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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

YUCHI SOCIAL HISTORY SINCE WORLD WAR II:
POLITICAL SYMBOLISM IN ETHNIC IDENTITY

A Dissertation
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

By
PAMELA S. WALLACE
Norman, Oklahoma
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YUCHI SOCIAL HISTORY SINCE WORLD WAR II: POLITICAL SYMBOLISM IN ETHNIC IDENTITY

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

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Abstract

From allotment to the current day, most scholars assume the various towns that originally formed the Creek polity have become assimilated into a single homogenous Creek culture. The Yuchi community has maintained a separate identity while being encapsulated within the Creek governmental structure for over two hundred years. Following removal, the Yuchi maintained identity and community cohesion through geographic locations and agrarian subsistence that allowed for daily face-to-face encounters among members, the Yuchi language, and long ritual sequences. The entrance of community members into the post-WWII wage-labor economy changed these forms of community interaction that had maintained cohesion since removal.

This work is an ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and demographic analysis of the Yuchi (Euchee) Indian community during the latter half of the twentieth century. In this study, I will demonstrate how the Yuchi established interest group organizations for episodic political encounters with both Creek Nation and the United States government. Following WWII, these encounters brought the community together for decision making, but more importantly created venues to express and reinforce identity and cohesion. In the end, Yuchi interest group organizations have become themselves symbols of Yuchi identity and community persistence.

Chapter 1: Introduction
"It would be better for all if they did not mix up"

(Yuchi Origin Myth)

The Yuchi (Euchee) Indians of Oklahoma have received little attention in the anthropological literature since Frank Speck (1909) wrote the first and only ethnography on them at the turn of the twentieth century. They are perhaps best known, if recognized at all, as one of the many towns (tvlvv) that coalesced to form the Creek Confederacy now known as the Creek or Muskogee Nation (Hudson 1976: 223-29).

From the formation of the Creek Confederation in the early 1700s, through Removal and the Civil War, scholars have noted some degree of town autonomy as well as sectionalism within the larger polity (Crane 1918; Debo 1941:4 Hassig 1974 Opler 1972; Sturtevant 1971; Swanton 1922:215, 226). However, from allotment to the current day, most works assume the various towns that originally formed the polity have become assimilated into a single homogenous Creek culture. The Yuchi community strongly disagrees with this assumption. The Yuchi maintain that they are a separate and unique Native American group forced by the federal government to be included within the Creek polity. They identify themselves as Yuchi, not Creek Indians. The persistence of Yuchi identity in the twentieth century presents a dilemma for the scholarly concept of Creek social homogeneity. In the later half of the twentieth century, various political interactions have assisted the Yuchi community in identity retention and are the subject of this work.

Background:

Many scholars have followed Swanton's (1946, 1952) identification of the Yuchi under numerous ethnonyms: Chisca, Rickohockans, Tomahitan, and the Westo (Bauxar 1957; Hudson et al 1985; Waselkov 1989). Not until the early 1700s do they appear under the ethnonym of Yuchi when they participated in the Yamassee War of 1715 (Crane 1928:170; Milling 1940:182). Later, they allied with Oglethorpe for the protection of the early Georgian settlement of Savannah, and played a part in the survival of the Austrian settlement at Ebenezer, Georgia (Chandler 1913:287, 214; Hvidt 1980:22-23). With the continuing encroachment of the English, the Yuchi moved farther west settling along the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers in western Georgia allying themselves with Lower Creek towns (Swanton 1970:309). Here, the U. S. government recognized them only as one of the many Creek towns that comprised the Confederacy in the late eighteenth century.¹

Although designated as a single town within the confederacy -- "Yuchi Town" -- in fact, the Yuchi maintained several settlements. During their brief tenure with the Creeks in Georgia, the Yuchi lived in three separate residential villages: In-tuch-cul-gau, Pad-gee-li-gau, and Toc-co-gul-egau. (Hawkins 1971:62-63; 1982:170-71). This pattern persisted upon removal to Indian Territory in 1836.

In the 1830s, unwilling to cede their eastern lands, the Yuchi fought against removal with other Creek towns and later with the Seminoles (Foreman 1932:145, 154-57; Green 1982:184; Hudson 1976:460; Motte 1953:123). After capture by Georgian and Creek troops, the federal government forcibly removed them as hostiles

without funds or goods to assist them in their new homeland (Foreman 1932:154-57).

The Yuchi settled in the northwest section of Creek Territory geographically removed from most of their Creek neighbors. They settled again in three areas along different waterways that became names for their ceremonial grounds: Polecat, Little Deep Fork, and Bigpond. Within these areas Yuchi people lived in proximity to one another with as many as twelve families within a one mile radius, similar to their pre-removal residence pattern (Speck 1909:9).

Today, they remain in these same general areas with ceremonial grounds active in three locations.² Both historically and today, the grounds serve as central meeting places for religious and social activities. In many ways they are similar to the Creek grounds of their neighbors, but with one marked difference. Some Creek ceremonial grounds coordinate the timing of their Green Corn activities with neighboring grounds. Those Creek grounds that coordinate their efforts differ in their reasons for interacting with some specific neighbors but not with others. Those reasons include similarities in ball game rituals, ceremonial rituals, and kinship ties.³ The three Yuchi grounds also interact, but only with each other and do not include other grounds in their Green Corn scheduling. This method avoids timing conflicts and more importantly each ground receives the support of the larger Yuchi community during the ceremonial season (see Jackson 1996a, 1997). This process of cooperation for the summer ceremonials has been continuous from the turn of the century and very likely from long before.⁴ This separate community coordination means less time for Yuchi interaction in the Creek ceremonial ground process. Although some interaction does occur both with Creeks

visiting Yuchi grounds and visa versa, because the Yuchi maintain three grounds, the largest percentage of interactions during the summer remains intra-community.⁵ This restrained interaction with the Creeks proved disadvantageous for one scholar beginning her fieldwork among the Creeks.

I had hoped my Yuchi friends would help me quickly find a Creek language tutor and some well-disposed individuals prepared to share their knowledge of Creek stomp grounds. My Yuchi contacts proved less than fruitful. Although Yuchi and Creeks are allied and interact at stomp dances, entree to Yuchi activities did not automatically entail an equally facile entree to the Creeks.

(Bell 1984:15)

Until shortly after 1900, these residential locations and ceremonial patterns allowed the Yuchi some degree of anonymity and separation. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, their summer Green Corn ceremonies lasted one month on each ground providing an extended period of community interaction.⁶ This intense ceremonial participation further differentiates Yuchi traditions and reinforces their sense of community identity.

Language also distinguished the Yuchi community from others. The Yuchi language is an isolate and is unrelated to the Muskogee language (Haas 1973; Urban 1994). Until the twentieth century, the majority of Yuchi used their own language for most communication needs. With daily contact occurring mainly within the community there was little need to acquire another language by the majority of people.⁷ Several community members acted as interpreters when it became necessary to interact with Creek or English speaking officials. As independent farming families, they provided for most of their basic needs and had little need for intensive inter-community communication. For any consumer goods they did not produce themselves, they could

transact business in at least two stores whose owners or employees spoke the Yuchi language.⁸ This language differentiation marked the community as distinctly different from its Creeks neighbors. Until the turn of the century, their residence patterns, ceremonial activities, and language were means of maintaining Yuchi identity. This does not mean there were no interactions with others, but those encounters were less significant than Yuchi interactions with one and other.

