indian population. Anglicized religion and education were part of a larger effort to provide Indian communities with services, because they were guaranteed by treaty or they furthered an ideological agenda.¹⁰

In general, the Creek were reluctant to embrace organized religion and education and resisted efforts at cultural imperialism. Missionary activity among the Creek began in Alabama. By removal a small but devoted body of Creek had been converted, and three churches were active in the Creek Nation in 1836. By the mid-1840s Christianity had not become a shaping influence among the Creek. In fact, missionaries were prohibited from operating in the Creek Nation from 1834 until 1842, although baptisms and conversions of Lower Creek to Christianity were recorded during these years. Even though churches and congregations met secretly, Creek caught praying or engaging in other acts of Christian worship were whipped or punished. Thus, until the ban was lifted, Christian services were held in inaccessible woods or uplands in order to avoid contact with non-Christian tribal town members. The ban on missionary activity was lifted as a condition that allowed Anglo teachers into the Creek Nation.¹¹

On their official return at the request of the Lower Creek leadership, the missionary influence gradually increased. The Lower Creek were more apt to convert to Christianity than the Upper Creek until the mid-1850s when significant numbers of both factions joined Christian church congregations. At least one sizable religious meeting hosted 60 camps and drew 1,500 participants to a four-day Baptist gathering. Eventually, numerous community churches were formed and dispersed throughout the Creek Nation. This encouraged an outside observer to call Indian Territory “preeminently a land of churches” due to the work of missionaries.¹²

Missionary interest in the region and the Creek in the form of efforts hoping to solve the Indian “problem” through education and civilization programs also attracted the attention of American capitalists who had different designs on the people and place of Indian Territory. The idea of the allotment and alienation of Indian lands would become enduring ideas to many Americans, although the story of intruders, homesteaders, and businessmen would not become decisive until after the American Civil War.

Organized missionary efforts began in part as attempts to combat what some outsiders perceived to be the “unhealthy” and “unholy” influence of Anglo- and native-operated trading posts and the associated illegal liquor trade and consumption by Indian Territory residents. By 1844, the Creek Agent characterized the Lower Creek as “regressing” due to the influences of excessive whiskey drinking and immoral behavior. These activities can be contextualized in the larger missionary goal to “civilize” the Indian population and remove all aspects of their “savagery.” In reality, missionary efforts were

little more than attempts at cultural and ceremonial genocide against American Indian communities.¹³

Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists were the first to establish missionary efforts in Indian Territory. The church leadership of each denomination initially focused upon the conversion of selected Creek leaders. This was important, as the successful Christianization of a portion of the Creek leadership encouraged a number of their followers to convert as well. The conversions of entire community and the formation of local places of worship allowed many churches to maintain the social structure of the tribal towns, even though the Creek world-view and religious orientation had changed. By 1848, a portion of the Creek political leadership had converted to the several denominations of Christianity, and had organized congregations and church camp meetings held under brush arbors or log structures. The degree to which the newly formed church communities abandoned tribal town traditions and embraced an Anglicized style of Christianity differed greatly. Generally, the progressive Lower Creek, women in general but also younger Creek, were more likely to re-orient their beliefs to oppose the traditional town and ceremonial activities and more fully embrace organized religion. Some Upper Creek individuals chose to blend traditional beliefs and Christianity into a new hybrid religion. However, some towns refused to even fuse aspects of Christianity onto their traditional religious practices, blamed the missionary influence for the declining participation of tribal town members in ball games and ceremonial dances. Some Creek even destroyed church buildings and camps.¹⁴

Denominational affiliation also influenced the degree of Creek assimilation. The Methodists and Presbyterians gave less freedom to local leaders and encouraged a total break with past traditional ways. The more rigid structure of Methodism and Presbyterianism appealed more to the Lower Creek and these churches replaced the social roles of tribal towns. The Upper Creek who converted to Christianity tended to embrace the Baptist faith that allowed a more congregational philosophy. A greater level of local control and the rise of a class of fullblood Baptist pastors enabled organized religion and tribal towns to co-exist in a unique form created by Creek individuals. In 1848, the Baptist Church reported that seven churches with about 550 Creek members operated in the Creek Nation. While outsiders interpreted churches and towns as being competitive entities, Morris Opler argued “the great majority of Creeks manage to participate in the activities of both Church and Busk without conflict.” Opler’s observation referred to in both historical and contemporary eras.¹⁵

The extent of church-town coexistence varied depending on local conditions and native leadership. In some communities, ceremonial grounds and churches could not peacefully co-exist. The missionaries themselves were subjected to personal attacks by Creek individuals. In areas where organized religion was selected over traditional ceremonial beliefs, the mission building symbolized the change. In one instance, the first church to serve the Nuyaka tribal town area was constructed on the old ceremonial ground, physically and symbolically ending Creek religious practices after the community’s conversion to Christianity.¹⁶

In other cases, churches were reorganized in the model of the tribal town, prompting some observers to note that the effect of organized religion upon the Creek was “an exchange of ideology, not of social form.” For some communities, the church building (called an *etulwa*) became the new social node of the community replacing the town fire and square. Other similarities existed between the traditional town layout and the new church-centered urban form. Typically, the homes of members clustered around the centrally-located church building, the church leadership was selected from a leading clan and the primary leader was called *mekko*, and the congregation, instead of the town leadership, undertook social programs to aid surrounding townspeople. Churches also held all-night, four-day prayer and singing meetings once a month (called “Fourth Sunday” meetings in the Creek vernacular) which were comparable to the all-night stomp dances of the tribal towns. Like other Creek public buildings, the churches were designed to face east—towards the rising sun and the origin of life—and were surrounded by a circle of family-kept brush arbors and small buildings used during church camp meetings.¹⁷

While some Creek did totally reorient their personal beliefs to Christianity, ending associations with their tribal town and clan, Indian Territory churches can not merely be viewed as agents for assimilation into the dominant American culture. For many Creek, Indian churches, with their hybrid Anglo-Creek beliefs, served as social nodes that aided in the maintenance of native community relations through regular, unique opportunities for fellowship. Singing Creek hymns during a service held in the Creek language, visiting the memory of members of the extended family at the church or nearby family cemetery, worshiping and celebrating with one’s family and neighbors, and participating in “Fourth

Sunday” meetings (either at one’s own church or visiting a nearby congregation) that celebrated the power of the deity in Creek life were unique Creek experiences, not transferable to Anglos or other American Indians.¹⁸

Besides religious activities, missionaries and religious associations promoted formal education among the Creek. Although the Creek were initially somewhat skeptical about organized education, they adopted education more readily than religious conversion. By 1843 two schools—one at the Creek Agency and the other at Tuckabatchee town on the Canadian River—were serving about 50 regularly attending students. Eventually, 36 neighborhood schools (typically named after the nearby tribal town) were built in the Creek Nation and five boarding schools were established in the Creek and Seminole Nations. Usually the neighborhood schools could serve 30 to 50 students, while the boarding schools had a capacity of about 100 students.¹⁹

The curriculum was an unrelenting attempt to “civilize” the Creek, teach commonly used skills including a Protestant work ethic, and integrate the Creek into the mainstream Anglo society. English was taught—a necessary component of “moral and religious reformation”—and students were harshly punished for using their native language. They were to reject traditional Creek religious beliefs and activities like ball games. Conversion to Christianity was expected. Traditional Creek gender roles were altered to conform to the Euro-American example of male yeoman farmers and female housewives. Boys were instructed various trades such as farming, butchering, and blacksmithing. Girls learned domestic skills such as cooking, cleaning, embroidery, sewing, and knitting. Common curricula for both genders included English grammar,

spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. Most importantly to the Anglo educational establishment, it was believed that “to make proficiency in learning or civilization, it is necessary that they [the students] should be entirely taken away from their parents” in order to separate students from negative influences and traditional cultural traditions and totally “civilize” and “Christianize” Creek children in the Anglo-Protestant mold. Boarding schools instead of neighborhood day schools were viewed as the most appropriate method to advance Creek education. There, the influence of the teacher increased due to lessened family involvement. Not surprising, the Creek resisted efforts to take their children from the immediate vicinity of their town.²⁰

Anglo education thus was a much more effective tool for assimilation than organized religion. In education the Creek were removed from the curriculum and instruction decision-making structure. Indian Territory teachers did not just instruct, but were empowered to “improve their [students’] manners, reform their morals, [and] undermine and destroy deep-rooted and enslaving superstitions.” The separation of Creek children from their families at young ages and their instruction in Anglo ways served to further segment Creek society. American-educated Creek found few outlets in Indian Territory for their new skills and worldviews. Often shunned by their more traditional families and segregated from the growing Anglo presence in the region, educated Creek individuals were forced to live in two worlds, each not fully accepting of an assimilated and “civilized” Indian. The rise of educated, often mixedblood Creek to political power after the 1870s was a divisive influence that further factionalized fullblood and mixedblood Creek.²¹

The influential Tullahassee Mission, established by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, provided a key center for such activities. The three-story brick building, active from 1850 until 1907, was operated by the Reverend and Mrs. S. W. Robertson. The official boarding school serving the Arkansas District, it was located in Wagoner County (east of present-day Tullahassee), far from an active tribal town ceremonial ground and in the midst of a large English-speaking, Creek church member population.²²

During the 1850s Tullahassee boarded approximately 80 students a year. The Methodists, spurred by Presbyterian involvement in the Creek Nation, also constructed a sizable school designed to serve the Canadian District. The Asbury Manual Labor School, completed in 1850, was located just north of North Fork town and had a maximum capacity of 100 students and teachers.²³

After 1850, schools and churches had become regular features in the Creek Nation. Teachers and missionaries went in increasing numbers to Indian Territory. During the 1850s, an average of eight to ten missionaries were active in the Creek Nation. With varying degrees of influence, church and school buildings acted as nodes where Anglicized authority and ideals were visible in the landscape. While a growing number of converted, Christianized Creek embraced American brands of religion and education, the majority of the Nation resisted these efforts to “civilize” the Creek, alter their collective identity, and teach tribal members Euro-American values and attitudes. As best they could, the traditional Creek resisted the American influences and maintained a sense of community and identity as Creek citizens.²⁴

Development of sacred sites and attachment to place

While involved with issues of Christianity, education, and tribal town autonomy, Creek citizens, the evidence suggests, were also bonding with their surrounding landscape. In part, sacred Creek sites facilitated attachment to place. At the core of their meaning, sacred sites represent a symbiotic relationship with nature and culture—places where the rhythms and beauty of the natural world are connected to the ceremonial life and everyday world of a people.

The Kiowa author N. Scott Momaday characterizes the relationship between Indian communities and the natural landscape as one of “reciprocal appropriation.” He argues that American Indians tend to invest feelings of attachment into their surrounding landscape while incorporating landscapes into their own experiences. After the implantation of the Creek in Indian Territory, traditional Creek individuals attempted to reinforce their identity by connecting emotionally with their natural surroundings in order to shape a meaningful, significant place. Besides Creek ceremonial life that was situated in specific sacred places, everyday experiences reinforced the interplay between the natural landscape and community identity. In their homeland, the Creek lived and felt centered, participated in uniquely Creek social activities, and acted in a manner appropriate for a Creek.²⁵

Like other removed peoples, the Creek had sacred sites and landmarks that were not long-standing aspects of their collective identity. But, Creek individuals developed a respect for the natural world of Indian Territory, investing emotional attachment into their local landscapes as a method to combat the emotional isolation and stress that was a result

of forced dispossession and removal. Developing a sense of place and a sense of permanence was an important aspect of Creek ethnogenesis and a strategy for the Creek to maintain their community viability. To the traditional Creek, place and community were interwoven, and staying close to one's family—one's home—reinforced Creek identity.

In particular, the generation of Creek who were born in Indian Territory thought of the region as their home. The example of George Washington Grayson documents this feeling. Grayson said that for him place had the power "to instill within our simple natures that love of home, that acquaintance with the true, the beautiful and the good, that affection for the land of our birth that will never give place to any power short of death."²⁶

During a ceremony at Tulsa tribal town, Eufaula Harjo compared the Creek landscape to a body. He evoked a powerful place image when he asked town members to consider that "the mountains and hills, that you see, are your backbone, and the gullies and the creeks which are between the hills and mountains, are your heart veins."²⁷

Creek poet Alexander Posey explored the bond between the natural world, the Creek, and their local geography. He wrote about an area around the North Canadian River on the periphery of the Creek Nation known to the Creek as Tulledega (the "border line"). In his poem "Son of the Oktahutche" (Oktahutche is translated as sand river, signifying the North Canadian), Posey is attuned to place. He begins his interpretation of place personality with a description of the North Canadian River:

Far, far, far are my silver waters drawn;
the hills embrace me loathe to let me go;
The maidens think me fair to look upon,
and trees lean over, glad to hear me flow.

Thro' field and valley, green because of me,
I wander, wander to the distant sea.

He concludes his regional description with the following phrases:

Tho' I sing my song in a minor key,
Broad lands and fair attest the good I do;
Tho' I carry no white sails to the sea,
Towns nestle in the values I wander thro';
And quails are whistling in the waving grain,
and herds are scattered o'er the verdant plain.

Like other Creek, Posey remained sensitized to his local geography while developing ties to place and community through his everyday experiences with the natural world and religious experiences at tribal towns or churches. The hills, rivers, and tribal towns of the Creek Nation served to orient Posey to this particular place as home to the Posey family and the Creek people.²⁸

In addition to creating tangible sites of ceremonial and cultural meaning, the Creek used imaginative myths to fill Indian Territory with meaning. Belief in the habitation of Indian Territory by "little people," "tie snakes," and other mythical creatures, many of which also existed in the Southeast, speeded the adaptation and attachment to the region after removal. Specifically, areas of Upper Creek settlement in the hills north of the Canadian River were areas of reported contact with many of these beings. Examples included the *ehosa*, a formless creature that frightened humans and animals, a tall person (*este chupco*) who could be heard passing through the uplands hitting trees and making a loud sound, and little people (*este lobochee*) who were either pranksters or mean-spirited people that lived in trees. Their occupation of Indian Territory helped ground the Creek in place, and reminded them of similar experiences in the Southeast.²⁹

Landscape change

Landscape change was minimal during the era. Although the Creek population continued to be clustered in the eastern segment of their territory, population also slowly dispersed westward, until Broken Arrow (in the north of the nation) and Thlobthlocco tribal town (in the south) marked the western edge of Creek settlement. American-style cities did not exist in the Creek Nation. The dispersed settlement pattern of the Creek was often noted during the era and the only significant town and central place was North Fork town (near present-day Eufaula). In 1850, an Anglo traveler described North Fork as consisting of three stores, a small cluster of public buildings, and several hundred residents clustered on either side of the Texas Road. However, it was one of the few places in the Creek Nation that boasted a cluster of Anglo-style improvements. Also, the town was home to a number of prominent citizens, hosted several profitable trading establishments, and was the site of the Asbury Mission, one of the two primary educational facilities in the Nation.³⁰

The Creek Nation landscape continued to be characterized by small-scale agriculture, large-scale livestock husbandry, and increasingly dispersed tribal towns. With the exception of the mixedblood, plantation-driven economy along the Arkansas River, agricultural output remained low. Much of the Creek Nation appeared to be underdeveloped, by Anglo economic standards, due to its characteristic dispersed settlement and subsistence agriculture. Travelers of the era often noted the sharp contrast between the cultivated agricultural landscapes of Missouri and Kansas and the green untilled fields and forest typical of Indian Territory.³¹

A typical Creek family farmed between six and 20 acres. Corn was by far the dominant subsistence crop, although smaller amounts of cotton, wheat, oats, and rice were also cultivated for domestic use. A few farm implements were owned, including a wagon for most families. A Creek family was likely to own six to 20 horses and six to 50 cattle that were left on the open-range. A small garden and fruit trees (usually apple and peach) would be nearby a small log house with a well-swept front yard and neat fence.³²

In the Arkansas River valley, the plantations of the Upper Creek resembled a Southern landscape and represented the greatest area of landscape change in the Creek Nation. Although the first Creek who removed to Indian Territory initially shaped such a landscape, commercial agriculture by the Lower Creek continued to expand spatially. Landholdings grew larger and additional African slaves were purchased to work the increasing acreage. Large houses (many of them two story), sizable agricultural fields of 40 to 200 acres or more, and slave labor (or imported, hired labor after the Civil War) were typical landscape features. Corn was the only crop consistently raised for commercial purposes, although small amounts of oats, potatoes, and turnips were also exported.³³

More schools and churches came to exist throughout the nation after 1850. Although some Creek adopted a new version of Christianity that blended Creek tradition with Christian tenets, to Americans, these buildings were visible signifiers of American culture and morality. Americans perceived that Anglo missionaries, teachers, and traders provided a beneficial influence upon the Creek. It was noted that around Anglo settlement “the Indians dress with more taste, have better farms, and more of the comforts of life,

than other communities.” The hope that the Creek would develop a “spirit of emulation” and recreate American-style society and landscape in Indian Territory was not yet realized.³⁴

The Civil War and Reconstruction

The effects of the long-standing internal divisions in the Creek Confederacy and the influence of the agents of empire (the series of Creek Agents, missionaries, and educators) assigned to transform Creek life was compounded by the American Civil War. Union strategy isolated Indian Territory, leaving the region and its inhabitants vulnerable to Confederate military and political strategies. Most important were two events in 1861: the withdraw of federal forces from forts in Indian territory and the refusal of the federal government to pay the yearly annuity with the explanation that some of those funds might illegally be directed to the Confederate effort.

The Union military abandonment of Indian Territory and early Confederate military victories in the East were complemented by a series of diplomatic overtures make by the Confederacy due to the region’s significant location. A pro-Confederacy Creek Agent promoted the proposed alliance. The Confederacy viewed Indian Territory as a key in their Trans-Mississippi West strategy. A Union-held Indian Territory would limit communication between the Confederate states of Texas and Arkansas and would also give Union forces a potential southern base of operations in the Western theatre of the war. A Confederate-held Indian Territory would be a buffer between Union forces and Texas and would also serve as a potential base of operation for operations into Kansas or

Colorado Territory. Albert Pike, the Confederate commissioner to Indian Territory, advanced generous treaty terms.³⁵

Although a Creek faction led by Opothle Yahola initially advocated strict neutrality, Creek allegiances split based upon economic as well as long-standing ideological divisions. The preponderance of the progressive, slave-owning Lower Creek, in particular the McIntosh faction, tended to side with the Confederate States of America and the pro-Southern United Nations of the Indian Territory which included portions of the Creek, Cherokee, Seminole, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Caddo nations. The majority of Upper Creek (or “Loyal Creek”) maintained a subsistence economy and chose to ally with the Union. Slave ownership was another indicator of likelihood to ally with the Confederacy. A significant number of slave-owners were loyal to the Union, however, making slavery less a divisive issue than the Upper-Lower town schism. Families often split their loyalties, sending members to fight on both sides. The division of tribal towns into separate factions was also not uncommon.³⁶

If the plantation and slave-holding traditions or the philosophy of an autonomous “states rights” political system were not enough motivation for the Creek to ally with the South, joining the Confederacy was attractive to some Creek because the South offered increased annuities and distribution of goods. Alliance with the South was a risky, but potentially lucrative, proposition that satisfied immediate and basic economic wants. Approximately half of the Creek sided with the Confederacy at the beginning of the conflict, although support for the South declined as the war progressed and the Union

military victories in Indian Territory forced the Confederates to withdraw south into Texas.³⁷

A series of mini “trail of tears” followed the beginning of war and the end of treaty making. Approximately 5,000 Loyal Creek led by Opothle Yahola out-migrated to Coffee County, Kansas (near Leroy) in November 1861. During the migration, the Loyal Creek were defeated by superior pro-Southern Creek forces in Indian Territory and were left possessionless and destitute during a harsh Kansas winter. Although the group was living in extreme conditions, several thousand Loyalist refugees seeking protection joined them. After the Union victory at Honey Springs in 1863 secured the majority of Indian Territory for the North, approximately 6,000 Creek (and 20,000 total Indians) of Yahola’s emigrating party were removed by the Union to Fort Gibson in the fall of 1864 and spent the remaining years of the war receiving sparse government supplies near the perceived protection of the fort (Figure 5.2).³⁸

After the Union victory at the Battle of Honey Springs (straddling the Texas Road in northern McIntosh County) in 1863, the conflict in Indian Territory devolved into guerilla warfare. The remaining Confederates in the Creek Nation fled southward into the Choctaw-Chickasaw Nation and north Texas along the Red River, forming several camps totaling approximately 6,500 Creek refugees. At least one party also transferred its town fire, resanctified the fire at their temporary camp south of the Red River, and preformed traditional ceremonies and dances during their exile from the Creek Nation. Although significant military action was ended in the Creek Nation and the Confederates could do

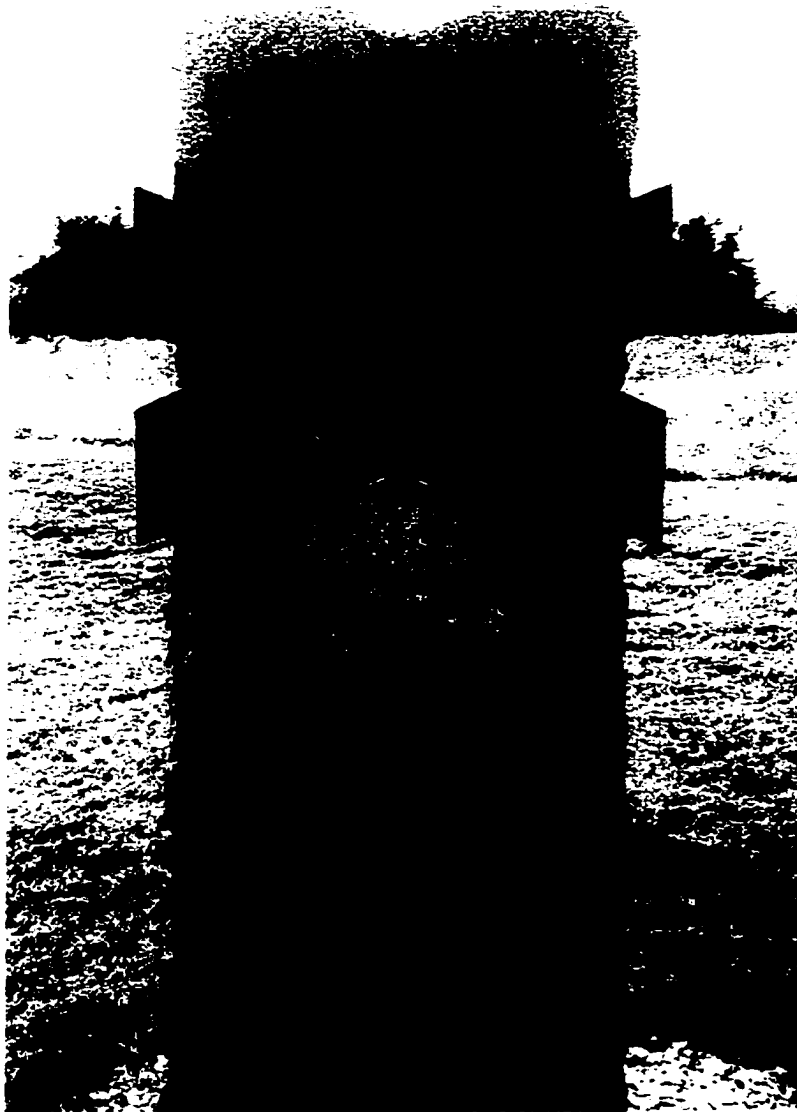


Figure 5.2: Monument to Five Civilized Tribes soldiers at the site of the Battle of Honey Springs. (DAH, July 1997)

little more than harass Union troops and vulnerable supply lines, the Creek remained emotionally and spatially segregated.³⁹

The Creek Nation turned into an almost unpopulated wasteland, characterized by abandoned or vandalized homes and unharvested fields of crops. Twenty or thirty years of improvements were destroyed, numerous unattended prairie fires had swept through the nation, and the once abundant open-range cattle herds were slaughtered for sustenance or driven to Kansas or Texas for economic profit. Most importantly, Creek community life was temporarily ended.⁴⁰

The war in Indian Territory ended with the surrender of Confederate General Stand Watie. Slowly, the Creek factions returned to their former homesites or new locations within the nation to rebuild their homes that had been decimated by four years of small-scale and guerilla warfare. Some Creek chose this opportunity to choose new property. By informal agreement, the newly emancipated freedmen settled the sites of the former Lower Creek plantations in the floodplains of the Arkansas and Verdigris rivers near Muskogee. Most mixedblood Lower Creek, refusing to integrate with the freedmen population, moved southward and created large farms near North Fork town. The Upper Creek who were displaced migrated west, remaining in the southern segment of the Creek Nation and recreating their ceremonial tribal town or church-based existence. Due to this geographic reorganization, the historical Upper-Lower tribal town division was muddled, losing much of its meaning during the period after the American Civil War. Internal strife of the Creek was not ended, however, as characterizations of ideological and political worldviews replaced relative location as the seminal signifiers of Creek life.⁴¹

More important than the physical destruction of Indian Territory was the expanded cultural divide between Union and Confederate Creek. Layered on top of this recent factionalization of the Creek were long-standing, multi-layered divisions between the Upper and Lower towns, church people and ceremonial people, and commercial versus subsistence farmers. The internal divisions seemed to be intensifying. The terms “fullblood,” “mixedblood,” and “freedmen” did not merely signify racial composition, but also delineated alternative lifestyles and worldviews. The fullbloods continued to be the numerically dominant, conservative element of the Creek population. Mixedbloods were known for their adaptability and greater level of cultural borrowing from Anglos. The freedmen, newly enfranchised as Creek, represented approximately 10 percent of the Creek population. They remained segregated in three towns, largely removed from debate over the future of the Creek because of what was viewed as their questionable Creek identity because of their status as former African slaves.⁴²

As reparations for their treaty with the Confederacy, the Creek were forced to sell more than 3,250,000 acres of their “unused” western reserve—approximately half of their reservation. The region was to be used for the relocation of other Indian nations, expanding the concept of an Indian Territory westward. Signed in 1866, the treaty guaranteed that Blacks, both slaves and freedmen before the war, would be emancipated and given equal status as citizens in the Creek Nation. The Creek were forced to accept a constitution that sought to reduce the emphasis of tribal towns and create a governmental structure modeled after the federal government.⁴³

The treaty also foreshadowed future decisive issues in Creek-American relations. Two railroad rights-of-way—one north-south and one east-west corridor—were granted to railroad companies from the Creek public domain. The Creek, at least legally, accepted the concepts of allotment, territorial government, and incorporation into the United States political and economic systems. Economic growth, promoted and created by railroad companies, would radically alter life and landscape in the Creek Nation, would dramatically change the population geography of the region, and would allow political changes that ended with Oklahoma statehood.⁴⁴

Oddly enough, the Lower Creek were not politically punished for their Southern relations, but were courted by United States officials as the future saviors of the Creek Nation. The Lower Creek, like the Upper Creek, forfeited National territory and their guaranteed annuities, but incredibly were reimbursed for their loss of slaves and plantations during the war. A return to the symbiotic political relationship between the federal government and the Lower Creek was cemented when both parties supported the progressive 1867 Constitution and treaty. The traditional Loyal Creeks could protest little through official channels as they were relegated to political bystanders, effectively disenfranchised from outlining the future framework of Creek politics.⁴⁵

The post-Civil War Creek separated into three political factions. The Constitutional (Southern) party wanted reconciliation with the federal government and the Lower and Upper Creeks, but a governmental overhaul into a constitutional (not traditional) town-based political structure. The Conservatives opposed radical political change and were led by Sands from Nuyuka tribal town. Finally, Spokokey of

Tuckabatchee led a small party of about 500 ultra-conservatives. They demanded a return to traditional tribal-town based government, were largely ignored, and refused to participate in official negotiations about the future of the Creek government.⁴⁶

Chapter 6

Elaboration in Indian Territory (1867-1907)

Prologue

Provisions found in the post-Civil War treaty with the United States and revised Creek constitution effectively ended the relative isolation of the Creek in Indian Territory. The era saw a new wave of aggressive American expansion into the Creek Nation and erosion of the Creek homeland. The period ended with severe spatial restrictions on Creek landholdings in the form of allotment and the annihilation of tribal governments and Creek self-government. Overall, it was a stressful and hectic time for the Creek, who sought to maintain autonomy and control their own destiny within their nation.

More than any other period since dispossession and removal, the Creek landscape was transformed and Creek society was further factionalized. However, instead of passively acquiescing to the outside forces of cultural change, many Creek politically and militaristically resisted attempts at inclusion and assimilation. Others allied with American political and economic forces as a mean of cultural preservation. When military and political options for protest ended, a segment of the Creek polity chose to remove its ceremonial world from the observation of outsiders in an effort to continue basic elements of Creek life. Through out this trying time, an elaboration of the Creek sense of place followed as a method of maintaining cultural integrity in the face of unrelenting pressure for the Creek to disappear as a viable ethnic group

One Nation? The constitution and the meanings of “Creek”

The Civil War intensified the long-standing internal divisions among the Creek. Although the federal government had aggressively promoted a unified, centralized tribal government since the late eighteenth century, Union authorities were faced with three primary Creek factions—one progressive and two with varied conservative views—with disparate interests in the aftermath of Civil War victory.

Reconstruction in Indian Territory presented the federal government with several opportunities. Additional land and monetary cessions were possible after the unilateral federal annulment of all previous treaties due to the Creek alliance with the Confederate States of America. Also, tribal government reform was facilitated as a new constitution was demanded of the Creek. Negotiations over the formation of a constitutional government began in 1866 and were completed in October 1867 when delegates from 47 towns, including three towns of newly enfranchised freedmen, ratified the agreement under intense federal pressure.¹

The revised Creek constitution (written in English and later translated into Creek) was modeled after the American governmental structure. Six judicial and administrative units (Coweta, Muskogee, Eufaula, Okmulgee, Deep Fork, and Wewoka) were created and remained in existence until Oklahoma statehood. The legislative branch was comprised of the House of Kings (the upper house comprised of one representative per town) and the House of Warriors (the lower house with one representative for 200 town people). A simple majority elected the Principal and Second Chiefs to four-year terms. A judicial branch was also created. The Creek capitol was formally established at

Okmulgee—instead of the more isolated High Spring—with the construction of a dog-trot style log council house on the edge of the riparian vegetation of the Deep Fork River. The structure was destroyed by fire in 1878 and was replaced by a much larger two-story stone council house that remains today (Figure 6.1). Due to its status as Creek capital, Okmulgee became a significant trading node before railroad construction allowed Muskogee to become the central trading point in the nation.²

Overall, the new government structure was a radical reform of Creek government. The emphasis on central authority weakened tribal town political organization and achieved the long-standing American goal of consolidating power in the hands of fewer, in particular the progressive, Creek. Instead of discouraging Creek traditionalists, the new governmental structure acted as a catalyst for an organized protest against the attempted disintegration of traditional, town-based government. Most tribal towns were not initially adversely affected by the agreement. Functioning towns ignored attempts to transform their internal social structure and continued to be local religiously based organizations of historically allied people.³

Although the 1867 Constitution angered conservatives, in reality the new constitutional government could have done much more to restrict traditional tribal town activities and their power-base. Representation in the Creek government was still determined by towns, town leaders (*mikos*) remained the lead facilitators between towns and the centralized tribal government, annuity payments were made through the town leaders who then distributed the money and goods to their town members, and the Creek were registered under town divisions in official censuses until allotment. However, the



Figure 6.1. The Creek Council House in the early twentieth century. The building, which stands today, was the second capitol constructed in Okmulgee. Courtesy: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries.

more numerous traditionals were continually blocked by a progressive-United States government (in particular the Creek Agent) alliance from returning to a more traditional town-based governmental structure.⁴

In response, the conservatives led protests against the Constitutional leadership and a segment of Creek society refused to participate in councils. This era also witnessed a series of acts of territoriality by Creek dissatisfied with the Constitutional government and Creek-American relations. Immediately after the formation of the Constitutional government, the conservative Creek—estimated by the agent as 50 percent of the population—withdrawed from participation in the tribal government making the traditional Creek political practice of consensus-building impossible. Confrontation replaced quiet protest. In 1871, a group marched on the Creek capitol building and broke up a meeting of the National Council. Other conflicts such as the Green Peach War and the Snake movement resulted in military action. Each protest was followed by United States intervention that allowed the Constitutional government and its platform of reform to retain power. John Moore characterized tribal town actions during the period from 1867 to 1970 as revolving around “a long-term strategy of harassment and dissent” against the progressive Creek leadership. In particular the Upper, White towns of Abika, Nuyuka, Okfuskee, Hickory Ground, and Wewoka were centers of opposition to any attempted political and social changes.⁵

Although a federally supported, ably functioning Creek central government gave the outward impression of being stable and popularly supported, in reality Creek government until statehood was a precarious instrument supported by an intrusive federal

government dependent on coercive strategies to maintain Constitutional order. Some academics have argued that in retrospect the Creek had the most unstable government of the Five Civilized Tribes during this time.⁶

While continuing federal governmental intervention contributed to the unsteady nature of Creek politics, the sustaining influence of tribal towns as cultural, political, social, and spiritual centers also undermined progressive attempts at promoting popularly recognized central authority. The federal government did not directly intervene in tribal town politics, and to the majority of Creek, including the Christian church population, the idea of national citizenship was either rejected or clearly secondary to local identities based upon town or church membership.⁷

The effects of the American Civil War and the newly significant political and economic influences muddled the long-standing Upper and Lower town division. Instead of using relative location, the Creek identified themselves as progressives or traditionals based upon their level of participation in the commercial economy and support of the national government. The percentage of large landholders (the former slave-holding, plantation class) continued to grow after the Civil War, adopting Anglicized attitudes towards the accumulation of personal wealth and private property and ending their annual involvement in town-based ceremonial activities. Since slave labor was prohibited and the freedmen were given equal status as citizens instead of being forced into sharecropping, Anglo tenant farmers were imported to Indian Territory to work the property of large landholders. Commercial farming diversified from the staples of ranching, corn, and cotton to include high yields of wheat, oats, barley. This was particularly true along the

Canadian River near North Fork town. The traditional subsistence farmers resisted the trend of collecting private wealth and held community and moral values at a premium. Typically the males hunted while women grew small amounts of corn, wheat, cotton, beans, and pumpkins. By the mid-1870s, it was estimated that approximately half of the Indian Territory population was engaged in each economic division.⁸

By the 1870s, the Creek were on the verge of a new round of external pressure on their society. Although the federal government dealt with the tribe as a unified group, in reality the Creek remained a disparate group of people separated by different economic, social, and political orientations. The constant interference of the American government in tribal affairs only exacerbated these tensions. The multiple interpretations of what it meant to be "Creek" would only become more pronounced as outsiders sought to manipulate Creek actions in order to gain access to Creek territory.

Anglo intrusion

Prior to the American Civil War, Indian Territory served as an artificial barrier to westward expansion into the southern Great Plains. It diverted potential home-seekers north or south of Indian Territory. However, Americans, motivated by the desire for fertile agricultural land, a quick profit, or promises of impending statehood migrated into Indian Territory in increasing numbers after the Civil War. This frustrated tribal officials who wished to maintain a semblance of control over their jurisdiction. This intrusion eroded the Creek homeland core and threatened the very existence of the Creek.

Before 1870, people primarily from the Upper South traveled to (or through) Indian Territory by way of the Texas Road, which ran across the Creek Nation from the

Three Forks to south of North Fork town at the Canadian River, or along the military road that connected Fort Smith, Arkansas with Fort Towson, Choctaw Nation. Generally, the small number of Anglos residing in the Creek Nation prior to railroad construction supported the Creek in some manner—acting as missionaries, teachers, doctors, blacksmiths, mill-owners, or other laborers who could practice a trade. Officials often recruited these skilled Anglos who then dispersed throughout the Creek Nation to provide their services to the greatest population possible. For example, in 1842, 22 Whites lived permanently in the Creek Nation. Each was a male with an Indian wife and six of the 22 were licensed traders. The Creek attempted to reduce the number of Anglo intruders by legislating taxes on traders and temporary peddlers and preventing Anglos from receiving Creek citizenship.⁹

The interior location of the Creek Nation within Indian Territory helped shelter the region from large-scale intrusion. Most immigrants prior to the Civil War clustered along the Texas Road on the eastern periphery of the nation. Before railroad construction, imported or exported goods took a circuitous route. Typically, goods were brought by boat up the Arkansas River to Fort Smith where they were placed on smaller “freight boats” that loaded and unloaded their products at the Creek Agency landing. From there, goods went on wagon roads—little more than wide two lane dirt paths—to various small merchants in the region. The lack of intruders meant that few Anglo-style towns or central places existed in the Creek Nation. The largest urban area prior to 1870, North Fork town, was merely a dense settlement of several hundred Creek with several stores on both sides of the Texas Road.¹⁰

Pressures associated with increasing Anglo immigration—which included illegal acts such as the clearing and homesteading of land, the opening of coal mines, and timber harvesting—had become notable to the Creek by the mid-1870s. Removal of intruders and protecting the sovereignty of the Creek Nation became regular topics in tribal government debate. Even progressive Creek recognized that if the intruder problem was not solved, the Creek were in “danger of losing not only our homes, but our dearest rights.” Creek individuals attempted to defend their threatened homes by removing Anglo intruders and by monitoring their illegal activities. However, the immigration continued and increased after the mid-1880s. Mixedblood Creek hired laborers to work their expanding agricultural and ranching operations or rented enormous acreages to Anglo cattlemen, and thus compounded the problem. Although the traditional Creek resented the increased presence of guest-workers, precedent was set. Efforts by the Creek in the 1880s to remove large numbers of intruders were unsuccessful and unsupported by the Creek Agent and the federal government.¹¹

The American popular press labeled Indian Territory a desirable “Indian Eden”—pristine, fertile, and full of abundance. By the early 1890s, the number of Anglo settlers—often called an “alien flood” by Indians—had increased to sizable proportions. They arrived in Indian Territory in small groups of 3 or 4 or in dozens by wagon trains, attracted by the hope for imminent land openings and desire of economic gain instead of the lure of community or place. For example, the Catlett family was pulled to Indian Territory by newspaper articles “so full of thrilling adventure, and wonderful opportunities that my husband could think or talk of nothing else but to come west.” The perception

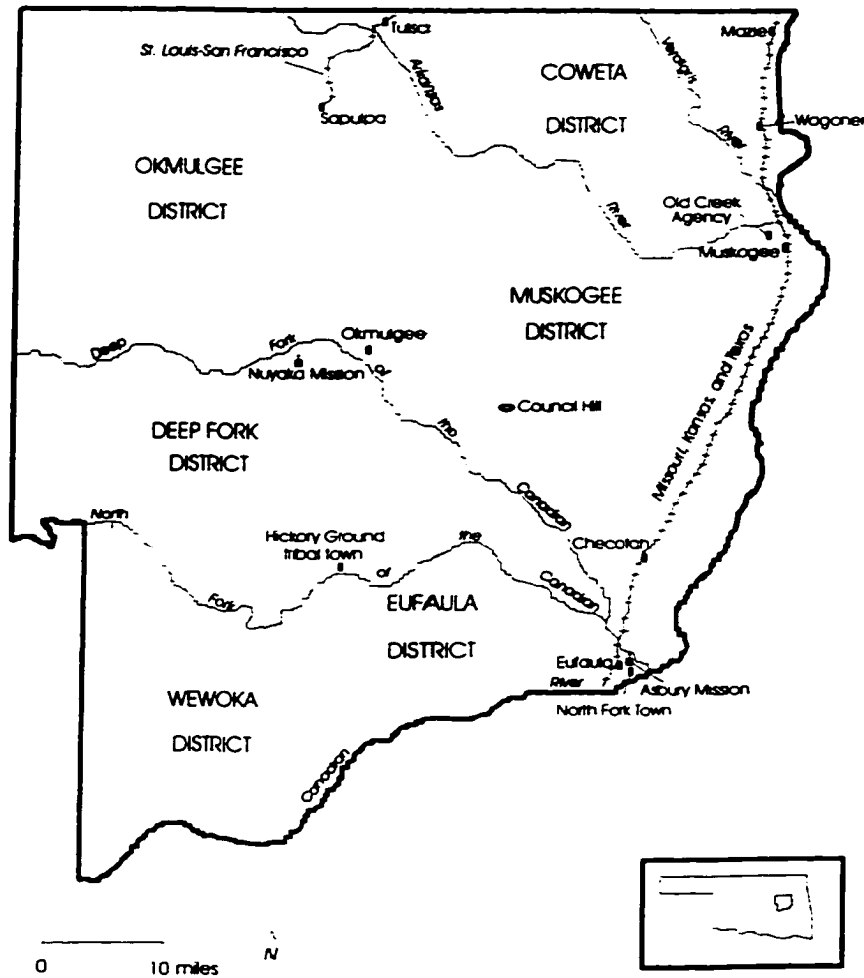
that allotment and the alienation of Indian lands was impending also encouraged an increasing number of Anglos to immigrate to Indian Territory.¹²

Typical Anglo settlers assumed that Indian Territory was “placeless”—a new, untouched country without history. Creating a new American state from virgin land instead of respecting the treaty rights, much less the cultural traditions, of the Indian Territory residents underlay Anglo thinking. The United States government in a sense facilitated Anglo intrusion by failing to remove intruders from last remaining large fertile, unsettled island in the continent-wide sea of Euro-American settlement. Eventually, Anglo United States citizens far outnumbered Creek tribal members in the Creek Nation. This disenfranchised Anglo majority increasingly demanded political and economic reforms that favored their worldviews.¹³

Although the interior location of the Creek Nation with respect to Indian Territory initially limited non-citizen intruders, expansion of the railroad network into Indian Territory quickly ended the Creek Nation’s location on the periphery of the American economic frontier. This economically undeveloped region was placed “directly in the pathway of commerce” by railroad construction and associated immigration. Even though railroad construction created much duress (understated as “apprehension” by the Agent) among the Creek, little could be done to stop construction.¹⁴

The first railroad completed across the Creek Nation was the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas (MKT—also called the “Katy” in the vernacular) in 1872 (Figure 6.2). The MKT fulfilled the provision in the 1866 treaty of a north-south Indian Territory railroad. It connected the new Creek Nation towns of Mazie, Wagoner, Muskogee, Checotah, and

The Creek Nation, 1885



DAH 2000

Figure 6.2: The Creek Nation, circa 1885.