Marriage patterns indicate social interaction both internally and with groups outside the Yuchi community. The census of 1898 notes 67.5 percent of the marriages were between Yuchi people with 32.5 percent to outsiders (Wallace 1993:104-06). These data included those Yuchi who resided in areas outside of the geographic boundaries of the Yuchi community. If we look more closely at the marriages within the geographic areas of the three settlements, we see that of the 130 marriages documented only 23 or 17.6 percent are with other than Yuchi spouses. Clearly, at the turn of this century, the preferred pattern (82.4 percent) was to marry within the Yuchi community. Of the 17.6 percent of marriages to outsiders, these were evenly divided between Creeks and Whites. This gives some indication that the Yuchi community was interacting on social and economic levels with both Euroamericans and Creeks. Overall, the community remained genealogically tied to ancestors and identity by marrying within the community. These genealogical ties were and are crucial for Yuchi internal identity today, as subsequent marriage and interaction patterns have changed markedly during the twentieth century.

The Problem: Changing Times — Changing Methods:

Near the turn of the century a number of factors came into play that jeopardized community members' ability to interact primarily with one and other thus threatening identity retention. In 1887, the U.S. Congress passed the Dawes Act, that divided Indians tribal lands into allotments deeded to individuals (O'Brien 1989:129). The Yuchi allotments fall within the three original areas of Yuchi settlement (see Hastain 1910). No oral histories have been recorded that reflect any major territorial shifts in residence pattern and the ceremonial grounds remained in the same locations. Apparently, allotment did not separate Yuchi community members, but other measures did draw the community apart.

One potential detriment to cultural identity and preservation was Indian boarding schools that emerged as a way to assimilate Indian children into the Euroamerican world. Prior to their advent, most Yuchi children learned from their family members the things necessary for a productive life. Once in boarding school, Yuchi children began interacting with other Indian children and Euroamerican teachers, staff, and administrators.⁹ These schools kept the children in dormitories with visits home only during the holidays and summer months. Although they interacted with their families and community particularly during the summer ceremonials, for the first time strong outside influences were coming to play upon the next generation of Yuchi.

Another feature of boarding schools was that the system did not allow children to speak their native language at any time. The staff severely punished children for speaking any language other than English.¹⁰ As these young people became adults and

raised their own children and at times grandchildren, often they refused to teach the younger generations their own native tongue believing it was in the best interest of the children. As one consultant noted: "Most people my age did not learn the language. The focus was on going to school, speaking English, learning the skills to compete and survive in the white society and I think they (parents) made a conscious effort to do that."¹¹ Language as one of the distinguishing features of the Yuchi community was in danger of being lost. Today there are less than twenty fluent and ten semi-fluent speakers.¹²

Another factor that changed the distinctiveness of the Yuchi community was the oil boom of the early 1900s. The federal government allotted a substantial number of Yuchi people land that later proved to be rich in oil. These families began purchasing household goods and automobiles that were rarely known before in the community.¹³ Perhaps the most influential was the automobile. Of the many families I interviewed who profited from oil, the automobile was one of the first purchases made with their new found royalties. Cars provided for easier transportation and more frequent visits into the surrounding cities.

The city of Tulsa went through dramatic changes that greatly affected the close knit Yuchi community. Before oil was discovered, Muskogee had been the largest city in Oklahoma with a population of nearly three thousand (Gregory 1976:2). With oil, Tulsa quickly exceeded this figure and by 1909 had eighty-four lawyers, eight jewelers, and eleven hotels. The Exchange National Bank opened in 1910 with assets of \$700,000. Within nineteen years, the bank was recognized all over the world as the "oil

bank" with assets of over \$50,000,000 (Gregory 1976:3-5). Yuchi people began traveling to Tulsa on a regular basis to purchase goods not available in their smaller communities. Many sought work as wage laborers moving into Tulsa to be closer to their jobs.¹⁴

During this period, the ceremonial grounds continued to be a central focal point for the Yuchi community with summer ceremonies lasting for one to two weeks at each ground. Even as their language and geographic integrity gradually diminished, their participation in the religious life continued and indeed expanded. The Indian Methodist Church established two Yuchi churches that reinforced Yuchi identity and customs much as the grounds (see Chapter 2).¹⁵

The advent of WWII changed this to some degree. Many Yuchi men participated in the war effort to the point that it was difficult to maintain the ceremonial grounds.¹⁶ When the men returned, they came back with a new awareness of the potential benefits the larger world offered, particularly in the area of higher education for their children. On consultant in his fifties who is a college graduate explains that his parents felt education was extremely important:

There were several things repeated over the years (concerning what the children in his family should know), I think my Dad mention this a number of times over the years.

He only went to the third grade in school and my Mom to the seventh or eighth grade. He would say "That's pretty good for someone who only went to the third grade." - he said this when he made some accomplishment.

But, what he was also saying to us was that it was important for us children to get a higher education and thus be able to survive for

one thing, and be more competitive and effective in the society as he was seeing it develop.¹⁷

Many children and grandchildren of these men received a college education and a number carry professional and post-graduate degrees.¹⁸ During and after the war, many young and middle-age males and females worked as wage laborers. This had not been the case before.¹⁹ Wage labor interrupted the previously long summer ceremonial season and the daily interactions between Yuchi community members. No longer was the Green Corn ceremony a month in length, as it had been at the turn of the century. Nor was it even a week long event as held in the 1920s and 1930s. Because of job obligations the height of the ceremonial season was revised to a series of weekends during the summer months. With the loss of geographic integrity, language, and extended ritual gatherings, Yuchi life changed rapidly in the twentieth century. The community sought new avenues to increase internal interaction for cohesion, distinctiveness, and for individual identity.

Research Focus: Means of Maintaining Yuchi Identity in the Twentieth Century:

Yuchi identity has persisted even with the loss of geographical integrity, shortened ritual cycles, and the imminent loss of their native language. In the later portion of the twentieth century, the Yuchi created a series of interest group organizations that are the focus of this study. These groups did not arise until after WWII when everyday intra-community encounters became less frequent. This type of organization continues to function today bringing together leaders with explicit views on creating and recreating the concept of being Yuchi. These organizations provide not only specific goal-oriented tasks, but occasions for the larger community to come

together to discuss various issues centering around Yuchi history and the reconstruction of community identity. The Yuchi do not discuss such issues explicitly in any other community venue (e.g., ceremonial grounds). With increasing loss of daily interaction, no other forums are available to discuss such topics. These meetings never include the entire community, but those present disseminate the information into the community through personal networks that reinforce a common Yuchi identity among members who are now geographically separate from one another in everyday social interaction.

These interest group organizations have specific agendas and goals they seek to accomplish. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, acting outside the political confines of the Creek Nation, the Yuchi sought recompense for their lands ceded in Georgia under the Indian Claims Commission Act.²⁰ During the 1970s when Creek Nation was in disarray, the Yuchi brought in extensive grant monies to improve the education of their children under Title IV of the Indian Education Act.²¹ In the 1990s, after several disagreements with Creek Nation and the fear of losing their cultural heritage, they sought federal acknowledgment through a petition with the BIA.²² The Yuchi established these organizations to obtain their goals and at the same time to focus on language retention, genealogy, oral history, and the preservation of Yuchi cultural ways. Some of these interest group organizations did not obtain their stated objectives, others did or are doing so. In actuality, neither success nor failure is the central issue. These organizations are occasions for intense interaction concerning Yuchi identity that is carried out by a few leaders, but that is disseminated to the larger community through forums, focus groups, and community networking. These organizations are the focus of this study.

Included for political purposes within Creek Nation, the Yuchi never assimilated to the point of accepting a Creek identity. They maintain they are Yuchi and not Creek Indians forced into the Creek structure before removal, and held there by the current federal government's rules and regulations. The Yuchi offer an opportunity to explore the maintenance of cultural identity in the context of political submersion in a larger polity.

Theoretical Perspective:

Political theory is useful to examine the various levels of community action and identity retention through much of the twentieth century. These levels are: Yuchi-Yuchi interaction, Yuchi-Creek interaction, and Yuchi-Euroamerican interaction. All three intertwine, and at times present complex situations that make it difficult for the Yuchi community to express successfully its own identity and sense of community to others. Both the Creek polity and federal regulations brought down the ICC effort in the 1950s. During the 1970s Title IV political maneuvers, again both larger polities exerted their power and eventually thwarted the Yuchi efforts. The petition for acknowledgment in the 1990s ran into many of the political problems of the ICC effort and appears to be a dying cause. The interest group activities in the later 1990s have learned from earlier attempts and have subsequently side-stepped many of the earlier problems with the two larger polities. These organizations have lasted longer than any other interest group effort, but are in constant danger of becoming overrun or not taken seriously by either the Creek Nation or the federal government.

The anthropological research era between the late 1960s and the 1980s supplies both theory and taxonomy for analyzing the Yuchi situation. Scholars wrote on various themes: political structures, leadership, the rise and fall of polities, political symbols and action, conflict/consensus, and interaction models (Bailey 1963, 1968, 1969; Burling 1974; Caplow 1968; Fowler 1971, 1982; Fried 1967; Goody 1974; Lewis 1968; Migdal 1974; Rodman 1977; Sahlins 1963; Service 1971; Skinner and Winckler 1969; Southall 1972; Swartz 1968; Swartz, Turner, and Tuden 1966; Turner 1957, 1966, 1968; Whyte 1975) For this new genre, Action Theory became the central theoretical paradigm that analyzed small informal political structures (interest groups) in relation to larger more formalized polities. The theory focuses on individual actors, their strategies, and the dialectic between those actions and the internal community.

As a formative action theorist, Bailey is of particular interest in relation to this study. Bailey's (1968) understanding of political encapsulation contributes valuable terminology. He furnishes the precise term "parapolitical" to replace such innocuous terms as "tribe." The overused and muddled term "tribe" frequently appears in Native American literature and legal documents. For instance, concerning Creek political structures (tvlvv), Opler (1952) notes that in the literature Creeks are often called a tribe. He states it would be more judicious to say that the towns that coalesced to form the polity were individual tribes. In such a way Opler attempts explain the Creek town structure. If we follow Opler's argument, then surely the Yuchi, who perceive themselves outside their Creek neighbors, could still be considered a separate "tribe." The Yuchi would readily agree with this construct, but the federal government does not

accept them by tribal definition as separate from the Creeks. The term tribe leads to confusion and misunderstanding for scholars, Native peoples, and polities.

Fried addressed the myths and inconsistencies of this term that he calls nearly as meaningless as the word "race." In a neo-evolutionist view, Fried states that tribes are the products of relations with states, and they did not, and do not, exist without interaction with at state polity (Fried 1967:154-74). Herein, lies a problem. "Tribe" is a term defined and redefined by cultural context. The meaning of the word can vary greatly between interest groups and the states of encapsulation. For Native People to interact directly with the federal government, they must be classified by that polity (not their own) as a recognized "tribe," a recognition the Yuchi do not have. "The state forces Indian groups to define themselves as tribes, and provides the characteristics to which they must conform" (Sturtevant 1983:13).

To have the state polity accept their identity, many Yuchi interest group efforts focus on this problematic area of tribal recognition. What it is to be a tribe for the Yuchi is not contextually the same as to be a tribe under federal definition. To focus on the varying concepts of tribe does not further the argument of Yuchi identity, nor does it prove helpful for analysis. Bailey provides the more useful term, "parapolitical," to describe encapsulated communities such as the Yuchi that:²³

are partly regulated by, and partly independent of, larger encapsulating political structures; and which, so to speak, fight battles with these larger structures in a way which for them seldom ends in victory, rarely in dramatic defeat, but usually in a long drawn stalemate and defeat by attrition. (Bailey 1968:13)

In such encapsulated situations, "dependency, as the word does not imply, is always in fact a two-way interaction" (Bailey 1969:12). And, in this case, often a three-way interaction between Yuchi, Creek, and U.S. Such interactions Bailey calls episodes that offer three possibilities patterns:

1. Each episode may exactly duplicate its predecessor
2. A new episode may begin where the last one ended
3. Episodes may become cumulative either being absorbed into the community's public values or breaking down the value structure.

(Bailey 1969:293)

For the Yuchi in the twentieth century, one episode tends to begin where another has ended. Each episode is absorbed within the community as the members learn the intricate and shifting rules, then apply those rules to the next encounter. Rules that are known and accepted by those involved in interaction are a central element of Bailey's model. Without such rules the competition becomes warlike rather than political (Bailey 1963:223). Warfare for a small encapsulated community, such as the Yuchi, is not a alternative because of the differential in power between themselves and the two larger formalized polities. Such parapolitical groups must know the rules explicitly and quickly be aware of any shifts or changes.

To analyze the community's position and individual leadership, Action Theory provides a partial framework. Scholars developed Action Theory while analyzing encapsulation in Third World countries (e.g., Bailey 1960; Turner 1966, 1968). These studies centered largely around the manipulation of rules, tactics, and resources found in face-to-face encounters. Action theory includes the motivation, the variety of choices, the limitations of political action, and the interactions involved in any given episode.

Attention is to processes and political formations other than categories or corporate groups and relies heavily on fieldwork (Vincent 1978).

Potentially, Action Theory could have become too individualistic and microscopic leaving out the larger community as well as history. Ethnicity became one method to analyze informal group actions more broadly (Barth 1969; Bentley 1987; Blom 1969; Eidheim 1969; Izikowitz 1969; Knutsson 1969; Siverts 1969). For many anthropologists, the politics of ethnicity replaced the previously accepted concept of tribalism, race, pluralism, and minorities. Essentially as a construct of the times, ethnicity became synonymous with political interest groups with political assertions defining the group (Cohen R. 1978, Wallerstein 1979:184). "Thus, ethnic identifications are broadened when greater political mobilization is required, and narrowed when exclusion is sought" (Vincent 1974:376). During this era, the term ethnicity, as used by the media and laymen, thwarted the efforts of scholars to give an analytical definition to the term. Ethnicity became so nebulous and ill-defined that some scholars rejected the term altogether, seeking other means to study encapsulated groups (e.g., Vincent 1990:467).