Eufaula. Few Creek were employed for railroad construction. Railroad crews were comprised of a diverse mix of Black, Irish, and Hispanic laborers. Many non-citizens were railroad laborers or licensed traders, although unlicensed intruders were also attracted to the railroad transects as prospective customers were introduced in Indian Territory and markets for Indian Territory goods were established elsewhere.¹⁵

The Creek realized the dangers inherent in railroad construction. Construction of additional railroads and the introduction of more intruders into Indian Territory would, in their words, result in a process where “the Indian home is undone” [original underlines]. Nevertheless, after construction of the MKT an east-west railroad, the Atlantic and Pacific (also called the St. Louis-San Francisco or the “Frisco” in the vernacular), was constructed. Running southwest through the Creek Nation, it was completed in 1882 and connected the Creek Nation towns of Tulsa and Sapulpa. (Later the St. Louis-San Francisco was extended to Oklahoma City and a spur connected Sapulpa to Okmulgee and Henryetta.) Railroad construction was not limited to two railroad corridors, as implied in the 1866 Creek Treaty. Other lines were surveyed and built including the Arkansas Valley Railroad (Missouri-Pacific), which was constructed before 1894 and ran through the northeast corner of the Creek Nation, and the Rock Island railroad, which was completed in 1902. Indian Territory was increasingly linked to surrounding regions. The expansion of the railroad network only furthered non-citizen agricultural settlement. This, in turn, promoted intensive railroad construction in the late 1880s and 1890s to connect producers to agricultural markets outside Indian Territory. Economic growth and railroad construction were cyclical forces that the Creek were not able to stop.¹⁶

Journalists' reports in newspapers about the "B.I.T." (Beautiful Indian Territory) encouraged Anglo intrusion. Large numbers decided to immigrate after 1880 due to the "rapid development of the Indian Territory." Prior to railroad construction, the federal government estimated that 6,000 United States citizens lived within the boundaries of the Five Civilized Tribes. Until 1880, only two Anglo families were reported living in a sizable area of the Creek nation southwest of Eufaula. Suddenly, the Creek were engulfed by "a constant stream of emigrants through the reservation in all directions." While some of the emigrants were temporary workers or profiteers, others occupied permanently the more accessible areas of the Creek Nation, never far from railroads and linkages to other markets. In particular, Anglos, in large numbers, began to inhabit the Muskogee and Eufaula districts in the southeastern quadrant of the Creek Nation. Whether legally registered or intruders, Anglos within the boundaries of the Five Civilized Tribes ballooned from 6,000 in 1880 to an estimated 37,000 by 1883.¹⁷

The immigrants were described as being a diverse population, ranging from professionals and skilled laborers to "cowmen, squatters, coal and timber thieves, tramps, vagrants, refugees from justice, whisky peddlers, prostitutes, and lunatics." The new Anglo population had few common interests, with the exception of economic gain. Hardly a unified polity by themselves, the immigrants had little desire to develop personal relationships with the Creek, much less understand and respect aspects of their value systems. Instead, the influx of additional settlers and the creation of Anglo landscapes seemed to reinforce commonly held American notions of "progress" and economic gain at the expense of traditional Creek beliefs and efforts at community maintenance.¹⁸

Before long, the new settlers were using the railroad system to reduce the limitations of the surrounding natural environment. Goods could now be imported and exported over extreme distances to and from Indian Territory. Land that appeared unused and available was claimed and agricultural mechanization and modernization made the natural environment more productive and efficient. By 1876, it was estimated that 75 percent of the Creek Nation was under tillage. The region became economically tied to the continental economic system with local sources of lumber, coal, and agricultural goods exchanged for finished products from the East Coast and Midwest. The pressure to open additional land to Anglo settlement to expand the agricultural economy, for example cotton cultivation, increased. Anglo settlement in Indian Territory began to resemble that of their former homes in Missouri, Kansas, or Tennessee. An entire class of Anglos and mixedblood Creek businessmen now depended on railroads for their economic existence.¹⁹

The railroad influence was paramount in the transportation of American city design to the Creek Nation. As soon as railroad officials announced their decision to place a siding and depot at a specific location, a small city formed overnight. Beginning in the early 1870s, Wagoner, Muskogee, and Checotah became railroad stops, adopted entrepot functions, and quickly became American, not Creek, cityscapes. Rapid urban growth continued. By 1888, 49 Anglo-style towns, the vast majority along railroad transects, functioned in the Creek Nation. A disparate group of people, including Anglo entrepreneurs, converted unsettled sites or small Creek towns into trade and export centers. A change in morphology from Creek to American places followed as many traditional Creek left the railroad corridors to Anglos and enterprising mixedbloods. In

the largest, newest cities of the Creek Nation, traditional regional identity was being undermined by a national architectural design and emphasis on a capitalistic economic system.²⁰

The new railroad towns were removed, for all intents and purposes, from the Creek ecumene. These hybrid urban centers also became legal and political conflict zones, owing to their ambiguous legal status. Of the Five Civilized Tribes, only the Cherokee initially provided for the incorporation of urban areas. In the Creek Nation, towns rapidly grew without the aid of urban planning, taxation, and basic public services. Most importantly, property titles could not be secured for town lots that now held businesses and homes, even though they had permanent buildings. But the inability to secure titles from the Creek public domain did not slow the construction of Anglo-owned businesses and settlement. Instead, a growing group of intruders demanded the right to purchase private property and the extension of the American judicial system to Indian Territory. Finally, in 1895 towns were allowed to establish town sites autonomous from Creek Nation policies. The ability of towns and Anglo townspeople to act as foreign nodes in the Creek Nation only intensified.²¹

Muskogee became the most prosperous town in the Creek Nation (Figure 6.3). It was well centered on a fertile agricultural valley and the MKT Railroad which constructed switch yards and other servicing facilities in town. Originally settled by freedmen, Muskogee before 1872 was a small collection of houses near the junction of two roads, the Texas Road and a road connecting Fort Gibson and Okmulgee. After construction of the MKT, Muskogee moved more than a mile to the railroad right-of-way in 1872 and



Figure 6.3: A Muskogee street scene in 1900. The town's architectural style was decidedly American and had little resemblance to a Creek tribal town. Courtesy: Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

became the Creek Nation's major trading center for Anglos and Indians. It hosted 70 percent of the licensed traders of the nation. Furthermore, Muskogee became the de-facto political capital of Indian Territory after the Union Agency (a combining of the formerly independent agents for each of the Five Civilized Tribes) was established just northwest of Muskogee in 1874 (Figure 6.4). In addition to its role as a trading central place, Muskogee became the focus of federal-Five Civilized Tribes business. People were drawn to Muskogee and its immediate hinterland, and the town became a multicultural city with significant numbers of Creek, Indian, Anglo, and Black (legal and illegal) residents. In 1890, Muskogee had a population of 1,200, and the urban area was considered to be predominantly Anglo since it was largely constructed and promoted by the MKT, because businesses were operated by Anglos, and because it was a hotbed of "boomer" activism for the alienation of Indian land and dissolution of tribal governments.²²

The combination of railroad connectivity and the discovery of oil transformed the tribal town of Tulsa. Once a collection of Creek houses dispersed around a ceremonial ground that overlooked the Arkansas River, Tulsa grew rapidly after 1885. In 1900 it had 1,930 residents, and by statehood the town boasted a population of 7,298. Growth was so rapid that 40 acres set aside for the Creek as an "Indian Fair Grounds" were soon overrun with Anglo houses. Before the discovery of oil south of Tulsa, the town acted as a economic node for Creek and Sac and Fox who came to town to trade and purchase goods. After railroad construction and the discovery of oil, Tulsa became a regional metropolis, seemingly divorced from its Creek origins.²³



Figure 6.4: The old Union Agency building in Muskogee. (DAH, May 1997)

Of all the railroad towns in the Creek Nation, Eufaula was known for retaining the greatest amount of Creek identity. After the MKT was constructed, most traders and inhabitants of the formerly prosperous North Fork town migrated to Eufaula for the town's newly found advantageous economic connectivity. Although Eufaula was a small town with only several hundred residents—approximately 500 in 1890—who were dependent upon railroad commerce and consisted of a cluster of several frame buildings and stores, it managed to retain the identity of an “Indian town” until allotment. Even though Eufaula did not host the social, ceremonial, or historical significance of tribal towns, its formation and growth as a new type of Creek urban space signaled the expansion of the Creek concept of place to include urban commercial nodes. Creek progressives and traditionals were confronted with the meaning of new railroad towns. Although traditional Creek in particular did not embrace these new places, railroad towns such as Eufaula—the best location of goods, services, and trading opportunities— could not be ignored .²⁴

Most importantly, railroad companies were catalysts for further Indian land alienation. Awarded rights-of-ways in the post-Civil War agreements between the Five Civilized Tribes and the United States government, railroad officials and companies were consistent, aggressive lobbyists for the alienation of Indian Territory lands in order that the railroad companies would receive large land grants (alternate sections along the railroad right-of-way) after Indian lands were allotted and placed in the public domain. Thus, the allotment of Indian land and sale of the newly acquired land was of vital importance to the economic health of the railroad companies. As early as 1875, the Creek government was

concerned with aggressive political attempts by railroad companies to extinguish title to Indian lands. The pressure to open more land to Anglo settlement continued to increase after the Creek cession of the Unassigned Lands in 1889 and the creation of Oklahoma Territory in 1890. Calls for allotment and statehood considered Creek place-making and cultural viability as obstacles to be removed. The effect of railroad companies and other corporations upon the economic geography, settlement, and regional identity of Indian Territory can only be described as cataclysmic. The construction and expansion of the Indian Territory railroad network fueled the forces opening the region to Anglos, the alienation of Indian lands, and the incorporation of Indian Territory into the national political, economic, and social systems.²⁵

Soon, Creek Nation lands were not just the target of clandestine land-seekers and squatters, but with allotment, were nationally advertised in order to attract Anglo settlement to Indian Territory. Businesses such as the Doneghy Investment Company, advertised as being the “largest owners of Creek land in Indian Territory,” aggressively promoted purchase of individual Creek allotments from their office in Muskogee. Doneghy flyers advertised over 100 farms including more than 14,000 acres for sale. Legal and natural vegetation categorizations described each property. They characterized the Creek Nation as “a sure success for farming,” without draught or crop failure, with a beneficial climate, rich soil, and modern railroad facilities to move crops to markets. To top off their boosterism, Doneghy claimed that Anglo “farmers who work make more money here than any place we have ever seen.”²⁶

Other land companies illegally procured allotments and surveyed and platted towns along the railroad transects, ignoring tribal and government authorities. Additionally, individuals, such as the Immigration Agent for the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Company wrote to the Creek Nation offering to “send you thousands of buyers” from Illinois, Iowa, and Indiana if titles could be secured to Creek land. Many Americans believed the advertisements of land companies and railroad boosters. The number of Indian Territory immigrants rapidly increased from 6,000 in 1881 to 200,000 in 1894 to 650,000 in 1903. By the end of allotment, an estimated 800,000 Anglos resided in Indian Territory, outnumbering the Indian population by ten to one. It was estimated that approximately 126,000 thousand Anglos resided in the Creek Nation. Most of the Anglo immigrants were Upper Southerners, with settlers from Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri the largest contributors to the new population geography of the region.²⁷

The Union Agent to the Five Civilized Tribes and other government officials did little to stop the exponentially increasing immigration through an unwritten, unofficial policy of “masterly inactivity” sanctioned the intruders. The annual reports of the Indian Agent, with the exception of Robert L. Owen in the mid- to late-1880s, explicitly supported pro-allotment forces by condemning communal land ownership and supporting then transition to private property in Indian Territory. Clearly, the government became a catalyst for allotment instead of supporting the popular will of the Creek.²⁸

The Creek who wanted to resist the Anglo intrusion had few options. Typically, the traditional Creek moved away from the railroads and new Anglo-dominated towns, settling new farms near other Creek families away from outside interference. Removing

themselves from Anglo influences and contested places became increasingly difficult. Areas such as the Concharty Mountains in northeast Okmulgee County that remained economically isolated because of a lack of roads and railroads attracted fullblood re-settlement around churches or ceremonial grounds.²⁹

However, Indian Territory was increasingly becoming developed and few areas were removed from direct Anglo influence. Communities that did not relocate increasingly felt the pressure of surrounding Anglo settlement and development. Creek oral history compares this process to throwing a handful of arrows into the air. The arrows scatter, symbolizing the breaking of tribal towns and the ceremonial life of the Creek. Dramatic cultural change begat protests from many Creek individuals. Reacting in defense of cultural, political, and numerical threats was commonplace during this era of Anglo intrusion.³⁰

Territoriality

Creek options to deal with the widespread and increasing Anglo intrusion were always limited in the post-Civil War era, and grew increasingly so as Oklahoma statehood became a viable political option for the Anglo majority. Historically, Creek traditional fullbloods tended to withdraw from politics when strategies that ignored consensus making were bypassed in an attempt to centralize power. However, Creek conservatives did not act as passive observers of the scene unfolding before them, but protested the actions of their own and the federal government. In one sense, increased interaction with Americans and confrontation with ongoing efforts at cultural imperialism by Americans

and mixedblood progressives served to reinforce Creek identity as their very existence in “our sacred home” was threatened from without and within traditional Creek society.³¹

The Creek conservative faction contested nearly every election held after ratification of the 1867 constitution. They objected to political centralization and increasing subjection of the social and political roles of tribal towns. Many Creek saw the elected Creek government officials as little more than federally supported intermediaries. Until allotment, protests were often realized by using militaristic methods. They were often dismissed by the Creek government as insignificant “malcontents in the form of a small faction” who “had not sufficient intelligence” to forget traditional ceremonies and practices or adopt civilized behavior. Many journalists and historians who either dismissed or downplayed the events “by assigning names to the conflicts which are foolish and misleading” often marginalize these actions. In reality, Creek resistance to their changing milieu was a real, continuing effort to re-orient their society to what they believed were the foundation of Creek existence.³²

Creek resistance to proposals to weaken tribal authority and integrate Indian Territory into the American political and economic systems began after the end of the Civil War. Much of the resistance took place in intertribal settings. In the 1870s, a series of intertribal meetings labeled the “Okmulgee Convention” began. Over a dozen tribes regularly sent delegates who drafted correspondence to Congress and to the President in an attempt to avert changes in the political status of Indian Territory, including the drafting of a Constitution of a territorial government. Although the effects of the meetings were not lasting, a high level of cooperation showed the willingness of many Creek to

maintain tribal autonomy in Indian Territory, even if that meant a change of government. Additionally, the Indian Territory tribes confronted federal plans for Indian Territory, correctly assessing that the “steps to break down the Indian nationalities... were made, in order to reach the lands.” More traditional forces mobilized as well, protesting attempts to endorse a territorial government in Indian Territory. Another series of intertribal meetings was held in Eufaula in 1880.³³

Creek intratribal politics became more divisive over competing worldviews. After contesting the 1867 and 1871 elections of Samuel Checote as Principal Chief, conservatives expressed dissatisfaction with the progressive government. In 1875, the National Council, dominated by town-oriented, traditionalist members, impeached Principal Chief Lochar Harjo. At each attempt at conservative Creek protest, the federal government threatened traditional interests and threatened to support progressive Creek politicians by military force if necessary.³⁴

The completion of the first Indian Territory railroad and immigration of noncitizens in the early 1870s acted as catalysts for a traditionalist reaction against progressive Creek people and policies. In particular, railroad surveyors were targets for protests. For example, Creek citizens living in North Fork town and Fishertown killed the first two surveying parties for the MKT. Other Creek attacked surveying teams or harassed the crews by removing survey markers and cutting down trees to act as barricades to surveying and construction. Dissent grew to such a level that Congress was forced to pass an act penalizing those who defaced, removed, or altered township and

range posts (survey section corner, quarter section corner, or meander), emblazened trees, or benchmarks.³⁵

The federally imposed peace did not last long. Political factions rallied around the leadership of Isparhecher, a former pro-Northern fullblood, and Samuel Checote, a mixedblood former Southern supporter. By 1879, military skirmishes had begun and the conflict was being labeled the Green Peach War (or the Green Peach Rebellion) after the abundant, but immature, peach crop.

Tension between the two groups had been heightened due to the Creek land cession to the Seminole in 1866. The 1879 tribal election disintegrated any working relations between the factions when the conservative ticket of Isperharcher (Principal chief) and Silas Jefferson (Second chief) was excluded from official ballots. Thus, the conservatives received no votes. Instead, the Constitutional party led by Samuel Checote was declared the victor. In response to the political disenfranchisement and the defeat of autonomous tribal town government at the hands of a national, constitutional government, Isparhecher supporters formed an opposition government and held their meetings at Nuyaka tribal town.³⁶

The Green Peach War officially began when tribal towns met and declared war on the National Council due to the inability of the organization to stop a large number of Anglo land encroachments. Led by Isparhechar, at least 300 warriors engaged in skirmishes with Creek Constitutional government troops supported by the United States Army. This caused a great deal of concern among the progressive-federal government alliance. Many Creek thought that the conflict would turn into another Civil War and

divisively divide their nation. Although the war lasted for several years, the majority of military action occurred in 1882 and 1883. After a series of skirmishes, the Isparhechar-led party was forced to flee north and westward from Creek Nation, to seek political asylum in the Cherokee and Seminole nations. The party eventually returned and was forced to take a loyalty oath to the Creek constitution and Creek Nation as a means of refuting their “crimes” and ensuring future participation in tribal elections. The primary concession to the Loyalists was a promise that the Creek government would become streamlined and more responsive to tribal citizens.³⁷

The basic disagreement behind the Green Peach War was hardly settled. Federal interference in Creek affairs in support of the progressives only increased ill-feelings between the progressive and conservative Creek. Tensions were quickly heightened in 1883 when Isparhecher won the tribal election. He was not allowed to take office when the United States government intervened and recognized a more progressive candidate.³⁸

Another layer of tension evolved as the pro-allotment and Anglo settlement forces increased pressure upon the Creek and federal government. By 1886 the severity of the situation dictated a meeting of an intertribal council that agreed to reject all offers for land cessions and purchases by Anglo home-seekers. Small groups of Creek traditionalists began protesting Anglo settlement, particularly in the southeast quadrant of the Creek Nation. In small groups, Creek individuals destroyed Anglo possessions, stampeded cattle, and directly threatened Anglo settlers. While small acts of territoriality continued, the momentum of Anglo settlement had increased to the point where the protests of the Indian

Territory Nations were largely ignored and merely set aside for inclusion in the historical record.³⁹

The Creek did not let the dismissal of their protests deter them from continuing to lodge objections to the political, economic, and cultural trends occurring in Indian Territory. The consolidation of the individual Indian agencies of the Five Civilized Tribes into the Union Agency housed in Muskogee drew complaints. Furthermore, the manifestation of allotment on the landscape in the form of township and range surveys—a necessary precursor for the orderly settlement of private parcels of property—gave the Creek a physical outlet of protest as individuals and small groups destroyed survey markers, posts, and cornerstones in order to slow the allotment process. While the Creek agent considered “the ring of the surveyor’s ax is an echo of progress,” the Creek clearly saw the survey and census of the Nation as a threat to their existence.⁴⁰

Impending allotment quickly mobilized opposition forces. An intertribal Four Mother’s Society was formed by fullbloods of the Five Civilized Tribes as early as 1895 in order to resist allotment and the dissolution of tribal governments. The organization regularly sent delegates to lobby the United States Congress, and possibly had a dues-paying membership of 24,000 conservative Indians at one point. The Four Mother’s Society continued to meet until at least the 1930s, illustrating the level of conviction for the conservative members of the Five Civilized Tribes.⁴¹

A pan-Indian proposal to create an Indian state from Indian Territory was advanced in 1904-1905. While the move to create the state of Sequoyah received support from a segment of the Indian population of Indian Territory (notably, the Creek Council

passed resolutions opposed to any kind of statehood for Indian Territory), it was largely ignored by the Anglos of the region. The Sequoyah constitutional convention sent its proposal for separate statehood to Congress, but it too disregarded the proposal. Anglos viewed the destiny of Oklahoma and Indian Territories as one state..⁴²

The final large-scale, extended opposition to the forces of American-style progress was labeled the Crazy Snake Rebellion after a translation of Chitto Harjo, the leader of the movement. United States authorities and Creek progressives trivialized the group by improperly naming and demeaning the protest as largely the product of one person's resistance, not "an uprising of thousands" which lasted for more than a decade..⁴³

The "Snake" movement was a direct response to the seemingly inevitable dispossession of the Creek and the inability of the elected Creek government to stop the allotment process. The Snakes also opposed other expressions of American "progress," such as railroads and towns. The underlying argument of the group was that Creek-United States relations should be based on the provisions of the 1832 treaty, which included provisions for political autonomy and territorial integrity.

The Snake movement organized as early as 1894 and its members (which included Choctaw and Chickasaw citizens) participated in various efforts aimed at protesting the end of Creek self-government and resisting allotment and the township and range survey. The "Snakes" argued that the removal treaties should be the point of reference for Creek-American relations, and that the political and cultural changes in Indian Territory should be reversed. The Anglo buzzwords of "progress" and "civilization" were interpreted as representing attempts at economic profit for Anglos, not upholding treaty commitments in

the best interest of the Creek. But modernization could not, and would not, be undone by the federal government.⁴⁴

By 1897, a shadow government had formed under the leadership of Harjo and Hotulka Fixico—a “last-ditch opposition to forced allotment and abolishment of the government”—based upon traditional, town-based leadership and centered at Hickory Ground town (Figure 6.5). The Snake message spread to other tribal towns. Participating tribal towns instructed their lighthorse (police) forces to fine or punish anyone who cooperated with the Dawes Commission, rented part of the Creek public domain, or hired Anglo laborers. In particular, progressive members of the Creek National Council felt threatened by Snake activities. As typical of other Creek conflicts, the progressive Creek received government support to suppress Snake activities. In 1900 and 1901 federal, territorial, and Creek Constitutional officials broke-up Snake meetings, scattered or arrested the leadership, placed the leadership on trial, and forced the arrested Snakes to agree to cease and desist their activities in exchange for their freedom (Figure 6.6). This ended the Snake shadow government and from 1901 to 1909 the Snakes undertook the strategy of passive resistance, continued to meet secretly and refused to accept allotments (they were often assigned marginal claims by allotment officials) or participate in Creek national government. Even though they were forced into passive roles, many Creek considered the Snakes to be the final Creek faction willing to confront the federal and territorial governments about their willingness to usurp Creek treaty and legal rights.⁴⁵



Figure 6.5: Hickory Ground tribal town. The large tents belong to federal and territorial officials who arrested Snake participants. Courtesy: Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.



Figure 6.6: Snakes waiting trial at the Fort Gibson jail in 1901. Courtesy: Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Snake organization continued, however. In 1909, State of Oklahoma authorities effectively ended Snake organization by scattering the Snake leadership (without much provocation), forcing Chitto Harjo to take refuge in the Choctaw Nation until his death. The Snake movement went completely underground and its conservative members were unable to effect politics and policies, although it was rumored to have a sizable, active membership several decades later.⁴⁶

Allotment

In one sense, terminating the Creek government had little effect on the fullblood population who consisted of approximately 66 percent of the enrolled Creek. They increasingly did not participate in the tribal government and did not recognize the authority of the decisions made by their national politicians. Allotment, however, radically altered the social organization of the Creek, dispersing town and church communities on small 160-acre tracts and, through the sale of Creek individual lands, interspersing Anglo settlement in the midst of Creek communities.

Using allotment to alienate Indian lands into the legal possession of American homesteaders had been a tool of the United States since allotment provisions were included in the removal treaties of the 1830s. The move towards formally mandated allotment began in earnest in the late 1870s when the federal government ended its policy of removing Indian nations to Indian Territory—an action which had effectively created a Southern Plains shatterbelt—and instead established reservations on or near traditional tribal lands. Coupled with the expansion of the railroad network southwestward into Indian Territory and the illegal immigration of thousands of Anglos into the region,

allotment as an official federal policy became an inevitable method to reduce tribal land-holdings and promote the establishment of individual farms.

The federal government gave familiar justifications for allotment and Anglo settlement of Indian Territory. It was argued that Indians underutilized their land resources, tribes were not progressing fast enough to fill the mold of the Jeffersonian individual farmer, tribal citizens were superstitious and backward, and that Indian reservations and treaty commitments were poor reasons to stop American manifest destiny. Moreover, Indians were inherently inferior people that were dependent wards of the federal government and were surviving only because of American charity. The seminal issue dictating the fate of Indian Territory revolved around the concept of appropriate economic progress. Only with Anglo settlement could the economic potential of the region be realized. Indian Territory was perceived to be a fertile region waiting to be opened as an outlet for Americans wishing to escape national depression of the 1890s. Creek-American tensions were high and allotment became the defining political issue of the 1880s and 1890s as Creek politics revolved around the issues of maintaining Creek autonomy, preserving territorial boundaries and self-government, and avoiding allotment. Many political meetings were held, and at each forum the Creek polity expressed almost unanimous opposition to allotment.⁴⁷

Allotment became official federal policy in 1887 with the General Allotment Act (also called the Dawes Act), a culmination of decades of American efforts to end the communal organization of tribes in favor of individual land ownership. It was little more than a thinly disguised exchange of extensive tribal land holdings for the continuation of

the United States government “civilization” and Christianization programs in behalf of American Indian communities. However, the Five Civilized Tribes were not included in the Dawes Act. The Creek removal treaty of 1832 and the Reconstruction treaty of 1866 upheld the right of the Creek to use a communal, not individual, land system. Also, cattle ranchers followed economic motivations and lobbied successfully to keep Indian Territory in open range instead of small, privately-owned blocks that were more conducive to farming than ranching.

The move towards total federal control of Indian Territory began in 1889 when a United States court was established at Muskogee. In 1890, the laws of Arkansas were extended to cover Indian Territory, and the Creek were effectively placed under the legal jurisdiction of the United States. Additionally, the Curtis Act abolished tribal courts in 1898. These actions served to empower noncitizens while limiting tribal jurisdiction and potential attempts to protest the intruder trend. As federal power usurped the influence of the Creek legislative or judicial branches, Creek options to deal with Anglo encroachment grew increasingly limited.

After years of threats and innuendo, in 1893 the Dawes Commission was appointed by the President of the United States to negotiate with the Five Civilized Tribes (also called the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes) for the extinguishment of their land titles and allotment in severalty (Figure 6.7). Hypothetically, a negotiated, voluntary settlement was necessary to end fee-simple communal land ownership and replace it with individual landholdings. In reality, the Dawes Commission directly stated its intended



Figure 6.7: The Dawes Commission meeting with a Creek delegation at the Masonic Temple in Muskogee. Courtesy Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

outcome of negotiations. Before an audience of 2,000 Creek, the Dawes Commission offered an extended diatribe that stated, in part, that if the Creek refused to:

treat with this commission and aid it in the accomplishing of this work in the manner here indicated, the Congress of the United States will, by direct legislation in which the Indians of this Territory will have no voice, abolish the tribal governments of the several nations, allot their lands and create a state or territorial government over the country comprised in the Indian Territory. And if this work is left wholly to Congress there will be no restraint on the alienation of the lands now belonging to the Indians.

In short, the federal government presented allotment as the only real option to protect the tribal land base in the face of large-scale Anglo intrusion.⁴⁸

The Creek did not warmly receive these overtures. The exception was a small segment of the most prosperous mixedblood class who, as early as 1893, considered allotment to be inevitable, and perhaps saw advantageous personal economic opportunity in allotment. Individuals expressed their dissatisfaction with the proposed terms of allotment in group forums or meetings of family members. The Creek government issued lengthy statements to federal officials protesting allotment and the end of tribal government, arguing that forced allotment conflicted with federal pledges not to pass federal, state, or territorial laws that affected the Creek without their permission. Creek delegations were sent to Washington, D.C. with the instructions to oppose allotment, the extension of United States courts in Indian Territory, and the settlement of Oklahoma. The extent of Creek dissatisfaction was so severe that the traditional candidate Isparhecher defeated the progressive Pleasant Porter in the 1895 election for Principal

Chief based upon his platform opposing allotment, the end of tribal government, and the immigration of noncitizens to the Creek Nation.⁴⁹

In addition to the rise of the “Snake” movement and their shadow government, the Creek also attempted to resist, or at least blunt, the effects of allotment through recognized political channels. A series of commissions and international councils met with the Dawes commission and federal officials. Typically, the Creek emphasized their advancements in education, religion, and agriculture while noting their attachment to place and their ability to provide extended social services and support for tribal members. Allotment was attacked as “common robbery” and a guise for Anglos to achieve economic advantages in Indian Territory upon a nation whose “political identity and individuality have been fully established.” In particular, the Creek referenced the failure of allotment in the Southeast that made removal necessary. The social effects of allotment were also recognized at an early date. Creek delegations argued that instead of solving the intruder problem, any change in land tenure would have devastating effects on the Creek. Isparhecher stated that enacting allotment would facilitate “breaking up the homes of my self and my people.” It was argued too that particularly the fullblood, traditional Creek would be destroyed by “financial ruin, moral depredation, and final annihilation.”⁵⁰

However, Creek arguments had little effect upon negotiations with the Dawes Commission. The end result of the Dawes Commission negotiations was pre-ordained. By this time, the Creek government was forced into an entirely reactionary role to the intrusive policies of the federal government and had little ability to outline their own destiny and vision of the Creek Nation. In 1895 Congress decided to survey Indian

Territory as a prelude to allotment. The next year, Congress authorized the Dawes Commission to compile a complete census of tribal members, in order to determine who was eligible for allotment. Creek individuals could do little to slow the process other than to refuse cooperation with dealing with the census takers. The census and survey of the Creek Nation were complete by 1897. The pressure for the Creek to agree to allotment increased.⁵¹

An agreement was reached in September 1897 between the Commission and the Porter-led Creek committee, pending ratification by the United States Congress and the Creek Nation. The agreement was accepted in 1898 in Congress by a majority vote, but the resistant Creek did not bring the motion to a vote. Isparhecher characterized the moment as being “one of the most extraordinary crises that have ever confronted our people.” Impatient, Congress passed the Curtis Act later that year, essentially forcing the Creek to accept allotment by unilateral federal decree instead of by consent and compromise. Isparhecher called a general election in response to the Curtis Act and the Creek narrowly voted down allotment as a matter of principle. Avoiding allotment was no longer an option and by late 1898, the Isparhecher administration conceded the fact that some system of allotment would be instituted in Indian Territory. Eventually, Isparhecher selected his own allotment, unable to influence the process with his conservative political stance.⁵²

As allotment became inevitable, the Creek returned a progressive, Pleasant Porter, to the office of Principal Chief in 1900 to act as a intermediary between the Creek and the federal government. Hoping to moderate some of the conditions of the Congressionally-

mandated Curtis Act, in 1901 the Creek cooperated with the Dawes Commission and agreed to an amended version. Unable, or unwilling, to resist the dictates of the Curtis Act, the mixedblood-led Creek government chose to surrender to government negotiators and attempt to negotiate the most advantageous conditions to allotment and the end of the tribal government. Their efforts were unsuccessful at protecting the tribal citizens from excessive land sales and speculation. The more resistant conservative, fullblood population, abandoned by its own government in addition to the federal government, chose a path of passive resistance in order to maintain significant elements of their culture, formed their own “Snake” government which continued to resist allotment and the end of tribal autonomy.⁵³

The Curtis Act (Section 30) abolished all tribal governments effective March 4, 1906. The United States gained its objective of total jurisdiction over all Indian Nations, including the distribution of all tribal money from the Department of the Interior. The Creek Nation was to be allotted and lands were to be held in severalty, with each tribal member receiving 160 acres. Even the division of land in 160-acre tracts was unequitable. If the total Creek land base had been divided in a per capita basis, each enrolled Creek would have received at least 203 acres. Accidentally, the Curtis Act did much to promote tribal unity by reducing traditional factionalism, at least temporarily, as attention was turned to a new common enemy—compulsory allotment.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, Creek resistance was largely futile. Few options were available to those who wished to avoid the effects of allotment. A faction that potentially numbered 5,000 traditional Creek considered selling their allotment “surplus,” emigrating to Mexico

or Paraguay, and reinstituting town-based government on communal property. The restricted allotment “homestead” would have been retained in Oklahoma, “in memory of other days and the traditions that are dead except in the hearts of a few.” While Creek and Cherokee fullbloods discussed the idea of voluntary emigration for over a decade, it was never a viable political option nor supported by a significant number of Creek. As Porter noted, by this time there was “no other course open to us [other than allotment]. This is our last home as a people. There is no other home or country for the Creek people.” Instead of emigrating, the traditional Creek decided to remain in Indian Territory and continue their cultural traditions in the best manner possible in a changing political and social world.⁵⁵

Additionally, Euro-American ideas of fairness and equity revolved around payments for land and the ability to own individual property. Concepts such as Creek tribal town based social unity, communal land-holdings, and *miko*-led governments were not included in the Euro-American worldview. Allotment began in April 1899 with the opening of a land office in Muskogee. The newly elected Principal chief, Pleasant Porter, encouraged tribal participation in the process even as he realized that allotment was taking away “the lifeblood of my people.” The registration, voluntary and involuntary, of allottees was incomplete in 1906, when tribal governments were to be dissolved, due to the resistance of a large segment of the fullblood population. A dramatically reduced Creek government continued to govern, managing land sales and assigning allotments to recalcitrant tribal members. The end of tribal political autonomy was viewed as devastating to the future of the Creek. Principal Chief Pleasant Porter captured the

pessimistic tone of the period when he lamented “my nation is about to disappear.” Tribal rolls were closed on March 4, 1907 by the Five Tribes Act and allotment was complete, even if the implications of its actions were just beginning.⁵⁶

In order to facilitate the alienation of Indian-owned lands, individual allotments were organized into two sections—the “homestead” and the “surplus.” The “homestead” was a 40-acre portion of the 160-acre allotment which carried increased restrictions preventing the sale of the property. Ideally, the allotted Indian would live on his “homestead”, farming the acreage immediately surrounding his or her house, and would quickly sell his or her “surplus” to Anglo settlers. It was hoped that a landscape of mixed Anglo and Indian small farms would result, speeding the process of Indian assimilation and opening large acreages for Anglo settlement. Bluntly stated by the Agent, this form of allotment was designed to “deliver the lands into the hands of the actual farmers” who would be “an inspiration to the Indian” in agricultural practices and cultural behavior. Once put into practice, this form of allotment successfully located Creek and Anglo families in close proximity.⁵⁷

The controversy and protests surrounding the allotment of Creek lands did little to slow the process of claiming land once allotment began. The federal government classified seventy percent of the Creek Nation as tillable. Those tribal citizens—many of them mixedbloods—who had an eye for profit and the economic value of land quickly claimed the most productive agricultural land, areas near proven mineral resources, and property with a superior relative location in the eastern sector of the nation. For example, by 1900 more than 66 percent of the Creek had chosen allotments, and west of Okmulgee the only

significant cluster of allotted lands was around the area of coal deposits near Holdenville and Wetumka. Freedmen who had lived in the area since their emancipation after the Civil War settled the fertile agricultural area around Muskogee. By 1902, few sections were left unclaimed east of Okmulgee, and only the northwest corner of the nation, in particular north of the St. Louis-San Francisco Railroad tracks, had a significant number contiguous blocks of unallotted land due to the survey and classification of the majority of those regions as “rocky prairie land,” hilly and rocky land,” or “mountain land”. Only a segment of the traditional, fullblood population hesitated in selecting tracts or refusing to move to their allotted land, in part due to the stigma and loss of social prestige attached to placing one’s name on the Dawes Roll in order to receive an allotment. The Creek who selected allotments late were left with land classified as average or poor. Often, they did not even receive their own homesite that had already been claimed and allotted by another.⁵⁸

By the time allotment was completed, the Creek had been assigned 2,997,114 acres of the 3,079,095 acres set aside for allotment. The main social effect of allotment was to continue the dispersion of tribal towns and dramatically reshape the landscape into an Anglo mold. In fact, landscape and life were so dramatically altered by allotment that by the 1930s federal officials mistakenly believed that tribal towns had ceased to be significant social and cultural nodes of Creek life and that Creek identity had been firmly merged with that of the newfound State of Oklahoma. Spatial restrictions modified Creek social and religious life, but did not end their traditions.⁵⁹

Landscape and social change

The settlement of Indian Territory by Anglos fundamentally altered the landscape and environment of the region, changing the geography of the area more rapidly than in any previous era. Fundamental landscape change began in the early 1870s, as Creek culture and landscapes began to be undermined by American national popular culture. The process accelerated during the 1880s and 1890s until allotment was complete. In addition to environmental degradation owed to increased farming and settlement, allotment served to reorient the Creek homeland to a new spatial order.

The intensive settlement of Indian Territory by Anglos transformed the Cross Timbers and introduced significant, localized landscape change. Throughout the era, traditional Creek agriculturalists continued to maintain small subsistence farms that minimized environmental disturbances. Anglo settlement and agricultural clearing of the Cross Timbers, coupled with the ongoing expansion of railroad networks, weakened the function of the Cross Timbers as a “natural barrier” and obstacle to transportation and communication as noted by Marcy. Creek such as Pleasant Porter described the environmental transformation of what he labeled the “pristine wilderness” of the Creek Nation to a humanized landscape created by “the energy and industry” of Anglo home-seekers and economic profiteers.⁶⁰

Initial Anglo settlement concentrated in areas of prairie or stream bottomlands before expanding into oak forests that were cleared for agriculture and pasturage. The oak forests of the Cross Timbers were not able to withstand the effects of intensive settlement and farming. In particular, the expansion of areas of cotton accelerated the

erosion of the sandy Cross Timber soils, removing topsoil and creating sizable gullies on marginal lands. The full implications of the environmental costs of Anglo settlement of the Cross Timbers and incorporation of the region into the American economic system would not be realized until the 1920s and 1930s when large-scale out-migration from the region became increasingly common. Then human costs of Anglo settlement of the Cross Timbers and alienation of Indian lands would be more readily apparent.⁶¹

Allotment was governed by the grid-shaped ordering of the township and range land survey system. Many believed that a rational land division would bring social order to the inhabitants of Indian Territory. A grid was to be surveyed so that permanent settlement “will conform to the lines run under said survey, and [the residents of Indian Territory will] take their portions of the land in accordance with the established sections.” The Indian nations would be socially transformed, adopt the dictates of economic progress, and discard any remaining vestiges of their traditional ceremonial and religious beliefs. Allotment and the overthrow of tribal government was viewed by Anglos as “the rosy dawn forerunning a more perfect day, when semibarbaric custom must go down before the advancing flood of a higher civilization.”⁶²

Prior to allotment, Creek land took no geometric shape. Instead, Creek property and farms were a variety of irregular shapes, often conforming to the variations of the natural landscape. Roads angled cross-country and often detoured around agricultural fields and other obstacles. The township and range grid severed traditional diagonal avenues of social exchange as roads, barbed-wire fences, and private property boundaries followed the mile-long boundaries of the sections. The transition to the township and

range system was slow and awkward, in particular for older and uneducated Creek. Many Creek had difficulty in understanding the township and range system and surveyors' markings and chose unintended allotments. Some allottees ignored the one-mile intervals by fencing or tilling over section lines, which triggered a rash of complaints to the Union Agent. Other Creek citizens made official complaints that roads were being moved, ignoring historical transportation routes and rigidly conforming to section lines without the permission of the local residents most affected by the changes. By 1904, plans were advanced to ensure that all section lines in the Creek Nation were opened for public highways. All other nonsection line public roads had to be approved by the Union Agent before they could be constructed. The privately owned square-grid landscape of rural Anglo America was essentially a private one, not conducive to the social maintenance of communities. Now direction of travel and social interaction was dictated by section-line roads.⁶³

Social interaction for the Creek became increasingly difficult. In addition to the issue of mobility, some section lines and allotments divided Creek places, such as tribal towns and ceremonial grounds. In at least one instance, allotment divided the ceremonial ground of a conservative tribal town. The town continued to use the full extent of their former grounds, legally infringing on the private property rights of a non-town member who owned a portion of the ceremonial ground. The place quickly became contested as legal rights were pitted against ceremonial tradition.⁶⁴

In order to compensate for individual allotments and their associated social problems, many Creek traditionals attempted to select contiguous allotments. The

strategy was partially successful as many family and town members were allotted land in the same area, often around their ceremonial ground or church. However, many Creek allotments were dispersed throughout Anglo-owned property, restricting social interaction and increasing potential opportunities for cross-cultural conflict or social ridicule. Tribal towns, which had become increasingly dispersed since removal to Indian Territory, totally lost any resemblance to a clustered form and evolved into a distribution typical of a rural community. It was common for homes of tribal members to be separated by more than a mile. Somewhere in the midst of the dispersed tribal town, land was set aside for a ceremonial ground on the allotment of a town member. Town members wishing to continue their participation in Creek ceremonial life could not transfer their town membership to a closer tribal town, but had to return to the town of his birth. As distance between town members increased, Creek traditional social life changed.⁶⁵

Creek traditionals attempted to adjust to the realities of allotment in the best possible manner, but some difficulty in social adaptation was inherent. Creek individuals were forced to rethink their identity. What qualities determined membership in the Creek community—blood quantum requirements, land ownership, or participation in a ceremonial ground or church community? Were Creek churches sufficiently traditional in their practices and doctrines to be considered “traditional” or were ceremonial grounds the only true outlet for traditional Creek beliefs? Were the progressive Creek integrated in the commercial Indian Territory economy and social life authentic speakers of Creek culture and beliefs?