Cohen provides an alternative to the problems inherent in the ethnicity paradigm while dramatically broadening the original action theory paradigm to include not only individual actors but the collectivity. Using political symbolism, Cohen attempts to reconcile action theorists and structural theorists, both of whom stressed holism and the interdependence of power relations and symbolic action (Cohen 1974:49-64; Vincent 1978:183). Cohn's work in *Two Dimensional Man* could be mistaken as addressing only politics and symbols or rituals. He makes it clear that these two dimensions of human

behavior extend to become what anthropologists call holistic. He reduces the variables to two that are inclusive of the economic, political, kinship, and ritual facets:

The political and the economic form one category, their common denominator being power relationships. Kinship and religion form the second category, their common denominator being symbolism.
(Cohen 1974:22)

He uses two analytical variables, instead of four, to form a holistic model for human interactions and behaviors. It is not the study of one variable, but the interaction between the two that provides for comprehensive analysis within social anthropology (Cohen 1974:38). Since no small-scale groups exist today outside of state structures, Cohen and his contemporaries provide a methodology that shows how these variables can be studied for encapsulated groups.

Cohen's work strongly incorporates symbols as objects, acts, relationships or linguistic formations that evoke emotions, and impel people to action (Cohen 1974:23). Kinship and ritual operate through distinctive symbolic activity. For the Yuchi this includes their origin myth, ceremonials, preferred endogamy, genealogies, focus group meetings, and interest group organizations that state explicitly "I am Yuchi, not Creek." The community clings to its identity label of "Yuchi." Ethnic labels are "symbols that agitate strong feelings and emotions" (Williams 1989:403). As shown in the following chapters, the utterance "I am Yuchi" is perhaps the clearest symbol of both ritual and kinship within the Yuchi community today. Symbolic acts and utterances provide continuity for the community, not the intermittent manipulation of the rules within the political arena. These symbolic formations exist far longer than any political maneuvering. They define the individual actors through socialization and must be

included when analyzing the "rational" and contractual interactions of group members within power structures.

When a political structure becomes integrated into the economic, social, moral, and religious structures, these same structures then validate the political entity. The battle to maintain identity (self-hood is most problematic within modern complex society with its rapid structural changes (Cohen 1974:58). When communities exhaust traditional patterns of behavior to maintain identity, new patterns emerge. (e.g. from geographic integrity, ceremonials, and language difference to include interest group organizations). Those people with innovative ideas, who are often charismatic, "objectify new relationships and give definite symbolic forms to vaguely experienced subjective ideas and images" (Cohen 1974:59). When these symbolic forms do not address a new situation, another is developed. The less formal the internal organization the more likely a group will exploit symbolic patterns to achieve its goal.

When a group has mechanisms for coordination of action it becomes a political interest group. When states do not allow members of an interest group to organize under formal (bureaucratic) principals they resort to informal efforts. By this, Cohen means the use of kinship, friendship, ritual, ceremonial, and other forms of symbolic patterns and activities that "are implicit in what is known as 'style of life'" (Cohen 1974:68). These informal interest groups then attack the basic organizational problems of: 1) distinctiveness, 2) communication, 3) decision making, 4) authority, 5) ideology, and 6) discipline. These six interest group organizational concepts become the theoretical tools to answer the question of how the Yuchi reinforced identity retention

through the later half of the twentieth century and are briefly described below with appropriate data following in chapters two through six.

Groups must define their membership identity (distinctiveness) within the political areas of operation. They may do so according to Cohen in several ways: genealogy, rules of marriage with the close relationship of alliance under female symbolism, ritual beliefs and practices, intensify internal interaction, and style of life. Informal groups may elect one or several of these methods.

Routine communication between members of a political groups is necessary to solidify a common policy and to coordinate activities. This is often problematic in modern society where at times individuals are scattered. Ritual and ceremonial events (e.g., ceremonial ground gatherings) become gathering places for communication, exchange of news and views between members. Communication need not always be face-to-face encounters, but can be mediated by key religious personalities, gossips, and leaders (Cohen 1974:75). In the twentieth century, the Yuchi continue to rely on religious personalities while also using key leaders within interest group organizations to enhance communication between dispersed members.

Decision making may be done by the entire group or by part of the membership (i.e. consensus, majority, or leaders). Such decision making involves three steps: 1) identification of the problem; 2) deliberation in order to find solutions; 3) decisions are made on behalf of the group. Each of the following chapters addresses these three steps in the Yuchi community today as they formulate political action through interest group organizations supported by community consensus.

Decisions must be backed by authority which is an exercise in power that can be physical, economic, or normative. Because state structures hold the coercive or physical power, for most informal parapolitical groups authority is mobilized through normative, symbolic power. Authority for the Yuchi community is articulated through the religious leaders who hold the symbolic power and in turn validate or invalidate the leaders who arise within the interest group organizations. Religious leaders tend to hold their positions until their death, while the interest group leaders' terms of office tend to be short term and ephemeral.

Ideology works as an integrating factor for continual adjustments to the changing world. Often it is the ideological guardians who seek new interpretations for old symbols, or incorporate additional symbols. For the Yuchi, the traditional grounds "speakers" and church orators carry this role of articulating distinctiveness through symbols, usually verbal. These leaders continue to influence and incorporate symbols into the existing ideology often enhancing any previous meaning. For example, today a Yuchi ground's speaker explains the center logs of the ceremonial fire as facing the four sacred cardinal directions (past concepts) that also reflect and symbolize the Christian cross (new concept). This added explanation began after 1900 when Christian churches became active in the Yuchi community. "Symbols have no fixed meanings and can thus be differently interpreted at different times" (Cohen 1974:84). Likewise, a Yuchi church leader speaks publicly of the ceremonial grounds and the churches as different in method, but with same objective: the worship of God the Creator. Both men publicly support the ideology of community worship while bridging the potential gap between

church and grounds members. Their respected status and manipulation of symbols help unify the community and its perceived distinctive identity.

In discussing informal interest groups, the issue becomes stratification within state structures. Frequently the analysis of such organizations has been left to sociology whose literature often includes numerous variables and methodologies that make comparisons difficult. At times, sociological methods merely seem to develop more and more strata or class structures whose value is limited. Little information about the distribution of power in complex societies can be determined unless we begin to analyze specific interest groups, their scope, organization, and interrelationships (Cohen 1974:122). By focusing on interest groups, rather than class, theoretical problems of inconsistencies in power and status can be solved. To accomplish this, anthropologists must bear in mind that the state exists, and therefore no small discrete group survives today that can be studied in isolation.

The answer to studying interest group action lies in key performances or social dramas (Turner 1957). In these dramas, interaction between power (economic and political) and symbolism (community kinship and ritual) becomes evident. Within this dialectic, Yuchi interest group organizations become the central actors in social dramas exhibiting power and symbolic action that assist in maintaining community cohesiveness and distinct identity in the twentieth century. These organizations provide two critical elements: goals and specified tasks that draw the community together for action, and forums to express Yuchi identity and community cohesion. In the end they become themselves symbols of Yuchi identity.

Building much of his analysis on political symbolism, Mach (1993) points to the importance of symbols of identity in contemporary society. He defines symbols as "... intriguing, thought-provoking, stirring emotions, opaque, and ambiguous" (Mach 1993:30). Symbols bring groups of people together and often serve as the impetus for political action. Mach includes the importance of state structures as well as ethnic groups within larger political boundaries. He reiterates the thoughts of Cohen and others, that symbols are not static in meaning but change to meet the needs of the time. Mach includes concepts of territory as an important element in shaping identity. Even if geographic territories change for a community, the symbolic representation of land remains a unifying factor (Mach 1993:712-210). Territory for the Yuchi people is important symbolically as it ties the current community to their ancestors removed from Georgia two hundred years ago. Today, their territorial symbols define Yuchi people in three distinct areas of Oklahoma that correspond to their ancestors' places of settlement following Removal and where the majority of the community dwell today.

For the specific study of Native American identity and encapsulation there is a paucity of data for much of the twentieth century and none that address a three-tiered political situation. As written by historians, Native American history tends to end at the turn of the century with the closing of the western frontier. Exceptions are those works that deal with Indians and federal policy (e.g., Prucha 1973, 1984). These presentations tend to portray the Native communities as arranging "their lives according to historical periods scheduled by Washington" (Riding In 1987:127). Recent historical and anthropological studies fare somewhat better. Many of these studies investigate Native

Americans in a historical relationship with Euroamericans, but not always from a position of complete domination and powerlessness (Bernstein 1991; Barroe 1975; Foster 1991; Fowler 1987, 1994; Green 1982; MacLachlan 1994; Moore 1987; Nagel and Snipp 1993; O'Brien 1989; White 1983).

Barroe (1975) characterizes Native Americans by their unrelenting resistance to the dominant Euroamerican structure. In point, the Short Grass Indians consistently work against the Canadian government's attempts at assimilation.²⁴ They have adopted many of the economic and social trappings of the larger society, but remain a distinct group maintaining their traditions while becoming stronger, not weaker. Barroe views the Euroamerican political structure as the determining entity for Native American life. Native People must then decide how they work within this structure that calls them "profane." This constant collective resistance to Euroamerican structures essentially defines the community.

Foster (1991) presents a very different identity formation process in his study of the Comanche. He maintains that this Native American community determines internal identity by recognizing those members who interact in ways it deems appropriate. "Membership in the same speech community requires neither territorial integrity nor shared political and economic interest (though these are both conditions that may contribute to the formation and elaboration of a community)" (Foster 1991:21). Like the Yuchi, the Comanche hold only one criterion for membership. As the Yuchi criterion is ancestry, the Comanche is communicative competence. This provides a method for the

Comanche to increase their population by incorporating others into the community who speak and interact in an appropriate fashion.

Even though times have altered their close physical proximity to each other, tribal members have innovatively altered the means for shared community intercommunication. "Comanches have used changing languages, social identities, and social situations to realize a variety of actual social units and gatherings as a way of maintaining their traditional community" (Foster 1991:23). Foster asks the question: "What has motivated people to continue to be Comanche?" (Foster 191:173). He answers, they continue because it works. The identity provides the membership support that allows their social interactions and various gatherings to continue, but which is based on communicative skills of the members.

Whereas White (1983) once defined native groups as dependent and powerless, Fowler (1982:6) defines them as politically encapsulated while remaining somewhat independent. Residing in similar ecological niches, and under the same political and economic influences the Gros Ventre, the Southern Arapahoe, and the Northern Arapahoe adjusted to changes in different ways (Fowler 1994). Each group maintained their own separate identity by applying a unique set of cultural symbols. Each confronted the constraints of the Euroamerican political setting by incorporating those changes for the continuation of their own traditions. For these Native Peoples, identity was tied to the political symbols that allowed them to continue their own traditions by incorporating forced changes to their advantage. "Symbols emerged that worked to

revitalize or reassert traditional values and relationships, yet at the same time reassured whites that the Arapahoes were neither dangerous nor uncooperative" (Fowler 1982:5).

Nagel and Snipp (1993) offer the model of "ethnic reorganization" as a methodology for American Indian survival. Increased pressures from the dominant culture force native groups to restructure their own internal organization. They may reorganize their communities based on demographic stress such as disease, slavery, migration, or forced reservations. One way the community may increase in number is by changing the marriage rules such as the Crow shift from clan exogamy to reservation restricted district endogamy (Hoxie 1984:17). Another method to increase, as with many of the Oklahoma tribes, or decrease, as with the Flathead's of Montana, is regulation of membership criteria. Nagel and Snipp include the expansive "pan-Indian" movement as a method to extend community. The authors touch on economic and political methods of ethnic reorganization that have allowed American Indians to survive. With economic incentives the driving force and the political reorganization the means to the economic objective.

Other literature discusses Native populations that, to the dominant society, appear to have lost their Native identity, or that have no concise criteria for identity either among themselves or in relation to the dominant society. Roosens (1989:45-100) offers a view of both fluid identity and the struggle for power within the state. The Huron of Quebec have a history of changing identity. During times of European/Indian warfare, the Ottawa and Iroquois adopted and absorbed a large number of Huron. Ethnically these groups assimilated completely into other Indian communities. One

group, the Wendats claim an unbroken tradition that supersedes the arrive of Europeans. However, their language and material culture have disappeared. This presents a particularly difficult problem in modern Canada where many native groups by Canadian legal definition have secured much of the land previously taken by Euroamericans. "The Hurons can advance no noteworthy cultural uniqueness, can make no claim to a mode of production that clearly deviates from the Euro-Canadian and have only possessed lands 'given' to them (by the Canadian government)" (Roosens 1989:59). Therefore by Canadian law, the Huron are not a contiguous community with rights to land claims.

Clifford (1988) presents the case of the Cape Cod Mashpee who filed a law suit in 1976 over land and tribal status. The Mashpee claimed they were descendants of the earliest Native Americans in the area, but through time and circumstance owned no tribal land, had not retained their own language, had no distinct religion, and no obvious political structure. During the trial, several renown scholars, James Axtell, Jack Campisi, William Sturtevant, Vine Deloria, and Ann Borden Harding, testify to the legitimacy of their claim for acknowledged tribal status. Regardless, the plaintiffs lost the case. To the dominant culture, the Mashpee did not look like, act like, or evidence any of the traditional criteria that would make them Native American. The Mashpee may consider themselves a Native American community with defined identity, but the dominant structure declined to acknowledge their claim. Their self-defined identity alone leaves the Mashpee with far less power and ability to manipulate their situation than those Native groups that have acquired legal standing.

Sider (1993) presents a somewhat similar case with the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina. The Lumbee also sought tribal acknowledgment. Sider claims that colonial pressures brought about factionalism and civil war among the Native groups of the Southeast. The Lumbee themselves claim a separation from the Tuscarora much as the Seminoles separated from the Creeks. Depending on the political circumstances of the times, the dominant Euroamerican society labeled the Lumbee as white, Indian, Black, and people of color. At least superficially, the Lumbee adopted Euroamerican characteristics such as names, language, housing, and education. However, they never fully assimilated into Euroamerican society because the dominant society marginalized them as "people of color." Like the Mashpee, the Lumbee had a number of anthropologists to give expert opinions. The BIA wrote an O.D. (obvious deficiencies) letter regarding the Lumbee petition for recognition. At the close of Sider's narrative, he states that the Lumbee are becoming more and more concerned with their petition, sensing it may fail like the Mashpee effort. Sider and Clifford address the very real problems facing Native peoples whom the federal polity refuses to recognize as tribal entities. They may easily define their own identity, but unless the state or federal agencies accept their claims of uniqueness, they have no ability to collectively interact with the dominant power structures. Various economic, social, and political programs are denied to the groups whose boundaries are only self-defined. Such is the continuing struggle for the Yuchi people.