Some twentieth-century observers claim that the social life of traditional communities “stagnated” after allotment due to the geographical isolation of town members. Although the Creek were able to keep the most compact landholdings of the Five Civilized Tribes, the negative social and ceremonial effects of allotment are visible in the steady decline of active tribal towns with ceremonial grounds during the period. Overall, Creek traditionals who had chosen not to orient themselves toward the American economic and political systems, but center their existence in the Creek ceremonial and social words, were now a people without a nation. The emotional effects were severe and devastating. Some Creek found that their new peripheral location from their ceremonial ground limited or slowly ended their participation in ceremonial activities. As they felt isolated from their relatives and their Creek ceremonial life, reduced participation in Creek ceremonial life became increasingly common. Little could be done, except to reorient themselves away from Anglo-dominated towns and attempt to maintain an active rural community. However, practicing traditional ceremonials, observing busk and the Creek new year, playing stick ball, and participating in tribal town government helped to unify the traditional Creek population and further separated and antagonized them from the Creek progressives.⁶⁶

Creek progressives were better able to cope with rapidly changing political and economic worlds of Indian Territory. Although their political actions may (or may not) have been in the best interests of preserving the tribal land base, sovereignty, and Creek identity, their cooperation with federal authorities indirectly weakened the community life of fullbloods. Cooperation with the American political and economic goals for Indian

Territory stripped the Creek Nation of its land base and political authority and rendered its traditional, fullblood population to a state of economic despair. Only the tenacity of the ceremonial ground and church communities kept elements of traditional Creek culture alive.⁶⁷

The allotment process increased tension between mixedblood and fullblood Creek. The collision of two fundamentally different worldviews was not easily reconciled. Ultimately, the traditional Creek withdrew, leaving political relations to the mixedblood progressives. Creek poet Alex Posey, using a pseudonym when writing a series known as the “Fus Fixico letters,” used the stereotypical vernacular dialect of a fullblood Creek to provide commentary on the relations between mixedbloods, fullbloods, and Anglos and the changing geography of Indian Territory. In a letter written in 1905 by Fus Fixicio, Posey attached the following fictitious, tongue-in-cheek statement to Principal Chief Pleasant Porter about allotment and fullblood sense of place:

So, the full-blood Injin was about to die and go [to] the Happy Hunting Grounds. So he has called you all together to hear his will. He want you to take his sofky [corn] patch and make a big farm out of it, and raise wheat and oats and prunes and things like that instead a flint corn and gourds. He want you to tear down his log hut and build a big white farm house with green window blinds. He want you to take his three hundred pound filly with the pestle tail and raise Kentucky thoroughbreds. He want you to round up his mass-fed rasor-back hogs and raise Berkshires and Poland Chinas. He want you to make bulldogs and lap poodles out a his sofky curs. He want you to [know that he] had no understanding with Oklahoma.

In particular, the traditional Creek felt that their sense of place and community life was being taken from them by an alliance of mixedbloods (led by Pleasant Porter) and Anglos. The tribal town and church oriented Creek attempted to maintain their community ties in

the face of this pressure. Social interaction became increasingly difficult as the Creek were forced on individual allotments, many of which were quickly sold to Anglo interests.⁶⁸

Following allotment the Creek land base quickly eroded, due to a variety of influences that included Anglo speculation, both legitimate and illegal. The number of fraudulent land sales and purchases below fair market value were staggering. Creek land sales to noncitizens and land companies began almost immediately after allotment, with some parties receiving written agreements to purchase Creek deeds as soon as they were issued. The discovery of large oil reserves in 1901 south of Tulsa only heightened the pressure to acquire Indian lands by removing the restrictions on land sales. Methodically, restrictions were lifted on allotted land in 1904, 1906, and 1908, opening hundreds of thousands of Creek-owned acres to sale. In particular, the 1908 lifting of restrictions was especially damaging to the Creek land base. Allottees registered as less than three-fourths Creek could sell their "surplus," and all property including the "homestead" of tribal members less than one-half Creek could be alienated without permission of the Interior Department. At each lifting of restrictions, property was transferred from Creek to Anglo hands quickly, and in large quantities, with the help of the Union Agent. Weekly sealed-bid allotment sales were held at the Union Agency, with hundreds of acres available for purchase by noncitizens each week.⁶⁹

Anglo entrepreneurs and oil wildcatters rapidly created a landscape of commodification, labeled the "visible hand of improvement" by the agent (Figure 6.8). In



Figure 6.8: An Anglo landscape of oil extraction at Glenpool in 1907. Courtesy: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries.

the areas with the greatest potential, rows of oil derricks rose around Creek “homesteads” and oil worker camps. Towns such as Glenpool and Cushing quickly were organized and grew into clusters of two-story brick and stone buildings. The alienation of Creek land—labeled “an orgy of plunder and exploitation probably unparalleled in American history” in retrospect—continued after Oklahoma statehood so that by 1930 only about 10 percent of land in the former Creek Nation remained in Indian ownership. The alienation of fullblood lands was even more rapid. By 1913, one observer estimated that fewer than 10 percent of the Creek fullbloods retained a significant portion of their allotment.⁷⁰

Anglo-created towns, typically oriented around railroad transects, continued to evolve in an American, not Creek style. By Oklahoma statehood, the majority of today’s railroads and towns had been constructed in the Creek Nation, establishing many elements of a current map of the region. As railroad and urban growth continued, Anglo influences reduced the extent of the Creek homeland so that the string of railroad towns in the eastern and northern sectors of the Creek Nation were barely in the sphere of the homeland and were viewed by the Creek as being American places. Traditional Creek social and ceremonial life was so focused upon the rural landscape that cities provided little more than goods and services for traditionals. Typically, only the progressive members of Creek society chose to live an urban life and attempted to integrate themselves into the dominant Anglo urban society and economy. In part, the large number of Anglo urban immigrants reinforced the Anglo identity of the Creek mixedbloods. Individualism replaced community responsibilities, including accountability to a larger group of people, which were inherent in Creek ceremonial life. As progressive Creek

devalued clan and tribal town membership, tribal identity was weakened and few unique values and beliefs separated the progressive, mixedblood Creek from their Anglo neighbors.

Chapter 7

The Creek Homeland Since 1907

Prologue

Today, a place-name map of the Creek Nation bears little resemblance to a similar map from the nineteenth century. A mix of traditional Creek tribal town names, Creek commemorative names, and American-influenced names, often created by twentieth-century railroad officials, fill contemporary maps. Some Creek tribal town names are not included on any map produced by federal or state governments. Like a hidden landscape layer, town locations are not publicly advertised and are known on a limited basis mainly to tribal town members and their extended families.

Yet, this mix of place names signifies the most visible expression of a Creek ethnic spatial organization and cultural continuation in Oklahoma. The geographer George Carney concluded that of all the ethnic groups, American Indians had the greatest influence on place naming in Oklahoma. He surmised that this is particularly true in Eastern Oklahoma, where Indian names comprise about 15 percent of the named populated places and locales in the region. In a post-allotment era of limited Creek landscape expression, and due to the rise of urban and suburban forms and the dispersal of some tribal towns into rural White settlement forms, Creek place names are an important, tangible signifier of an ethnic region. Overall, the continuation of clustered town settlement, common meeting areas, town squares, town officers, and rituals and celebrations have only partially withstood the forces of allotment, modernization, and the ever-homogenizing American popular culture. The traditional Creek population maintains

its worldview through two institutions—ceremonial (stomp) grounds and Indian churches. Through these outlets and other forms, such as the centralized government of the Creek Nation, contemporary Creek are able to identify with other members of their ethnic group and shape a distinctive space.¹

The homeland since Oklahoma statehood

Today, tribal towns continue to exist as active political and social units of the Creek Nation, although town spatial organization and social significance has changed since allotment and Oklahoma statehood. Some towns are active social entities, although they have put out their town fires and no longer have viable ceremonial grounds. The settlement area of town members has greatly expanded. While some, typically older, town members live in close proximity to their stomp ground, a significant number of younger Creek, searching for economic opportunity, have moved to larger urban places such as Tulsa and Oklahoma City on the periphery or outside the nation. However, all town members maintain their traditional right to participate in ceremonies, hold offices, and participate in their town's decision-making in general. Town members living outside of the immediate vicinity of the town do not see distance only as an obstacle, but as a logical way to compete in the larger wage economy while maintaining social and religious connections to their Creek heritage.²

Since statehood, the Seminole and Yuchi tribes have continued to diverge from the Creek. The Seminole are organized into fourteen bands which act as political units, sending two representatives each to the Seminole General Council. Seminole band membership is matrilineal and has lost much of its traditional importance as a marker of

Seminole identity. The Seminole Nation has assumed some functions formerly practiced by the clans or towns. Contemporary identity is maintained through Seminole churches. However, church congregations maintain few historical connections to historical Seminole towns, and have thus lost much of their significance to Seminole traditional beliefs.³

The Yuchi (Euchee) remain members of the Creek Nation and are not a federally recognized tribe. As a whole, the approximately 1,500 Yuchi maintain separate, multi-layered identities from that of the Creek, although the degree varies depending on personal philosophy. This is a direct result of the historical structure of the Creek Confederacy which allowed the Yuchi to maintain a greater degree of autonomy and separation from other members of the Confederacy. A faction of contemporary Yuchi seek federal recognition and complete political separation from the Creek Nation; another group wishes to remain in the Creek Nation but with a greater degree of internal recognition and autonomy. Other citizens wish to maintain status quo in Yuchi-Creek relations.⁴

Today, Yuchi ceremonial life centers around three stomp grounds and two churches in the northwest corner of the Creek Nation. Their social and ceremonial life contains many similarities to the Creek due to their centuries-long membership in the Confederacy. However, the Yuchi have recently accelerated the celebration of their distinctiveness. They initiated the annual "Euchee Heritage Days Festival" in 1997 to complement other reunions and social gatherings that promote group unity.

Besides the well-known Seminole and Yuchi examples, other former members of the Confederacy have increased their autonomy from the Creek Nation since the 1930s and maintain the tradition of voluntary association that characterized the Creek

Confederacy. In particular, the Kialegee (located near Wetumka), the Alabama-Quassarte (located near Henryetta), and the Thlopthlocco (located near Okemah) tribal towns have responded to centrifugal forces by increasing their social or economic self-sufficiency. The Thlopthlocco tribal town has operated almost independently from the Creek Nation and the federal government since the 1930s. The town runs its own smoke shop, bingo operation, and community center in order to maintain economic autonomy and more traditional cultural values (Figure 7.1). The Kialegee, who received federal recognition as a separate tribe in 1942, recently announced that they are considering establishing a reservation and casino in Georgia. Although not all members of the tribe would relocate, the town fire would be returned to Georgia, thus re-centering the Kialegee sense of place.⁵

These changes in the relationship between the Creek Nation, Seminole, Yuchi, and other tribal towns are a direct result of the radical alteration of the Creek political structure after Oklahoma statehood. Between the Curtis Act of 1898 and the Indian Reorganization Act (the Wheeler-Howard Act) of 1934, the President of the United States appointed Creek Principal Chiefs, and a government-appointed chief or business committee determined Creek political affairs. To the federal and state governments, the Creek were not a viable community. Instead, officials manipulated a puppet government from Washington, D.C. The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 returned tribal self-government to the Creek and other Oklahoma Indians, at least superficially, although the Bureau of Indian Affairs appointed tribal executives between 1955 and 1970 due to what they labeled Creek factionalism. The Indian Welfare Act also established federal charters to recognize tribal towns and increase their ability to purchase communal land and secure



Figure 7.1: The community center and smoke shop at Thlothlocco tribal town. (DAH, June 1999)

government loans. The charters failed due to widespread distrust of the federal government, and only the Alabama-Quassarte, Kialegee, and Thlopthlocco towns applied for the recognition. The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act also allowed tribes to purchase and hold land in common—partially reversing the policy of allotment and giving tribes some degree of autonomy.⁶

Generally, the Creek Nation government has been disorganized and only partially effective during statehood. Continued federal government interference has also characterized the era. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has manipulated elections and voter registration procedures in order to place Creek progressives in office. As in the past, the federal government has attempted to consolidate Creek political power within a limited number of leaders in order to control effectively tribal programs and policies and limit potential attempts at political resistance. The post-statehood trend towards political centralization, whether led from outsiders such as the federal government or the mixed-blood population, has been viewed by tribal town members as an intrusive effort to take away Creek land and rights. Many Upper Creek refuse to participate in Creek Nation politics, leaving that realm to the Lower Creek. In particular, census-taking and surveying are viewed as thinly-veiled attempts at political and social coercion, based upon the historical examples of removal and allotment.⁷

Government control of Creek internal affairs after Oklahoma statehood also facilitated the erosion of the tribal land base and increased outsider control of mineral resources. Although the Creek have been able to maintain a more compact land base than have the other Five Civilized Tribes—effectively aiding social interaction, between 1907

and 1970 more than two million acres of allotted Creek land was sold to non-Indian interests. These interests removed more than \$50 billion in petroleum from the Creek Nation. Abject poverty characterized how the Creek lived, and few efforts were made to provide aid, much less inform them of their legal rights or reduce the manipulation of Creek individuals for the gain of outsiders. Creek conditions worsened to the point that even governmental officials lamented the “decreasing influence of the Creeks in the territory which was once theirs” and the “gradual pushing of the Creeks into the background economically, socially, and politically.”⁸

Current tribal government is based upon the Creek Nation Constitution of 1979 that calls for the popular-vote election of an executive branch in the form of a Principal and Second Chief. The Constitution also provides for a legislative branch realized in the Creek National Council and a judicial branch in the form of a Supreme Court and District Court. The National Council is elected from eight districts with one representative per district plus an additional representative for each 1,000 inhabitants. Currently, there are 26 representatives. The current Creek government is structured in a similar way to that of the Nation before the Curtis Act, except that the National Council representatives are no longer chosen from the tribal towns.⁹

The executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Creek Nation have increasingly wielded power and influence over tribal members. Housing programs, assistance to children and the elderly, public works and construction projects, agricultural programs, and economic development programs have increased in importance for a growing segment of Creek tribal members, replacing some traditional, informal assistance

programs of tribal towns. The Muscogee (Creek) Nation since 1970 has become a sizable bureaucracy (with a healthy system of political patronage) and maintains an annual budget of \$82 million employing 375 tribal members. In addition to economic programs, the Nation has also increased its sponsorship of annual social events. The Creek Nation Festival and the Creek Council House Indian Art Market are the largest events asserting Creek Nation identity and, like other large Indian pow-wows and ceremonies, they attempt to enhance local non-Indian acceptance of the Creek as a distinctive ethnic group. A mix of elements of a county fair with traditional Creek culture, both seem to attract a great number of younger Creek and a significant number of Anglo outsiders (Figure 7.2).¹⁰

As a reaction to persistent federal government interference and policy change, tribal towns have maintained a significant, if diminishing, influence. In 1937, Morris Opler determined that 44 Creek towns maintained their identities, and that 20 had a full roster of offices. Total tribal town population was estimated at about 15,000 Creek. In part, the continued significance of tribal towns and the participation of members in activities was revitalized as a reaction to statehood. Traditional customs and beliefs were reinforced by the social assimilationist actions of some mixedbloods and the incorporation of Indian Territory into the United States political and economic structure. Towns continued to be active, organizing land acquisition programs and social service activities to support the needs of their members. Following tradition, fullbloods maintained the basic tenets of their worldview to avoid political and social annihilation. Thus, tribal town structure was not dismantled, but maintained by a significant segment of Creek society. Today, 14 tribal towns (with memberships from several hundred to several thousand members each)



Figure 7.2: Ballground and arbors at the 1999 Creek Nation Festival in Okmulgee.
(DAH, June 1999)

maintain active ceremonial grounds with a spatial form described as “rural core communities” due to their isolated nature, communal sharing of land and resources, maintenance of traditional religious practices, and primary speaking of Creek instead of English.¹¹

Stomp grounds and churches have replaced many of the social roles of the former tribal towns. The change has not been drastic. The leadership positions are similar and the entities act as social nodes. Membership is the basis of group identity. Some grounds and churches carry names of historical towns which further tie these three Creek organizations.

In general, the Creek are divided into numerous cultural groups based on kinship, religious affiliation, tribal affiliation, (native) linguistic ability, incorporation into the Anglo community (which is usually reflected in economic status and employment), educational attainment, political activity, and geographic location. Statistical information gathered about the American Indian population living within the borders of the Creek Nation shows that economic, educational, employment, and linguistic ability differ in rural and urban regions. Urban areas contain higher income levels, greater educational attainment, higher levels of employed persons, and more Creek speaking only English.¹²

Specifically, two present-day Creek social groups can be outlined. Their identities are organized around stomp grounds and churches. Stomp grounds, in particular, were instrumental in maintaining the Creek sense of community after statehood. It is important to note that these social boundaries are somewhat fluid and individuals who identify themselves primarily in one category often participate, in varying degrees, in the other

group. Certainly, further field work to investigate contemporary Creek identity and sense of place is warranted.

Contemporary Creek social groups

For the Creek, as with many other American Indian communities, political units (federally recognized boundaries and associated funding) and cultural units (stomp grounds, community centers, churches) are not synonymous. The federally recognized political unit—the Creek Nation—is not viewed as a point of orientation for most tribal members. In part, this is because Creek national politics have been dominated by progressive mixedbloods who typically have not been members of traditional communities and have sought to undermine the autonomy of tribal towns.

Instead, since statehood Creek sense of community has been maintained through churches and ceremonial grounds functioning independently from each other and the centralized tribal government. Creek churches and ceremonial grounds act as nodes of social interaction throughout the homeland, as many Creek individuals attempt to maintain some from of traditional community relationships while also operating in more mainstream American regional, national, or international economies.

Creek tribal town members remain a viable social unit with town ceremonial grounds (sometimes called stomp grounds) and ceremonies (often called stomp dances) promoting social unity among this segment of the nation. Tribal town members are from extended families composed largely of the fullblood, Creek-speaking population. Although the political and social roles of tribal towns within the nation have diminished, they continue to be recognized by anthropologists as “an association of several historically

linked clan segments functioning as an exogamous ritual and political unit” which regularly provide mutual assistance to town members.¹³

Identity among the remaining 14 Creek tribal towns (three of the 14 stomp grounds are predominantly Yuchi) with active ceremonial grounds revolves around a series of weekend ceremonies, held each year between March and November (Figure 7.3). The stomp grounds are located in rural areas and purposefully surrounded by dense forest so they may be withdrawn from casual observers. They are usually centered on approximately ten acres on the private property of a member of the town (or sometimes leased from non-Creek) and tend to move every five to 10 years. Spatially, the stomp grounds resemble the historic, clustered tribal town form. For example, both entities maintained a central ceremonial ground. Encircling the grounds were private homes in towns and arbors in present-day stomp grounds. Tribal towns and stomp grounds are both surrounded by forest, distinctly separating towns and grounds. Today, vegetation acts as a buffer from nearby roads and buildings in order to increase privacy and separate Creek ceremonial space from the non-Creek world.¹⁴

Each town hosts several stomp dances a year, including a green corn ceremony. Stomp dances provide the best opportunity for members of other towns of the same color (*anhissi*) to interact and promote tribal unity. Even long-distance, out-of-state visitors to stomp dances are common, pulled by the opportunity for fellowship with family and friends. Social interaction is encouraged by the maintenance of camps, family housing and social centers maintained in a ring around the town fire and square ground. Visitors from other towns and tribes are encouraged to attend stomp dances, creating a reciprocal pan-

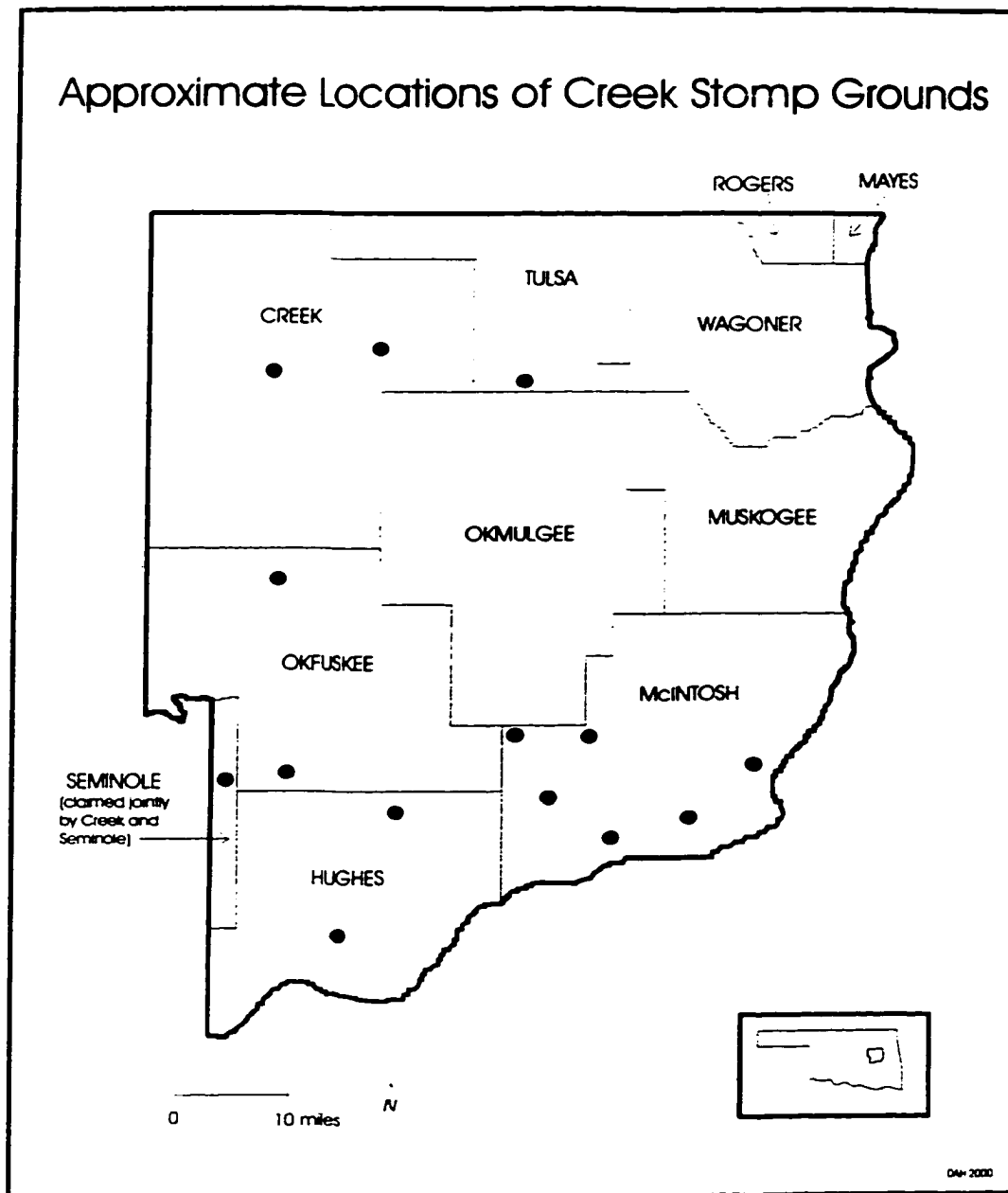


Figure 7.3: Contemporary Creek stomp grounds.

Indian social network of traditionals. Rival color towns (*ankipaya*) do not engage each other socially in this manner, but they do compete against each other in forums such as ball games and bingo competitions.¹⁵

The town fire (*poca*) remains an important signifier of tribal town life and promotes unity among the Creek. The town fire connects especially males to their town in the larger history of the Creek, in particular the removal process in which town fires were carried from their Southeastern hearts in order to maintain the sanctity of the tribal towns. Lighting or extinguishing the ceremonial fire remains a key duty of the male leadership of the town. The fire is called *poca*, or grandfather, and is addressed with respect, like the relationship one would have with a honored elder. Fires that are not respected or left unattended are believed to continue to burn underground, thus becoming dangerous to the town members if they are not “killed” and the medicine buried with the fire removed.¹⁶

Fluency in the Creek language, or Muskogee, is another characteristic of the membership in the stomp ground community and is second only to blood quantum for distinguishing membership in the stomp ground group. One can not participate fully in stomp dances without language proficiency. Full-blood Thomas Yahola notes “at these ceremonial grounds the language is still spoken, everything is in Muskogee. So we’re still functioning. We’re a little proud of keeping up our tradition.” Because language is an essential aspect of the stomp ground community, Creek-speakers view the English-only speaking Creek mixedbloods much as they do a non-Creek—outsiders no matter their political position, social heritage, or economic status.¹⁷

Of the 48,000 enrolled tribal members, it is estimated that as many as 30,000 Creek are members of tribal towns. Approximately 8,000 to 10,000 Creek are bilingual (Creek and English) speakers. Of the total enrollment, fullbloods comprise about 2,000 members. Thus, the stomp ground community comprises an unknown, but relatively small number of Creek based upon language and fullblood status as likely, but not definitive, indicators of participation in the stomp dance community.¹⁸

The stomp ground community continues to house the remaining vestige of traditional Creek beliefs that once included most of the nation participating in tribal town organization, ceremonial life, matrilineal kinship, and matrilocal residence. Participation in the stomp dance community reinforces group distinctiveness, reminds the Creek of the activities and beliefs of their ancestors, and attempts to modify the social behavior of the participants to conform to group standards. Recently, stomp dances have increased in popularity among tribal members who are not active in the stomp ground community. Typically, non-ceremonial stomp dances are held indoor and serve as competitions and fundraisers, particularly in the winter. The homogenization of stomp dances and the removal of the ceremonial context has angered some Creek traditionalists who view these trends as demeaning to their beliefs. In particular, the proposed construction of an indoor Creek Nation stomp dance facility not associated with a tribal town has received much criticism from the traditional Creek community.

Some Creek tribal towns have evolved into rural communities centered on an Indian church. Like schools, churches are elements of the Indian landscape that were introduced by Americans. However, instead of being signifiers of Euro-American culture,

the social interaction at Indian churches reinforces Creek identity due to unique services and opportunities for social interaction. The buildings themselves have become markers of Creek space instead of symbols of the dominant culture.

Some researchers contend that while there may be some overlap, “church people” are usually not participants in the stomp dance community and vice-versa. However, many Creek have an overlapping identity in which they participate in portions of both the stomp dance and the church worlds. The amount of participation varies greatly due to individual beliefs and although some persons make a total break with stomp dancing after their conversion to Christianity, the worldviews of most Creek allow them to take part at least some activities at both the ceremonial grounds and churches. However, there is some evidence that suggests that increasing church membership of stomp ground participants reduces the regularity in which ceremonial activities are preformed.¹⁹

Approximately 60 to 65 traditional Indian churches are active today. Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian denominational affiliations are the most common (Figure 7.4). In particular, the more numerous Baptist churches are rural and more traditional in nature while Methodist churches, more numerous in the north of the homeland away from the core, are more urban and progressive. Indian churches offer regular, unique social interaction for the Creek, with services in the Creek language, the singing of Creek hymns, and regular opportunities for fellowship. This holds true even if the membership rolls are pan-Indian in nature. For example, a community of Yuchi living southeast of Sapulpa formed Pickett Chapel United Methodist Church and services and singing were held in

Approximate Locations of Creek Churches

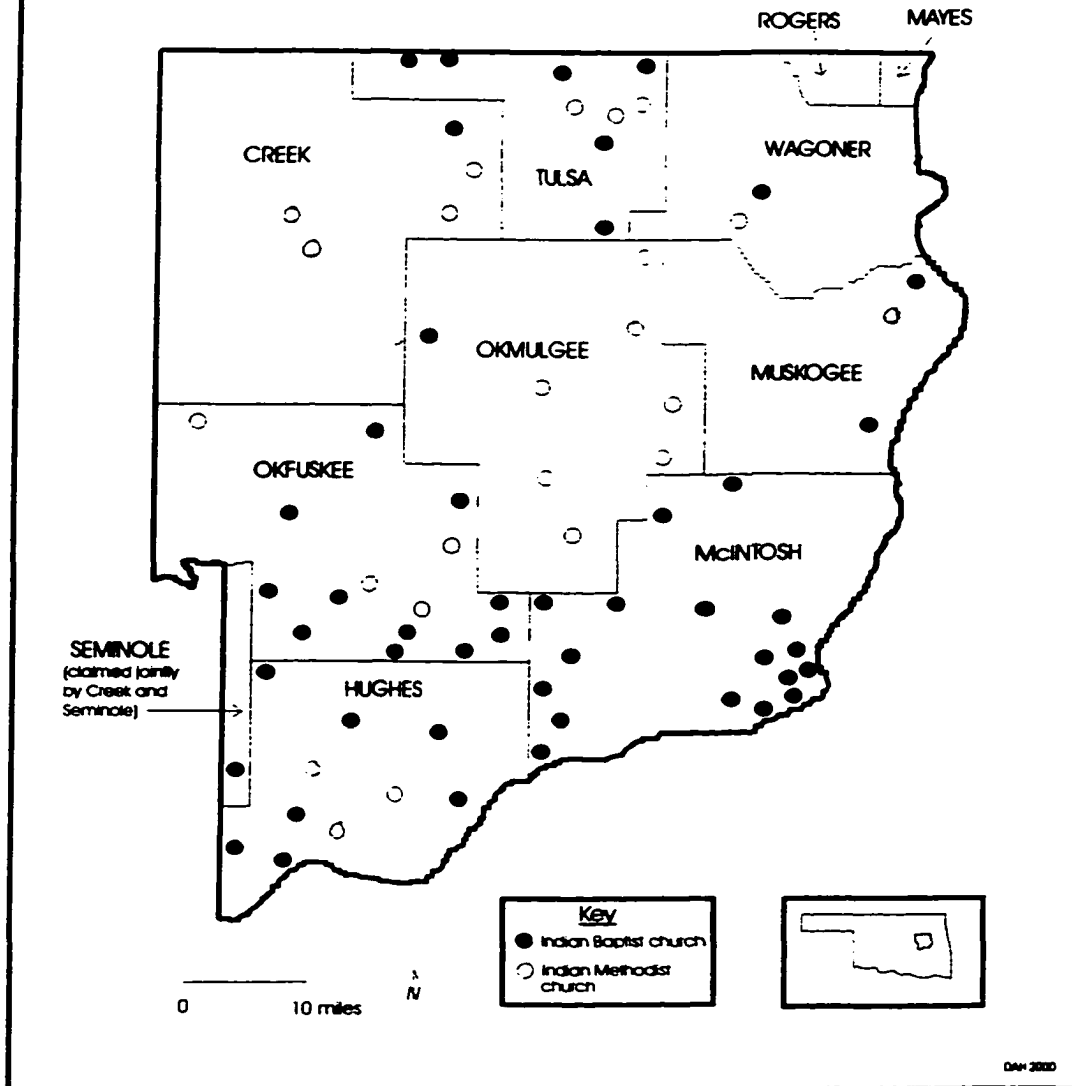


Figure 7.4: Contemporary Creek churches.

Yuchi. Today, Pickett Chapel has a multi-ethnic congregation with Yuchi, Creek, Choctaw, Pawnee, Kiowa, White, and Eskimo/Japanese members. Services are now in English, but hymns are sung in English, Yuchi, Creek, and the tribal languages of other members such as Kiowa.²⁰

Christian camp meetings played key roles in the historical development of churches as social nodes. Also called “Fourth Sunday” meetings, since they were typically held once a month, the weekend gatherings (often held Wednesday through Sunday) brought the host congregation and other surrounding churches together in fellowship. Church families constructed camps (often small wood buildings) in a circle around the church. In layout, the camps were similar to the stomp grounds whose central square had surrounding brush arbors in a circular fashion (Figure 7.5). Although a declining number of churches maintain active camps, the “Fourth Sunday” tradition continues with congregations gathering for a special dinner, service, or program once a month. On the other Sundays, members often visit a nearby church that is hosting a “Fourth Sunday” event.

As tribal rolls have rapidly increased and Creek individuals have been drawn to cities outside of the Creek Nation, the Creek diaspora has grown in number. In one context, this post-World War II migration of Creek out of the homeland has provided a reference point to historical removal from the Southeast, integrating present-day individuals into the larger Creek historical narrative. Many Creek citizens residing in Tulsa, Oklahoma City, or other urban areas lying outside the Creek Nation (including southern California) are tied to the Nation by continued regular participation in their



Figure 7.5: Grave Creek Indian Methodist Church near Hitichita. The church, at the left of the picture, is surrounded by camps used during “Fourth Sunday” meetings. (DAH, September 1999)

stomp ground or church community. They are aided by the flexible nature of Creek tribal town identity that allows townspeople to transport their identity from place to place instead of requiring members to live in close proximity to the town. Other enrolled members seldom participate in Creek social and ceremonial life, sometimes exercising only their voting privileges and maintaining more of a pan-Indian identity. This is in part a response to more flexible blood-quantum requirements that allow people of limited Creek ancestry to become tribal members without becoming active participants in the social and ceremonial life of the Nation. To the Creek, regular participation in a stomp dance or church community, not necessarily degree of blood quantum, signifies meaningful membership in the Creek community.²¹

Creek sense of place and sense of time

Contemporary Creek identity can be characterized as “quiet,” lacking typical American landscape expressions, boisterous public displays, or overt political behavior. In other words, Creek identity is intensely personal and viewed as not being suitable for commodification. However, Creek identity is intimately tied to a deep sense of place anchored in Eastern Oklahoma and complemented by a keen sense of time. Removal from the Southeast and resettlement in Indian Territory, the American Civil War, and allotment and tribal dissolution are seminal reference points.

The vast majority of Creek live in Oklahoma. More than 500 Creek also live in Escambia County, Alabama, in the region known as Poarch and are federally recognized as the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi. The Poarch Creek are descendants of the families of William Weatherford and Lynn (Leonard) McGhee who avoided removal

because they were helpful to the federal government and U.S. Army and remained in Alabama on allotted land. The Poarch Creek quickly acculturated into the dominant surrounding Anglo culture. Tribal towns were disbanded, traditional ceremonies were no longer practiced, the Creek language was no longer spoken, and the Poarch Creek became little more than a dormant and loosely defined ethnic community until the late 1940s.²²

Today, the Poarch Creek maintain some contact with the Oklahoma Creek, although this is a recent development and its full extent has not been assessed. Possible future joint ventures between the Poarch and Oklahoma Creek include relearning ceremonies and stomp dances, reestablishment of a ceremonial ground in Alabama, and resanctifying a town fire in an attempt for the Poarch to reconnect with some elements of the traditional Creek worldview instead of the elements of Plains Indian culture that the Poarch have adopted.²³

Although an emotional connection between the Oklahoma Creek and their former Southeastern site is minimized due to their Oklahoma place-making and amount of time since removal, some tie between the Creek and their former homeland remains. For the Kialegee, a part of the historical Creek Confederacy and the contemporary Nation, an interest in the Southeast remained latent until recently. Since removal, the Kialegee have lived in Hughes County near Wetumka, in the southwestern corner of the Creek Nation. Due in part to depressed economic conditions and decreasing ties to the modern Creek Nation—the Kialegee received federal recognition as a separate tribe in 1942, the Kialegee are investigating the establishment of a reservation and casino in Georgia and the possible return of the town fire to Hancock County, Georgia. If successfully enacted, the Kialegee

would be the first tribe to return to Georgia since dispossession and forced removal, and their gambling enterprise would be the first casino to operate in Georgia. At least a portion of the Kialegee would remain in Oklahoma, using the casino revenues to develop a 110-acre tract for a tribal farm, community center, and burial ground near Wetumka.²⁴

The Oklahoma-centered Creek homeland closely corresponds to the post-removal settlement pattern of the Creek and the final reservation boundaries established in 1866. For governmental purposes, Tribal Jurisdictional Statistical Areas (TJSAs) were established in the 1990 Census. The Census Bureau describes TJSAs as regions “delineated by Federally-recognized tribes in Oklahoma without a reservation, for which the Census Bureau tabulated data.” In order to supplement the historical data, the Census Bureau undertook field work with the Oklahoma nations to assess the area in which certain tribes maintain jurisdiction over their members.²⁵

The Creek TJSA is one spatial definition of the Creek homeland. But within the region, gradations of Creek identity do exist. The southern half and northwestern corner (home to the Yuchi community) of the TJSA contain most of the traditional elements of Creek identity—such as stomp grounds and churches—and constitute the core of the homeland. This area corresponds with the historic area of settlement for the Upper Creek. With the expansion of transportation systems, it is not necessary for traditional Creek to work and live in the same town. For example, one tribal town member lives in Wetumka and commutes to work in Tulsa in order to “live where the people live at. In our area [the Creek Nation], Okmulgee is about half-way. When you go to Okmulgee and go south,

that is where all the tradition and culture is. When you go north, go kind of toward Tulsa, then it kind of diminishes. That is the reason I stayed in my home area.”²⁶

Even though the traditional Creek community is small in number, their concentration in the southern half of the Nation facilitates social interaction. It has been argued that a relatively small zone of ethnic population—perhaps 5 to 10 percent of the total population of the area—increases the ability of an ethnic group actively or passively to maintain and express its viability as members tend to view themselves as a functioning community. The possibility of regular contact between ethnic group members encourages individuals to identify with and express their ethnicity as well as maintain group distinctiveness in the face of homogenizing forces.²⁷

Some government officials tend to view Indian communities as static entities. All change is equated with increasing assimilation and loss of cultural distinctiveness. However, a significant factor in the modern Creek sense of place is the continued ethnogenesis of the nation that has partially offset the end of the region’s isolation and the ongoing Anglicization of the Creek. Like any other ethnic group, the Creek have not been static historical actors, but have adapted themselves and their traditions to the changing political, economic, and social climates.

According to anthropologist Jonathan Hill, ethnogenesis is more than the emergence of a culturally distinct people. It is an ongoing cultural protest against domination by a colonizing group. It is by definition dynamic and rooted in the situational and historical context of a people involved in radical change. Most importantly, groups maintain a “reflexive awareness” of their ability to make cultural and political adaptations

to the larger cultural situations they find themselves in and are able to adjust to a dramatically changing geopolitical situation that may include drastic, seminal changes such as forced removal, ethnocide, genocide, or demographic collapse. Many Creek individuals have consistently made conscious, premeditated, rational choices that have aided the survival of the ethnic group.²⁸

Creek sense of place has been aided by a heightened sense of history that is almost always referenced at social gatherings and ceremonies. Historical events such as Southeastern dispossession and removal to Indian Territory, the chaos of the American Civil War in Indian Territory, the fundamental changes of allotment and statehood, and the increased migration of Creek out of the homeland after World War II serve as reference points that reinforce a common heritage and provide a basis for the hope for a shared future. A unique historical narrative serves to support a distinctive community identity, separating the Creek from their non-Creek neighbors. Thus, in part, the Creek homeland is where Creek identification is nurtured through a heightened sense of place and a sense of time.

Landscape expressions

Creek landscape expressions, like their identity, can be characterized as “quiet” or “subtle.” House types, farm patterns and crops, and other traditional markers of ethnic space are often not used by Native peoples to express their ethnicity in the landscape. Instead, the landscape itself becomes a marker. Creek examples include the old oak tree at the former Locapoka tribal town stomp ground in Tulsa (Figure 7.6) and the noticeable hill rising above plains at High Spring (Council Hill) in Okmulgee County, the first Creek



Figure 7.6: Council Oak Park in Tulsa. The site was the original Locapoka tribal town ceremonial ground after removal. The Creek Nation has recently added a large sign identifying the park. The council oak is the tallest tree at the left-center of the image. (DAH, October 1998)

council ground in Indian Territory (Figure 7.7). Additionally, the Creek have chosen to organize much of their visible cultural elements in subtle ways—a direct response to being a colonized people operating within the values of a dominant Anglo-American popular culture whose landscapes tend to overwhelm older ethnic landscape layers.