With the exception of Clifford and Sider most scholars of Native American identity present for analysis groups who have some political recognition within the more

dominant American or Canadian polities. The identity of these groups is supported by this recognition and as such have with political rights, obligations and some measure of power. With no larger polity recognizing or supporting Yuchi identity, Cohen's concepts of political symbolism using interest group analysis becomes enlightening. If we try to view the Yuchi through the traditional looking glass of what it is to be a Native American: cultural ways, language, or religious practice we are not be able to distinguish clearly the Yuchi people as distinct from their Creek neighbors. Certainly their language is unique, and some ceremonial activities but it is in their political episodic maneuvering that we can use to analyze the community's uniqueness and identity retention. This comparative study over time of interest group participation brings to light a unique community that does indeed exercise its identity outside of their Creek neighbors and the overarching Creek Nation. Acting through interest group organizations, the Yuchi are able to interact with the larger federal government without formal recognition. The process is fragile and organization structure changes with each episodic encounter. Political symbolism supplies the necessary format to study interest group interaction where no formal political structure exists.

Studies of nonrecognized groups require tremendous patience and listening skills for it is from the people themselves that the story begins to emerge. The Yuchi do not necessary view themselves as an interest group, but rather as a unique cultural group of Native People. Only from listening to the people discuss their past, observing their current political activities, and archival work did their activities begin to emerge as a political rather than strictly social patterns. Studies based on interest group action of

people such as the Mashpee, Lumbee, and other nonrecognized groups could further enlighten the reasons for identity persistence over long periods (see Chapter 7). Political symbolism supplies a mechanism to study small groups with no political recognition whose identity has persisted through time. Dominant political powers do not allow nor accept these self-identities and do not readily acquiesce to any formalized interaction. Groups such as the Yuchi are forced to interact as political interest groups. Action theory and political symbolism are useful to analyze the community's political struggles with the rules and tactics of both Creek Nation and the federal government. In the end, these political maneuvering serve as mechanisms to maintain and reinforce identity.

Methodology

The majority of this work relies on sources and documents generated by the Yuchi community with a strong emphasis on oral histories, interest group organization meetings and minutes, ceremonial ground and church rituals, genealogical meetings, benefit stomp dances, language retention classes and other community activities. Seeking scholarly assistance, a leader from one interest group organization precipitated my entrance into the community. My fieldwork now extends over six years bringing an essence of the community continuum from past to present, and consequently a sense of what it is "to be Yuchi."

Intensive fieldwork is important in the exploration of a people's past because it reveals something of their ethos -- their style, motivations, orientations, their tendency to view problems and come to terms with them in culturally characteristic ways.

(Fowler 1982: xviii)

Extensive fieldwork is critical to the argument and final analysis. It was not until fourth year of working in the field that the information on Title IV (Chapter 4) came to light and that only in subtle references by community members to the education received in the 1970s. During these six years, I observed the shifting tides of power and symbolic action through strategies formed to preserve Yuchi identity. Although encapsulated within the larger Creek polity and the more powerful Euroamerican polity, I have witnessed Yuchi strategies that speak to their own control and power. This community is not powerless now, nor has it ever been completely so. With extensive notes, documents, and audio tapes that partially comprise my fieldwork effort, I have attempted to cull the data in order to present a cohesive account of the processes involved. I hope to present a "few bold lines here and there" avoiding "a confused and cluttered account with a great deal of irrelevant and superficial detail" (Cohen 1974:47).

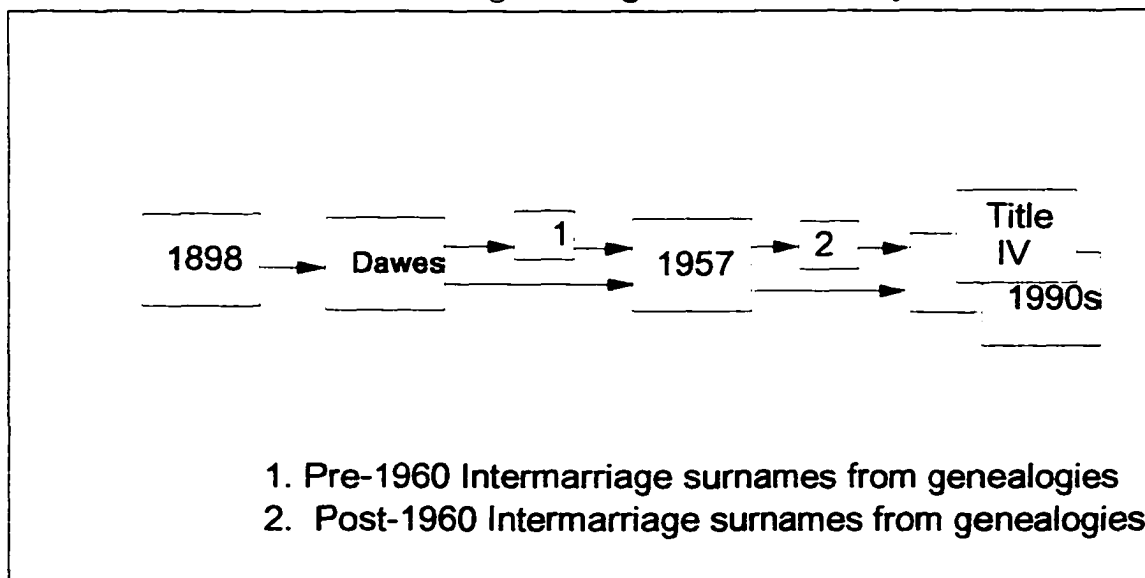
Second, I rely on historical sources to show Yuchi identity and interest group action through time. This has not been an easy chore. Seeking information on the Yuchi is like looking for the proverbial needle in a haystack. Archives rarely contain documents labeled as Yuchi, rather such information is buried within Creek and U. S. documents. Their scarcity led me from Oklahoma to Georgia, Florida, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C. These include but are not limited to the briefs, hearings, and judgments of the Indian Claims Commission during the 1950s; the workings and grant allocations under the 1970s Indian Education Act (Title IV); and the Bureau of Indian Affairs system for petitions of acknowledgment. The work on the ICC hearings is a good example of the problems of working with groups that have no recognition. The

documents of the Indian Claims Commission are very accessible and two copies of the microfilm were available close at hand. However, the Yuchi petition had been given a number that was not to found among the microfilm numeric listings of petitions. Rather, it was found within another of many Creek documents filed within another sequential system. These were found only by knowing the unique name of one of the persons who testified at a "Creek" hearing and whose name was noted at the top of the microfilm page itself. Had I not been well versed in the genealogies and stories of the Yuchi, the ability to find such documentation in a reasonable length of time would have been hampered. To set the stage for each episode or work of the interest group organizations, I relied on such historical sources and government documents. This information explains the political maneuverings of the Yuchi community both in regard to Creek Nation and the larger state structure in which they interact.