Yet one can only assume that some landscape signatures should be visible to the outside observer when traveling through a homeland even if they do not resemble the typical American built landscape characterized by David Lowenthal as “exaggerated, vehement, powerful, [and] unpredictable.” While tribal towns and ceremonial grounds are often hidden aspects of the Creek landscape, visible elements include Creek (Muscogee) Nation structures such as the tribal headquarters complex in Okmulgee, the Creek Travel Plaza, bingo facilities, community centers, and privately- and tribally-owned smoke shops. In addition to their social function, Creek churches also serve as landscape markers.²⁹

The Creek Nation has expanded its influence upon the built environment since the 1970s, increasing the amount of tribally owned buildings and tribally sponsored construction projects. Tribally owned land and facilities are dispersed throughout the eight districts of the Creek Nation. Creek Community centers are located in Tulsa, Bristow, Eufaula, Okemah, Okmulgee, Checotah, and Sapulpa and serve as secular social nodes by hosting dances and pow-wows, craft shows, and other regular celebrations (Figure 7.8). Okmulgee serves as the cultural capital for the nation. The tribal headquarters complex, Creek Nation omniplex and rodeo grounds, and the Creek Nation Travel Plaza are clustered on the northern outskirts of Okmulgee on U.S. 75 (Figure 7.9). The tribal headquarters complex provides all services administered by the Creek Nation



Figure 7.7: Council Hill in Okmulgee County. (DAH, September 1999)



Figure 7.8: Tulsa Creek Indian Community Center. (DAH, December 1999)



Figure 7.9: The Creek Nation Travel Plaza on U. S. 75 in Okmulgee. (DAH, September 1999)

bureaucracy, including financial, human development, community services, and tribal affairs programs (Figure 7.10). Also, the Creek Council House Museum, listed on the National Register of Historic Sites and designated as a National Historic Landmark, sits on the square in downtown Okmulgee and is advertised throughout Oklahoma as a tourist destination (Figure 7.11).³⁰

Tribally owned gambling and gaming facilities are also spread throughout the nation. Six bingo facilities (which also include gaming machines) are owned by the Creek Nation, run by the Office of Public Gaming, and operate in conspicuous locations in Tulsa, Okmulgee, Muskogee, Bristow, Eufaula, and Checotah (Figure 7.12). A significant number of tribal and non-tribal residents frequent the bingo facilities, and informal parking lot surveys typically show a variety of state and tribal license plates. Gaming revenues supplement the tribal income as all gaming profits are required to go to tribal welfare projects according to the Federal Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1989.

Indian churches and private or tribal smoke shops typically indicate clustered Creek settlement. In particular, smoke shops, as retail outlets, occupy visible space, often on major transportation arteries. Tribally run smoke shops tend to be located in close proximity to other tribal lands and profits are used to support tribal programs. Privately owned smoke shops are usually close to established Indian communities. For example, the Duck Creek smoke shop, located south of Glenpool on U. S. 75, is on the margin of an area with a significant number of Yuchi families (Figure 7.13). Indian churches also signify areas of long-settled Creek communities because many churches have maintained relatively static locations since after the Civil War.³¹

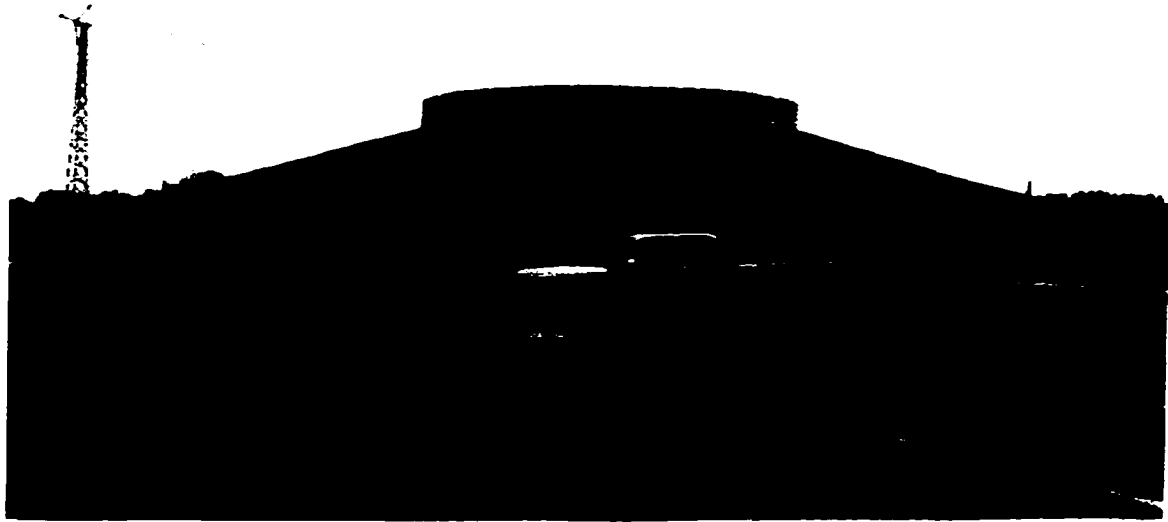


Figure 7.10: The mound building at the Creek Nation tribal headquarters. The building houses the communication department, Council offices, gaming, judicial, and vehicle registration offices. The structure was designed to resemble a Mississippian-culture earthen mound. (DAH, September 1999)



Figure 7.11: The Creek Nation Council House and Museum. (DAH, September 1999)



Figure 7.12: Creek Nation Muscogee Bingo on U. S. 69 south of Muskogee. (DAH, June 1997)



Figure 7.13: Duck Creek Smoke Shop on U. S. 75 in Okmulgee County. (DAH, December 1999)

The most ubiquitous tribal landscape expression is Muscogee (Creek) Nation license plates (Figure 7.14). These mobile signifiers of tribal space and ethnic identification began in 1974 when the Red Lake Chippewa sued successfully for the right to have tribal tags and vehicle registration, circumventing state systems. The Creek vehicle license tag program began in the early 1990s and now registers several thousand automobiles. Only enrolled tribal residents living within the boundaries of the Creek Nation are eligible to purchase tribal license plates. Thus, Creek license plates are found on vehicles whose owners live within the Creek Nation boundaries, with the exception of residents living temporarily outside the Nation due to education or work requirements. License plates effectively mark Creek space and also distinguish tribal members from other residents of the state who are unable to purchase tribal tags.³²

Signs associated with roads and automobiles also contribute to a heightened regional identity. The Creek Turnpike (part of the Oklahoma Turnpike Authority) runs through the southern end of the Tulsa metropolitan area, and outside of the old reservation boundaries, the Hopothle Yahola Historical Trail along U. S. 75 designates the Kansas portion of the removal route of Union Creek during the American Civil War. Moreover, the Oklahoma Historical Society and private organizations have placed approximately a dozen roadside historical markers and monuments throughout the Creek Nation. The markers explain diverse topics from the Creek role in Indian Territory Civil War battles to the Creek Council House and capitol in Okmulgee to the life of Creek poet Alexander Posey. While historical markers are not pivotal aspects of Creek identity, to those unfamiliar with the area they reinforce the fact that the historical narrative of the

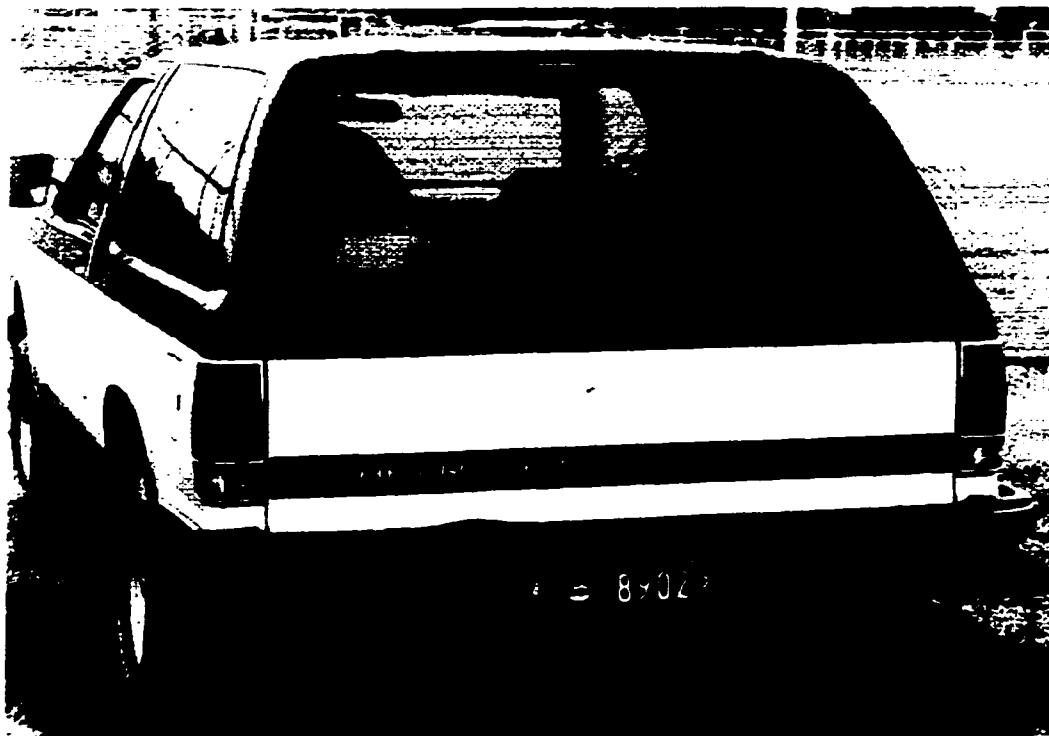


Figure 7.14: Muscogee (Creek) Nation tribal license plate. (DAH, June 1999)

region is ultimately linked to the Creek experience in Indian Territory and Oklahoma. While outsider recognition of Creek ethnic space in Oklahoma does not directly contribute to Creek identity, it does aid in the recognition of a homeland. Externally generated roadside historical markers may seem like trivial landscape elements, but they serve to mark space (or at least the space that a state government agency wishes to recognize) in direct terms that “outsiders” can read and recognize.³³

Although Creek landscape signatures may appear to be limited compared to other robust (and often artificially created) ethnic expressions found in the United States, it is important to remember that ethnic groups such as the Creek may resort to less visible strategies to maintain their cultural life. Ceremonies, church services, and formal and informal social gatherings do more to maintain Creek identity than do visible cultural elements. Creek landscape expressions only supplement non-public cultural behavior that is the key aspect to maintaining a sense of Creek community in Oklahoma.

The future

The future of the Creek homeland is uncertain. While tribal enrollment numbers grow and the Nation increases business operations and associated revenues, the number of Creek holding traditional ceremonial or church-based worldviews is apparently declining. Also, younger tribal members—now comprising a significant segment of the tribe due to high fertility rates—maintain diverse interests and are increasingly involved in the dominant American cultural and economic realms instead of focusing on Creek culture and history. Spatially, the homeland has the potential to become fragmented if Confederacy members such as the Yuchi choose to withdraw fully or partially from the Nation and

focus on developing a separate identity or attempt to re-center their existence in the Southeast United States, as in case of the Kialegee.

To combat cultural erosion, several programs have recently been created to aid in the maintenance of a Creek worldview. In particular, language training has received attention from the Creek and Yuchi, in order to combat the “endangered” status of the Creek and Euchee languages. The Creek Nation opened a \$1.1 million child development center in Okmulgee in July 1998 in order to teach Creek children customs and history, including Creek language training and regular visits by tribal storytellers. The Creek Nation’s “Cultural Preservation Office” is housed in the tribal government complex. It houses more than 1,600 volumes of tribal materials and records and assists tribal and non-tribal researchers with historical inquiries.³⁴

The Yuchi are focusing their efforts to maintain their language—unrelated to Muskogean languages—through a program sponsored by several members of Pickett Chapel United Methodist Church. Two weekly language classes—one for children and the other for adults—were begun in the early 1990s with the intent to increase the number of Yuchi speakers from the current number of eight to 12 fluent speakers. As part of their language training, the children planted a garden behind Pickett Chapel in the summer of 1999, and in addition to learning Yuchi words for crops and farm implements, they discussed tribal methods of agricultural planting and the importance of corn and other crops to the Yuchi worldview. For the Yuchi, language is a method to maintain tribal identity and reinforce historical and contemporary differences between the Yuchi and the remainder of the Creek Confederacy and Nation.³⁵

The future of the Creek homeland will be linked directly to the ability of the Creek to continue to shape and re-create their culture and social traditions in the manner they best see fit. Cultures, identity, and social relations are not static, nor will they be in the future. If the Creek can maintain a community with a sense of a shared past and hope for a common future rooted in Eastern Oklahoma, then the homeland will continue to be viable ethnic space. Certainly increasing the tribal land base and fostering economic growth and jobs within the Nation would act as centripetal forces. If the unifying elements of community and place are discarded, the homeland will likely devolve into an ethnic substrate and the Creek community will struggle to remain as a united people centered in place. If nothing else, the historical record illustrates the ability of the Creek to adapt to an almost constantly changing geopolitical situation that is often removed from their direct control. Community and sense of place remain powerful tools in a people's ability to maintain and shape ethnic space.

Chapter 8

The Homeland Concept Revised

Implications of the Creek study

The Creek constitute an ethnic group that has shaped a distinctive space that serves to reinforce group identity. Federal, territorial, and state government have always perceived the Creek to be integrating into the dominant Anglo-American culture. If the term “homeland” had been a buzzword a century ago, the authorities overseeing Creek-American relations would surely have thought that Creek attachment to their homeland was invariably declining with greater integration into the American social, economic, and cultural milieu.

However, the end of Creek relative isolation in Indian Territory and greater participation in the enveloping Anglo realm for the majority of the Creek did not seem to weaken ties to place significantly. Instead, the Creek became participants in two worlds—dominant Anglo society and their traditional tribal town and Indian church based society. In part, the refusal of government officials to recognize Creek sense of place had much to do with the colonial relationship between the Creek and Americans. Like other colonized people, the Creek eventually reorganized their traditional ceremonies and social meetings so that they were removed from casual observation by outsiders. Creek identity was not weakened by making aspects of their social and ceremonial life more subtle, because it remained flexible and adaptable for those Creek who continued to center their existence in people and place.

Historically, implantation of the Creek in Indian Territory occurred at such a rapid pace that the Creek were forced to decide quickly which ceremonies and traditions to keep, modify, or totally discard. For the most part, the Creek adapted to their new place by continuing basic elements of their culture, such as the social and ceremonial role of tribal towns, but revision of some of their social, economic, and gender roles was necessary to better fit their new site and situation.

Growing Anglo influences in the form of missionaries and federal officials, especially the series of Creek Agents assigned to oversee relations with the tribe, and incorporation of Indian Territory after the early 1870s into the continental economy, diminished the isolation of the Creek. While a growing element of the Creek, comprised largely of (but not limited to) mixedbloods, drew social, economic, and religious inspiration from the surrounding Anglo influences, many Creek maintained a more traditional worldview. Tribal towns and ceremonial grounds continued to be the social and religious core of Creek identity. These traditional forms were complemented by an adaptation that joined Creek and American worlds—Indian churches. These churches and their associated social events allowed the Creek to maintain personal and tribal identity while fusing Christian ideals and values onto their belief system.

Creek identity is centered upon tribal towns and Indian churches. Although allotment and Oklahoma statehood made social interaction more difficult for the Creek, a highly developed Creek sense of place remains. Although Creek identity is based upon subtle forms and landscape expressions, an Eastern Oklahoma homeland exists. The spatial extent of the homeland core has grown increasingly smaller as the periphery, while

diluted, has maintained its historical parameters. While the core has always been centered in the eastern margin of their territory, expansion of American rail and road networks limited the Creek core to several areas in the southeastern quadrant of the historical boundaries of the Creek Nation.

The contemporary Creek homeland consists of several layers of place making and identity. Attachment to place begins with personal identity—a subjective sense of who one is and what one believes. As Walker Connor states, when attempting to understand homelands “it is not ‘facts’ but what people perceive to be ‘facts’ that is of essence.” For various introspective reasons, many Creek have chosen to self-identify primarily as “Creek,” not as “Okies,” Anglos, Americans, or a myriad of other possibilities. This shared, collective identity and memory has affected their subsequent behavior, interests, and loyalties, fostering a distinctive people in a unique space. Creek place-making has been shaped on several levels from the family to the National.¹

At the most intimate level, families maintain local attachment to place revolving around sites of significant personal or family experiences. Examples include family burial grounds, allotments or other family land, areas for the gathering of plants or herbs for personal and ceremonial purposes, and features of the local natural landscape which have become significant places due to the investment of feelings of emotion and attachment. Typically these local places are not written down or expressed to the public and maintain significance only to family members. Storytelling and family oral histories are vital to the maintenance of this level of Creek identity as seemingly ordinary landscape features are invested with meaning and symbolism to Creek individuals.

A tribal town/stomp dance, church, or sub-National identity also exists for the majority of Creek. Spatially larger than attachment at the local level, membership in these social organizations is limited based upon ethnic heritage, clan or town membership, or religious affiliation. This is the strongest level of identity for most Creek as participation in one of these realms, not blood quantum, is what truly allows one to be "Creek." While these institutions bring members of the larger Creek community together they do not reinforce a National identity. Often they serve to distinguish segments of the Creek community from others. Tribal town members are very much aware that they have unique histories and a voluntary association with the larger Creek Nation. Their attachment to place revolves around the stomp ground, in particular the town fire that serves to orient town members with their spiritual world and allows them to invest feelings of attachment and home into the town site. A few sub-national groups, in particular the Yuchi, while belonging to the Creek Nation and maintaining all rights and privileges of that membership, maintain a separate identity resulting from historical differences and a lower degree of assimilation into the historical Creek Confederacy and contemporary Creek Nation. Either through the stomp dance or church community, activities revolving around these cultural institutions are designed to strengthen community connections, including orienting members who are spatially dispersed.

Finally, some tribal members have promoted a national identity. The idea of a "Creek Nation" has grown in use and importance owed to the influence of the United States government since the Civil War. In part, this is a result of Euro-American promotion of the artificial construct of a "Creek" identity instead of individual town

identities. While mixedbloods are more likely to maintain an identity only on the national level, to many Creek, national identification, while being significant for social services and other federal and state government interaction, is not as vital as their town, church, or sub-national identities. A more homogeneous national identity is promoted through several annual, well-advertised celebrations including the Creek Nation Festival and Rodeo held in Okmulgee, the Council Oak Tree Ceremony in Tulsa, and Creek Council House Indian Art Market in Okmulgee. These activities are also the primary arena in which Creek and non-Creek interact in a Native setting, as “tourists” are purposefully not encouraged to attend the more local ceremonies and meetings such as stomp dances, church services, and other social events such as wild onion dinners.

While the multi-layered identities of the Creek are firmly rooted in Oklahoma today, the historical record argues that the Creek have transported their identity from the Southeast without significant loss of place-making capability. Although they were a dispossessed people, the Creek were able to adapt quickly and bond with their Indian Territory reservation comprised of government-imposed, artificial boundaries. Thus, the nature of Creek place-making and identity could be viewed as temporary or spatially ephemeral, revolving around the location of their tribal towns instead of specific, immovable places that have been invested with emotions of attachment and home. As John Moore argues, “the primary ideological focus of the Mvskokes, which still galvanizes their political action, is not the notion of a homeland so much as the concept of Etulva [tribal towns].”²

My research suggests that Moore's statement has much validity. Since removal, the Indian Territory/Oklahoma Creek have expressed little sentimental attachment to their former Alabama or Georgia domain and have maintained only sporadic relations with the Creek who remained in Alabama (now federally-recognized as the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi). Many other American Indian nations who have been dispossessed and/or colonized have held the ideal of their former homeland and immobile sacred sites in utmost importance—often using storytelling to connect people to past landscapes that they have not visited. A few well-known examples include the Sioux (Lakota) who contend that the Black Hills and Wind Cave are the origin of the nation and rightful place of their people and have refused to accept significant monetary compensation for their dispossession and extinguishment of their territorial claim to the region. Devil's Tower in Wyoming holds sacred mythological significance to the Kiowa (as well as other tribes) stemming from Kiowa interaction with the place during their migration from the Northern to Southern Plains. In New Mexico, the Taos Pueblo successfully lobbied for the return of Blue Lake—the symbolic source of their life—to tribal ownership from National Forest jurisdiction so that they could properly re-center their religious and ceremonial life.³

The Creek case study contains several notable differences. The organization and maintenance of tribal towns is significant, as sacred places of the Creek are mobile instead of stationary landscape features. Once the town fire is removed from a site, the place holds no special status for the Creek. Although the mobility of the town fire allows the Creek to invest place-making into their town center instead of the surrounding landscape, this also allows traditional Creek to identify effectively with their stomp grounds, even if

they live some distance from their tribal town. The shifting of town fires is analogous to Puebloan peoples, who have been firmly rooted in the American Southwest for over 800 years, moving their kivas, the center of their religious activity, as a response to colonial assimilationist pressures. In neither case has attachment to place diminished because significant sites were moved.

In general, Creek identity remains adaptive. For example, members of Locapoka tribal town host an annual gathering in Tulsa at the original ceremonial ground south of the Central Business District to celebrate Tulsa as a Creek place with a rich history before 1879, when officials established a United States post office. When significant Creek places are over-run by Anglos or their institutions, the place and its significance can be moved and recognized elsewhere. For example, some ceremonial grounds have moved, especially since allotment. As the tribal land base dwindled after allotment, certain town fires were forced to be extinguished, moved, and a new site reconsecrated at a more stable location on the allotment of another town member.

Other levels of Creek identity are firmly rooted in present-day Oklahoma. The former Indian Territory is filled with unique places of significance to the Creek. Even tribal towns which have moved or merged with other towns have connected with their surrounding landscape, “adopting” the significant sites of other towns, being drawn to historical sites significant to the historical narrative of the Creek, or relying on places significant to the family identity. In different ways, the Creek have expressed their attachment to place—from local to regional scales—owed to the interplay of several levels of identity. I contend that insider recognition of a homeland by its residents, even though

it may not specifically be called “homeland,” is vastly more significant than outsider recognition of the intimacy between a people and place. It appears that the Creek, on varying levels, maintain such a bond with place in Eastern Oklahoma.⁴

Hypothetically, if the Creek were to be removed again, the mobile nature of Creek tribal towns would allow the Creek to adapt to a new place with greater ease than other Native groups. New place making would commence and the connections with Indian Territory/Oklahoma would become less important, just as the Southeast became less significant to the Creek after dispossession. However, this example does not account for the process of ethnogenesis that has occurred since removal. A Creek identity has developed which is rooted in Eastern Oklahoma. Creek oral history emphasizes the inherent difficulties and sacrifices of the removal process and their resulting implantation and continuation in Indian Territory. The successful transition of their culture to Indian Territory is viewed as one of the seminal events in Creek history. While the Creek recognize the place-making of their ancestors in the Southeast, it is present-day Oklahoma that has been shaped by Creek identity and place making and invested with feelings of attachment and home.

The meaning of American homelands

Like the concepts of ethnicity and regions, homelands are subjective human constructs. Many humans bond with their surroundings in some form, creating a sense of home—a connection with a place where one feels comfortable, secure, and centered. I contend that **a homeland is the spatial construct of a tightly-knit and spatially-**

integrated ethnic community that occupies a limited geographic territory, creates a distinctive cultural landscape, and invests that space with an emotional loyalty that includes heightened feelings of attachment, home, even compulsions to defend, and at least partially segregates itself socially or spatially from other communities in order to maintain unique forms of cultural life and history. Geographers have emphasized various aspects of a homeland—Arreola underscores the population dominance of the South Texas Tejanos while Jett emphasizes the interplay of spiritual, mythological, and cultural Navajo landscapes—yet I suggest that the majority of the above elements should be found in all American homelands. Regional and cultural distinctiveness makes each homeland case study unique. However, I contend that these five components constitute a general homeland framework.⁵

(1) *A tightly knit and spatially integrated ethnic community:* A “people,” a mono-ethnic community, is the key component of American homelands. A homeland is comprised of a relatively limited number of people who share a common concept of place. Sense of community is of utmost importance to the homeland concept. Without community, sense of place is too localized amongst a disparate group of people and place-making tends only to occur on the family or town scale—better characterized as a sense of home, not homeland. In general, the subjective nature of homelands—including group identity and the perception of historical facts and myths—provides a more valid assessment of people and place than do quantitative measurements of a certain number of people or a certain length of time in a place. This subjective identity is reinforced by regular social interaction (such as ceremonies, religious activities, and festivals) which is

further enhanced by the clustered nature of settlement of the majority of members of the group. While residents of the homeland differ in personal views, cultural attitudes, and social affiliations, members identify themselves as belonging to a specific, distinct group. Common ethnicity—at least in the United States—aids in the binding of a homeland community as group identity is reinforced through exclusive membership, a shared historical narrative, an ongoing process of ethnogenesis, and hope for a common future. Several geographers have studied self-conscious homelands, but the ambiguous nature of group membership and lack of serious ethnogenesis should bring into question the level of place making that occurs. It seems that self-conscious entities are more representative of cultural regions, or areas where a dominant culture and its associated landscape can be identified, than with homelands. Without a viable, functioning community, homelands cease to exist. American Indian communities seem to be excellent candidates for maintaining homelands because of their “tribal-communal way of life” which centers people in a place, providing a well-defined home and a secure, separate identity from the rest of American society and culture. The use of “Nation” instead of “tribe” by American Indian communities serves to assert the distinctive experience of Native peoples and reminds the American government and larger society of sovereignty issues and treaty commitments.⁶

(2) *Occupies a limited geographic territory*: The size of homelands investigated by authors cited in this study has varied greatly from multi-county regions to large portions of several states. Typically, homeland size will be a function of historical circumstances and contemporary ability to control and influence place and is usually a

contiguous multi-county unit. While the most expansive historical territory may be claimed, failure to exert cultural or political influence over a portion of the group's space limits place-making and bonding capabilities. The periphery of the homeland is an important marker of the group's space and typically is exactly delineated using either sacred sites and/or historically defined boundaries. Fragmentation of homelands typically does not occur but may be possible, especially with dispossessed people who often maintain attachments to their traditional place of residence while developing additional ties to their new landscape. It appears that size is a more flexible and less important component of the homeland framework due to the variety of sizes and the possibility of the fragmentation of previously-studied homelands.

(3) *Creates a distinctive cultural landscape*: Once people are situated in place, they must develop a deep attachment to place and create a unique cultural landscape that is observable to outsiders. Again, the amount and types of landscape alteration varies, in part due to the possible presence of a colonial relationship between the homeland group and dominant power. A period of cultural isolation aids the shaping of space in a manner which suits a group's cultural and ceremonial traditions and also serves to reinforce group identity. The homeland's cultural landscape can be composed of a combination of private sites usually accessible only to group members, group-owned enterprises, and landmarks or shrines which commemorate events central to the historical narrative of the group. Elements of American popular culture and a high degree of colonization and assimilation serve to reduce the visible landscape expressions of a homeland group. However, some

landscape signatures should be present, distinguishing the ethnic space of the homeland from that of the homogenizing, dominant culture.

(4) *Emotional loyalty that includes heightened feelings of attachment, home, and compulsions to defend:* Creation of a cultural landscape involves the investment of emotion, loyalty, and significance into the group's surroundings. Sense of place is another important component of homelands. Meaningful places must be created which reinforce group identity and modify social behavior. Group members typically wish to live in the homeland or visit regularly if they are members of the diaspora since no other place can substitute for the homeland or the unique social and religious life found within the homeland. Simply put, the entirety of the homeland seems like home—a place where group distinctiveness has developed during a period of extended time. Time, however, remains a highly subjective and varied element of homelands. In general, the primordial dimension of homelands is less important in American case studies than it is in the European world. While several generations are potentially necessary to create a cultural landscape and effectively bond with place by developing emotional loyalty and attachment, setting an exact amount of time for the creation of a homeland is unrealistic as the conditions of case studies vary tremendously and affect the speed at which a people bond with place. For instance, extreme conditions such as forced dispossession or military or cultural confrontations with foreign, outside forces seem to speed the homeland creation process, although the homeland can potentially be weakened while opposing these forces. Additionally, overemphasizing the component of time overshadows the fact that cultures are continually evolving and homelands are always in flux as people rethink their

connections to places and their role in the larger homeland society. In addition to participating in the social and ceremonial components of the homeland, the homeland residents should periodically engage in types of reactive territoriality—the defense of the homeland against “foreign” invasions or intrusions through the effective control of the geographic area. The exact nature of territorial strategy can vary, from military campaigns to passive resistance to efforts at cultural maintenance, but underlying any form should be the feeling that the homeland should be “defended” against non-homeland groups and influences in order that a degree of social exclusiveness be maintained. Total political control is unrealistic within the context of American homelands. Although loss of political control by the homeland community is problematic, colonized peoples have other strategies to maintain group identity and maintain some aspects of local control of the homeland and their group identity.⁷

(5) *Partial social or spatial segregation from other communities in order to maintain unique forms of cultural life and history:* A certain degree of isolation is needed to ensure the cultural continuation of the group. Historically, many homelands were located on the margins of frontier settlement by Euro-Americans. Today, total segregation is almost impossible, so isolation may be accomplished through spatial segregation through the maintenance of communities composed almost entirely of members of the homeland group or by social segregation which enables the homeland members to keep their social or ceremonial life at least partially separated from that of the dominant culture. If at least partial social or spatial segregation is not achieved, exclusivity will be lost and the homeland group will eventually assimilate into the dominant

culture, losing their unique beliefs, a sense of common history, and the feeling of exclusive bond between people and place. The decline of isolation and expansion of American homogenizing cultural forces is a primary factor in the loss of regional diversity and decline of the distinctiveness of many American homelands, although other groups have adapted in order to maintain their unique cultural forms while participating in the dominant culture. Homelands may devolve into ethnic substrates which maintain culturally distinctive space, but do not act as a semi-homogeneous region with an active, unified social community.⁸

Initially, the above homeland framework may not appear to be significantly altered from that proposed by Nostrand and Estaville or Conzen. However, the Nostrand and Estaville homeland components of a people, a place, bonding with place, control of place, and time are only broadly interpreted and need to become more precisely defined. Several of their homeland qualities can be considered characteristic of the human condition. Many groups live in a place, bond with it, become involved in political and social processes that shape that place, and are there for a significant amount of time—seemingly meeting the overly inclusive homeland requirements and shaping ethnic space—but clearly they do not comprise a homeland. Those studying homelands have greatly varied their use and emphases on these five elements, further muddling attempts to distinguish common criteria among homelands. What qualities separate homelands from culture regions, ethnic archipelagos, or other types of ethnic space and place making? Conzen offers a comparative assessment of American homelands, stressing the political and historical aspects of homelands instead of ecological adjustments and attachments between a people

and place. It seems to me that American homelands, as areas where people have bonded with place in a most heightened manner, are a combination of historical, political, ecological, and social elements of culture.⁹

To summarize, at their most basic level homelands integrate the concepts of place, community, and ethnicity. American homelands are similar to nations, only residents of American homelands have little or no desire to be part of autonomous political units separate from the United States. Homelands also differ from culture regions in that, if viewed as a continuum, homelands involve a greater degree of place-making and are comprised of a community—ethnic or possibly self-conscious according to some—with a shared past and the desire for a shared future (Figure 8.1). Additionally, homelands are intrinsically humanistic. They vary from place to place and culture to culture based upon regional and community differences. Thus, the definition and guidelines suggested in this chapter, while being important components of homelands in my estimation, are only suggestive and are not meant to be a formula or checklist to be used to assess the comparative “strength,” “weakness,” or “purity” of homelands. Ultimately, homelands will be defined, interpreted, and delineated by their members who best know their individual and collective attachments to place. A homeland framework, however, can only facilitate the interpretation and understanding of member-defined homelands by outsiders.¹⁰

| | Homelands | Culture regions | Place making (ethnic enclaves, islands, etc.) |
|---|---|------------------------|--|
| 1.. A people (ethnic or self-conscious) | X | X | X |
| 2. A place—own territory | X | X | X |
| 3. Significant numbers to control or influence place over a large area | X | X | |
| 4. Emotional loyalty and heightened feelings of sense of place | X (potentially stronger) | X | X |
| 5. Time (to shape place) | X (possibly longer) | X | X |
| 6. Reconfiguring the landscape of a place | X | X | X |
| 7. Development of ethnic markers (homes, churches, monuments, etc.) | X | X | X |
| 8. Desire to stay, remain in place | X | X | X |
| 9. Social or spatial segregation in order to resist assimilation | X (greater separation from the dominant culture) | X | X |
| 10. Doctrine of first effective settlement is a key (original place shaping) | X | X | |
| 11. Community of interest with shared past, common future, and ability for ethnogenesis | X | | |
| 12. Territoriality regularly exhibited on a community-wide scale | X | | |

Figure 8.1: Gradations of place making.

For further research

Just as a people will ultimately write their own history(ies), so will they ultimately delineate, define, and describe their own homeland(s). A need remains for further homeland studies by insiders and outsiders. Only through further humanistic investigation of a variety of American homelands, ethnic substrates, and ethnic islands and archipelagos will the homeland concept be better defined for geographers and lay people. Certainly this study is not a definitive investigation of homelands, only an interpretation of one people centered in one place. Additional book-length homeland case studies are needed to refine the concept of American homelands as people interact with places in vastly different manners, create different cultural landscapes, and express their bonding and attachment to place in a variety of forms. Also, further comparisons and contrasts to “Old World” European homelands would further refine concepts relating to American homelands and their potential differences from European homelands.

Investigations of American Indian communities would also further the homeland concept. The historically nomadic nature of many Indian Nations as well as forced dispossession and removal to artificially-created reservations has prompted some to question whether the formation of homelands by American Indians was (and is) possible. However, from the Creek example it appears that sedentary Indian communities after removal recreated their social and ceremonial life in the manner they saw fit. Some nations almost totally reoriented themselves to their new lands while others maintained heightened ties and attachments to their former territories. Often, forcible attempts at assimilation into American culture were met with strategies that increased attachment to

place and the maintenance of American Indian communities. Because tribes reacted as colonized peoples and removed much of their social and ceremonial life from public view does not imply that potentially heightened attachment to place and ability to shape ethnic space should be dismissed. American government attempts at dispossession and cultural assimilation were not as successful as generations of officials claimed.

Like culture regions, homelands are dynamic, subjective entities open to differing interpretations and continual investigation. Many comparative studies remain to be completed before a group of disparate homeland parts can be gathered into a whole. Only then will the homeland concept be fully dissected and its significance to American historical and cultural geography be completely understood. In an age of homogenizing popular culture, instantaneous electronic communication, and mass-based consumerism, understanding regional identity and ethnic expressions would seem to have even greater significance for geographic investigation. Understanding American homelands—areas of heightened attachment between a people and a place—only furthers the worthy cause of investigating American regional cultures and landscape “signatures.”

Endnotes

Chapter 1

1. The quote is from Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 3. See also Edward Everett Dale, "The Spirit of Oklahoma" in *The WPA Guide to 1930s Oklahoma, Writer's Program of the Works Progress Administration* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 3.
2. The quote is from Arrell Morgan Gibson, "Oklahoma: Land of the Drifter, Deterrents to Sense of Place" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 62,2 (1986), 4. See also Michael Roark, "Searching for the Hearth: Culture Areas of Oklahoma" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 70,4 (1993), 416-431. For other interpretations see Michael Doran, *Origins of Culture Areas in Oklahoma, 1830 to 1900* (Eugene: University of Oregon Ph.D. dissertation (geography), 1974, 3-4; Raymond Gastil, *Cultural Regions of the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), 29, 174, 205; Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States, A Revised Edition* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992), 118-119. For examples of Oklahoma historical geography see Leslie Hewes, "Indian Land in the Cherokee Country of Oklahoma" *Economic Geography*, 18 (1942), 401-412; Leslie Hewes, "The Oklahoma Ozarks as the Land of the Cherokees" *The Geographical Review*, 32 (1942), 269-281; Leslie Hewes, "Cultural Fault Line in the Cherokee Country" *Economic Geography*, 19 (1943), 136-142; Leslie Hewes, "Cherokee Occupance in the Oklahoma Ozarks and Prairie Plains" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 22 (1944), 324-337; Michael F. Doran, "Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 53 (1975), 492-515; Michael F. Doran, "Negro Slaves of the Five Civilized Tribes" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 68 (1975), 335-350; Michael F. Doran, "Antebellum Cattle Herding in the Indian Territory" *The Geographical Review*, 66,1 (1976), 48-58; Leslie Hewes, *Occupying the Cherokee Country of Oklahoma* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Studies, New Series Number 57, 1978); John W. Morris, Charles R. Goins, and Edwin C. McReynolds, eds., *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986 (3rd edition); Leslie Hewes, "Making a Pioneer Landscape in the Oklahoma Territory" *The Geographical Review*, 86,4 (1996), 588-603.
3. Any study of the Creek (Muscogee) Nation is instantly confronted with questions of language use. In historical and contemporary eras, Creek use of the terms as self-identification varied and many Creek use "Creek" and "Muscogee" interchangeably—such as the official national name, the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. This dissertation uses the word "Creek" instead of "Muscogee," "Muskogee," or "Mvskoke" as the Euro-American construct "Creek" (and other constructs such as "mixedbloods,"

“fullbloods,” and “the Five Civilized Tribes”) and outsider interpretations of the Creek Confederacy dictated much of the political and social history of the Creek from European contact to the present day. Additionally, most Mvskoke citizens tend to self-identity as “Creek.” In no way does the use of “Creek” for this project attempt to illegitimatize other possible descriptors of the Mvskoke people or downplay the ethnocentric nature of the term “Creek.” For discussions of word usage and pronunciation see James Vernon Knight, Jr., “The Formation of the Creeks” in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. C. Hudson and C.C. Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 373; John H. Moore, “Mvskoke Personal Names” *Names*, 43,3 (1995), 209.

4. The quotation is from Henrietta Whiteman, “White Buffalo Woman” in *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, ed. Calvin Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 170.
5. For an assessment of the New Western history by geographers see David M. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner, “Many Wests: Discovering a Dynamic Western Regionalism” in *Many Wests: Place, Culture, and Regional Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 1-30. After Wrobel and Steiner’s introduction, the remainder of the text investigates the regional character of the American West on a sub-regional scale. See also Don Mitchell, “Writing the Western: New Western History’s Encounter With Landscape” *Ecumene*, 5,1 (1998), 7-29. In addition to his critique about how the New Western History views regions and places, Mitchell criticizes the static, instead of socially constructed, conception of landscape for many New Western Historians. For an introduction to the rapidly growing literature of the New Western History see Donald Worster, “New West, True West: Interpreting the Region’s History” *Western Historical Quarterly*, 18 (1987), 145; Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987); Richard White, *It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin, *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991); William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, eds., *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America’s Western Past* (New York: Norton, 1992); Jerome Frisk and Forrest G. Robinson, “Introduction” in *The New Western History: The Territory Ahead*, ed. Forrest G. Robinson (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 5-6. Each author varies in their approach to the regional variations of the American West. For a historical interpretation that places a greater emphasis on the sub-regional West see Donald Worster, *An Unsettled Country: Changing Landscapes of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), ix-xii, 1-30. For possible relations between the New Western History and historical geography see Gerry Kearns, “The Virtuous Circle of Facts and Values in the New Western History,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 88,3 (1998), 377-409.

6. For further discussion see D. W. Meinig, "American Wests: Preface to a Geographical Interpretation" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 62 (1972), 159-185; David M. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner, "Discovering a Dynamic Western Regionalism" in *Many Wests: Place, Culture, and Regional Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 1-30; D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Volume 3, Transcontinental America, 1850-1915* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 31-183. For a proposed framework for a significant, evocative regional geography study see C. L. Salter, "The Enduring Nature of Evocative Regional Geography" *The North American Geographer*, 1,1 (1999), 4-22.

7. Michael P. Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos in the United States: Methodological Considerations" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 15.

8. The quotation is from D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Volume 1, Atlantic America, 1492-1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), xv. See also D. W. Meinig, "The Continuous Shaping of America: A Prospectus for Geographers and Historians" *The American Historical Review*, 83,5 (1978), 1202-1203; D. W. Meinig, "The Shaping of America, 1850-1915" *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25,1 (1999), 7-8. For the idea that imperialism necessitates the study of changing geographies as one people encroach upon the territory of another, see D. W. Meinig, "Geographical Analysis of Imperial Expansion" in *Period and Place: Research Methods in Historical Geography*, ed. Alan R. H. Baker and Mark Billinge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 71-78.

9. Excerpted selections from the Indian-Pioneer History Papers can be found in Theda Perdue, *Nations Remembered: An Oral History of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles in Oklahoma, 1865-1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993). See page xix for an analysis of the collection. The annual reports typically emphasize progress towards assimilation, tribal unity, and the success of government programs and vary greatly in quality with the particular agent. Government reports, while useful sources, must be read with a healthy degree of caution and skepticism. For relevant issues regarding the historical representation of primary and secondary sources see David Wishart, "The Selectivity of Historical Representation" *Journal of Historical Geography*, 23,2 (1997), 111-118.

10. A notable exception is David J. Wishart, *An Unspeakable Sadness: The Dispossession of the Nebraska Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994). See also Brad A. Bays, *A Historical Geography of Town Building in the Cherokee Nation, 1866-1907* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Ph.D. dissertation

(geography), 1996) and the published version Brad A. Bays, *Townsite Settlement and Dispossession in the Cherokee Nation, 1866-1907* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997).

Chapter 2

1. The quote is from Barry Lopez, *The Rediscovery of North America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 39.
2. Yi-Fu Tuan, "A View of Geography" *Geographical Review*, 81 (1991), 99.
3. For examples, see Edward Abbey, *Desert Solitaire: A Season in the Wilderness* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968); Wallace Stegner, *Wolf Willow: A History, a Story, and a Memory of the Last Plains Frontier* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990, reprint); Barry Lopez, "The American Geographies" in *Finding Home: Writing on Nature and Culture From Orion Magazine*, ed. P. Sauer (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 118.
4. The quotations are from Wes Jackson, "Matfield Green" in *Rooted in the Land: Essays on Community and Place*, ed. W. Vitek and W. Jackson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 101; Deborah Tall, "Dwelling: Making Peace With Space and Place" in *Rooted in the Land: Essays on Community and Place*, ed. W. Vitek and W. Jackson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 112.
5. Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981-1991* (London: Granta Books, 1991), 10; Helen Tiffin, "Post-colonial Literatures and Counter-discourse" in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin (London: Routledge, 1995), 95; Dennis Lee, "Writing in Colonial Space" in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin (London: Routledge, 1995), 399-400.
6. The quotes are from E. Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion Limited, 1976), 33; Yi-Fu Tuan, "In Place, Out of Place" *Geoscience & Man*, 24 (1984), 3. See also J. Nicholas Entrikin, *The Betweenness of Place: Towards a Geography of Modernity* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991) for an assessment of insider and outsider perspectives and their significance for geographical studies.
7. The quotation is from Richard L. Nostrand and Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr., "Introduction: The Homeland Concept" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 1. See also D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964" *Annals of the Association of*

American Geographers, 55 (1965), 191-220; Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1973); Michael P. Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos in the United States: Methodological Considerations" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 13-29.

8. Ellen Churchill Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment* (New York: Henry Holt, 1911), 155-157.
9. The quote is from Nevin M. Fenneman, "The Circumference of Geography" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 9 (1918), 7.
10. Harlan H. Barrows, "Geography as Human Ecology" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 13 (1923), 3.
11. The quote is from Carl O. Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape" *University of California Publications in Geography*, 2 (1925), 53. See also Peter Haggett, *The Geographer's Art* (Cambridge, MS: Blackwell, 1990), 10.
12. Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos," 15.
13. Gary S. Dunbar, ed., *The History of Geography: Translations of Some French and German Essays* (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1983, 67-68; Geoffrey J. Martin and Preston E. James, *All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc, 1993), 170-171, 176-179.
14. Anne Buttimer, *Society and Milieu in the French Geographic Tradition* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971), 33-34; Martin and James, *All Possible Worlds*, 170-171.
15. Buttimer, *Society and Milieu*, 76; Martin and James, *All Possible Worlds*, 192-193.
16. Vidal de la Blache, *Principles of Human Geography* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1926), 49-63; Max Sorre, "The Concept of Genre de Vie" in *Readings in Cultural Geography*, ed. P. Wagner and M. Mikesell (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), 399-415; Buttimer, *Society and Milieu*, 53.
17. Thomas D. Boswell, "The Cuban-American Homeland in Miami" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 135-136.

18. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Man and Nature* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1971), 32; Simon Schama, "Homelands" *Social Research*, 58 (1991), 11, 13.
19. The quotation is from Robert J. Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 4. See David B. Knight, "Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 72,4 (1982), 526; Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 163; Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism*, 4-6; Boswell, "The Cuban-American Homeland," 136.
20. Robert Kaiser, "Nationalism: The Challenge to Soviet Federalism" in *The Soviet Union: A New Regional Geography?*, ed. M. Bradshaw (London: Belhaven, 1991), 46.
21. The quote is from Colin Williams and Anthony Smith, "The National Construction of Social Space" *Progress in Human Geography*, 7 (1983), 509. See Walker Connor, "The Impacts of Homelands Upon Diasporas" in *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*, ed. G. Sheffer (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 16.
22. The quote is from Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism*, 10. See also Eugen Weber, *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 145-147; Connor, "The Impacts of Homelands," 18; Smith, *The Ethnic Origin of Nations*, 148; Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 15-16; Wilbur Zelinsky, "What Do We Mean By 'Ethnicity'? Toward a Definition and Typology" *Geographica Slovenica*, 24 (1993), 117.
23. The quote is from Robert D. Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 19. Also, see Robert D. Sack, "Human Territoriality: A Theory" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 73 (1983), 56.
24. The quotes are from Steven Grosby, "Religion and Nationality in Antiquity: The Worship of Yahwh and Ancient Israel" *European Journal of Sociology*, 32 (1991), 240; Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), xiii; John Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 5. See Edward Soja, *The Political Organization of Space* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1971), 19, 34; Myron Weiner, *Sons of*

the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 269.

25. The quote is from Cornelia Navari, "The Origins of the Nation-State" in *The Nation-State: The Formation of Modern Politics*, ed. L. Tivey (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1981), 13.
26. Nostrand and Estaville, "Introduction," 4.
27. The quotes are from Tuan, "A View of Geography," 99; Tuan, *Man and Nature*, 31. See also Yi-Fu Tuan, "A Sense of Place" in *Two Essays on a Sense of Place* (Madison: The Wisconsin Humanities Committee, 1989), 1.
28. Yi-Fu Tuan, "Sacred Space: Explorations of an Idea" in *Dimensions of Human Geography: Essays on Some Familiar and Neglected Themes*, ed. K. W. Butzer (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1978), 91-92; David E. Sopher, "The Landscape of Home: Myth, Experience, Social Meaning" in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. D. W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 136; Tuan, "A View of Geography," 102; Yi-Fu Tuan, "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective" in *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology*, ed. J. Agnew, D. Livingstone, A. Rogers (New York: Blackwell, 1996), 449-450, 452.
29. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1974), 99-100.
30. Yi-Fu Tuan, "Geopieté: A Theme in Man's Attachment to Nature and Place" in *Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Honor of John Kirtland Wright*, ed. D. Lowenthal and M. Bowden (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 11-40; Haggett, "The Geographer's Art," 90-91.
31. The quote is from Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos," 15. See also Clark Wissler, "The Culture-Area Concept in Social Anthropology" *The American Journal of Sociology*, 32,6 (1927), 881-891; Terry G. Jordan, "The Concept and Method" in *Regional Studies: The Interplay of Land and People*, ed. G. Lich (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992), 8-11.
32. The quote is from Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," 191. See also Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," 213.
33. The quote is from Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos," 16. For culture region works that pre- and post-date Meinig see William J. Tudor,

"Southern Illinois—A Cultural Area" *Illinois Academy of Science Transactions*, 42 (1949), 140-144; Joseph Brownell, "The Cultural Midwest" *The Journal of Geography*, 59 (1960), 81-85; Gary S. Dunbar, "The Popular Regions of Virginia" *University of Virginia Newsletter*, 38 (1961), 9-12; E. Joan Wilson Miller, "The Ozark Culture Region as Revealed by Traditional Materials" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 58 (1968), 51-77; Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispanic-American Borderland: Delimitation of an American Culture Region" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 60 (1970), 638-661; Raymond D. Gastil, "The Pacific Northwest as a Cultural Region" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 64 (1973), 147-156; Robert D. Mitchell, "Content and Context: Tidewater Characteristics in the Early Shenandoah Valley" *Maryland Historian*, 5 (1974), 79-92; Michael O. Roark, *American Indians in Oklahoma: Population Distributions and Culture Areas, 1830-1970* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Master's thesis (geography), 1975); Richard H. Jackson, "Religion and Landscape in the Mormon Cultural Region" in *Dimensions of Human Geography: Essays On Some Familiar and Neglected Themes*, ed. K. Butzer (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1978); James R. Shortridge, "Vernacular Regions in Kansas" *American Studies*, 21 (1980), 73-94; Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr., *The Louisiana French Culture Region: Geographic Morphologies in the Nineteenth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Ph.D. dissertation (geography), 1984); John C. Hudson, "The Middle West as a Cultural Hybrid" *Pioneer America Society Transactions*, 7 (1984), 35-45; James R. Shortridge, "The Vernacular Middle West" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 75 (1985), 48-57; R. Todd Zdordkowski and George O. Carney, "This Land Is My Land: Oklahoma's Changing Vernacular Regions" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 5 (1985), 97-106; Peter O. Wacker, "The Dutch Culture Area in the Northeast, 1609-1800" *New Jersey History*, 104,1 (1986): 1-21; Richard R. Pillsbury, "The Pennsylvania Culture Area: A Reappraisal" *North American Culture*, 3 (1987), 37-54; James R. Shortridge, "The Heart of the Prairie: Culture Areas in the Central and Northern Great Plains" *Great Plains Quarterly*, 8 (1988), 206-221.

34. See Nostrand, "The Hispanic-American Borderland," 638-661; Gastil, "The Pacific Northwest as a Cultural Region," 147-156; Jackson, "Religion and Landscape in the Mormon Cultural Region," 100-127; D. W. Meinig, *The Great Columbia Plain: A Historical Geography, 1805-1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995 (2nd edition), xx.
35. The quote is from Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos," 16. See also Terry G. Jordan, "Perceptual Regions in Texas" *The Geographical Review*, 68,3 (1978), 293-307; Shortridge, "Vernacular Regions in Kansas," 73-94; Wilbur Zelinsky, "North America's Vernacular Regions" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70 (1980), 1-16; Shortridge, "The Heart of the Prairie," 216-217.

36. Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos," 14-15, 18.
37. The quote is from Richard L. Nostrand and Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr., "Free Land, Dry Land, Homeland" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Forthcoming), 9. See also Nostrand and Estaville, "Introduction," 4; Nostrand and Estaville, "Free Land, Dry Land, Homeland," 12.
38. Harlan H. Barrows, "Geography as Human Ecology" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 13 (1923), 3; David Lowenthal, "George Perkins Marsh and the American Geographical Tradition" *Geographical Review* 43 (1953), 213; William D. Pattison, "The Four Traditions of Geography" *Journal of Geography* 63 (1964), 211-216.
39. The quote is from Carlson, *The Rio Arriba*, 22. See Alvar W. Carlson, *The Rio Arriba: A Geographic Appraisal of the Spanish-American Homeland (Upper Rio Grande Valley, New Mexico)* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Ph.D. dissertation (geography), 1971). A variant of Carlson's dissertation was published in 1990. See Alvar W. Carlson, *The Spanish-American Homeland: Four Centuries in New Mexico's Rio Arriba* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990). Studies of homelands, and debates upon the nature of homelands, are products of the 1990s. Examples include Connor, "The Impacts of Homelands Upon Diasporas"; Carlson, *The Spanish American Homeland*; Richard L. Nostrand, *The Hispano Homeland* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992); Daniel D. Arreola, "The Texas-Mexican Homeland" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 61-74; Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos"; Steven D. Hoelscher and Robert C. Ostergren, "Old European Homelands in the American Middle West" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 87-106; Terry G. Jordan, "The Anglo-Texan Homeland" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 75-86; Nostrand and Estaville, "Introduction," 1-4; Michael O. Roark, "Homelands: A Conceptual Essay" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 5-11; Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism*; Steven M. Schnell, *The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Master's thesis (geography), 1994); Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, "The Anglo-Texan Homeland" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Forthcoming); Nostrand and Estaville, "Free Land, Dry Land, Homeland."
40. Nostrand, *The Hispano Homeland*, 214.
41. See *The Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993); *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Forthcoming). The estimated publication date is late winter 2001.

42. Nostrand and Estaville, "Introduction," 1-2; Jordan, "The Anglo-Texan Homeland," 75; Ary J. Lamme III and Douglas B. McDonald, "The 'North Country' Amish Homeland," *The Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 107-118; Schnell, *The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma*; Schnell, "The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma."; Nostrand and Estaville, "Free Land, Dry Land, Homeland," 7-8.
43. Nostrand and Estaville, "Introduction," 2; Hoelscher and Ostergren, "Old European Homelands," 87-106; Ira M. Sheskin, "Jewish Metropolitan Homelands" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 119-132.
44. The quote is from Nostrand and Estaville, "Free Land, Dry Land, Homeland," 7. See also Nostrand, *The Hispano Homeland*, 217-220; Jordan, "The Anglo-Texan Homeland," 75-79; Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr., "The Louisiana-French Homeland" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 32; Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos," 21; Michael Conzen, "The German-Speaking Ethnic Archipelago in America" in *Ethnic Persistence and Change in Europe and America: Traces in Landscape and Society*, ed. K. Frantz and R. Sauder (Innsbruck, Austria: University of Innsbruck, 1996), 70.
45. Thomas D. Boswell, "The Cuban-American Homeland in Miami" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13 (1993), 133-148; Arreola, "The Texas-Mexican Homeland, 61-74.
46. Boswell, "The Cuban-American Homeland," 133-148; Roark, "Homelands," 6; Sheskin, "Jewish Metropolitan Homelands," 119-132.
47. The quotes are from Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos," 15; Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos," 18.
48. See Nostrand, *The Hispano Homeland*; Arreola, "The Texas-Mexican Homeland," 61-74; Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos," 21, 24-25; Estaville, "The Louisiana-French Homeland," 31-45; Lamme and McDonald, "The 'North Country' Amish Homeland," 107-118; Nostrand, "The New Mexico-Centered Homeland," 47-60; Roark, "Homelands," 5-6; Schnell, *The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma*; Lowell C. Bennion, "The Deseret Homeland of Mormondom" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Forthcoming); Martyn J. Bowden, "The New England Yankee Homeland" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Forthcoming); Stephen C. Jett, "The Navajo Homeland" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Forthcoming); Jordan-Bychkov, "The Anglo-Texan Homeland" [Forthcoming]; Michael O. Roark,

- "Upper Southern Ethnic and Ancestral Homeland" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Forthcoming); Schnell, "The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma." A notable exception to the belief that ethnic homelands are more legitimate is Terry Jordan. See Jordan, "The Anglo-Texan Homeland" [1993], 75-86.
49. The quote is from Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos," 24.
 50. Schnell, *The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma*; Schnell, "The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma"; Jett, "The Navajo Homeland."
 51. See Richard L. Nostrand, "Greater New Mexico's Hispano Island" *Focus*, 43,4 (1992), 13-19.
 52. Conzen. "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos," 13-29; Conzen, "The German-Speaking Ethnic Archipelago in America," 69-75; Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, "The Creole Coast: Homeland to Substrate" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville, forthcoming. For an early study of rural, agriculturally-based ethnic islands see Walter M. Kollmorgen, "A Reconnaissance of Some Cultural-Agricultural Islands in the South" *Economic Geography*, 17,4 (1941), 409-430. For a contemporary ethnic archipelago see Kevin E. McHugh, Innes M. Miyares, and Emily H. Skop, "The Magnetism of Miami: Segmented Paths in Cuban Migration" *The Geographical Review*, 87, 4 (1997), 504-519.
 53. The quotes are from Carl O. Sauer, "Homestead and Community on the Middle Border" in *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, ed. J. Leighly (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 41; Tuan, "A Sense of Place," 1.

Chapter 3

1. The historical periods are after Gerald M. Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories: Race, Ethnicity, and Indian Identity in the Southern United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
2. See Albert S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians* (Philadelphia: Daniel G. Brinton, 1884), 59-61; John R. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy" *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 42 (1928), 33-75, 259-267; Benjamin Hawkins, "A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799" in *The Creek Country* (Americus,

GA: Americus Book Company, 1938), 19; David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 4; Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund, eds., *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 139-141. In an apparent misleading myth, Pickett relates an oral history given to trader Le Clerc Milfort that stated that the Creeks were living in northwestern Mexico when Hernando Cortez arrived in Mexico in 1519. After allying with Montezuma and suffering military defeat to Cortez, the Creeks migrated to the source of the Red River before arriving in the Southeast after traveling along the Missouri River. See Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi, From the Earliest Period* (Charleston: Walker and James, 1851), 78-81. Creek towns were distinguished from villages by the existence of a public ceremonial ground. For a discussion of Creek towns and villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see Albert S. Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy in the XVIII and XIX Centuries" in *A Creek Source Book*, ed. W.C. Sturtevant (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), 386-415. Pre-removal Southeastern town and village estimates for the Creek Confederacy range from 40 to 90 settlements. The 1832 Creek Census enumerated 52 towns. In addition to Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 27-28, 37, see Morris Edward Opler, "The Creek 'Town' and the Problem of Creek Indian Political Reorganization" in *Human Problems in Technological Change: A Casebook*, ed. E.H. Spicer (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952), 170; James Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, ed. J.J. Kwait (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1968 (reprint), 274; James N. Crawford, "The Southeastern Languages" in *Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages*, ed. J.N. Crawford (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975), 37; Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 4; Peter H. Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790" in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, P.H. Wood, G.A. Waselkov, and M.T. Hatley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 60; James Vernon Knight, "The Formation of the Creeks" in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. C. Hudson and C.C. Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 373-374. For an assessment of the impact of European-induced disease in the Southeast see Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South," 35-103; Marvin T. Smith, "Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast" in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. C. Hudson and C.C. Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 257-276. For an overview of the interaction between European and North American biological and social forces see Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1972); Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). The Southeast is a loosely defined

region which includes the present-day states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

3. Muriel Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 128.
4. Hawkins, *A Sketch of the Creek Country*, 19-20; E.L. Braun, *Deciduous Forests of Eastern North America* (New York: MacMillan, 1950), 259-279; Timothy Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 21-25.
5. The quotes are from Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*, 90; Hawkins, *A Sketch of the Creek Country*, 22.
6. The quote is from Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, 274. See also Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside*, 59-64. For a comparison of Indian impacts and disturbances upon Northeastern United States forests see Gordon M. Day, "The Indian as an Ecological Factor in the Northeastern Forest" *Ecology*, 34,2 (1953), 329-346.
7. John F. Scarry, "The Late Prehistorical Southeast" in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. C. Hudson and C.C. Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 17. Widmer divides chiefdoms of the Southeast into simple, intermediate and complex based on their level of political and social sophistication. Complex chiefdoms were known for their geographic expansion by incorporating smaller, neighboring chiefdoms and smaller groupings of people. See Randolph J. Widmer, "The Structure of Southeastern Chiefdoms" in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. C. Hudson and C.C. Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 125-155. Galloway makes similar divisions. She distinguishes between segmentary tribes, simple, and complex chiefdoms. See Patricia Galloway, "Confederacy as a Solution to Chiefdom Dissolution: Historical Evidence in the Choctaw Case. In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. C. Hudson and C.C. Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 393-420.
8. Scarry, "The Late Prehistorical Southeast," 21. Earlier historic time is broken into the Paleoindian, Archaic and Woodland periods. For a more detailed description see Scarry, "The Late Prehistorical Southeast," 17-21.
9. Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, 215.
10. Widmer, "The Structure of Southeastern Chiefdoms," 131.

11. The quotation is from Kathryn E.H. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade With Anglo America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 240. See also Fred Eggan, "The Choctaw and Their Neighbors in the Southeast: Acculturation Under Pressure" in *The American Indian* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966), 23-24; Kathryn E.H. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade With Anglo America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 11-14; Widmer, "The Structure of Southeastern Chiefdoms," 128, 130, 133.
12. Smith, "Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast," 257.
13. Smith, "Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast," 260-264. Using Dobyns 20:1 hypothesis, the pre-contact Creek Confederacy could have numbered around 180,000. This estimate is tenuous at best, resulting from the lack of a reliable population base line and dynamic nature of the Confederacy as Native peoples continually joined or removed themselves from the alliance. See Henry F. Dobyns, "Estimating Aboriginal American Population: An Appraisal of Techniques With a New Hemispheric Estimate" *Current Anthropology*, 7 (1966), 414; Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Became Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 24-26.
14. The quote is from Knight, "The Formation of the Creeks," 373. A.L. Kroeber, "Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America" *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 38 (1939), 62; Knight, "The Formation of the Creeks," 385. A parallel trend was occurring as the small social groups known as hill tribes joined together to form larger, yet relatively egalitarian hamlets. For an interpretation of pre-and post-contact social organization see Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*. Other scholars argue that consolidation of Southeastern native peoples was a process already occurring before European contact with the formation of chiefdoms. For a differing interpretation of Southeastern political trends before and after contact see Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976).
15. Smith states that the displacement of native peoples was only one of three responses to depopulation. Displacement, dispersion, and stability resulted, with displacement being the most common reaction. See Smith, "Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast," 264.
16. See Smith, "Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast," 272. The idea that a Creek Confederacy existed in the Southeast prior to European contact was promoted by Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages," 257; Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians* (Norman: University of

Oklahoma Press, 1941), 4; Corkran, *The Creek Frontier*, 42. During this historical epoch, Knight speaks of the Creek not as a confederacy, but in terms of core and periphery. The core consisted of larger towns, most who spoke the Muskogean language. The periphery developed from daughter towns that calved from core towns, plus adopted refugee groups. See Knight, "The Formation of the Creeks," 373-374. For a parallel history see Galloway for her interpretation of the Choctaw as a heterarchial multiethnic confederacy of autonomous towns in the eighteenth century, allied to resist European pressures and divide and conquer policies. See Galloway, "Confederacy as a Solution to Chieftdom Dissolution," 393-420; Patricia Galloway, "So Many Republics: British Negotiations With the Choctaw Confederacy" *Ethnohistory*, 41 (1994), 513-538. Sider argues that "ethnic groups often originate in relatively brief periods of cataclysmic population dislocation or conquest," a characteristic of this era. See Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, xvi.

17. John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (New York: Greenwood Press (reprint), 1969), 153; James N. Crawford, "The Southeastern Languages" in *Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages*, ed. J.N. Crawford (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975), 37.

18. Hawkins, *A Sketch of the Creek Country*, 23-24; Darrell A. Posey, "Entomological Consideration in Southeastern Aboriginal Demography" *Ethnohistory* 23,2 (1976), 147; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy, 386; Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South," 56. Hawkins notes the migration of the residents of Ockfuskee to several smaller villages. The old townsite became an uncultivated field. Although the town move was a traditional aspect of Creek life, this specific migration was promoted by Hawkins in order to promote his programs of private property ownership and individual farming. See Hawkins, *A Sketch of the Creek Country*, 43-44. At least three Creek tribal towns noted by DeSoto in 1540 are still active today. Chiaha, Koasati, and Tulsa are among the oldest political structures in North America. See John Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma" *Science and Society*, 52 (1988), 164.

19. Morris Edward Opler, "The Creek 'Town' and the Problem of Creek Indian Political Reorganization" in *Human Problems in Technological Change: A Casebook*, ed. E.H. Spicer (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952), 165. Knight organizes the formation of the Creek Nation into three historical stages which lasted from this time period until after removal: incorporation of former remnant tribes as independent towns, creation of a regional, instead of local, political system in the form of Upper and Lower divisions, and an alliance between the two divisions into the Creek Nation. See Knight, "The Formation of the Creeks," 388.

20. Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, 231-232.

21. Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy, 386-388; Mary Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations" *American Anthropologist*, 42 (1940), 479.

22. The quote is from Morris Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937" *Papers in Anthropology*, 13,1 (1972), 37. See also J. N. B. Hewitt, "Notes on the Creek Indians" *U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, 123 (1939), 127; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns," 39-40; John R. Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy" in *Ethnology of the Southeastern Indians: A Source Book*, ed. C.M. Hudson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), 327; Amelia Rector Bell, "Separate People: Speaking of Creek Men and Women" *American Anthropologist*, 92 (1990), 339.

23. The quote is from John R. Swanton, "Modern Square Grounds of the Creek Indians" in *A Creek Source Book*, ed. W.C. Sturtevant (New York: Garland Press, 1987), 45. Corn (maize) was introduced to the Southeast no earlier than 500 A.D. and its cultivation became one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Southeastern cultures. For the importance of green corn ceremonialism in the Eastern United States see John Witthoft, "Green Corn Ceremonialism in the Eastern Woodlands" in *Ethnology of the Southeastern Indians: A Source Book*, ed. C.M. Hudson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1949), 1-91.

24. The quote is from Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 483. See also Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 481. For an example of a ballgame between the Creek and Choctaw see Henry S. Halbert and T.H. Ball, *The Creek War of 1813 and 1814* (Chicago: Donohue and Henneberry, 1895), 36.

25. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages," 114; Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 64-65.

26. Raymond D. Fogelson and Paul Kutsche, "Cherokee Economic Cooperatives: The Gagugi" in *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture*, ed. W. Fenton and J. Gulick (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1961), 87-123; J. Vernon Knight, Jr., "Social Organization and the Evolution of Hierarchy in the Southeastern Chiefdoms" *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 46,1 (1990), 5; Greg Urban, "The Social Organizations of the Southeast" in *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Society and Culture*, ed. R. DeMallie and A. Ortiz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 177.

27. The quote is from Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, 201.

28. Verner W. Crane, "The Origin of the Name of the Creek Indians" *Journal of American History*, 5 (1918), 339-342; Robert S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The*

Study of the Five Civilized Tribes Before Removal (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 8; Corkran, *The Creek Frontier*, 4. The naming of the Creek after the abundant nearby streams is an interesting variation of the tendency of early Euro-American cartographers to name streams after the people living along them.

29. The quote is from William Sturtevant, "Creek Into Seminole" in *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, ed. E. Leacock and N. Lurie (New York: Random House, 1971), 97. See also Gregory A. Waselkov and John W. Cottier, "European Perceptions of Eastern Muskogean Ethnicity" in *Proceedings of the Tenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society, 1984*, ed. P.P. Boucher (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985), 151; . Leitch Wright, Jr., *Creeks and Seminoles: Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 101; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 50, 72.

30. Louis R. Smith, Jr., "British-Indian Trade in Alabama, 1670-1756" *Alabama Review*, 27 (1974), 65-68' Braund, "Guardians of Tradition and Handmaidens to Change," 246, 252. Mason argues that the expansion of the commercial fur trade in the Southeast affected Creek men more than women. Males adopted new technology (tools and weapons) in their economic pursuits while the female world continued to revolve around conservative pursuits such as traditional pottery-making. For her full argument see Carol I. Mason, "Eighteenth Century Culture Change Among the Lower Creeks" *Florida Anthropologist*, 16 (1963), 65-80. For the account of trading relations of William Augustus Bowles with the Creek Nation and European powers in the Southeast see J. Leitch Wright, *William Augustus Bowles: Director General of the Creek Nation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967). Bowles was an Anglo trader who attempted to create a nominally independent Indian state of Muskogee, allied with Britain to achieve maximum trade benefits. Bowles competed with McGillivray for influence among the Creek. For an outline of Creek involvement in the Southeastern slave trade and the shifting nature of Creek-Black relations see Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery" *The Journal of Southern History*, 57,4 (1991), 601-636.

31. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages," 79; Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 56-57, 64-65; Braund, "Guardians of Tradition and Handmaidens to Change," 242; Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 131-132.

32. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians*, 9; Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 153; Sturtevant, "Creek Into Seminole," 97-98.

33. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 7; Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, 211.

34. Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma," 169-171. Codrington provides an example of the propaganda produced during the European-American competition for Creek and other Indian trade. Codrington was commander of the British ship H.M.S. Tonnant, who in December 1814 printed a poster and ordered it posted along trails and nailed to pine trees in the Southeast in hope of attracting the Creek and other Indian allies to the British side of the War of 1812. See Edward Codrington, *To the Great and Illustrious Chiefs of the Creeks and Other Indian Nations* (N.p.: Printed for the friends of the John C. Pace Library, The University of West Florida (reprint), 1976).
35. Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1929), 254; Cotterill, *The Southern Indians*, 21; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 65; Knight, "The Formation of the Creeks," 375-376.
36. It is important to note that the terms "mixedblood" and "fullblood" are labels of convenience. While there is a high degree of correlation between mixedbloods holding a progressive outlook and fullbloods maintaining a more traditional viewpoint, ultimately cultural attitudes, not blood quantum, determined individual worldviews.
37. John Pope, *A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North America; the Spanish Dominions on the River Mississippi; and the Floridas; the Countries of the Creek Nations; and Many Uninhabited Parts* (New York: C.L. Woodward, 1888), 49; Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 125; Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 33; Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 103. For the life story of Lachlan McGillivray see Edward J. Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray, Indian Trader: The Shaping of the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992).
38. William Bartram, *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Choctaws*, ed. M. Van Doren (Dover: Dover Publications (reprint) (1928), 181; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 82-83.
39. Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 140.
40. Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 49-52.
41. The quote is from Hawkins, *A Sketch of the Creek Country*, 5. Hawkins, a former Senator from North Carolina, was the American Indian agent for all the Southern Indian nations from 1796 to 1800s and then agent for the Creek from 1802-1816. He was the first agent who used technology, such as scientific farming methods, to

assimilate the Creek. See Frank L. Owsley, Jr. "Benjamin Hawkins: The First Modern Indian Agent" *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, 30 (1968), 7-13. Hawkins was replaced after his death by David Brydie Mitchell, former governor of Georgia, who was seceded by Colonel John Crowell, an Alabama Congressman. Mitchell and Crowell were appointed largely for their political connections and not their interest in the Indian nations. Both men likely saw the appointment as an excellent chance to profit economically. See also Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 36; Florette Henri, *The Southern Indians and Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1816* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 58-60; Braund, "Guardians of Tradition and Handmaidens to Change," 252; Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 180-184; Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 139. A few Creek owned Black slaves as early as the 1770s. See Daniel F. Littlefield Jr., *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1979), 27; Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery" *The Journal of Southern History*, 57,4 (1991), 616. Champagne estimates that before 1817 about 3 percent of the Creek population fell within this segment (entrepreneurial mixedbloods) of society. See Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 91; Braund, "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," 630-631.

42. The quote is from Pope, *A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories*, 64. See also Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 159-160. Pope notes typical Creek flood plain agriculture and their communal fields of corn, rice, and potatoes. Typically, corn was planted with 20 to 30 gains per hole, spaced unevenly. Fields were enclosed with a low fork and rail fence to keep out free-range cattle. See Pope, *A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories*, 60, 62. For other observations on Creek agriculture and life at this time see Louis Le Clerc de Milford, *Memoir, or a Cursory Glance at My Different Travels and My Sojourn in the Creek Nation* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1956), 50. Some traditional villages even threatened to kill tribal members who used plows. See Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 115.
43. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 30-36; Henri, *The Southern Indians and Benjamin Hawkins*, 58-60; Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 179.
44. Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 88-89. Although their political options were limited, see McDaniel for Creek attempts to continue their play-off system in their relations with the United States and Georgia governments. Debates over territorial rights between the United States and Georgia resulted in the appointment of Benjamin Hawkins as agent. See Mary Jane McDaniel, *Relations Between the Creek Indians, Georgia, and the United States, 1783-1797* (Starkville: Mississippi State University Ph.D. dissertation (history), 1971).

45. Henri, *The Southern Indians and Benjamin Hawkins*, 88; Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 152; Henry DeLeon Southerland, Jr. And Jerry Elijah Brown, *The federal Road Through Georgia, the Creek Nation, and Alabama, 1806-1836* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1989); Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 153-161.
46. The quote is from Joel W. Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 180. See Martin for a detailed analysis of the social, economic, and cultural crises leading to the Creek War. See also Benjamin W. Griffith, *McIntosh and Weatherford, Creek Indian Leaders* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1988), 1-78; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 111-120. The official government estimate was that two-thirds of the Creek chiefs participated in the conflict. See Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Treaties, 1778-1883* (New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1972), 108. Also see Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 41; Henri, *The Southern Indians and Benjamin Hawkins*, 188; Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, ix, 133; Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 186-187. Thornton argues that revitalization movements are alternative responses to change "when group boundaries are in danger of dissolution in ways that are perceived as negative by the people involved." Revitalizations do not occur after a crisis or primarily during a crisis, but when the potential crisis is perceived. See Russell Thornton, "Boundary Dissolution and Revitalization Movements: The Case of the Nineteenth-Century Cherokees" *Ethnohistory*, 40,3 (1993), 360-361. The most critical result of the war was the death of about 3,000 Creek (or nearly 15 percent of the population and the destruction of several towns and numerous supplies. For a detailed description of the Creek War see Halbert and Bell, *The Creek War of 1813 and 1814*; Griffith, *McIntosh and Weatherford*, 79-155.
47. Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 78-79; Ross Hassig, "Internal Conflict in the Creek War of 1813-1814" *Ethnohistory*, 21 (1974), 265; Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 41-42; Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 166-169; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 119.
48. Sturtevant, "Creek Into Seminole," 101-107. The European construct Seminole has a variety of meanings. It is an ethnonym of Muskogean origin meaning "wild, runaway" as applied to plants and animals. Sturtevant uses Seminole to refer to residents of Florida who were at one time members of the Creek Confederacy and are now recognized as the Seminole tribe of Florida or Oklahoma. Also, for an explanation of the meanings of the word "Seminole" see Sturtevant, "Creek Into Seminole," 105.
49. Sturtevant, "Creek Into Seminole," 105; Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 3-6; Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 139-141. Generally, Upper Creeks traded with the French and Spanish, the Lower Creeks traded with the British, and the Seminoles traded with the Spanish. See Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 139-142, 166-167.

50. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 45-49.
51. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 88-89; Southerland and Brown, *The Federal Road Through Georgia*, 125. For the life story of McIntosh see George Chapman, *Chief William McIntosh: A Man of Two Worlds* (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Company, 1988). For the economic alliance between Mitchell and McIntosh and their embezzlement of Creek Nation money see Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 56-58.
52. Antonio J. Waring, *Laws of the Creek Nation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960), 10. Three others, Etomme Tustunnuggee, Samuel Hawkins, and Benjamin Hawkins (not the former agent), were also ordered killed due to their leading roles in the Treaty of Indian Springs negotiations. Tustunnuggee and Samuel Hawkins were executed, but Benjamin Hawkins was shot and managed to escape.
53. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 141; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 121-123, 127. The other Five Civilized Tribes shifted to individual, commercial agricultural between 1805 and 1820. Green argues that a national Creek identity was added to town identities as the land cessions of the 1820s gave dispossessed Creek the right to relocate their homes in the territory of other tribal towns they only new within a national context.
54. For a balanced account of the dispossession of the Five Civilized Tribes see Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932). See also D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Volume 2, Continental America, 1800-1867* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 78-103, 179-188. For an interpretation of federal-state-Creek interactions during the period see Mary E. Young, "The Creek Frauds: A Study in Conscience and Corruption" *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 42,3 (1955), 411-437; George Dewey Harmon, *Sixty Years of Indian Affairs: Political, Economic, Diplomatic, 1789-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 197-225.
55. D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Volume 1, Atlantic American, 1492-1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 393-394. For example, Thomas Jefferson viewed the Great Plains as an immense Indian Reservation, proposing that the United States "transplant our Indians into it constituting a morechaussee [mounted patrol] to prevent emigrants from crossing the [Mississippi] river until we shall have filled up all the vacant country on this side." Quotation in David J. Wishart, *The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807-1840: A Geographic Synthesis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 17-18. For an overview of Indian removal as national policy see Annie H. Abel, "The History

of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi” *American Historical Association, Annual Report, 1906*, (1908), 370-412; Arrell Morgan Gibson, “The Great Plains as a Colonization Zone for Eastern Indians” in *Ethnicity on the Great Plains*, ed. Frederick C. Luebke, pp. 19-37 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 21-29. For the idea of clustering Indian American Indians under the jurisdiction of a separate state see Annie H. Abel, “Proposals for an Indian State, 1778-1878” *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1 (1907), 89-104.

56. The quote is from Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 343. Office of Indian Affairs, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1833, 185; Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 135; Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 171, 176. See Thomas Chalmers McCorvey, *The Mission of Francis Scott Key to Alabama in 1833* (Montgomery, AL: n.p., 1904), 37-38. McCorvey details the tenuous federal-Alabama relations (and the role of Key in this diplomacy) resulting from Creek land cessions and Anglo intrusions. Also see Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 174-186 for the conditions of the Creek in the Southeast during this time. Removal to East Texas was a distant, but often talked about, option for the Creek during this period.
57. Office of Indian Affairs, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1833, 185; Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 135; Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal*, 171, 176.
58. See J. Anthony Paredes, “The Folk Culture of the Eastern Creek Indians: Synthesis and Change” in *Indians of the Lower South: Past and Present*, ed. John K. Mahon (Pensacola, FL: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1975), 93-111; J. Anthony Paredes, “Back from Disappearance: The Alabama Creek Indian Community” in *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era*, ed. Walter L. Williams (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), 123-142. Article XIV of the 1832 treaty between the Creek and the U.S. Government stated that “the Creek country west of the Mississippi shall be solemnly guarantied to the Creek Indians, nor shall any State or Territory ever have a right to pass laws for the government of such Indians, but they shall be allowed to government themselves, so far as may be compatible with the general jurisdiction which Congress may think proper to exercise over them.” See Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 343. For details of the Creek War of 1836 see Kenneth L. Valliere, “The Creek War of 1836: A Military History” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 57 (1979-1980), 463-485. The Lower Creek towns of Hitchiti, Yuchi, Chiaha, and Georgia were the primary participants.
59. Van Horne to Gibson, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1834, 263; Commissary General of Subsistence, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1835, 294; Office of Indian Affairs, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1836, 414; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 95-97; Champagne 1992: 168. For an account of Creek oral history of the Trail of Tears, written by a fullblood Creek, see Elizabeth Sullivan, *Indian Legends of the Trail of Tears and Other Creek Stories*

- (Tulsa: Giant Services, Inc., 1974), 1-7. Also see Robert Johnson Perry, *Life with the Little People* (Greenfield Center, NY: The Greenfield Review Press, 1998), 3-9; Gaston Litton, "The Journal of a Party of Emigrating Creek Indians, 1835-1836" *The Journal of Southern History*, 7,2 (1941), 225-242 who edited the journal of Lieutenant Edward Deas who supervised the removal of an early party of 511 Creek; Joseph T. Manzo, "Women in Indian Removal: Stresses of Emigration" in *A Cultural Geography of North American Indians*, ed. Thomas E. Ross and Tyrel G. Moore (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), 213-226. Small parties of self-immigrant Creek continued to arrive in Indian Territory from Alabama until the 1850s. See James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1846-1849 for details of the late arrivals.
60. See Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 166-176; Meinig, *The Shaping of America*, volume 1, 91. For a detailed map of Five Civilized Tribes emigration routes see Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 396-397. A Creek notes a common song sung during removal: "I have no more land, I am driven away from home, driven up the red waters, let us all go, let us all die together and somewhere upon the banks we will be there." See *Indian-Pioneer Papers*, Elsie Edwards (Creek), September 17, 1937, XXVII (27), p. 189 (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries).
61. Commissary General of Subsistence, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1835, 294. John W.A. Sanford and Company was paid \$20 a head for those Creek who were transported to Indian Territory or were left to die during the removal process. For an overview of the role of Fort Gibson during this era, removal as a military policy, and conflict between Indian tribes see Grant Foreman, *Fort Gibson: A Brief History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936); Brad Agnew, *Fort Gibson: Terminal on the Trail of Tears* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).

Chapter 4

1. John W. Morris, Charles R. Goins, Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986 (3rd edition), 7; Tom Wikle, ed., *Atlas of Oklahoma* (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University, 1991), 24; Howard L. Johnson and Claude E. Duchon, *Atlas of Oklahoma Climate* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 11, 17-18. For a full reconstruction of presettlement vegetation in Oklahoma see L.G. Duck and J.B. Fletcher, *A Game Type Map of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Game and Fish Department, The Division of Wildlife Restoration, 1943). Also see W. F. Blair and T. H. Hubbell, "The Biotic Districts of Oklahoma" *American Midland Naturalist*, 20 (1938), 433-435; A.W. Kuchler, "A Physiognomic Classification of Vegetation" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 39,3 (1949), 201-210.

2. The quote is from Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866), 167. For an overview of the historical, cultural, and environmental significance of the Cross Timbers see Carolyn T. Foreman, *The Cross Timbers* (Muskogee, OK: The Star Printery, Inc., 1947); Douglas A. Hurt, "'Vexations of Flesh and Spirit': Environment and Culture in the Cross Timbers" *Oklahoma: Magazine of the Oklahoma Heritage Association*, 3,1 (1998), 25-30; B.W. Hoagland, I. Butler, F.L. Johnson, and S. Glenn. "The Cross Timbers" in *The Savanna, Barren, and Rock Outcrop Communities of North America*, ed. R.C. Anderson, J. Fralish, and J. Baskin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Richard V. Francaviglia, *The Cast Iron Forest: A Natural and Cultural History of the North American Cross Timbers* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, Forthcoming).
3. The quote is from W.E. Bruner, "The Vegetation of Oklahoma" *Ecological Monographs*, 1,2 (1931), 128.
4. The quotation is from Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 360-361.
5. Washington Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 151.
6. The quote is from Charles Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America* (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1836), 163. Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America*, 180-182.
7. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 361. For an example of Indian roles, including the Creek, in firing the Cross Timbers and fire suppression see Bryan W. Lovelace *Collection*, "Journal of Joseph R. Smith of New York While on a Surveying Expedition Through Indian Territory in 1850" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box L-27, folder 1; box L-27, folder 2; John S. Tomer and Michael J. Brodhead, eds., *A Naturalist in Indian Territory: The Journals of S.W. Woodhouse, 1849-50* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 220, 226.
8. The quote is from Randolph B. Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852* (Washington: Beverley Tucker, 1854), 111. A.W. Kuchler, *Potential Natural Vegetation of the Conterminous United States* (New York: American Geographers Society, 1964), 7, 74; Marc D. Abrams, "Fire and the Development of Oak Forests" *BioScience*, 42,5 (1992), 347-348.
9. The quotation is from Thomas Nuttall, "Journal of Travels Into the Arkansa Territory, During the Year 1819" in *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, Volume 13*, ed. R.G.