The third body of data consisted of surnames for quantitative analysis of the community members through time. For the last one hundred years, several lists of Yuchi people exist that will be linked by surname analysis to show a continuous community of related people during the twentieth century. These lists are: 1898 Creek Census Cards by Tribal Town, 1907 Dawes Allotment Roll, 1957 Yuchi Tribal Roll, 1970s Title IV participation lists, and 1990s Community Meetings and Focus Groups lists of participants. Only two of these lists, the 1898 census and the 1907 Dawes Roll, are full census tracts that furnish extensive demographic information such as population size, age/sex, age, geographic locale, and kinship relations. To date, only the 1898 census has been analyzed in any detail for the Yuchi (Wallace 1993). Of the remaining lists the only

consistent data for linkages are names. Surnames will be linked through time supplemented by genealogical information on the addition of surnames into the community through intermarriage. The methodology is graphed below:

Figure 1.1
Surname Linkages through the 20th Century



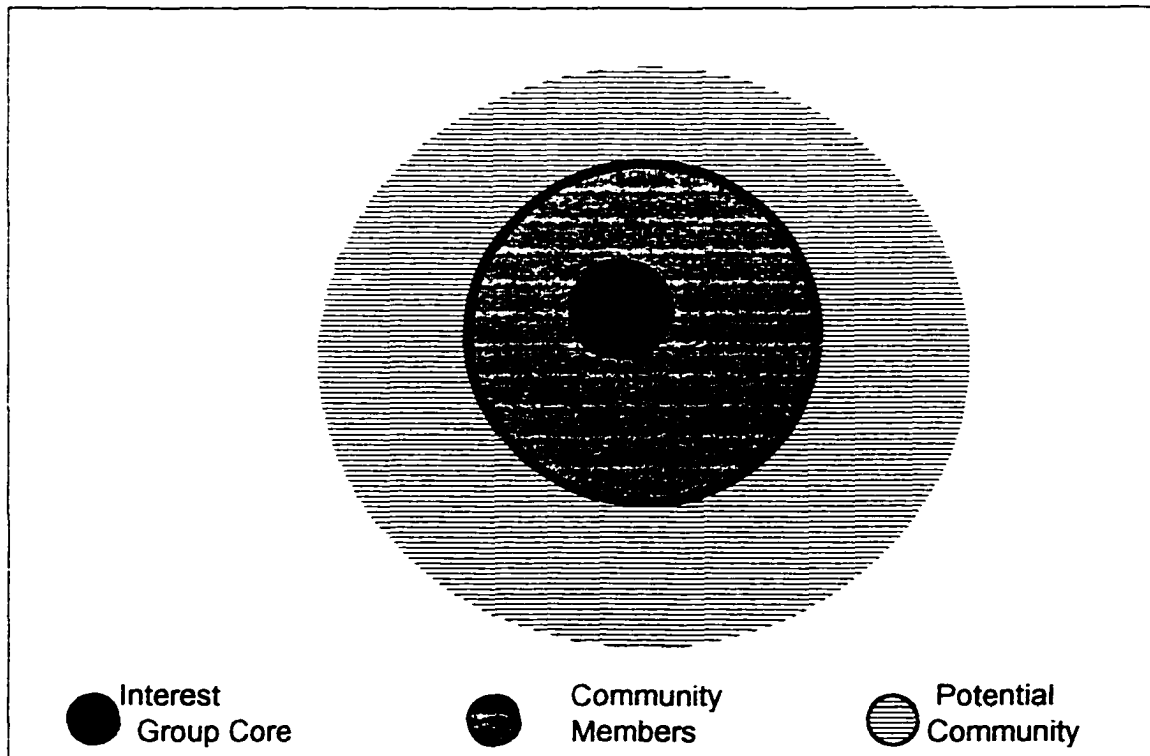
This analysis will show a continuous community connected by genealogical ties for one hundred years. This analysis links Yuchi families through time and supports the community's contention, that to be a member, one must have at least one Yuchi ancestor. The members who interact together in the 1990s can be traced through their ancestral ties to those Yuchi recorded on the 1898 census tract.

Surname analysis quantitatively documents and supports the community members' interaction designated for this study. These people create a community that interacts through episodic political actions in the later part of the twentieth century and can be linked to the community demographically analyzed at 1900 (Wallace 1993). According to the community itself, a person is Yuchi who has a Yuchi ancestor and thus

some degree of blood-quantum designating Yuchi ancestry. If this criterion alone were used for the study, the group today could equal between 2,000 and 3,000 persons.²⁵ Many of these people do not interact with community members outside of their own families or have not done so during the periods of this study. To form an analytical boundary for interest group evaluation those persons who were interactive during the various events were included and form the boundaries of this study.

The core members of the political interest groups formed in the twentieth century rarely number more than fifty persons with an additional two to five hundred or so who take part in the offerings of the interest groups and other community venues in some way. This figure closely ties to the religious structure of the Yuchi ceremonial grounds where a small core maintain the traditions that allow the larger community to come together for interaction during brief periods in the summer (see discussion Chapter 6).²⁶ The two inter-circles in the diagram below comprise the Yuchi community of this study with the outer circle being potential members who have Yuchi ancestry but who do not interact during the time periods of this study.

Figure 1.2
Community of Study



Community members designated in this study do themselves include all those persons who have Yuchi ancestry even if not actively participating. As noted in the following chapters this self-identification of members is a critical theme throughout interest group activities that perpetuate Yuchi identity through time. However, for this study the community includes only those who are tied by ancestry and who are actively participating in the community. These boundaries are fluid and people vary in their participation through time. Some who were very active in the 1970s are not participants in the community during the 1990s and others move in and out of the interaction at various points in time. This definition of the community for analysis centers on human interaction rather than pre-defined regions whether geographic territory or ancestral

links. In this way interactions move beyond a one-area focus such as political action or religious practices encompassing multiple areas of human behavior.

Through various forms of interaction including interest group participation, religious activities, marriage patterns, and social networks Yuchi community persistence and identity perceptions can be analyzed through time and circumstance. It should be noted that although surnames are unchanged and are used for linkages pseudonyms have been used for personal or given names of certain individuals.

Bias:

There was a time when scholars perceived the anthropologist as an objective observer who stood outside his/her own community's standards in order to evaluate another. This is fiction (Clifford 1988). Researchers and those researched are each bound by their own community's values and norms. The native view is never fully accessible. Even with intensive, long-term fieldwork and the sense of *ethos*, the researcher cannot be completely objective or empirical.

One of the problems for researchers is that interest groups cannot be isolated from the dominant political economies in which they exist. Interest groups cannot be, and are not, bounded wholes. Interaction with a dominant group is a given in the modern world. The power relations between the two have broken down community boundaries that scholars once perceived as isolated and unchanging. Interest groups' dependence on dominant relations forces them to redefine themselves. In thought and process, the anthropologist carries his/her own set of values into the analysis.