Thwaites (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), 218-219. See also Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 182; Michael F. Doran, "Antebellum Cattle Herding in the Indian Territory" *The Geographical Review*, 66,1 (1976), 51.

10. The quotations are from Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 399; George Catlin, *North American Indians, Volume 2* (Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1926), 140. See also William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1840, 313; C.H. Fitch, "Woodland of Indian Territory" *U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories*, 21 (1900), 609-610; Nuttall, "Journal of Travels Into the Arkansa Territory," 235; Doran, "Antebellum Cattle Herding in the Indian Territory," 51.
11. The quote is from Augustus W. Loomis, *Scenes in the Indian Country* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1859), 8.
12. Commissary General of Subsistence, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1835, 290; Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 108; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 151. See William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1840, 313 for a different view. Armstrong, the Acting Superintendent of the Western Territory, argued that the Creek country was poorly watered and timber was scarce in some areas. Typically, the federal government gave Indians biased environmental information prior to removal. See Joseph T. Manzo, "The Indian Pre-Removal Information Network" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 2 (1982), 76, 81.
13. A description of the importance of the salt deposits at the Three Forks is found in the *Works Progress Administration Historic Site and federal Writers' Project Collection*, "Chouteau's Grand Saline" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, n.d.), box 22, folder 1. For the controversy surrounding the year of establishment of the Chouteau family trading post at Salina see *Yvonne Chouteau Collection*, "Major Jean Pierre Chouteau" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, n.d.), box 1, folder 2; *Grant Foreman Papers* (Tulsa, OK: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library, n.d.), box 1, folder 4; Chouteau Collection, "Clippings From Pryor and Tulsa, Oklahoma Newspapers..." (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, n.d.); Grant Foreman, "The Three Forks" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 2 (1924), 37-47; *Pierre Chouteau Papers*, "Grant Foreman to Stella Drumm, February 5, 1937" (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1937), box 56, folder 13; Vinson Lackey, *The Chouteaus and the Founding of Salina, Oklahoma's First White Settlement, 1796* (Tulsa, OK: The Claude F. Neerman Company, 1939); Robert L. Williams, "Founding of the First Chouteau Trading Post at Salina, Mayes County" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 24,4 (1946-1947), 483-491; Shelby M. Fly, *The Saga of the Chouteaus of Oklahoma: French Footprints in the Valley Grand* (Norman, OK: Levite of Apache, 1988). For a detailed accounting of early travels and expeditions in Indian Territory see Stan Hoig,

Beyond the Frontier: Exploring the Indian Country (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

14. Commissary General of Subsistence "Report," *ARCIA*, 1835, 290.
15. The Creek were eligible to settle anywhere "west of the Mississippi, not within either of the States or territories and not possessed by the Choctaws or Cherokees" as stated in their 1826 Treaty. See Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 264-268. For an overview of American Indian perspectives towards the prairie environment before and after visitation of various Eastern tribes preceding removal is provided by Joseph T. Manzo, *Native American Perceptions of the Prairie-Plains Environment* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Ph.D. Dissertation (Geography), 1978; Joseph T. Manzo, "Some Shared Attitudes Toward Life in the Prairies" *American Studies*, 23,2 (1982), 39-48. In general, to American Indians (and Americans of the era) prairie was considered inferior agricultural land and was avoided during settlement. See also Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest before 1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), 292-294; Grant Foreman, ed., *A Traveler in Indian Territory: The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930), 119-120; Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1979), 111; Hoig, *Beyond the Frontier*, 138-139.
16. The quotations are found in Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 95-96; *The Cherokee Phoenix*, 10 June 1829, p. 2. Another observer characterized the scene around Fort Gibson as "more like hell, than life on earth" due to drunkenness, gambling, and profane swearing of soldiers, Creek, and Osage who gathered near the fort. See "John Fleming to mother, January 4, 1833," *Creek Papers* (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library, 1833), folder 20. See also Van Horne to Gibson, "Extracts," *ARCIA*, 1834, 263; Acting Superintendent, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1837, 539; Indian-Pioneer History Papers, George Looney (Creek), June 28, 1937, LV (55), pp. 245-246 (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries). Often during the 1830s, the Lower Creek raised between 40,000 and 50,000 bushels of surplus corn a year which was sold to Fort Gibson and supplied Creek emigrating parties in later years.
17. The decision to ally with the Upper or Lower division was no small one as both factions were outwardly dissatisfied with the other group. Reports of the Creek agent should be read with great caution during this era, as the amount of Creek factionalism was downplayed to an excessive extent by government officials.
18. Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 200.

19. See Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 152-153; Foreman, ed., *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, 111-112, 119-122. The mixing of Upper and Lower Creek after removal is also noted in William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCI*, 1838, 511-512. The Upper and Lower Creek were comprised of approximately the same number of citizens after the main immigration wave selected homes and political loyalties. Shortly after removal the Yuchi settled in the northwest corner of the Creek Nation, in an isolated area considered to be on the frontier of Creek territory. For a survey of American Indian settlement in Indian Territory see Michael O. Roark, *American Indians in Oklahoma: Population Distributions and Culture Areas, 1830-1970* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Master's Thesis (geography), 1975).
20. Yi-Fu Tuan, "Language and the Making of Place: A Narrative-Descriptive Approach" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 81,4 (1991), 684, 688.
21. The quotations are from Carl O. Sauer, "On the Background of Geography in the United States" in *Heidelberger Studien zur Kulturgeographie Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag von Gottfried Pfeiffer*, ed. Hans Graul and Herman Overbeck (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1966), 59; George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1945), 198. See also Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places: Illustrations of History, Ethnology, and Geography* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1927), 19; Robert C. West, "The Term 'Bayou' in the United States: A Study in the Geography of Place Names" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 44 (1954), 63-74.
22. The quote is from Kaups, "Finnish Place Names in Minnesota," 390. See also E. Joan Wilson Miller, "The Naming of the Land in the Arkansas Ozarks: A Study in Culture Processes" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 59 (1969), 240-251. For an outline of the general concept of the transfer, migration, and retention of place names see Taylor, *Words and Places*, 19. Specific studies include Fritz L. Kramer, "Andover Moves West" *Names*, 1,3 (1953), 188-191; Matti Kaups, "Finnish Place Names in Minnesota: A Study in Cultural Transfer" *The Geographical Review*, 56,3 (1966), 377-397; Wilbur Zelinsky, "Classical Town Names in the United States: The Historical Geography of An American Idea" *Geographical Review*, 57 (1967), 463-495; John Leighly, "Town Names of Colonial New England in the West" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 68,2 (1978), 233-248. For the significance of transplanted names and the cross-cultural implications of name retention by subsequent cultures see David E. Sopher, "Arabic Place Names in Spain" *Names*, 3 (1955), 5-13. Gordon examines how the Onondaga Iroquois and Anglos enacted different naming practices, co-existing in the same landscape. See Jeffrey J. Gordon, "Onondaga Iroquois Place-Names: An Approach to Historical and Contemporary Indian Landscape Perception" *Names*, 32,3 (1984), 218-233. Conzen outlines the distinguishing characteristics of these types of ethnic spatial organization. See Michael

P. Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos: Methodological Considerations" *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 13,2 (1993), 13-29.

23. See Wilbur Zelinsky, "Some Problems in the Distribution of Generic Terms in the Place Names of the Northeastern United States" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 45 (1955), 319-349; Wilbur Zelinsky, "Classical Town Names in the United States," 463-495. For the American Indian contribution to the cultural geography of the United States, including place names, see Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States, A Revised Edition* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1992), 16. In an early article on geographical name methodology, Wright divided place name studies into accumulative (or those that list names and facts about them such as origins and meanings) and ecological (or studies that related the name to its physical and human environments). The ecological approach, connecting culture and landscape remains the most significant. See John K. Wright, "The Study of Place Names: Recent Work and Some Possibilities" *Geographical Review*, 19,1 (1929), 140-141.
24. The quotations are from Susan W. Fair, "Inupiat Naming and Community History: The Tapquq and Saninig Coasts Near Shishmaref, Alaska" *The Professional Geographer*, 49,4 (1997), 467; Nelson, "The Embrace of Names," 18. For an interpretation of the interaction of place names, stories, and environment among the Western Apache see Keith H. Basso, "Western Apache Place-Name Hierarchies" in *Naming Systems: 1980 Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society*, ed. Elizabeth Tooker (Washington DC: American Ethnological Society, 1984), 78-94; Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 37-149. Fair relates how Inupiaq individual productivity and group identity are enhanced by Tapquq place names. See Fair, "Inupiat Naming and Community History," 466-480. For the results of lengthy field work and study of the Navajo see Stephen C. Jett, "An Analysis of Navajo Place-Names" *Names*, 18,3 (1970), 175-184; Stephen C. Jett, "Place-Naming, Environment, and Perception Among the Canyon de Chelly Navajo of Arizona" *The Professional Geographer*, 49,4 (1997), 481-493. Experiences with the Inupiaq and Koyukon in Alaska are related by Richard Nelson, "The Embrace of Names" in *Northern Lights: A Selection of New Writing From the American West*, ed. Deborah Clow and Donald Snow (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 14-21. For the intimacy between life, creative imagination, landscape, and the possibility of alienation from those features see D.W. Meinig, "Geography as Art" *Institute of British Geographers, Transactions New Series*, 8,3 (1983), 325.
25. See Morris E. Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937" *Papers in Anthropology*, 13,1 (1972), 13; Albert S. Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy in the XVIII and XIX Centuries in *A Creek Source Book*, ed. William C. Sturtevant (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1987), 386; Peter H. Wood, "The

Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790" in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, M. Thomas Hatley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 60. Jett distinguishes between official place names that have universal usage (such as town names) and those "innumerable place designations" used solely by local inhabitants. See Jett, "An Analysis of Navajo Place-Names," 175. Stewart notes the problematic nature of researching Indian names arising from the distortion of name forms during translation, shifting cultural contexts, and ambiguities from homophones or near-homophones. See George R. Stewart, *American Place-Names: A Concise and Selective Dictionary for the Continental United States of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), xxi. Also see Madison S. Beeler, "On Etymologizing Indian Place-Names" *Names*, 10,4 (1957), 236-240; Robert A. Rundstrom, "An Arctic Soliloquy on Inuit Placenames and Cross-Cultural Fieldwork" *Names* 44,4 (1996), 333-358.

26. John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969(reprint), 153. At least three Creek tribal towns noted by DeSoto in 1540 are still active today. Chiaha, Koasati, and Tulsa are among the oldest political structures in North America. See John Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma" *Science and Society* 52 (1988), 164.
27. Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 386; Darrell A. Posey, "Entomological Consideration in Southeastern Aboriginal Demography" *Ethnohistory* 23,2 (1976), 147-160; Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South," 60. Hawkins notes the migration of the residents of Ockfuskee to several smaller villages. The old townsite became an uncultivated field. Although the town move was a traditional aspect of Creek life, this specific migration was promoted by Hawkins in order to promote his programs of private property ownership and individual farming. See Benjamin Hawkins, "A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799" in *The Creek Country* (Americus, GA: Americus Book Company, 1938), 43-44.
28. Opler, "The Creek 'Town' and the Problem of Creek Indian Political Reorganization," 171; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 14; Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy," 333; John R. Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy" in *Ethnology of the Southeastern Indians: A Source Book* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), 327; James Vernon Knight, Jr., "The Formation of the Creeks" in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South*, ed. C. Hudson and C.C. Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 374.
29. The quotation is from Morris E. Opler, "Report of the History and Contemporary State of Aspects of Creek Social Organization and Government" in *A Creek Source Book*, ed. William C. Sturtevant (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987), 40. See

also Opler, "The Creek 'Town' and the Problem of Creek Indian Political Reorganization," 172; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 53; Alexander Spoehr, "Changing Kinship Systems: A Study in the Acculturation of the Creeks, Cherokee, and Choctaw" *Publications of Field Museum of Natural History* 33,4 (1976), 160; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma," 173; Bell, "Separate People: Speaking of Creek Men and Women," 339; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 200. While Creek towns maintained similar physical layouts of the town square, some local variation did occur. For example, Hitchcock notes that the Tuckabatchee town fire was housed in a round house in the square. See Foreman, ed., *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, 113. Swanton cites Creek oral history that states that burning coals were kept alive during the westward migration. See Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Creek Confederacy," 589. See also *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Simon Johnson (Creek), September 22, 1937, XLVIII (48), pp. 383-386; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Joseph Bruner (Creek), February 28, 1938, XII (12), pp. 319-320. For differing oral history interpretations see Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 206-207; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Hully Proctor (Creek), June 17, 1937, LXXIII (73), pp. 144-145. The oral history of Little River Tulsa states that their town fire was kept lighted from the time of removal from Alabama to the present day. Another town brought flint from the Southeast and continued to use only that flint when making town fires. See *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Billie Spencer (Creek), November 13, 1937, XIV (14), p. 331.

30. Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy," 327-328. Lieutenant J.T. Sprague notes the scattering "in every direction" of a 1836 removal party composed of residents of Kasihta and Coweta after arrival in Indian Territory. See Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 174. Unlike the Creek Confederacy trend, Yuchi town names were not transferred from the Southeast. See Jason Baird Jackson, *Yuchi Ritual: Meaning and Tradition in Contemporary Ceremonial Ground Life* (Bloomington: Indiana University Ph.D. dissertation (Anthropology), 1997), 55.
31. William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1845, 516; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 182-183; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 108-109; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 16; Spoehr, "Changing Kinship Systems," 210; Jason Baird Jackson, "Architecture and Hospitality: Ceremonial Ground Camps and Foodways of the Yuchi Indians" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 76, 2 (1998), 175. Today, Creek square grounds are often known as "ceremonial grounds" or "stomp grounds" because of the ceremonial singing and dancing performed at the sites. Loomis later notes Creek agricultural settlements away from riverine villages in areas of heavy timber that were subsequently cleared, and on the border between forest and prairie. See Loomis, *Scenes in the Indian Country*, 10. Historically, settlement along streams provided the advantages of fertile soil, superior hunting opportunities, readily available herbs (for ceremonial and

- medicinal usages), and availability of forest and water resources. See *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, William Benson (Creek), September 22, 1937, VII (7), p. 263.
32. The quote is from Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 14-15. See the descriptions of Assilanapi, Chartarkooka Okfusky, Concharty, Hutabihuyana, Kanchati, Okmulgee, Weogufkey, Wetumka, Wewoka, and Wikayitakko in Appendix A. See Choskui for a name descriptive of the Indian Territory environment. The Creek practice of place-name transfer differed from some other American Indian traditions. For example, according to Jett the Navajo did not adopt the existing place-names when they moved into their current Arizona-centered homeland, but created new, descriptive names for their newly encountered environment. See, Jett, "Place-Naming, Environment, and Perception," 490. After removal, Cherokee and Choctaw town meaning changed and the town unit lost its role as the community's social, political, and ceremonial focus. See Spoehr, "Changing Kinship Systems," 210.
 33. The quotation is from Opler, "The Creek 'Town'," 179. See also Opler, "The Creek 'Town'," 175; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 204-205; Foreman, ed., *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, 122. Also, see the examples of Akfuski, Arpicah, Cheyarha, Eufaula, Lochapoka, Tallahassochee, Tulsa, Wakokiye, and Wikufki in Appendix A.
 34. The quote is from George R. Stewart, "A Classification of Place Names" *Names*, 2 (1954), 1.
 35. Loomis, *Scenes in the Indian Country*, 9; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 152, 178-181; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 120-121; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma," 167-168; Thomas Yahola, unpublished transcript of an untitled presentation about Muskogee place names, Native American names session, Western States Geographic Names Conference, Wagoner, OK, 1995: 13-14. For an account of Muskogee personal naming practices and associated translation and Angloization see John H. Moore, "Mvskoke Personal Names" *Names* 43,3 (1995), 187-212. In general, tribal town allegiance was weakened prior to or during dispossession for the other Five Civilized Tribes. See Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 185. For examples of variant names, see Eufaula, Eufaula-Deep Fork, Hickory Ground, Hillube Canadian, Lochapoka, Nuyaka, Ofkusky Deep Fork, Okfuskee Canadian, Pacon Tallahassee, Tookpofka, and Tuckabatchie in Appendix A. In addition to Plains tribes, the Creek had regular conflict with the Cherokee, Osage, and Delaware.
 36. The quotation is from Commissary General of Subsistence, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1835, 290. See also Thomas J. Farnham, "Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory" in *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, Volume 28*, ed. R.G. Thwaites (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark

Company, 1906), 128; Foreman, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, 89, 120; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 211; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 103. It is estimated that more than 25,000 of the estimated 73,000 members of the Five Civilized Tribes died between removal and 1860. See Michael F. Doran, Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 53 (1975), 498.

37. The quote is from James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1845, 516. See also Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies*, 30; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 149. Lower Creek settlement was described as occupying an area with an east-west extent of about 80 miles and a north-south extent of 50 miles along the Verdigris, Arkansas, and Red Fork Rivers. A traveler noted that the Creek centered on the Arkansas River valley consisted of the most densely settled area of Indian Territory west of Fort Gibson. See *Lovelace Collection*, box L-27, folder 1.
38. Acting Superintendent, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1837, 539; William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1844, 458; James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1844, 472; James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1845, 516; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 154; Norman A. Graebner, "Pioneer Indian Agriculture in Oklahoma" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 23 (1945), 233; Foreman, ed., *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, 111-112, 128. Upper Creek settlement was described as comprising an east-west extent of about 80 miles and a north-south extent of 60 miles along the Arkansas south to the North Fork of the Canadian and west to the Deep Fork, North Fork, and Main Canadian to the Little River. The Upper and Lower settlement regions were separated by a strip of uninterrupted tallgrass prairie.
39. James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1845, 515-516; James Essex, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1845, 599.
40. The quotes are from Farnham, "Travels in the Great Western Prairies," 129; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 401. See also Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Part One* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Company), 270. For descriptions of Creek family farms and households see Foreman, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, 152-153; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 199-201; Mary Jane Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 33-34.
41. The quotation is from Catlin, *North American Indians*, 140. See also Graebner, "Pioneer Indian Agriculture in Oklahoma," 238-239; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 303. Beans, pumpkins, melons, rice, and potatoes were also commonly planted. See William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1840, 313; William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1842, 450. The 1843 Agent's report notes a multi-town communal

corn field in the Canadian River bottom. It was eight miles long and three miles wide. See J.L. Dawson, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1843, 425.

42. The quote is from Loomis, *Scenes in the Indian Country*, 10-11. See also William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1845, 507.
43. The quote is from Catlin, *North American Indians*, 139. See also, Principal Disbursing Agent for the Western Territory, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1837, 539-540; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Richard Adkins (Creek), July 29, 1937, I (1), p. 280; Foreman, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, 172; Graebner, "Pioneer Indian Agriculture in Oklahoma," 242-243, 248; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 400.
44. The quote is from Norman A. Graebner, "History of Cattle Ranching in Eastern Oklahoma" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 21 (1943), 300.
45. The quotations are from Doran, "Antebellum Cattle Herding in the Indian Territory," 57; Loomis, *Scenes in the Indian Country*, 12; Grant Foreman, "The California Overland Mail Route Through Oklahoma" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 9 (1931), 306. Like other regions in the United States that had large number of open-range cattle, agricultural fields in the Creek Nation were legally required to be fenced nine rails high, in order to keep livestock out. See *Roscoe Simmons Cate Collection*, "Transcript of Compliation of Creek Tribal Laws, made by Samuel J. Checote" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 4, folder 13.
46. J. L. Dawson, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1843, 425; Graebner, "History of Cattle Ranching in Eastern Oklahoma," 301; Frank Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), 29; Doran, "Antebellum Cattle Herding in the Indian Territory," 49, 53-54. Jordan outlines criteria present in the Texas cattle tradition. Doran argues that these characteristics existed in Indian Territory among the Five Civilized Tribes after 1830. See Terry G. Jordan, "The Origin of Anglo-American Cattle Ranching in Texas: A Documentation of Diffusion from the Lower South" *Economic Geography*, 45 (1969), 71; Doran, "Antebellum Cattle Herding in the Indian Territory," 52.
47. Balduin Mollhausen, *Diary of a Journey From the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific, Volume 1* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), 67.
48. Spoehr, "Changing Kinship Systems," 221-222. Government officials also noted the lack of game, particularly deer, in Indian Territory which restricted hunting as an economic option. See *Grant Foreman Papers*, "M. Arbuckle (Brevt. Brigdr. Genl.

USA) to Brg. Gen. R. Jones, Fort Gibson, June 19, 1838" (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library), box 11, folder 4.

49. Francaviglia, *The Cast Iron Forest*, forthcoming.

50. The quote is from John R. Swanton, "Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians" *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 42 (1928), 655. See also Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information*, 274.

51. Swanton, "Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices," 656, 661, 666.

Chapter 5

1. Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 205. Stewart notes three examples of this latter process: Coosa (to Cusa), Tallahassee (to Tullahassee), and Tulsy (to Tulsa). See George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States* (New York: Random House), 237. Missionaries also created a Creek alphabet using 19 of the 26 English letters, but maintaining Creek pronunciation. See Thomas Yahola, Unpublished Transcript of an Untitled Presentation About Muskogee Place Names, *Native American Names Session, Western States Geographic Names Conference*, Wagoner, Oklahoma, 13-14.
2. See Raymond D. Fogelson and Paul Kutshe, "Cherokee Economic Cooperatives: The Gagugi" in Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture, ed. W. Fenton and J. Gulick (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), 83-123; Alexander Spoehr, "Changing Kinship Systems: A Study in the Acculturation of the Creeks, Cherokee, and Choctaw" *Publications of Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series*, 33,4 (1976), 151-235, 210.
3. See William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1839, 472; John Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma" *Science and Society*, 52 (1988), 175. The Seminole were also more resistant to missionaries and acculturation in general and did not develop a class of mixed-blood economic elites until the end of the nineteenth century. See Alexander Spoehr, "Camp, Clan, and Kin Among the Cow Creek Seminole of Florida" *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series*, 33,1 (1941), 24-25.
4. For the quotation see William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1844, 458. See also James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1845, 524; Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press), 200).

5. For the quotation see Philip H. Raiford, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1951, 384. See also *Creek Nation Collection*, "Rev. A. L. Hay to *The Indian Advocate*, Louisville, KY, May 1849" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 1, folder 14.

6. *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Dan Smith (Creek), February 14, 1938, LXXXIV (84) (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), p. 419; Kathryn E. H. Braund, "Guardians of Tradition and Handmaidens to Change: Women's Roles in Creek Economic and Social Life During the Eighteenth Century" *American Indian Quarterly*, 14 (1990), 253; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 177.

7. The site is west of the present-day town of Council Hill in Okmulgee County. See James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1842, 456; Muriel Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 135; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 201. Immediately after removal, the Upper and Lower Creek met near the mouth of the Verdigris River, north of present-day Muskogee, to discuss reunification of the two factions. See *Pleasant Porter Collection*, "The Holdenville Tribune, Holdenville, Indian Territory, 'Editorial on Creek Council,' October 13, 1904, volume 4, number 37 (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 4, folder 221.

8. Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 201.

9. Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 202.

10. Spoher asserts that the three main agents of acculturation in Native communities were the Anglo settler, which increased the mixedblood population, the misionary, who supplanted the Native system of education, reduced the role of clans, and altered traditional economic division of labor by emphasizing manual skills, and the government agent who attempted to centralize political power. See Spoehr, "Changing Kinship Systems," 225. Harmon outlines 18 categories of federal aid to Indian communities. He includes schools, churches, agents, removal and reservation policies, the idea of an Indian state, annunities, and military protection as main avenues of Indian-federal relations. See George Dewey Harmon, *Sixty Years of Indian Affairs: Political, Economic, Diplomatic, 1789-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 368-369.

11. Office of Indian Affairs, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1836, 381; J.S. Dawson, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1842, 458; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Biography of Samuel J. Logan, by Joe McGilbra (Creek), July 16, 1937, LVIII (58), pp. 180; *Indian-Pioneer History*

Papers, "Fountain Church," August 9, 1937, XIII (13), pp. 2-3, 4-7; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, William Fields (Creek), October 1, 1937, XXIX (29), pp. 388-391; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Sandy Fife (Creek), December 13, 1937, XXX (30), pp. 5-6; *Grant Foreman Collection*, 'The Missionary Chronicles, Containing the Processdings of the Board of Foreign Missions and of the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church,' June 1842, volume 10, number 6 (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society), box 13, folder 7; Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 117-120. Initially, preaching was only allowed at the school house, in order to reduce potential disruptions to traditional Creek religious practices. See *Indians of North America Historical Manuscripts and Documents Collection*, "History of Mission Work Among the Creek Indians from 1832 to 1888, Under the Direction of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A." by Rev. Robert M. Loughridge (Tulsa: Sepcial Collections, McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa), Series IV, box 2, folder 4. Oral history from Creek Christians notes that hymns were sung and created during the removal trip. See *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, "Early Religious Work" by Billie Byrd, December 9, 1937, XIV (14), p. 332.

12. In 1858, the Creek Agent noted that "there is scarcely a settlement of the nation in which there is not a church." See W. H. Garrett, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1858, 145. For the quote see Theodora R. Jenness, "The Indian Territory," *The Atlantic Monthly*, 43,258 (1879), 448. See also James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1845, 519-521; *Grant Foreman Papers*, "Revival of Religion Among the Creeks" (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library, 1848), box 28, volume 54; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 195; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 167-168.
13. James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1844, 471.
14. James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1848, 519; T.B. Ruble, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1848, 524; *Indians of North America Historical Manuscripts and Documents Collection*, "History of Mission Work Among the Creek Indians from 1832 to 1888, Under the Direction of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A." by Rev. Robert M. Loughridge, Series IV, box 2, folder 4; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, William Fields (Creek), October 1, 1937, XXIX (29), pp. 388-389; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Lizzie Wynn (Creek), CI (101), pp. 62-63.
15. Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 116-121; Morris Edward Opler, "The Creek 'Town' and the Problem of Creek Indian Political Reorganization' in *Human Problems in Technological Change: A Casebook*, ed. E. H. Spicer (New York: Russell Sage Foundation), 177; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 175.
16. A similar process happened at Hitihita, where the second building housing Grave Creek Indian Baptist Missionary Church was constructed on the center of the old

ceremonial grounds. See *Doris Duke Collection*, Hulsie King (Creek), June 8, 1970, T-609, p. 1 (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries). See also *Alice Robertson Collection*, (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library), Series I, box 2, folder 2; *Grant Foreman Collection*, April 1840, volume 20 (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society), box 13, folder 7.

17. For the quote see Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question, 167-168. See also Opler, "The Creek 'Town,' 174.
18. For a description of a weekend-long camp meeting see *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Samuel Checote (Creek), n.d., XVII (17), pp. 317-332.
19. William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1838, 511; William Armstrong, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1841, 320; J. L. Dawson, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1843, 343; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Agnes Kelley (Creek), August 19, 1937, L (50), pp. 150-151; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 209; Sharon O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 125.
20. The quotes are from J.L. Dawson, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1843, 343; *Indians of North America Historical Manuscripts and Documents Collection*, "History of Mission Work Among the Creek Indians from 1832 to 1888, Under the Direction of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A." by Rev. Robert M. Loughridge, Series IV, box 2, folder 4. See also R. M. Loughridge, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1846, 362-363; R. M. Loughridge, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1846, 362; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Saber Jackson (Creek), Tingo Frank (Creek), Coleman Bryd (Creek), April 26, 1937, XLVII (47), pp. 157-159; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Sarah B. Trent (Anglo), August 17, 1937, XCII (92), p. 68.
21. R. M. Loughridge, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1851, 394.
22. For a description of the activities of a Tullahassee student see *Lilah Lindsay Collection*, "Memories of Yesterday in My School Life in Indian Territory Mission Field" (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library, January 22, 1938). For other aspects of Tullahassee's history see *Alice Robertson Collection*, "The Inheritance of Alice Robertson" by Althea Bass, Series I, box 1, folder 1; *Alice Robertson Collection*, "For the Missionary Society of the Forest Hill Seminary, Rockford Illinois", Series I, box 3, folder 2; *Alice Robertson Collection*, Series I, box 3, folder 4. See also Mary Jane Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation, 1843-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 41-42.

23. W. H. Garrett, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1855, 138; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Alice McCombs (Anglo), July 22, 1937, LVII (57), pp. 231-234. Total enrollment in 1855 for the 14 schools in the Creek nation was estimated at 500 students. See W. H. Garrett, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1855, 141-151.

24. *Indians of North America Historical Manuscripts and Documents Collection*, "History of Mission Work Among the Creek Indians from 1832 to 1888, Under the Direction of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A." by Rev. Robert M. Loughridge, Series IV, box 2, folder 4.

25. N. Scott Momaday, "Native American Attitudes to the Environment" in *Seeing With a Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religion*, ed. Walter H. Capps (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 80. Momaday's generalizations concerning pan-Indian attitudes towards and experiences with their environmental surroundings can be interpreted as oversimplified. However, many Indian communities, including the Creek, did (and do) attempt to shape feelings of place and home through a heightened intimacy between community and the natural environment. This process was seminal in facilitating Creek attachment to place and future ethnogenesis. For an additional interpretation of "reciprocal appropriation" and application of the concept to contemporary experiences see Robert A. Rundstrom, "American Indian Placemaking on Alcatraz, 1969-1971" *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 18,4 (1994), 189-212. For additional depth on Momaday's view of the relationship between nature and culture see N. Scott Momaday, "An American Land Ethic" in *Being in the World*, ed. S.H. Slovic and T. F. Dixon (New York: Macmillan, 1993), 605-611.

26. The quote is from W. David Baird, ed., *A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy: The Autobiography of Chief G. W. Grayson*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988, 34.

27. Eufaula Harjo is quoted in Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 4.

28. *Mrs. Alfred Mitchell Collection*, (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box M-23, folder 40. Posey was born in 1873 near Eufaula and accidentally drowned in the Canadian River in 1908. See his poems "In Tulledega" and "Son of the Oktahatche" for evocative place images. For the life story of Posey see *Mrs. Alfred Mitchell Collection*, "'A Creek Indian Poet' by Fredrick S. Barde", box M-22, folder 45; *Mrs. Alfred Mitchell Collection*, "Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine, 'Biographical Sketch of Alex Posey' by Ora Eddleman Reed, July 1908, volume 6, number 5", box M-24, folder 31.

29. For Creek accounts of these creatures see *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Mose Lasley (Creek), December 13, 1937, LII (52), p. 357-361; *Doris Duke Collection*, Eli Stover (Creek), November 3, 1969, T-550, pp. 7-8; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, report of Jefferson Berryhill, "Creek Indian Superstition," July 5, 1937, CII (102), pp. 94-96; Robert Johnson Perry, *Life with the Little People* (Greenfield Center, NY: The Greenfield Review Press, 1998).

30. J. W. Dunn, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1867, 319; *Bryan W. Lovelace Collection*, "Journal of Joseph R. Smith of New York While on a Surveying Expedition Through Indian Territory in 1850," (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box L-27, folder 2; *Grant Foreman Collection*, "North Fork Town" by Carolyn Thomas Foreman (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society), box 29, folder 3. See also Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road: Historical Places along Highway 69 Through Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), 41-42.)

31. Eugene Current-Garcia (with Dorothy B. Hatfield, *Shem, Ham, and Japheth: The Papers of W. O. Tuggle Comprising His Indian Diary, Sketches, and Observations, Myths, and Washington Journal in the Territory and at the Capital, 1879-1882* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1973), 27.

32. "Statement Showing the Farming Operations for 1867 of the Different Tribes of Indians in Connection with the United States," *ARCIA*, 1867, 383; *Creek Nation Collection*, "Rev. A. L. Hay to 'The Indian Advocate,' Louisville, KY, May 1849, volume 3, number 2" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 1, folder 14; Current-Garcia, *Shem, Ham and Japheth*, 39; Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States*, 201-202.

33. "Statement Showing the Farming Operations for 1867 of the Different Tribes of Indians in Connection with the United States," *ARCIA*, 1867, 383; Current-Garcia, *Shem, Ham and Japheth*, 39; Gilbert C. Fite, "Development of the Cotton Industry by the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory" *Journal of Southern History*, 15, 3 (1949), 348; Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States*, 201-202; Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1979) 138.

34. A. L. Hay, "School Report" *ARCIA*, 1853, 398; Danuel B. Asberry, "School Report," *ARCIA*, 1855, 141.

35. For terms see "*Confederate and Indian Territory Indian Treaty*" (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library, 1861). See also A. L. Hay, "School Report" *ARCIA*, 1853, 398; Danuel B. Asberry, "School Report," *ARCIA*,

- 1855, 141; Annie Heloise Abel, "The Indians in the Civil War" *The American Historical Review*, 15,2 (1910), 283-284.
36. Abel, "The Indians in the Civil War," 288; Littlefield, *Africans and Creeks*, 235; Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation*, 58-59. Abel 1910, 288.
37. Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 142-150.
38. George A. Cutler, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1862, 139; George A. Cutler, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1864, 312; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Joseph Bruner (Creek), February 28, 1938, XII (12), pp. 321-322; Abel, "The Indians in the Civil War," 289; Carter Blue Clark, "Opothleyahola and the Creeks During the Civil War" in *Indian Leaders: Oklahoma's First Statesmen*, ed. H. G. Jordan and T. M. Holm (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1979), 53-59. Yahola's migrating party also included Seminole, Chickasaw, Shawnee, Delaware, Comanche, and Kickapoo members who hoped to remain neutral during the war. For an alternative view of Yahola's 300 mile migration between November 1861 and January 1862 see Christine Schultz White and Benton R. White, *Now the Wolf Has Come: The Creek Nation in the Civil War* (College Station, Texas A&M University Press, 1996). The military action during the Yahola-led migration is summarized in Muriel H. Wright, "Colonel Cooper's Civil War Report on the Battle of Round Mountain, 1861" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 27 (1949), 187-206; LeRoy Fisher and Kenny Franks, "Confederate Victory at Chusto-Talasah" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 49 (1971-1972), 452-476.
39. *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Eloise Grayson Smock (Creek), April 9, 1937, LXXXV (85), p. 369; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Polly Barnett (Creek), April 15, 1937, V (5), p. 401; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Jim Spaniard (Creek), June 25, 1937, LXXXVI (86), pp. 14-16; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Andrew Jackson Berryhill (Creek), July 9, 1937, VII (7), pp. 392-393; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Agnes Kelley (Creek), August 19, 1937, L (50), p. 143; Clark, "Opothleyahola and the Creeks During the Civil War," 60. After the Civil War, the Creek vernacular labeled the Union loyalists the "cold country people" and the Confederate faction the "hot country people" due to their respective American Civil War migrations. See *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Jimmie Barnett (Creek), August 10, 1937, V (5), p. 381.
40. George A. Cutler, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1864, 312; J. W. Dunn, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1866, 320; *Alice Robertson Collection* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society), box 2, folder 3.
41. Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 170-171; Littlefield, *Africans and Creeks*, 241-243; Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation*, 88.

42. Michael F. Doran, "Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 53 (1975), 498, 501; Littlefield, *Africans and Creeks*, 255, 259; Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation*, xi.
43. Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Treaties, 1778-1883* (New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1972), 931-937; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 208.
44. Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 931-937; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 208.
45. Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 189; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 176.
46. Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 231.

Chapter 6

1. Although most Creek were opposed to granting freedmen equal citizenship status, little controversy revolved around their participation in negotiations as three distinct towns. At this time, approximately 10 percent of the enrolled Creek were of African heritage. See Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1979), 255, 259.
2. Okmulgee had the advantages of accessibility, abundant pasturages for the horses of those attending the councils, and plentiful wood and water resources. See *Alice Robertson Collection* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society), box 2, folder 3. See also *Alice Lee Marriott Collection*, "History and Legends of the Creek Indians of Oklahoma: With a Brief History of the Creek National Council House" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 8, folder 10.
3. Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press), 205.
4. Morris Edward Opler, "The Creek 'Town' and the Problem of Creek Indian Political Reorganization" in *Human Problems in Technological Change: A Casebook*, ed. E. H. Spicer (New York: Russell Sage Foundation), 174; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 237.
5. J. W. Dunn, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1868, 283-284; John Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma, *Science and Society*, 52 (1988), 177.

6. Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 213, 228.
7. Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 229.
8. *Lochar Harjo Collection*, "Inaugural Speech as Principal Chief to the Houses of Kings and Warriors, Okmulgee, December 6, 1875" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 1 folder 1; Gilbert C. Fite, "Development of the Cotton Industry by the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory" *The Journal of Southern History*, 15, 3 (1949), 349; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 211.
9. James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1842, 457; *Roscoe Simmons Cate Collection*, "Transcript of Compilation of Creek Tribal Laws, made by Samuel J. Checote" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box f, folder 13; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Daniel Barnett (Creek), April 23, 1938, V (5), p. 368 (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries). In 1845, the numbers were similar. Twenty-seven White males, all married to Creek women, were residing in the Creek Nation. See James Logan, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1845, 523.
10. *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Joseph Sondheimer (Anglo), July 30, 1937, LXXXV (85), p. 439; Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road: Historical Places along Highway 69 Through Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), 41-42; Michael F. Doran, *The Origins of Culture Areas in Oklahoma, 1830 to 1900* (Eugene: University of Oregon Ph.D. Dissertation (Geography), 98-99.
11. *Ward Coachman Collection*, "Message ot Kings and Warriors, Okmulgee, October 1878" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 1, folder 3; *Samuel Checote Collection*, "'Message of Samuel Checote,' October 5, 1880" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box C-2I, folder 7; *Samuel Checote Collection*, "*Indian Journal*, Muskogee, Indian Territory, 'Message of Samuel Checote,' October 18, 1883, volume 8, number 7", box C-2I, folder 10; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Wilson Clark (Creek), August 16, 1937, XVIII (18), p. 225. As early as 1876, Principal Chief Lochar Harjo asked the National Council to take action against a rapidly increasing number of Anglo intruders. See *Lochar Harjo Collection*, "*The Indian Journal*, Message of Larcher Harjo, November 6, 1876", box 1, folder 2. See also *Lochar Harjo Collection*, "Message to Kings and Warriors, Okmulgee, October 8, 1879", box 1, folder 5. Creek protests against the Anglo intruders—colorfully labeled as "groveling parasites and barnacles contributed by surrounding states"—continued in other Creek administrations. *Joseph M. Perryman Collection*, "*Indian Journal*, Inaugural Message to the National Council, Okmulgee, December 5, 1883, December 13, 1883, volume 8, number 15" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 1, folder 1. For

lists of intruders and correspondence between the Creek Nation and government agent see *Creek National Records*, CRN 37, 30,903-31,137 (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, Archives/Manuscripts Division). One Anglo remembered that an acquaintance leased several thousand acres of pasture from a Creek for an annual fee of five cents an acre. See *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Ben F. Williams (Anglo), October 4, 1937, XCVIII (98), pp. 171-172. See also *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Ella M. Robinson (Anglo), "Ranch Life in Indian Territory," October 11, 1937, CVIII (198), pp. 220-225.

12. The quotations are from Theodora R. Jenness, "The Indian Territory" *The Atlantic Monthly*, 43, 258 (1879), 444; Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 330-331; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Nora Catlett (Anglo), June 15, 1937, XVI (16), p. 370. Soon after their arrival, the Catlett family participated in the opening of the new town of Weleetka on the allotment of a Creek woman. See also *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Wilson Clark (Creek), August 16, 1937, XVIII (18), p. 224.
13. See Doran, *The Origins of Culture Areas in Oklahoma*, 84, 135; David J. Wishart, "Settling the Great Plains, 1850-1930" in *North America: The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent*, ed. R.D. Mitchell and P.A. Groves (Savage, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1987), 258. Jenness also discusses the idea of Indian Territory as a placeless resource waiting to be exploited. See Jenness, "The Indian Territory," 444.
14. The quotes are from Rezin W. McAdam, "An Indian Commonwealth" *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 87 (1893), 897; F. S. Lyon, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1871, 571. See also United States Department of the Interior, Census Office, *The Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory: The Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole Nations (Extra Census Bulletin)* (Washington, D.C.: United States Census Printing Office, 1894), map. Federal officials believed that Indian Territory was "a dark blot in the midst of a great and progressive country." See Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), 225. The majority of the pre-1890 intruder population resided in the Choctaw and Cherokee Nations. See Leo E. Bennett, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1890, 91.
15. For the history of the MKT railroad, including the railroad building process and associated laborers, merchants, and intruders see V. V. Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952). For observations on the ethnicity of railroad crews see *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, H. L. Chancey (Anglo), July 23, 1937, XVII (17), p. 145; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, W. Frank Jones (Anglo), September 3, 1937, XLIX (49), p. 354.
16. The quote is from *Creek National Records*, CRN 43, 35,735 "Ward Coachman and Pleasant Porter to Samuel Checote". See also United States Department of the

Interior, Census Office, *The Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory: The Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole Nations (Extra Census Bulletin* (Washington, D.C.: United States Census Printing Office, 1894), map.

17. The quotations are from Masterson, *The Katy Railroad*, 139; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Fred Madden (Anglo), March 11, 1938, LX (60), p. 63; John Q. Tufts, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1883, 89. See also Leo E. Bennett, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1889, 202; *Creek National Records*, "E. A. Hays to G. W. Stidham, Pleasant Porter, D. M. Hodge," CRN 37, 30,948; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Jim Rumsey (Anglo), LXXIX (79), pp. 134-135. Over 70 percent of the Anglo settlers in the Creek Nation in 1890 lived in the Eufaula and Muskogee Districts. Black population was concentrated in the Cowetah district. The Creek were fairly evenly dispersed, with the exceptions of a small population in the Cowetah district and a large population in the Muskogee district. The Muskogee district had the largest total population, by far. See United States Department of the Interior, Census Office, *The Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory: The Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole Nations (Extra Census Bulletin* (Washington, D.C.: United States Census Printing Office, 1894), 6, 68; John Q. Tufts, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1880, 94; Doran, *The Origins of Culture Areas in Oklahoma*, 156-157.

18. The quotation is from Robert L. Owen, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1888, 132.

19. S. W. Marston, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1876, 62; John Q. Tufts, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1880, 94; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 367; Fite, "Development of the Cotton Industry," 351; Francaviglia forthcoming. Even with agricultural diversification, Creek subsistence farmers remained dependent on small corn patches for their livelihood. See *Joseph M. Perryman Collection*, "The Indian Journal, Message of J. M. Perryman, November 6, 1884, volume 9, number 6, box 1, folder 2;

20. *Legus Chouteau Perryman Collection*, "Our Brother in Red, Muskogee, Indian Territory, 'Message of L.C. Perryman,' October 13, 1888", box P-21, folder 2; Masterson, *The Katy Railroad*, 144. In 1901, the Creek Nation reported that towns with more than 200 people included Muskogee, Wagoner, Eufaula, Checotah, Bristow, Tulsa, Sapulpa, Clarksville, Mounds, Beggs, Okmulgee, Winchell, Henryetta, Alabama, Wetumka, Foster, and Holdenville. See *Pleasant Porter Collection*, "Second Annual Message of Pleasant Porter, " October 1901 (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 2, folder 92.

21. Mary Jane Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation, 1843-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 187. For efforts at urban planning and townsite construction in the Cherokee nation see Brad A. Bays, *A Historical Geography of Town Building in the Cherokee Nation, 1866-1907* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Ph.D. dissertation (geography), 1996; Brad A. Bays, *Townsite*

Settlement and Dispossession in the Cherokee Nation, 1866-1907 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997).

22. In 1890, the Muskogee District hosted a total population of 4,928. In addition to 2,548 Creek, 1,336 Whites, and 619 Blacks, the population also included several Cherokee, Seminole, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Shawnee, Pottawatomie, and Chinese members. Intruders were not counted in the census. See United States Department of the Interior, Census Office, *The Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory: The Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole Nations (Extra Census Bulletin)* (Washington, D.C.: United States Census Printing Office, 1894), 6. See also *Creek National Records*, CRN 49, 38,914 "Ward Coachman to House of Kings and Warriors"; *Grant Foreman Papers*, "Brother Brackin to Grant Foreman" (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library, n.d.), box 16, binder 3; *Grant Foreman Papers*, John Q. Tufts, Union Agency to Sam Checote, Principal Chief, "List of Licensed Traders in the Creek Nation, May 6, 1881" (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library, n.d.), box 38, volume 80; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Jacob Rolland (Yuchi), April 28, 1937, LXXVIII (78), p. 13; *Grant Foreman Papers*, (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society), box 39, folder 23; John Dowling Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma, Including the Counties of Muskogee, McIntosh, Wagoner, Cherokee, Sequoyah, Adair, Delaware, Mayes, Rogers, Washington, Nowata, Craig, and Ottawa* (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1922), 341-343; Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation*, 175-178. By 1900, Muskogee had a population of approximately 6,000 people. See J. Blair Shoenfelt, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1900, 226; Grant Foreman, *Muskogee: The Biography of an Oklahoma Town* (St. Louis: Blackwell Wielandy Company, 1944), 24; Masterson, *The Katy Railroad*, 146-147. After Muskogee moved to the railroad corridor, the Texas Road was diverted several miles to run through town on Cherokee Street, further cementing the growing city as a key Indian Territory central place. See *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Life of Joshua Ross, by Susie Ross Martin (Cherokee), June 11, 1937, LXI (61), pp. 6-7. The Union Agency was situated on "Agency Hill" while the site of the old Creek Agency about five miles northwest of Muskogee near Fern Mountain (called "Old Agency") was abandoned. See *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Fannie Rentie Chapman (Creek freedman), April 14, 1937, XVII (17), p. 216; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, J. W. Stephens (Creek freedman), March 22, 1938, LXXXVII (87), p. 119-120.
23. The population of Tulsa was about 150 when the St. Louis-San Francisco railroad was extended to town. See *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, D. O. Gilliss (Anglo), June 30, 1937, XXXIV (34), pp. 104-107. See also *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, J. A. Abbott (Anglo), November 18, 1937, I (1), p. 17; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Arthur Bynum (Anglo), 1937, XIV (14), pp. 307-309; Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 133.

24. United States Department of the Interior, Census Office, *The Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory: The Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole Nations (Extra Census Bulletin* (Washington, D.C.: United States Census Printing Office, 1894), 10; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, W. Frank Jones (Anglo), September 3, 1937, LXIX (49), p. 350; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, R. B. Buford (Anglo), October 29, 1937, XIII (13), p. 82; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, J. W. Stephens (Creek freedman), March 22, 1938, LXXXVII (87), p. 120; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Lizzie Ireland Stidham (Creek), August 26, 1938, XLVI (46), p. 433; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Richard Young Audd (Anglo), III (3), p. 292; Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation*, 96, 175.
25. *Samuel Checote Collection*, “Message of Samuel Checote, October 5, 1875”, box C-2I, folder 5. Perryman noted in his 1885 annual address that railroad officials aggressively claimed legal right to certain sections of the Creek public domain and asserted the right to remove Creek citizens from what the railroad companies believed to be company-owned property. See *Joseph M. Perryman Collection*, “The Indian Journal, Message of J. M. Perryman, October 15, 1885, volume 10 number 3”, box 1, folder 3.
26. *Creek Nation Collection* (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, n.d.), box 1, folder 62.
27. The quote is from *Creek National Records*, CRN 37, 30,190, “Geo. Campbell to Honorable Chief, Creek Nation”. See also John Q. Tufts, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1881, 104; Dew M. Wisdom, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1894, 141; J. Blair Shoenfelt, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1903, 162; J. Blair Shoenfelt, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1904, 183; Pleasant Porter Collection, “The Indian Republican, Tulsa, Indian Territory, ‘Last Creek Council’ October 20, 1905, volume 15, number 29, box 4, folder 274; *Creek National Records*, CRN 37, 31,157, “P. Porter to J. Blair Shoenfelt”. Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri contributed nearly half of the White population of Indian Territory in 1900. For a detailed chart of the origins of the White population of Indian Territory in 1900 see Doran, *The Origins of Culture Areas in Oklahoma*, 161-163; Michael F. Doran, “Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 53 (1975), 513-514. The population geography of Oklahoma Territory in 1900 was vastly different with Kansas, Missouri, Texas, and Illinois providing the bulk of Anglo settlers. See Doran, *The Origins of Culture Areas in Oklahoma*, 171-173; Doran, “Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory,” 515.
28. Dew M. Wisdom, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1896, 152. For examples of the pro-allotment viewpoints see Dew M. Wisdom, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1894, 142; Dew M. Wisdom, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1897, 143; J. Blair Shoenfelt, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1903, 176.

29. *Doris Duke Collection*, Solomon Wilson (Creek), June 1, 1970, T-589-2, pp. 9-10 (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries); Robert Johnson Perry, *Life with the Little People* (Greenfield Center, NY: The Greenfield Review Press, 1998), 12, 99.
30. The town of Broken Arrow received its name as a symbolic representation of this process of dramatic culture change. Prior to Anglo intrusion, a nearby Creek town had a Creek name. As immigration grew worse in the Tulsa to Sapulpa corridor, the town was moved and renamed Broken Arrow to commemorate the changes in Creek land and life. See *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Mildred Childers (Creek), October 29, 1937, XVII (17), p. 416; *Doris Duke Collection*, Wilson Haynie (Creek), April 15, 1970, T-609, p. 2.
31. The quote is from *Grayson Family Papers Collection*, "Act of the National Council, November 5, 1894" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box G-22, flap folder 5, folder 25. See also Morris Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," *Papers in Anthropology*, 13,1 (1972), 64. Robert Sack defines territoriality as "the attempt by an individual or group to effect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area." See Robert D. Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 19.
32. The quotes are from *Grayson Family Papers Collection*, "Legus C. Perryman and G.W. Grayson to H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 8, 1883", box G-22, flap folder IV, folder 1; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 178. For details of each conservative protest, see Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 230-235. G.W. Grayson characterized Creek traditionals as hoping to return to "a system of government and religion on which all were united." Yet, the majority of the Creek have learned "to adopt, love, and respect many of the principles of government and religion that have been so industriously and persistently taught [to] them". He concluded that "the Creeks as a whole have forgotten the customs and traditions of their ancestors and feel that their existence and progress inseparably centres in a proper protection of the principles of civilization." See *Grayson Family Papers Collection*, "G.W. Grayson to H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 6, 1883", box G-23, flap folder 6, folder 1. For the impeachment of Harjo see *Lochar Harjo Collection*, "The Indian Journal, Impeachment of Locher Harjo, December 21, 1876, volume 1, number 31", box 1, folder 3.
33. The quote is from *Grant Foreman Papers*, "[International] Council to the President and Congress of the United States" (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library, 1873), box 39, binder 83. See also *Grant Foreman Papers*, "Memorial of Citizens of the Creek Nation, Remonstrating Against the Establishment of a Territorial Government for the Indian Territory, Eufaula, Creek Nation, January

26, 1875" (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library), box 11, folder 4. Transcripts of the 1873 International Council of 18 tribes are found in *Grant Foreman Papers*, (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library), box 37, binders 83-85. The attempts of the Okmulgee Convention to establish a territorial government were later continued as the Indian International Council. Morton notes that the Five Civilized Tribes were divided into 3 political factions after the American Civil War: a small minority which favored the opening of Indian Territory to Anglo settlement, another small minority who opposed any change to the political system, and the majority who favored changes in governmental form to maintain tribal autonomy. See Ohland Morton, "Reconstruction in the Creek Nation" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 9 (1931), 176. For the Agent's summary of the three Creek political parties of the era—the Independent, Convention Muscogee, and Convention Union—see Robert L. Owen, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1887, 116-118. See also Leo E. Bennett, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1889, 204. As noted previously, many Creek did not participate in formalized national politics, but remained oriented to the political system found in tribal towns.

34. Traditional Creek argued that the federal government allowed progressive Creek to exclude legally qualified voters and file false election returns. The Creek Agent ignored these protests, stating that only the political party elected by federally-recognized popular vote could govern. See *Our Monthly Collection*, "E. R. Roberts, Creek Agent to 'the Creek People'" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 2, folder 4.
35. *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, W. Frank Jones (Anglo), September 3, 1937, XLIX (49), pp. 352-353; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Sarah Odom (Creek), December 27, 1937, LXVIII (68), p. 64; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Jesse Doyle (Anglo), XXV (25), p. 416; *Grant Foreman Collection*, "Department of the Interior, Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes" flyer (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society), box 14, folder 7; *Grant Foreman Collection*, box 27, folder 3. Creek political protests and individual complaints about railroad construction are noted in *Creek National Records*, CRN 43, 35,722-35,883.
36. See Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 239-246.
37. *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Martha Anderson (Creek), January 4, 1938, II (2), pp. 341-342; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 280; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 178.
38. For an example of the alliance between the Creek progressive government and the federal government that minimized conservative protests see *Grayson Family Papers Collection*, "Samuel Checote, Principal Chief to G.W. Grayson and L.C. Perryman, January 2, 1883", box G-22, flap folder 5, folder 8.

39. Robert L. Owen, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1887, 116-118; Robert L. Owen, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1888, 124; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Nancy Meadows (Anglo), September 14, 1937, LXII (62), pp. 41-42; Opler, "The Creek 'Town,'" 168.
40. "Report," *ARCIA*, 1874, 70; Dew M. Wisdom, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1895, 160; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Thomas Jones (Creek), June 13, 1937, XLIX (49), pp. 305-306. Not surprisingly, the United States Geological Survey officials in charge of the Indian Territory township and range surveys were proponents of allotment. See Henry Gannett, "The Survey and Subdivision of Indian Territory" *National Geographic*, 7,3 (1896), 112-115. At this time, there were also reports of vandalism that targeted the fences of large landholdings rented by Anglo cattlemen from mixedblood Creek. See *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, D. W. Donathan (Anglo), August 24, 1937, XXV (25), pp. 164-165.
41. *G.N. Belvin Collection* (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 1, folder 14; Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 54; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 27.
42. Creek Pleasant Porter was a leading proponent of the creation of an Indian state and an organizer of the Sequoyah Convention. See *Pleasant Porter Collection*, "The Indian Republican, Tulsa, Indian Territory, 'Editorial on Pleasant Porter,' November 3, 1905, volume 15, number 31-496, box 5, folder 277. The most comprehensive account of the Sequoyah movement is Amos D. Maxwell, *The Sequoyah Constitutional Convention* (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1953). Abel argues that after 1878, the concept of an Indian state was politically unviable. See "Annie H. Abel, Proposals for an Indian State, 1778-1878" *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1 (1907), 102.
43. Chitto Harjo can also be translated as "brave serpent." Harjo also participated in the Creek conflicts of the 1870s and 1880s. See Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 178-179.
44. See Mace Davis, "Chitto Harjo" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 13,2 (1935), 139-145
45. *Pleasant Porter Collection*, "The Daily Chieftain, Vinita, Indian Territory, 'Letter of Pleasant Porter to U.S. Marshall,' November 5, 1900, volume 3, number 27", box 1, folder 40; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Henry Jacobs (Creek freedman), July 24, 1937, XLVII (47), pp. 227-230; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 236. For an example of Creek admiration of the efforts of the Snakes see the Alex Posey poem "On the Capture and Imprisonment of Crazy Snake," January 1900. Posey calls Chitto Harjo "The one lone Creek, perhaps the last; to dare to declare,

‘You have wronged me!’” See *Roscoe Simmons Cate Collection*, box 4, folder 4. The lighthouse was the Creek name for their police force. See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, “The Light-Horse in Indian Territory” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 34 (1956), 17-43.

46. Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 54-57. For the state interpretation of the 1909 conflict with the Snakes at Hickory Ground see *John Alley Collection*, “For the First Time, the True Story of the Last Oklahoma Indian Uprising as Told by the Man Who Put it Down” (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 5, folder 3.
47. *Isparhecher Collection*, “*The Indian Citizen*, Atoka, Indian Territory, Message of Isparhecher, September 2, 1897, volume 12, number 19” (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 1, folder 18; *Grayson Family Papers Collection*, “Isparhecher to the National Council, August 24, 1897”, box G-23, flap folder 7, folder 26; *Grayson Family Papers Collection*, box G-21, flap folder 2, folder 5; *Creek National Records*, CRN 37, 31, 142, “Isparhecher to Roley McIntosh and D. V. Anderson”; Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1982), 245-246; Donald L. Parman. 1989. Indians of the Modern West in *The Twentieth Century West*, ed. G.D. Nash and R.W. Etulain, pp. 147-172 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 149; D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Volume 2, Continental America, 1800-1867*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 182; Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation*, 122-124. One journalist of the era summarized the opening of Indian Territory as the refusal to allow “millions of fertile acres to lie in unproductive wilderness, a monument to mistaken governmental munificence, reproaching homeless labor to satisfy a vague sentimental Indian equity.” See Rezin W. McAdam, “An Indian Commonwealth” *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 87 (1893), 884. For other contemporary Anglo interpretations of the necessity of opening Indian Territory to Anglo settlement see *Grant Foreman Collection* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society), box 21, folder 8. According to published accounts, Moty Tiger (and possibly his sons) was the only Creek to initially publicly vote for allotment at public meetings in 1893. See *Moty Tiger Collection*, “The South McAlester Capital, South McAlester, Indian Territory, ‘Editorial on Motey Tiger,’ September 21, 1899, volume 6, number 44” (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box T-8, folder 1; *Moty Tiger Collection*, “*The Broken Arrow Democrat*, Broken Arrow, Indian Territory, ‘Biographical Sketch of Moty Tiger,’ Friday September 20, 1907, volume 3, number 3”, box T-8, folder 2; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Mary Grayson (Creek), August 3, 1937, CII (102), p. 98.

48. Quoted in *Legus Chouteau Perryman Collection*, "Indian Journal, Eufaula, Indian Territory, 'Message of L.C. Perryman,' April 12, 1894, volume 18, number 18" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box P-21, folder 8.
49. *Grayson Family Papers Collection*, "J.M. Perryman, Principal Chief to G.W. Grayson, Ward Coachman, Coweta Micco, and Legus C. Perryman, December 1, 1885", box G-22, flap folder 4, folder 2; *Isparhecher Collection*, "Claremore Progress, Proclamation of Isparhecher, July 25, 1896, volume 4, number 25" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box 1, folder 8; *Legus Chouteau Perryman Collection*, box P-21, folder 8; *Pleasant Porter Collection*, "Muskogee Phoenix, Muskogee, Indian Territory, 'Letter of P. Porter and A.P. McKellop,' January 18, 1894, volume 6, number 48", box 1, folder 7. In the 1866 United States-Creek treaty, Article 10 pledged that the United States would "not in any manner interfere with or annul their [the Creek] present tribal organization, rights, laws, privileges, and customs." Similar phrases were found in earlier Creek treaties. See Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Treaties, 1778-1883* (New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1972), 934-935.
50. The quote is from *Grayson Family Papers Collection*, "Isparhecher to the National Council, August 24, 1897", box G-23, flap folder 7, folder 26; *Creek Papers*, "Message to the President and Congress of the United States" from the Commissioners on part of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Muskogee Nations of the Indian Territory in International Council, Checotah, Indian Territory" (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library, February 21, 1894), folder 37; *Isparhecher Collection*, "The Indian Citizen, Atoka, Indian Territory, Message of Isparhecher, September 2, 1897, volume 12, number 19", box 1, folder 18; *Isparhecher Collection*, "The Indian Chieftain, Vinita, Indian Territory, Messages of Isparhecher, October 14, 1897, volume 16, number 7", box 1, folder 21.
51. *Indians of North America Historical Manuscripts and Documents Collection* (Tulsa: Special Collections, McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa), Series IV, box 1, folder 3.); Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 32-33; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 346-348.
52. *Isparhecher Collection*, "The Indian Chieftain, Vinita, Indian Territory, Messages of Isparhecher, October 14, 1897, volume 16, number 7, box 1, folder 21; *Isparhecher Collection*, "'The Daily Chieftain,' Vinita, Cherokee Nation, Message of Isparhecher, December 17, 1898, volume 1, number 66", box 1, folder 35; *Isparhecher Collection*, "'The South McAlester Capital,' South McAlester, Indian Territory, Dawes-Creek Treaty, June 1, 1899, volume 6, number 28", box 1, folder 37; Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 32-33; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 346-348. For the full text of the 1897 agreement between the Dawes Commission and the Creek see *Pleasant*

Porter Collection, “‘The Fort Gibson Post,’ Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, ‘The Creek Agreement,’ September 30, 1897, volume 8, number 2”, box 1, folder 13.

53. Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 33-35. The Porter administration also opposed Oklahoma statehood, but took little action other than limited public posturing. See *Grayson Family Papers Collection*, “Resolution Opposing Statehood, box G-21, flap folder 1, folder 10. For the life story of Porter, see *Pleasant Porter Collection*, “Sturm’s Oklahoma Magazine, Tulsa, Indian Territory, ‘Biographical Sketch of Pleasant Porter’ by Charles Leroy Reed, January 1907, volume 3, number 5”, box 1, folder 39.
54. Creek allottees were identified by the Dawes Commission (1893) which compiled tribal rolls. It was calculated that in 1898, 14,771 enrolled Creek lived on 3,040,000 acres of the Creek Nation. Subtracting 30,000 acres for entities such as towns, railroad right-of-ways, schools, churches, cemeteries, and courthouses, 3,010,000 net acres were to be allotted. This would have left 203 acre allotments, if distributed on a per capita basis. See *Creek Nation Collection*, “‘The Claremore Progress,’ September 24, 1898, volume 6, number 33”, box 1, folder 58.
55. The quotation is from *Creek National Records*, CRN 37, 31,156, “P. Porter to Yarteka Harjo, July 13, 1900”. See also Dew M. Wisdom, “Report,” *ARCIA*, 1897, 141; *Legus Chouteau Perryman Collection*, “*Holdenville Tribune*, Holdenville, Indian Territory, ‘Interview with L.C. Perryman and P.L. Berryhill,’ March 8, 1906, volume 6, number 6, box P-21, folder 32; *Legus Chouteau Perryman Collection*, “‘The Chelsea Commercial, Chelsea, Indian Territory, ‘Indians Hold Annual Dance,’ July 21, 1905, volume 11, number 5”, box P-21, folder 29; Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., “Utopian Dreams of the Cherokee Fullbloods: 1890-1934” *Journal of the West*, 10 (1971), 404-427. One Five Civilized Tribes party negotiated with “a large syndicate controlling operation on 4,500,000 acres of land” in Chihuahua, Mexico in the hopes of purchasing property and restoring their system of communal ownership. See *Grant Foreman Collection*, “St. Louis Daily Globe Democrat, Indian Colonization in Mexico: How the Five Civilized Tribes Will Answer the Allotment Proposition,” December 21, 1897 (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society), box 16, folder 5.
56. The quotes are from Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 34; Hamlin Garland, “The Final Council of the Creek Nation” in *Hamlin Garland’s Observations on the American Indian, 1895-1905*, ed. Lonnie E. Underhill and Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 190. After tribal dissolution, the Creek government could only meet for 30 total days a year, approval of United States President was mandatory in all matters, and the collection and disbursement of tribal funds were administered through the United States Secretary of the Interior. See Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 47.

57. J. Blair Shoenfelt, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1903, 176; Debo, *And Still the Water Runs*, 36.
58. Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 98; Perry, *Life with the Little People*, 95. See also a map series in the *Indian Territory Map Collection*, 2-250.2-Drawer 8645, 2-277-8614, and 2-217-8614, WH, "Department of the Interior, Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, map showing progress of allotment in the Creek Nation", 1899-1900, 1899-1901, 1899-1902); 2-216-8614, WH, "Department of the Interior, Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, Creek and Seminole Nations, Indian Territory," 1899 (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries). See also *Mrs. Alfred Mitchell Collection*, "The Oklahoma State Capital, Guthrie, Oklahoma, 'Editorial and Statement of Alex Posey,' April 18, 1990, volume 20, number 306" (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries), box M-24, folder 43; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, L. P Bobo (Anglo), May 24, 1937, IX (9), p. 66; *Creek National Records*, CRN 37, 31,160; *Creek National Records*, CRN 37, 31,196, "C.W. Garrett to Pleasant Porter, August 10, 1902". Porter noted that by 1900 many fullbloods had chosen allotments on prime river valley land, likely in the traditional settlement area of their tribal towns. See *Pleasant Porter Collection*, "Message of Pleasant Porter to National Council, October 2, 1900", box 1, folder 35. Creek freedmen also attempted to cluster their allotments. Several freedmen allotments were transformed into all-black towns. See Katja May, *African Americans and Native Americans in the Creek and Cherokee Nations, 1830s to 1920s: Collision and Collusion* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 228-237.
59. Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 51; Debo, *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma: Report on Social and Economic Conditions* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1951, 1; Opler, "The Creek 'Town,'" 176.
60. The quotes are from Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866), 167; *Pleasant Porter Collection*, "Muskogee Phoenix, Muskogee, Indian Territory, 'Letter of P. Porter and A.P. McKellop,' January 18, 1894, volume 6, number 48", box 1, folder 7. An Anglo settler characterized the typical Creek landscape as comprising small farms without much farming. See *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, D. B. Milam (Anglo), April 19, 1938, LXIII (63), p. 64.
61. Douglas A. Hurt, "'Vexations of Flesh and Spirit': Environment and Culture in the Cross Timbers" *Oklahoma: Magazine of the Oklahoma Heritage Association*, 3,1 (1998), 29; Francaviglia forthcoming.
62. Dew M. Wisdom, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1894, 142; Dew M. Wisdom, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1897, 143.

63. J. Blair Shoenfelt, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1900, 247; J. Blair Shoenfelt, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1902, 194; *Creek National Records*, CRN 37, 31, 166 "J. Blair Shoenfelt to W. T. Harper"; J. Blair Shoenfelt, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1903, 172; *Pleasant Porter Collection*, "Second Annual Message of Pleasant Porter", box 2, folder 92; J. Blair Shoenfelt, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1904, 184; *Pleasant Porter Collection*, "The Muskogee Phoenix, Muskogee, Indian Territory, 'Message of Pleasant Porter,' October 4, 1904, volume 4, number 37", box 4, folder 217; J. Blair Shoenfelt, "Report, *ARCIA*, 1905, 220; *Grant Foreman Papers*, "P. Porter to J. Blair Shoenfelt, U.S. Indian Agent, Jaunuary 5, 1904" (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library), box 29, binder 56; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Eliza Palmer (Creek), September 20, 1937, LXIX (69), p. 74; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Jesse Doyle (Anglo), March 3, 1938, XXV (25), p. 414; Hildegard Binder Johnson, Towards a National Landscape in *The Making of the American Landscape*, ed. Michael P. Conzen (New York: Routledge, 1990), 135; Perry, *Life with the Little People*, 102-103. Pleasant Porter noted that the older fullblood population was becoming discouraged by the changes in government and land-holding systems. See *Pleasant Porter Collection*, "The New State Tribune, Muskogee, Indian Territory, 'Message of P. Porter,' October 18, 1906, volume 12, number 52," box 5, folder 315.
64. *Grant Foreman Papers*, "P. Porter to Theodore Roosevelt, Muskogee, Indian Territory, August 14, 1902" (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art Library), box 29, binder 56.
65. *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Jimmie Barnett (Creek), August 10, 1937, V (5), pp. 378, 383; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Linda Collins (Creek), January 13, 1938, XIX (19), p. 395; Opler, "The Creek 'Town,'" 178; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 179.
66. The quote is from Debo, *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma*, 2. *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Fred Johnson (Creek freedman), January 14, 1938, XLVIII (48), p. 236; Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 127; Debo, *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma*, 4.
67. For positive interpretations of progressive actions during this era see David W. Baird, ed., *A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy: The Autobiography of Chief G. W. Grayson* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation*.
68. *Mrs. Alfred Mitchell Collection*, "Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine, Tulsa, Indian Territory, 'Letter of Fus Fixico' by Alex Posey, pp. 90-92, October 1905, volume 1, number 2", box M-24, folder 28.

69. Dana H. Kelsey, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1905, 218-219; Dana H. Kelsey, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1906, 233; *Creek Nation Collection*, "The Indian Journal, Eufaula, Indian Territory, July 25, 1902, number 30, volume 27, box 1, folder 31; Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma*, 166; Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 89, 182; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 179.
70. The quotes are from J. Blair Shoenfelt, "Report," *ARCIA*, 1899, 193; Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 91. See also Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma*, 166; Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 89, 182; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 179. It was estimated that in 1904 restrictions were ended on 549,480 acres of Creek land. See Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 114. Parman notes that nationally approximately 90 percent of allotments were quickly sold after individuals gained full title. See Donald L. Parman, "Indians of the Modern West" in *The Twentieth Century West*, eds. D. Nash and R. W. Etulain (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 152. For an example of railroad boosterism, see flyers advertising the sale of lots newly formed town of Spokogee ("The Coming Metropolis") in Okfuskee County sponsored by the Ft. Smith and Western Railroad. See *Grant Foreman Collection* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society), box 13, folder 18.

Chapter 7

1. See George O. Carney, "Bug Tussle to Slapout: Place Names on the Oklahoma Landscape" *Places*, 3,2 (1976), 32. The clustering of toponyms in certain areas typically reflects the cultural orientation of the region. See Patricia O. Afable and Madison S. Beeler, "Place-Names" in *Handbook of North American Indians*, v. 17, ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 185.
2. Morris Edward Opler, "The Creek 'Town' and the Problem of Creek Indian Political Reorganization" in *Human Problems in Technological Change: A Casebook*, ed. E.H. Spicer (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952), 174. All observations in this and the next chapter not explicitly cited are based upon field work in the Creek Nation from fall 1996 to spring 2000. All interpretations and descriptions are strictly my own and any misinterpretations are solely mine and not those of my informants.
3. Alexander Spoehr, "Kinship System of the Seminole" *Publications of Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series*, 33,2 (1976), 49, 95, 106.
4. Grant Foreman, ed., *A Traveler in Indian Territory: The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930) 121. For an outline of Yuchi history and their contemporary social community see Jason Baird Jackson,

"Architecture and Hospitality: Ceremonial Ground Camps and Foodways of the Yuchi Indians" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 76,2 (1998), 172-189.

5. Donald L. Fixico, "Sovereignty Revitalized" in *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations From Prophecy to the Present*, ed. Peter Nabokov, (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), 420-423; Bill Osinski, "Kialegee Tribe Plans Casino in Georgia Homelands," *Oklahoma Indian Times*, October 1999, pp. A1, B1-B2.
6. Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1940), 368-374; Angie Debo, *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma: Report of Social and Economic Conditions* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1951), 3; John H. Moore, "Creek/Mvskoke" in *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Mary B. Davis (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994), 151.
7. Opler, "The Creek 'Town'", 174-176; John Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma" *Science and Society*, 52 (1988), 182-184; Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 236. See Moore for a description of the 1970 and 1975 Creek elections in which the Bureau of Indian Affairs manipulated Principal chief election returns, allowing Claude Cox (a mixed-blood progressive) to defeat Allen Harjo (a traditionalist). With the support of the BIA, Cox then established a powerful political patronage which further limited his political opposition. This action was directly opposed to the Creek tradition of governing by consensus building. For a outline of Creek-American political interaction (and interference) since statehood see Tom Holm, "The Crisis in Tribal Government" in *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Vine Deloria, Jr., (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 144-153. Although the Creek Nation is viewed as promoting progressive ideals, candidates for Principal and Second chief seldom fail to use traditional symbolism, including references to tribal towns, stickball games, and churches. Town membership, clan affiliation, church membership, and blood quantum are commonly listed in campaign information. For examples see advertisements for Perry Beaver, Ken Childers and A.D. Ellis, *Oklahoma Indian Times*, November 1999, pp. 3, 10, B10.
8. Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, xiv; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937", 56; Moore, "Creek/Mvskoke," 151. For a full description of the exploitation of the Creek and the other Five Civilized Tribes and liquidation of their assets during and after allotment see Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*.
9. Sharon O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986, 133-134; Thomas Yahola, Unpublished Transcript of an

Untitled Presentation About Muskogee Place Names, *Native American Names Session, Western States Geographic Names Conference*, Wagoner, Oklahoma, 2.

10. Muskogee (Creek) Nation website, Executive Branch, Office of Administration. Available: <www.ocevnet.org/creek/adm-exec.html>; George Roth, "Overview of Southeastern Indians Today" in *Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late 20th Century*, ed. J. Anthony Paredes, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1992), 187; Moore, "Creek/Mvskoke", 152. Official tribal business, economic programs, and social news are outlined in the Creek Nation's monthly newspaper, *Muskogee Nation News*.
11. Opler, "The Creek 'Town'", 175-176, 179 ; Morris Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937" *Papers in Anthropology*, 13,1 (1972), 30-75; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma", 164-165, 179; Moore, "Creek/Mvskoke", 150. Opler was hired by the federal government in the 1930s as assistant anthropologist in the Office of Indian Affairs. His duties included counting tribal towns and their members because the federal government believed tribal towns to be nearly extinct and the Creek to be "tribeless farmers scattered among white agriculturalists". Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937", 5. Overt displays of territoriality and political resistance were few after statehood with the exception of the World War I-era "Green Corn Rebellion." Creek towns allied with Oklahoma socialists (the Working Class Union) and the Industrial Workers of the World to resist the draft. A Creek-Anglo militia was formed with the intent of marching on Washington, D.C. and forcing the government to end World War I. Although the effort was not realized, several tribal towns voted for peace with Germany and actively urged their members to resist the draft. For a Cherokee fullblood example of resistance to the dominant culture see Robert K. Thomas, "The Redbird Smith Movement" in *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture*, *BAE Bulletin*, ed. William N. Fenton and John Gulick (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), 165. For an outline of a basic hypothesis of revitalization movements see Russell Thornton, "Boundary Dissolution and Revitalization Movements: The Case of the Nineteenth-Century Cherokees" *Ethnohistory*, 40,3 (1993), 360-361.
12. Pamela Joan Innis, *From One to Many, From Many to One: Speech Communities in the Muskogee Stompdance Population* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Ph.D. dissertation (anthropology), 1997), 66-78.
13. Lester E. Robbins, *The Persistence of Traditional Religious Practices Among Creek Indians* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Ph.D. Dissertation (Anthropology), 1976), 157-162; Amelia Rector, "Separate People: Speaking of Creek Men and Women" *American Anthropologist*, 92 (1990), 333.

14. J.N. Hadley, "Notes on the Socio-economic Status of the Oklahoma Seminoles" in *A Seminole Source Book*, ed. William C. Sturtevant, (New York: Garland, 1987), 146; Amelia Bell Walker, "Tribal Towns, Stomp Grounds, and Land: Oklahoma Creeks After Removal, *Chicago Anthropology Exchange*, 14 (1981), 59.
15. Robbins, *The Persistence of Traditional Religious Practices*, 123-125; Walker, "Tribal Towns, Stomp Grounds, and Land," 57-58; Bell, "Separate People", 333; Jackson, "Architecture and Hospitality," 175-180. For a description of a typical Creek ceremonial see Walker, "Tribal Towns, Stomp Grounds, and Land," 59-62.
16. Walker, "Tribal Towns, Stomp Grounds, and Land", 58; Bell, "Separate People", 339. See Bell for additional information about Creek gender roles and perspectives in which Creek women are foodmakers and Creek men are warriors and townsmen.
17. The quote is from Yahola, "Untitled Presentation," 9.
18. Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma", 183; Bell, "Separate People," 341; Yahola, "Untitled Presentation", 14. Moore's tribal town estimate is based upon 1984 fieldwork that counted 1,725 Okfuskee tribal town members near Okemah. A 1976 survey estimated 63 percent of the Creek did not know their town association or did not belong to a town. See Kenneth H. McKinley, ed., *Creek Nation Census: A Socio-Economic Survey of Selected Household and Individual Characteristics* (Stillwater: College of Education, Oklahoma State University, 1976), 157-159. Jackson states that approximately 33 percent of Yuchi tribal members maintain either a stomp ground or church identity and argues that this number may be similar to other tribes. See Jason Baird Jackson, *Yuchi Ritual: Meaning and Tradition in Contemporary Ceremonial Ground Life* (Bloomington: Indiana University Ph.D. dissertation (anthropology), 1997, 73-74. Bell estimates approximately 10,000 bilingual speakers, while Yahola counts 8,000 bilingual speakers and notes that they are declining in number.
19. Robbins, *The Persistence of Traditional Religious Practices*, 122. Hadley notes that the division between Seminole stomp ground and church people occurred after 1912. See Hadley, "Notes on the Socio-economic Status of the Oklahoma Seminoles," 140. For written interpretations of the degree of stomp ground-church people interaction see *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Martha Scott Tiger (Creek), March 15, 1937, XCI (91), p. 73 (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries); *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Jimmie Barnett (Creek), August 10, 1937, V (5), p. 377; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Winey Lewis (Creek), August 12, 1937, LIV (54), p. 17; *Indian-Pioneer History Papers*, Oscar Watson (Creek), n.d., XCV (95), p. 505; *Doris Duke Collection*, Siah Polk (Creek), January 25, 1970, T-549, p. 3 (Norman: Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries); *Doris Duke Collection*, John Tiger (Creek), February 19, 1970, T-552, pp. 2-3.

20. Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma," 168; Yahola, "Untitled Presentation," 9. Deloria notes that Christianity has not become well accepted in Indian Country in the twentieth century with the exception of the Creek Baptists. See Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988 (reprint), 115.

21. Debo, *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma*, 17. The trends of American Indian migration to urban areas and fewer Indians living in Indian Country are assessed in J. Matthew Shumway and Richard H. Jackson, "Native American Population Patterns" *The Geographical Review*, 85,2 (1995), 187-189.

22. See Creek Nation East of the Mississippi, *Creek Nation East of the Mississippi: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (Atmore, AL: Creek Nation East of the Mississippi, 1975). A few other small and fragmented groups of Creek also live east of the Mississippi River without federal recognition. They include the Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi and the MaChis Lower Alabama Creek Indian Tribe in Alabama, the Lower Muskogee Creek Tribe East of the Mississippi, Inc. in Georgia, and Creeks East Mississippi and the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians in Florida. See Moore, "Creek/Mvskoke", 152.

23. J. Anthony Paredes, "federal Recognition and the Poarch Creek Indians" in *Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late 20th Century*, ed. J. Anthony Paredes, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1992), 137-138; Roth, "Overview of Southeastern Indians Today", 187.

24. Osinski, "Kialegee Tribe Plans Casino in Georgia Homelands," A1, B1-B2.

25. The quote is from United States Department of Commerce, *1990 Census of Population and Housing* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, 1990), A-3. For the classification of federally recognized government lands, see Shumway and Jackson, "Native American Population Patterns," 187-188.

26. The quote is from Yahola, "Untitled Presentation," 12. See also Debo, *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma*, endpiece map; McKinley, *Creek Nation Census*, 142-144, 151-159; Yahola, "Untitled Presentation," 9, 15; Shumway and Jackson, "Native American Population Patterns," 190. For the spatial nature of contemporary Yuchi settlement see Jackson, *Yuchi Ritual*, 56-61. Another Creek notes that he lives in Muskogee because it is a central point between his job in Tulsa and his church in Eufaula. See *Doris Duke Collection*, John Tiger (Creek), February 19, 1970,

(Norman: Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma Libraries), T-552, p. 5.

27. Michael Conzen, "The German-Speaking Ethnic Archipelago in America" in *Ethnic Persistence and Change in Europe and America: Traces in Landscape and Society*, ed. Klaus Frantz and Robert A. Sauder, (Innsbruck, Austria: University of Innsbruck, 1996), 73.
28. Jonathan Hill, ed., *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 7. See also, Jonathan D. Hill, "Introduction: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992" in *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992*, ed. Jonathan D. Hill, pp. 1-19 (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1995), 1-2.
29. The quote is from David Lowenthal, "The American Scene" *The Geographical Review*, 58 (1968), 71. For a discussion on the creation and survival of ethnic impresses and landscapes see Michael P. Conzen, "Ethnicity on the Land," in *The Making of the American Landscape*, ed. Michael P. Conzen (New York: Routledge, 1990), 239-241. Zelinsky warns against relying only on visible landscape evidence when attempting to "read" ethnic landscapes in the United States. See Wilbur Zelinsky, "Seeing Beyond the Dominant Culture" in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1997), 157-161. Hutchings notes that contemporary Cherokee sense of place in Oklahoma revolves around a mix of cultural and natural landscape features such as community cemeteries, churches, community centers, creeks, and springs. See Janice Haskett Hutchings, *Cherokee Country: Cultural Landscape Change, 1940-1993* (Norman: University of Oklahoma M.A. thesis (geography), 1995. In 1970, an interviewer participating in the Doris Duke American Indian Oral History project commented that south of Coweta "there is little visible evidence that this was once a country of good homes and farms populated by Indians." See *Doris Duke Collection*, Wilson Haynie (Creek), April 15, 1970, T-609, p. 4.
30. For an overview of Creek government see O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments*, 132-135. Principal chief Perry Beaver calls the Creek Nation Travel Plaza the "most visible sign of [recent economic] improvement" for the Creek. The facility was constructed in the mid-1990s and Conoco was awarded the gas concession. "Perry Beaver Announces Plans for a Second Term as Muscogee (Creek) Nation Chief" *Oklahoma Indian Times*, September 1999, p. 4.
31. Brad A. Bays, "The Resurrection of the Reservation in Oklahoma", presentation to the annual meeting of the Southwest Division of the Association of American Geographers, Norman, Oklahoma, 7 November 1996.

32. Susan Stanich. "As Tribes Assert Their Sovereignty With License Plates, Some States Resist" *The Washington Post*, 25 November 1990, pp. A4-A5. In Oklahoma, 19 of the state's 36 federally recognized tribes have license tag programs which register more than 20,000 vehicles statewide. See "Tag Agents Say Tribal License Plates Hurt Business," *The Norman Transcript*, 24 November 1998, p. A10.).
33. Opothle Yahola led a December 1861 migration of Loyalist Upper town members from North Fork Town (near present-day Eufaula), up the Deep Fork, around Okmulgee, along the west side of Tulsa, to Yates Center, Kansas. The Kansas legislature designated the Kansas portion of the route along U.S. 75 the Hopothle Yahola Historical Trail in 1995 in House Resolution 5014. See Yahola, "Untitled Presentation," 9-10. For full descriptions of the roadside historical markers see Phil Harris, *This is Three Forks Country: A Collection of Tales of History, Adventure, Romance and Legend of Eastern Oklahoma*. Muskogee, OK: Hoffman Printing Company, 1966, 71-74; Muriel H. Wright, George H. Shirk, and Kenny A. Franks, eds., *Mark of Heritage*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.
34. According to the Intertribal Wordpath Society, Creek (Muscogee) and Euchee are "endangered" while several languages of other members of the Confederacy—such as Alabama, Hitchiti, and Koasati—are "extinct". See "Extinction Threatens State's Native American Languages," *The Norman Transcript*, 26 February 1999, p. A9.
35. "Center Teaches Children About Creek Indian Culture" *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 10 December 1998; Guy Gugliotta, "Saying the Words That Save A Culture: Tribe's Race to Teach Its Mother Tongue Reflects Global Erosion of Languages" *The Washington Post*, 9 August 1999, P. A01.

Chapter 8

1. The quotation is from Walker Connor, "The Impact of Homelands Upon Diasporas" in *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*, ed. G. Sheffer (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 18
2. The quote is from John Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma" *Science and Society*, 52 (1988), 173.
3. For examples of the lengthy literature on these tribes, landscapes, and sense of place see N. Scott Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969); Marcia Keegan, *Taos Pueblo and their Sacred Blue Lake* (Santa Fe: Clear Light, 1991); Edward Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice: The Sioux Nation Versus the United States, 1775 to the Present* (New York: Harper

- Collins, 1991); Steven M. Schnell, *The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma* (Lawrence: University of Kansas M.A. thesis (geography), 1994); Matthew R. Engel, *Territoriality and the Ogalala Lakota* (Columbia: University of Missouri, M.A. thesis (geography), 1996).
4. For an example of a map of significant Creek places in the Eufaula area see Robert Johnson Perry, *Life with the Little People* (Greenfield Center, NY: The Greenfield Review Press, 1998), 128.
 5. Daniel D. Arreola, "La Tierra Tejana: A South Texas Homeland" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Forthcoming); Stephen C. Jett, "The Navajo Homeland" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Forthcoming).
 6. The quote is from Vine Deloria, Jr., *We Talk, You Listen* (New York: Delta Publishing, 1970), 175.
 7. Several political geographers have addressed spatial aspects (instead of biological) of territoriality. For methodological statements of the components of human territoriality see Edward Soja, *The Political Organization of Space*, (Washington, DC: Association of American Geographers, Resource Paper No. 8, 1971), 34; Robert D. Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 19-40.
 8. For an example of an ethnic group which is in the process of potentially creating an American homeland, see Susan Wiley Hardwick, "Russian Refuge: Religion, Migration, and Settlement on the North American Pacific Rim" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Susan W. Hardwick, "California's Emerging Russian Homeland" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville, forthcoming. For the idea of substrates see Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, "The Creole Coast: Homeland to Substrate" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville, forthcoming.
 9. For conceptual arguments on American homelands see Richard L. Nostrand and Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr., "Introduction: The Homeland Concept" *Journal of Cultural Geography* 13, 1-4; Michael O. Roark, "Homelands: A Conceptual Essay" *Journal of Cultural Geography* 13, 5-11; Michael Conzen, "Culture Regions, Homelands, and Ethnic Archipelagos in the United States: Methodological Considerations" *Journal of Cultural Geography* 13, 13-29; Richard Nostrand and Lawrence E. Estaville, "Free Land, Dry Land, Homeland" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University

Press), forthcoming; Michael P. Conzen, "Homelands and Cultural Space in America in Comparative Perspective" in *Homelands in the United States*, ed. R. Nostrand and L. Estaville (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press). The summaries of two Association of American Geographers sessions are also helpful. See. Richard L. Nostrand, "A.A.G. Session Report: The Homeland Concept, *The American Ethnic Geographer*, 5,2 (1997), 12-14; Douglas A. Hurt, "A.A.G. Session Report: The Homeland Concept Revisited," *The American Ethnic Geographer*, 7(1), 6(2) (1999, 1998), 4-6, 11-13.

10. In addition to earlier work cited on homelands and culture regions, for an example of ethnic place making see Joseph Wood, "Vietnamese American Place Making in Northern Virginia" *The Geographical Review* 87,1 (1997), 58-72.

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Appendix A

Active and Historical Creek Nation Towns in Indian Territory and Oklahoma

Town: Abika

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Abihka

History: Abihka was one of four foundation towns of the Creek in the Southeast...Upper town near the Coosa River...Natchez closely associated with the town.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 66; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 397, 390; Knight, "The Formation of the Creeks," 374; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 136-137.

Town: Abikudji

County: Okmulgee

Variant: Abixkudshi, Abicouchi

History: Southeast: Upper town on Natche (Tallahatchi) Creek.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 391; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 138

Town: Akfuski

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Akfaski

History: White town northwest of Okemah in Oklahoma...declined after the Civil War...developed an alliance with Nuyaka...1930s saw an increase in population and activity...in Southeast, was thriving with a number of branch towns, including Nuyaka...Oklahoma county of Okfuskee is named after.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 69, 107

Town: Alabama

County: Hughes

Variants: Alibamu, Alabama-Koasati , Alabama-Quasada

History: square grounds are nine miles east of Wetumka...Red town...Southeast: Upper town on Alabama River...known to the French as early as 1702...derived from the Choctaw language, "those who clear the land" or "thicket clearers"...town composed of remnants of other tribes and named after the state.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Indian-Pioneer, volume 6, p. 274; Indian-Pioneer, volume 14, page 331; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 391; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68; Read; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108; Yahola, "Untitled," 7.

Town: Arbeka, Deep Fork

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Deep Fork Arbeka, Arpihcah

History: White town in Alabama...variant of Arbekoche.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R6; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8.

Town: Arbeka, North Fork

County: McIntosh

Variant: Arbeka

History: Upper White town in Alabama...variant of Arbekoche.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8.

Town: Arbeka, Talledega

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: White town in Alabama...variant of Arbeckoche.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8.

Town: Arbekochee

County: Unknown

Variant: Arbekochee, Arbekochee, Arpihcoche, Apihkochi, Arpikcochee

History: Alabama: Aubechoche on Nauche Creek...Upper town...variants Arbacoochee, Abihkuchi, Abacooche...name is Creek for "Little Abihka."...the Abihka were a Muskogean tribe.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, folder R6; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 107; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 5; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Arpicah

County: Okmulgee

Variant: Apihkochi, Little Apihka, Apihka

History: square grounds were southeast of Henryetta...no longer have square grounds...allied with Nuyaka and Akfaski...Southeast: daughter town of Arbeka.

Sources: Cate, box 15, folder 37; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 60, 70, 107.

Town: Artusse

County: Okmulgee

Variant: Artussie, Atassi, Artussee, Atasi

History: red town...discontinued square grounds and busk...located near Weleetka...informal alliance with Laplako...in Alabama was once the leader of the Upper red towns.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68-69; Swanton, "Modern Square Grounds," 6.

Town: Assilanapi

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Asilanabi, Asilanapi, Greenleaf

History: settled when part of the Okchai band broke away from their single ceremonial ground in Indian Territory...square grounds four miles southwest of Okemah...translated as "green leaf" or "yellow or green leaf tree."...in Southeast: Asilanabi was Upper town on Yellow Leaf Creek.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 393; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68, 107; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 140-141; Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy," 327.

Town: Atasi

County: Unknown

Variant: Atesi

History: close relations to Tukabahchee...shifted to red from white...Southeast: Upper town on Calibee Creek or on the Tallapoosa River...variants: Autossee, Atassi...name derived from the war club (*atassi*).

Sources: Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 393; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 488; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 107; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 141-143.

Town: Big Spring

County: Wagoner

Variant: Big Springs

History: Lower town

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150.

Town: Broken Arrow

County: Tulsa

Variant: Likachka

History: Alabama: Lower town named for the Lower town Likachki ("broken arrows") on the Chattahooche River...evidently the town was founded by Creeks who broke reeds to make arrows or for a band of Indians who broke away from the mother town of Coweta...name is a translation of Likachka

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 9.

Town: Bruner

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: ephemeral...abandoned by 1867.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Chakey Thlocco

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: Lower town. Alabama: Chakihlako was an Upper town on Choccolocco Creek

Sources: Cate, box 15, folder 37; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 149-150.

Town: Chanee Creeks

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: ephemeral...abandoned by 1867.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Chartarkooka Okfusky

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: Southeast: Upper town of Chockeclucca or Chioksofki...means "rock precipitous" or "rock bluff."

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 150-151; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Chartoo Sofkar

County: McIntosh

Variant: Chattock Sofkar, Chataksofka, Tcataksofka

History: Southeast: Upper town Chioksofki...means "rock precipitous" or "rock bluff."

Sources: Cate, box 15, folder 37; Foreman, box 48, binder R6; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 150-151.

Town: Charwokle

County: Unknown

Variant: Chowwockolee

History: Lower town...ephemeral...abandoned by 1867.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150.

Town: Cheyahah

County: Wagoner

Variants: Cheyaha, Cheyarha, Cheyarhar, Chiyaha, Chiaha

History: Lower, red town...closely allied with Kawita...no longer has separate square grounds or fire...Alabama: Lower town of Cheaha or Chehaw or Chiaha along the Chattahooche River...settlement of the Chiaha Indians.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 69, 107; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 152; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 14; Tomer and Brodhead, *A Naturalist in Indian Territory*, 134-135; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 109.

Town: Checotah

County: McIntosh

Variant:

History: Alabama: Cheauhah.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Chilocco

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: *icohlako* or *chothlakko* is Creek for "horse" or "big deer" (elk).

Sources: Gould, box 4, folder 1.

Town: Choskui

County: Creek

Variant:

History: Creek settlement on current site of Bristow...begun around 1860...word means "post oak."

Sources: Wilson, *Place Names of Six Northeast Counties of Oklahoma*, 19.

Town: Concharty

County: Muskogee

Variant: Concharte, Kanchati, Conchanti, Concharta

History: Lower town...Southeast: Concharty...means "red earth."

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder F5; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 399.

Town: Cowassaude

County: Unknown

Variant: Coosada, Cowassanda

History: Lower town...Southeast: Upper town

Sources: Cate, box 15, folder 37; Foreman, box 48, binder F5.

Town: Coweta

County: Wagoner

Variant: Kawita

History: dominated Lower town leadership, 1836-1859...one of the four Southeastern foundation towns...mother town for the Lower towns...Alabama: Cowetah Tallsuhasse or Cowetuh Tallauhassee or Cowetough ("old town") on the Chattahooche River

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 200; Gould, box 4, folder 1; Knight, "The Formation of the Creeks," 374; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 33, 107; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 179; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 109; Yahola, "Untitled," 8.

Town: Cussetha

County: Okmulgee

Variant: Cussehta, Kasita, Cuseta, Cusseta, Kussetau, Cosawta, Cussita

History: Lower town...Alabama: Cussetah or Cussetuh or Cuseta or Kashita or on the Chattahooche River...name derived from *hasihta* which means "coming from the sun," the believed source of the original inhabitants of the village...leadership role among the white towns, 1763-1777.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder F5; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 72; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 28.

Town: Emaha

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: Lower town...Alabama: Emauhee or Emarhe located on the Apalachicola River.

Sources: Cate, box 15, folder 37; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 30.

Town: Esellanabee

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: Lower town

Sources: Cate, box 15, folder 37.

Town: Etowah

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: in the Creek language *itulwa* means “someone’s town” while *italwa* means town or tribe.

Sources: Gould, box 4, folder 1; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 31.

Town: Euchee

County: Creek

Variant: Uchee, Yutci, Yutchi, Usudshi

History: changing pronunciation and spelling...Lower town...Alabama: Echuseligau, Uchee, or Euchee was an Upper town on Hillaubee Creek... Yuchi was a tribe associated with the Creek Confederacy...translation probably means “at a distance,” a reflection of the initial unease between the Yuchi and the Creek after joining the Confederacy.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Cate, box 15, folder 37; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 9; Gatschet, “Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy,” 387; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 73-74.

Town: Eufaula Canadian

County: McIntosh

Variant: Eufaula, Yufala No. 1, Eufaula-Canadian, Yufala, North Fork Town, Ufala, Eufalau

History: designated a number of Creek settlements, one of which was near the site of present-day Eufaula...Alabama: includes as many as four different localities in Upper and Lower parts of the Nation...Upper red town of Eufaula or Eufaulauhatche on Nauche Creek or on the Chattahoochee River...Lower town on the Chattahoochee.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150; Gatschet, “Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy,” 387; Haas, “Creek Inter-Town Relations,” 483-484; Owen, “Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama” 162, 240-241; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 32; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Eufaula Deep Fork

County: Okmulgee

Variant: Eufaula, Deep Fork, Deepfork Eufaula, Yufala No. 2; Upper Eufaula, Ufala

History: designated a number of Creek settlements, one of which was near the site of present-day Eufaula...Alabama: includes as many as four different localities in Upper and Lower parts of the Nation...Upper red town of Eufaula or Eufaulauhatche on Nauche Creek or on the Chattahoochie River...Lower town on the Chattahoochee.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 483-484; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 162, 240-241; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 32; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Fish Pond

County: McIntosh

Variant: Fishpond, Laplako, Lalokalka

History: Upper town...Southeast: traders's name.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 107.

Town: Gouge

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: abandoned by 1867.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Green Leaf

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Greenleaf, Assilanapi

History: Southeast: settled by the Okchai Indians.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387; Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy," 327.

Town: Hafiwati

County: McIntosh

Variant:

History:

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Harjo

County:

Variant:

History: hadjo: used in Creek war names, meaning "mad" or "desperately brave"...a honorable war name borrowed by the Choctaw...from Talwahadjo in Southeast

Sources: Gould, box 4, folder 1; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 5.

Town: Hatcitchapa

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Hutchechubbe, Hatchee Chubbee

History: Lower town...Southeast: Lower and Upper towns of Hatchitchapa...translated as "half-way creek"...also Hatchchichubba and Hatchechubbee.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 396; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 166.

Town: Hickory Ground

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Odjiapofa, Ochiapofa, Odshiapofa

History: Upper, white town with square grounds southeast of Henryetta...Southeast: traders's name.

Sources: Cate box 6, folder 9; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Hillabe Canadian

County: McIntosh

Variant: Hillube Canadian, Hillabee Canadian, Hilabi, Hillabee, Hilapi, Hillebe

History: Upper town with square grounds two miles east of Hanna...Alabama: old Upper red town of Hillaubee on Colluffade Creek...also Hillaba, Hilibi, and Hillabi...derived name from *hilapki* or *hilikbi*, meaning "quick."

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 397; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 482-483; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 166-167; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 36; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Hillube Ketxhapatka

County: Unknown

Variant: Hilabi, Hillabee Ketchpotogee, Hillabees, Hillebe

History: Upper town with square grounds two miles east of Hanna...Alabama: old Upper red town of Hillaubee on Colluffade Creek...also Hillaba, Hilibi, and Hillabi...derived name from *hilapki* or *hilikbi*, meaning "quick."

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R6; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 397; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 482-483; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 166-167; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 36; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Hitchete

County: Okmulgee

Variant: Hitchite, Hiciti, Hitchiti, Hitchitee, Hitchita

History: Lower town with square grounds once located northeast of Henryetta...no longer has square grounds...now allied with Kasihta...Alabama: Lower town of Hitchetee or Hitchitutci on the Chattahoochee River...was considered the head of a linguistic group of the Creek...had many branch villages.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 397; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 70, 107; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 168-169; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, xii.

Town: Honobia

County: Unknown

Variant:

History:

Sources: Gould, box 4, folder 1.

Town: Hotallehoyarner

County: Unknown

Variant: Hotullehoyanar, Hotullehoyana, Hotullehoyanar

History: Lower town...ephemeral...abandoned by 1867.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder F5.

Town: Hotulka

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: possibly from the Creek word *hotulgi* meaning “wind” or “wind people,” a Creek clan.

Sources: Gould, box 4, folder 1.

Town: Hutabihuyana

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: Southeast: Lower town of Hatalihuyana or Hotaigihuyanawas settled by the Chiaha Indians on the Flint River...means “hurricane town” or “passing wind.”

Sources: Gatschet, “Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy,” 387, 397.

Town: Hutchechuppa

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Hutche Chuppe, Hutche Chubbe, Hutche Chuppa, Hutchechubbee, Hatcitchapa

History: Alabama: Upper or Lower town of Hoocheice, Hookchoiesoche, Hatchechubbau, or Hatchechubbee on the Coosa River...translated as “halfway creek.”

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 34.

Town: Kanchati

County: Tulsa

Variant: Concharte

History: Upper town...a neighbor of Lochapoka...meaning “red town,” “red ground,” or “red earth.”...Southeast: Upper town of Kantchati, Kantcari, or Kanshade.

Sources: Gatschet, “Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy,” 399; Opler, “The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937,” 32, 107; Owen, “Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama,” 176.

Town: Kantoadi

County: Muskogee

Variant:

History:

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Kasita

County: Okmulgee

Variant: Cussehta, Kasihta, Kasixta

History: Lower White town with square grounds southeast of Okmulgee...Southeast: one of four foundation towns...Lower town on Chatahoochee River meaning "coming down from the sun" as inhabitants believed they came from the sun...many branch towns.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 399; Knight, "The Formation of the Creeks," 374; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 176-178; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68, 107; Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy," 333.

Town: Ketchopataka

County: McIntosh

Variant: Kitchapataki, Ketchopatake

History: Southeast: Upper town of Kitchopataki or Ketchepedrakke on Kitchopataki or Ketchapedrakee Creek...source is *kicho* ("mortar") and *pataki* ("spread out"), the designation of a block of wood used in the pounding of corn.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 182; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 38.

Town: Kialegee

County: McIntosh

Variant: Kialegee, Kialiche, Kialege, Kayaleychi, Kailaidshi

History: Upper, red town...Alabama: Upper town of Kialijee, Kealedji, or Kiolege on Kialijee Creek...daughter town of Tuckabatche

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R6; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 107; Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy," 6; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108; Yahola, "Untitled," 7.

Town: Kusa

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: Alabama: from town of Coosa, Coca, Coosau, Coosauda, Coosee, Cosee or Coosaudee on the Coosa River, said to be derived from a bird called *koskoza*...former capital of the Creek Confederacy...Coosa River took its name from the town.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 402; Gould, box 4, folder 1; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 24; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Kwassati Number 1

County: Hughes

Variant: Kowasati Number 1, Alabama-Koasati, Koasati

History: Lower town has over 50 variants...near Alabama town...formed Alabama-Kowasati town because of the decline of square grounds at Kwassati...settled by Alabama Indians...Southeast: White town of Koasati on the Alabama River...original townspeople are scattered in Alabama, Texas, and Oklahoma.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 65; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 401; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68, 107; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 182-185.

Town: Kwassati Number 2

County: McIntosh

Variant: Alabama-Koasati, Koasati

History: Lower town has over 50 variants...near Alabama town...formed Alabama-Kowasati town because of the decline of square grounds at Kwassati...settled by Alabama Indians...Southeast: White town of Koasati on the Alabama River...original townspeople are scattered in Alabama, Texas, and Oklahoma.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150.

Town: Laplako

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Fishpond, Lalokalka

History: White town...square grounds are 10 miles southeast of Okemah...changed town fire...Southeast: name from the Upper town of Huliwahi...means "tall cane" or "big reed."

Sources: Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 403; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 484; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 67, 107; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 188; Swanton, "Modern Square Grounds," 6.

Town: Likachka

County: Unknown

Variant: Broken Arrow

History: means "arrow breaker" or "broken arrow."..town of Broken Arrow is named after...Southeast: Likatchka was a river ford with an abundance of reeds, used for making arrow shafts...Lower town of Likachka or Litafatci on the Chattahoochee River...also Upper town of Litafatchi on Canoe Creek.

Sources: Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 403; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 107; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 188-189; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 9; Swanton, "Modern Square Grounds," 6.

Town: Little River Tulsa

County: Hughes

Variant: Tallase, Tallasee, Tullahassee, Tulsa-Lochapokas, Tulsey Town, Talsi, Talsey, Tuskegee

History: Alabama: Upper town of Talese, Talesee, Talisi, Talase, or Big Talasse in the fork of the Eufaula River on the Tallapoosa River...was the daughter town of Coosa.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8-9; Gould, box 4, folder 2; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 28-29, 41; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Liwahli

County: Hughes

Variant:

History: does not have a town square...former square ground is southeast of Wetumka...mother town of Laplako.

Sources: Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 69, 107.

Town: Lochapoka

County: Tulsa

Variant: Locha Pokar, Lutcapoga, Lo Cho Po Kah, Lutchapoka, Lochapoker, Lochapokah

History: Lower town with no fire or square grounds since the Civil War...focused on a church instead...Alabama: Upper towns of Loachapoka, Lutchapoga, Lulogulga on the Tallapoosa River...name derived from *locha* ("turtle") and *poga* ("killing place")...daughter town of Talsi.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R5; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 403-404; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 32, 107; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 190; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 41; Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy," 327-328.

Town: Lulogulga

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: settled by Okchai Indians...Southeast" Upper town of Lathlosolga

Sources: Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy," 327.

Town: Narche

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: ephemeral...abandoned by 1867...Alabama: Upper town of Narche, Nauche, Natche, or Naktche on Nauche Creek (Tallahatchi Creek)...settled by the Naktche tribe.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 404; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Nuyaka

County: Okfuskee

Variant: New Yarker, New Yorker, New York, New Yorker, Newyaucau

History: Upper, white town with square grounds 12 miles northeast of Okemah...the name was New Yorker or New Yarker when Mrs. N.B. Moore, who was connected with the Creek school, wrote the name, and believing something incorrect, changed the spelling to Nuyaka...Alabama: corruption of the name of New York City...Upper town of New Yaukee, New Yaucau, New York, or Niuyaka on the Tallapoosa River near Horseshoe Bend...settled from Tukpafka in 1777 and named about 1791 at the time of a treaty concluded in New York between Alexander McGillivray and the United States.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R6; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 404; Gould, box 4, folder 1, box 4, folder 1; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937" 68; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 195-196.

Town: Oakchoye

County: McIntosh

Variant: Oktcayi, Okchiye, Oak Choy, Oakchoyoche, Okchai, Okchayi, Oktchayi

History: Upper white town with square grounds six miles east of Hanna...Alabama: Okchai Oktchayi, Oakchoy, or Okchayi was a leading Upper white town until 1766...site was along Oktchayi Creek...settled by Okchai Indians.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R5; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 72; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 406; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 200-202; Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy," 327.

Town: Odjiapofa

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Hickory Ground, Odshiapofa, Ochiapofa

History: Southeast: Upper town of Odshiapofa or Hickory Ground on the Coosa River near the site of Fort Toulouse...variant of little Tallisi...home of Lachlan McGillivray.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 396, 404; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 197-199.

Town: Oegufkee

County: McIntosh

Variant: Oyokofki

History: White town with square grounds four miles west of Hanna.

Sources: Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68.

Town: Oh Kan Wikey

County: Unknown

Variant: Ohkawwiky

History: Lower town

Sources: Cate, box 15, folder 37; Foreman, box 48, binder R5.

Town: Okchije

County: McIntosh

Variant: Oakchoye, Okchayi, Okchije, Okghiye

History: White town with square grounds six miles east of Hanna...Alabama: Okchai Oktchayi, or Okchayi was a leading Upper white town until 1766...site was along Oktchayi Creek...settled by Okchai Indians.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 72; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 406; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 200-202; Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy," 327.

Town: Oke Te Yankney

County: Unknown

Variant: Okitteyakney, Oketeyokney, Oakela, Ockney

History: Lower town...ephemeral...abandoned by 1867...Southeast: Lower town of Okitiyakni on the Chattahoochee...daughter town of Eufaula.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R5; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 405; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 204.

Town: Okfuskee Canadian

County: Unknown

Variant: Okfuskee Canadian, Okfuskee, Ockfuskee, Oyokofki, Oakfuskie, Okfuski, Okfusky, Okfuskudshi, Oakfuskeenene, Wifufki, Wiogufki

History: Lower town...Alabama: Upper white and Lower towns of Ocfuskee, Oakfuskee, or Akfaski on the Tallapoosa River...name signifies a "point" at a river confluence...daughter town of Coosa...during the American era, was considered to be the largest town of the Creek Confederacy.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 237; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 405; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 70, 108; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 196; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 47; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Okfuskee Deep Fork

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Okfusky Deep Fork, Okfuskee, Ockfuskee, Oyokofki, Oakfuskie, Okfuski, Okfusky, Okfuskudshi, Oakfuskeenene, Wifufki, Wiogufki

History: Alabama: Upper white and Lower towns of Ocfuskee, Oakfuskee, or Akfaski on the Tallapoosa River...name signifies a "point" at a river confluence...daughter town of Coosa...during the American era, was considered to be the largest town of the Creek Confederacy.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 237; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 405; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 70, 108; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 196; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 47; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Okmulgee

County: Okmulgee

Variant:

History: Meaning "all" or "everyone" because Okmulgee was the Indian Territory capital for the Creek Nation...Alabama: a leading White town on the Okmulgee River...according to some oral legends, the first permanent settlement in the Southeast by the Creek...site on the "Ocmulgee Old Fields" (an area of artificial mounds, terraces, and earthen enclosures along the river which extended for 15 miles) was later abandoned by the American era...also lower town of Okmulgi or Ocmulgie was on the Flint River...translation is "bubbling, boiling water".

Sources: Marriott, box 8, folder 10; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 72; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 7; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy"; 405; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 196-197, 205; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, xii.

Town: Osoche

County: Okmulgee

Variant: Osuchee, Osudjii

History: Upper town...Southeast: Lower town of Osotchi, Osutchi, Osudshi, or Usutchi on the Chatahoochee River or Uchee Creek...inhabitants migrated to the site from the Flint River in 1794.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 406; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 207.

Town: Osweche

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: Lower town...Alabama: town of Oswichee, Osochi, Oosechee, Hooseche, Usechees, Ooseoochee, or Oseooche was an old Lower town situated northeast of the present town of Oswichee, Alabama.

Sources: Cate, box 15, folder 37; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 50-51.

Town: Oywohka

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: nearly abandoned in the 1930s.

Sources: Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 70.

Town: Piyakkeshaw

County: Unknown

Variant: Peyankeshaw, Piankeshaw, Piankenhaas

History: Lower town...ephemeral...abandoned by 1867.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R6.

Town: Pukon Tallahassee

County: McIntosh

Variant: Pacon Tallahassee, Pakkon Tallahassee, Pakantalahassi, Puccon Tallasharse, Pakan Tallahassee, Pakantalahasi, Puccontollarharse, Pukkon Tullahassee

History: Upper, white town with square grounds three miles east of Vernon...Alabama: Upper white town of Puccuntallauhassee, Pocontallahassee, Pucan Tallahassee, or Pakan Talahassi on a fork of Tallauhasse Creek...shifted in color from red to white.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R6; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 407; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 488; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 210-211; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Quarsarty I

County: Hughes

Variant: Quassarty Number 1 Quassarte Number 1, Quassarte, Kowsarte, Kowssarter, Cowasartee

History: Southeast: spelling and pronunciation of the town name changed.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Quarsarty II

County: McIntosh

Variant: Quassarty Number 2, Quassarte Number 2, Quassarte, Kowsarte, Kowssarter, Cowasartee, Oakchayquassarde

History: Southeast: spelling and pronunciation of the town name changed.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Sakapadai

County: Unknown

Variant: Tallahasutchi

History: Southeast: Upper town of Sokaspoge, Sakaispoga, or Sakapatayi on Socapatory branch of Hatchet Creek...town fire shifted at least once...daughter town of Eufaula or Wakokai.

Sources: Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 408; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 486; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 213-214; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Sandtown

County: Unknown

Variant: Sand, Sand Town

History: Lower town...abandoned by 1867.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R5; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150.

Town: Sarlarlike

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: abandoned by 1867.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Sarwaklo

County: Unknown

Variant: Sowoclo, Sowocolo, Sawokla, Sawokli

History: Lower town...abandoned by 1867...Southeast: Lower white town of Sawokla, Sawokli, Souwoogelo, Sauwoogaloochee, or Souwoogeloche on the Chattahoochee River...Hitchiti for "raccoon town."

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9, box 15, folder 37; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 64, 68; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 408; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 216; Swanton, "Modern Square Grounds," 6.

Town: Sasakwa

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: Southeast: Great and Little towns of Swaglaw...possibly translated as "goose."

Sources: Gould, box 4, folder 1; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 109.

Town: Shawnee

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: Upper town...Southeast: white town closely allied with Coosa...also the name of an Algonquian tribe.

Sources: Cate, box 15, folder 37; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 65; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 58.

Town: Talisi

County: Muskogee

Variant: Talsi, Tallassee, Tallahassee

History: Upper town located at the forks of the Verdigris and Arkansas Rivers after removal...part of town stayed and another segment migrated to present-day Tulsa...Alabama: Upper town of Talese, Tallasi, or Talisi on the Tallapoosa River...means "old or abandoned town."..Tulsa was named after.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8-9; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 409; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 108; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 219-221.

Town: Talmotcasi

County: McIntosh

Variant: Talmutcasi, Talmochasi, New Tulsa, Talmochussee

History: Upper, white town with square grounds two miles from Spaulding...town fire changed after removal to Indian Territory...split from Tulsa around 1930....means "new town."

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R6; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 487-488; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68, 108.

Town: Talwaiahko

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Talwalako, Talwar Thlocco, Tulwahthlocco, Tulwarthlocco

History: Southeast: Talualako...means "great" or "big town."...was the popular name of the town of Apalatchukla.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9, box 15, folder 37; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 410; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 108; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 221.

Town: Taskigi

County: McIntosh

Variant:

History: town nearly abandoned and merged with neighboring towns...Alabama: Upper town of Taskigi, Tuskiki, Tuskegee, or Tasquiki was an old Creek settlement near the site of the former French Fort Toulouse at the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers...five conic mounds existed on the site...Alexander McGillivray owned a house a property along the Coosa at the town.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 410-411; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 70, 108; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 222-224.

Town: Tatoakalga

County: McIntosh

Variant:

History: Southeast: Upper town of Tutokagi, Tuxtukagi, or Totokaga on the Tallapoosa River...translated as "corn cribs set up."

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 413.

Town: Tciaha

County: Rogers

Variant:

History:

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Tekatska

County: Tulsa

Variant:

History:

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Thewarthle

County: McIntosh

Variant: Thlewarthle, Thlewalley, Thlewala, Thlewarle

History: Southeast: an Upper red town.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8.

Town: Thlopthlocco

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Taptakko, Thlop Thlocco, Thlob thloccoTaiwalako, Tulwathlocco, Tulwah Thlocco, Big Town, Apalachicola

History: Upper, white town with square grounds seven miles east of Henryetta...split from Thlewahlee...Alabama: Lower, white town of Thloblocco, Tulwa Thlocco or Big Town on Thloblocco Creek...Hitchitee origin...declined to an insignificant village by 1800...one mound on the site...means "large plants" for its riverine vegetation

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 7; Foreman, box 48, binder R6; Indian-Pioneer, volume 25, pages 323-326; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 227.

Town: Topofka

County: Hughes

Variant: Tookpofka, Tokpofka, Tappahquah, Toak Parfer, Tukpafka, Took Pofka, Took Pofkar, Tokpafka, Tookparfka

History: Southeast: Upper town of Tukpafka on the Chattahoochee River...shifted fires, probably from red to white...offshoot of Niuyaka, Wewogufkee, or Oyokofki...means "spunk-knot" or "rotten wood."

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R6; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 412; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 486; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 70, 108.

Town: Tuckabatchee

County: Hughes

Variant: Tuckabatchie, Tuckabatche, Tukabatchi, Tuckabatche, Tukabatchee, Tuckabatchee, Tokipahci, Tuccabatche, Tukabatchi

History: red town with square grounds seven miles northeast of Holdenville...dominated Upper Creek leadership from 1836-1859...mother of numerous towns and a model of present Muskogee governmental structures...Alabama: one of four Southeastern foundation towns...Upper town of Tookabatche, Tookaubatchetallauhusse, Tukabatchi, Tuckabatchee, or Tuckabatchee on the Tallapoosa River...ancient variant names of Ispocogee (meaning "town of survivors"), Taluafatcha, Talua, and Talua Ispokogi...had a continuing high level of influence among the Upper Creeks.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 65, 200; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 411-412; Knight, "The Formation of the Creeks," 374; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 67; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 229-230; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 270; Swanton, "The Social Significance of the Creek Confederacy," 327; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108; Yahola, "Untitled," 7.

Town: Tulladega

County: McIntosh

Variant: Tallidagee, Taladigi, Tallidagee, Tallodaga, Talladagee

History: Lower town...Alabama: Upper town of Talatigi, now referred to as Talladega, on the Coosa River...means "border town" for its site on the boundary between the Creek and the Natchez...settled from Abihka.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R5; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 409; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 218; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 62.

Town: Tullahassee

County: Hughes

Variant: Tullahassee, Tallahassee, Tallisehatche, Talsahatche, Talahassudji, Tallassee, Tal Se Hatche, Talahasochi, Old Tulsa, Talahassi, Tallahassee, Tullahassee, Talsehatche, Tullahassoghee

History: white town with square grounds six miles southeast of Holdenville...split from Tulsa around 1930...Southeast: Tallassee or Talahasochte...name is believed to be a compound of *talwa* ("town") and *hasi* ("old").

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, folder R5; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 29; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 109.

Town: Tulmochussee

County: McIntosh

Variant: Tulmachussee, Tulmochussie, Tulmocchussie

History: Southeast: town of Tulua Mutchasi...variants of Tukabatchi, Talahassi, and Talmochshasi...means "new town."

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 410.

Town: Tulsa

County: Tulsa

Variant: Tallase, Tallassee, Tullahassee, Tulsa-Lochapokas, Tulsey Town, Talsi, Talsey, Tuskegee, Tallasi, Talasee

History: site of present-day Tulsa settled by Creeks from the towns of Talasee and Lochapokas...in 1836, a group of families from Lochapokas settled the site of present-day West Tulsa and named the town Tulsa-Lochapokas presumably because part of them were from each town in Alabama...the ceremonial ground was located between present-day Cheyenne and Denver Avenues and 17th and 18th Streets near a sizable oak tree (the northern extent of the ground is now "Council Oak Park")...in 1849, was a collection of approximately 10 Creek houses with a town square and several cornfields...the English spelling of Tulsa was given by the Committee on Post Office Names in 1879 before the first U.S. mail was delivered to the area...Alabama: Upper town of Talese, Talesee, Talisi, Talase, or Big Talasee in the fork of the Eufaula River on the Tallapoosa River...was the daughter town of Coosa.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8-9; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150; Gould, box 4, folder 2; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 28-29, 41; Tomer and Brodhead, *A Naturalist in Indian Territory*, 27; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Tulsa Canadian

County: McIntosh

Variant: Tallase, Tallassee, Tullahassee, Tulsa-Lochapokas, Tulsey Town, Talsi, Tallasi, Talsey, Tuskegee

History: Town with the same origin as Tulsa...this group stopped on the Canadian River while the others traveled up the Arkansas River to settle on its east bank...Alabama: Upper town of Talese, Talesee, Talisi, Talase, or Big Talasse in the fork of the Eufaula River on the Tallapoosa River...was the daughter town of Coosa.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 8-9; Gould, box 4, folder 2; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 28-29, 41; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Tuskagee

County: Okmulgee

Variant: Tuskegee, Taskigi, Tuskeger, Tuskegee, Tuskeke

History: Alabama: Upper town of Tuskegee in the fork of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers on the east bank of the Coosa at the site of the old Forts Toulouse and Jackson...word may derive from the words *taskaya* ("warrior") or *taskialgi* ("warriors").

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binders R5, R6; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 73.

Town: Ussillarnuppa

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: abandoned by 1867...Unnultachapca town in Alabama

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9.

Town: Wakita

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: Southeast: town of Wiccakaw...may mean "to cry" or "to lament" in the context of a period of mourning.

Sources: Gould, box 4, folder 1; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Wakokiye

County: McIntosh

Variant: Wewahgofeka, Wakkokarye, Warko Kaye, Wakokai, Wockokoy, Waccokay

History: Lower town...no longer an independent town...merged with Wiogufki...changed town fire...Alabama: Upper town of Wakokayi, Waxokai, Woccocoie, Wolkukay, Wacacoys, or Waccooche on Tukpafka Creek...means "blowhorn nest."

Sources: Cate, box 4, folder 6, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 150; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 413-414; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 486-487.

Town: Wealaka

County: Tulsa

Variant:

History: town begun in 1883 because of nearby Wealaka Mission...discontinued in 1887...name form a Creek word meaning "coming water."

Sources: Wilson, *Place Names of Six Northeast Counties of Oklahoma*, 120.

Town: Weleetka

County: Okfuskee

Variant:

History: translated as "running water."

Sources: Gould, box 4, folder 1.

Town: Weogufkey

County: McIntosh

Variant: Weogufke, Wiogufki, Wewogufkee, Weokufkee

History: Upper white town that shifted fire from red in the early twentieth century...Alabama: Upper town of Weogufka, Weogufki, or Wiogufki on Weogufka Creek...means "muddy water."...also the Creek term for the Mississippi River.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Foreman, box 48, binder R6; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 485-486; Indian-Pioneer, volume 38, pages 405-407; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 235-236; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 77.

Town: Wetumka

County: Hughes

Variant: Wiwuka, Whittumke

History: Alabama: Lower town of Wetumcau or Upper town of Witumka, Weetomkee, or Wetumpka at a waterfall on the Coosa River...means "sounding waters," "drumming waters," or "rumbling water."..also a word used in the composition of many war names and is taken from a cry used at busk in the imitation of a supernatural being presiding over the ceremony.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gould, box 4, folder 1; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 78-79; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Wewoka

County: Hughes

Variant: Wewokah, Wewocau, Wiwuxha

History: Upper town Alabama: Upper town of Wewocau, Wevoka, Wiwohka, Wewoca, Weeoka, or Wewoka on Wewoka Creek...means "roaring water" or "barking water".

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 237; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 236-237.

Town: Wikayitakko

County: Wagoner

Variant:

History: Southeast: Lower town of Wikai Lako or Wekivas...meaning "large spring"

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 414.

Town: Wikufki

County: Okfuskee

Variant: Wiogufki, Wewogufke

History: shift from red to white town in Indian Territory...Southeast: town of Wiogufki.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 484; Swanton, "Modern Square Grounds," 6.

Town: Wok Ko Koy

County: Unknown

Variant: Wokokoy

History:

Sources: Cate, box 15, folder 37; Foreman, box 48, binders R5, R6.

Town: Yahola

County: Unknown

Variant:

History: translated as "howler," infers the analogy of a hunting cry or war-cry...a warrior title.

Sources: Gould, box 4, folder 1.

Town: Yofala Kaneyti

County: McIntosh

Variant: Eufaula, Yufala Hupayi

History: red town with square grounds west of Eufaula...town of Eufaula is named after...Alabama: includes as many as four different localities in Upper and Lower parts of the Nation...Upper red town of Eufaula or Eufaulauhatche on Nauche Creek or on the Chattahoochee River...Lower town on the Chattahoochee.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387; Haas, "Creek Inter-Town Relations," 483-484; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68, 108; Owen, "Indian Tribes and Towns in Alabama," 162, 240-241; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 32; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Yutci (Little Deep Fork)

County: Creek

Variant: Uchee, First Yotchi Town

History: white town with square grounds south of Bristow Alabama: Lower town of Uchee or Yuchi on the Chattahoochee River...Yuchi was a tribe associated with the Creek Confederacy...translation probably means "at a distance," a reflection of the initial unease between the Yuchi and the Creek after joining the Confederacy.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 414; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 73-74; Swanton, "Modern Square Grounds," 6; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 108.

Town: Yutchi (Sand Creek)

County: Creek

Variant: Uchee, Second Yotchi Town

History: white town with square grounds south of Bristow Alabama: Lower town of Uchee or Yuchi on the Chattohoche River...Yuchi was a tribe associated with the Creek Confederacy...translation probably means "at a distance," a reflection of the initial unease between the Yuchi and the Creek after joining the Confederacy.

Sources: Cate, box 6, folder 9; Gatschet, "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy," 387, 414; Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937," 68; Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama*, 73-74; Swanton, "Modern Square Grounds," 6; Waselkov and Braund, *William Bartram*, 109.

Biographical Sketch

Douglas A. Hurt (BSEd, magna cum laude, Missouri, 1994; M.A. (Geography), Missouri, 1995; Ph.D. (Geography), Oklahoma, 2000) is a geographer pursuing interests in historical geography, cultural geography, and geography education. In addition to developing curriculum materials for K-12 geography, he has also been published in *The Journal of Geography*, *Oklahoma: Magazine of the Oklahoma Heritage Association*, *The North American Geographer*, and *The Pennsylvania Geographer* and has work forthcoming in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. His current research interests involve aspects of the homeland concept and sense of place of the Creek (Muscogee) Nation in Eastern Oklahoma. He is the co-founder and contributing editor of *The North American Geographer*.