Anthropological assertions will never fully provide the "native voice" and always will carry a bias however unintentional (Camaroff and Camaroff 1992). Inadvertently, ethnography displaces the native view for that of the researcher's own culture (Boon 1982). To a large degree in academic writing, we intentionally displace native perceptions for our own. In our own language, we present the expectation for social interaction, economic potential, and political organization, and thus, we relay our work to our peers. Our experience and writings fall into a middle ground that expresses both our own culture and that of our subjects

Very likely, such displacement exists in the work presented here. This is as it should be according to Bailey (1996). The anthropologist's role is not to record the native voice descriptively for . . . "mere reporting of what people say and do without analysis is simple-minded" (Bailey 1996:160). The anthropologist propositions must be offered within a framework that leans itself to empirical testing. "Only when the propositions are empirically demonstrated to be in error does it become appropriate to ask what bias might have contributed to the error" (Bailey 1996:161).

With our reliance on the written text much of the recounting of oral narratives becomes deconstructed (Derrida 1991:9). This does bias the account for the reader. I found myself frequently replaying audio tapes in an attempt to recapture the native essence of conversations that is sadly lacking in the written transcript. This problem is particularly apparent when discussing the narrative of Yuchi orators. In written form, the texts often appear full of "incorrect grammar" and unnecessary repetitions. When heard, the power of leadership rhetoric is markedly clear and appropriate. The

differences in grammatical usage and phrasing add to the message rather than takes away from the content. For this reason, I have relied on Tedlock's *Ethnopoetics* in an attempt to convey more fully to the reader the essence of Yuchi oratory. This method uses line breaks, hyphens, dots, and other measures to convey more closely the original intent of the verbal text (see Appendix Table 1.a).²⁷

In a similar vein, even when in direct communication with native peoples, communications are flawed. Usually, Yuchi people openly discussed the questions or topics I posed. In rare instances, they skirted the issues perhaps feeling my inquisitiveness was too overt, or they considered the information too private. These instances were few in number, but present a problem when trying to understanding the native view. This concern is not an isolated problem, Barroe (1975) and others note the same concern when working with Native Peoples. Undoubtedly there remain data that I have not been able to acquire from the social actors, much of their context remains therefore a mystery and could bias the account I present. I can only hope that my effort in some small way approaches Geertz's concepts of the anthropologist. I am not seeking to become a native, or mimic their behavior, but to present an ethnographic work that consists of personal experience presented in a scientific manner (Geertz 1988:539).

Even with close contact and eventual encapsulation within the Creek polity, the Yuchi people have maintained their separate identity for over two hundred years. They are not Creek, but Yuchi. Therefore, the Creek polity is not a homogeneous unit today. There exists at least one anomaly that scholars have not previously addressed. How the Yuchi, under considerable constraints, have perpetuated their distinctiveness in the

twentieth century is the focus of the study. Chapter 2 discusses the present community's delineation between themselves and Creek people. The chapter includes the necessary condition of ancestry and the two indices of identity: language and ritual participation. Chapter 3 covers the rise of the first interest group organization following World War II as the community sought monetary recompense through the Indian Claims Commission and their subsequent defeat by two powerful polities: the federal government and Creek Nation. This political effort created the only existing Yuchi Tribal Roll of record in the twentieth century. Chapter 4 shows the rise of an interest group organization after the passage of the 1972 Indian Education Act (Title IV) that brought resources into the community while furnishing numerous venues for community members to interact on a regular basis. Again, it is the power and strength of the two formalized polities that dissolve the Yuchi's short-lived success. Chapter 5 is a brief analysis of an organization that arose with repatriation in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This effort brought the community together in meetings and discussions culminating in a BIA Petition for Federal Acknowledgment. Chapter 6 is the most extensive ethnographic chapter where two organizations form. One for the express purpose of retaining Yuchi history and culture, the other to seek federal recognition through Congressional action. Both organizations intensify the interaction between Yuchi members creating numerous venues for expressing what is it "to be Yuchi." This comparative study throughout the second half of the twentieth century shows the maintenance and perpetuation of a Native American identity by a group of people who have been told for two hundred years that they are Creek people. Similar non-Muskogean speaking groups have been absorbed

within the Creek polity. The Yuchi stand as an anomaly. The explanation lies in the determination to remain as their ancestors have taught them from generation to generation: We are Yuchi, not Creek. The following chapters focus on the process of this identity retention through the formation of various political interest groups over the last fifty years.

Chapter II

Identity Today: "I am not Creek, I am Yuchi."

(Dah-bah, 1996)

To understand the following chapters on Yuchi interest group organizations, it is necessary to understand what the members of the community mean when they say "I am not Creek, I am Yuchi."¹ The community's concept of identity differs from the community boundaries of this study. Referring to Figure 1.3 the study presented here includes only the two inter-circles of the diagram and are those people who interact together during the specific interest group political workings. This defined study community broadens its own concept of Yuchi membership to include the outer-circle that is all people with Yuchi ancestry. The following chapters will show how the study community continually reinforces their own concepts of identity.

Early in this century if not long before, Yuchi people have distinguished themselves from Creek people. One consultant in his seventies relates his grandmother's explanation to him about being Yuchi as opposed to Creek:

She said: Now, the Creek come in and now they say they have adopted us into their tribe. We don't have the leaders to speak for us. If we did that would never have happened.

..
We're not Creeks, we're Yuchi.

..
We don't speak Creek, we speak Yuchi.

..
When that resolution was made it was wrong, that should never have happened she said. (when Creeks adopted Yuchi).

Creeks goin to overtake us if we don't watch, she said.²

Another consultant in her fifties explains, when she attended various schools, she described herself as Yuchi and not Creek:

It was always Yuchi, never Creek. When I was going to school at Chillico, they asked me what tribe I was, I said

"I am Euchee" and I spelled it E-u-c-h-e-e.

Its always been that since I went to public school here.

They'd ask what kind of Indian are you? Creek?

No, I'm Euchee.

Response was: I've never heard of it.

That's what I am, now you have.

They'd asked: How much Yuchi are you?

I'd say "I'm full-blood."

I never identify myself as Creek.

School would ask where enrolled at: "I'm enrolled as a Creek, *but I'm not Creek.*"³

When I interviewed another community member in his seventies he related his own past and a more recent experience with Yuchi identity:

I've had a lot of Creeks ask me, what tribe are you?

I say: "I'm from the Yuchi tribe."

A lot of Creeks ask me that too, and I don't think they want us to say "I am Yuchi." They want me to say I'm Creek, but I don't ever say that.

We've got some down there who are half Creek and half Yuchi, they won't tell them they are half Creek. Some will, but some won't.

Any more we have to carry a little ol' card around that says "Creek."

I want to see the Yuchi recognized as Yuchi not Creek. Maybe someday.

This young (Yuchi) lady I met a while back, she's been looking for her ancestors and she can't find them, except a few names that I helped find for her.

I said (to her) you sure that name ain't Creek?

*"Oh no, hell no, it ain't no Creek."*⁴

This identity is not just meaningful to tribal members. Other Indian people including many Creeks recognize the Yuchi as separate:

We are Yuchi but can not register as Yuchi.

We only had one choice, had to register as Creek.

We attended a lot of stuff with Creeks, back and forth, and substantial intermarriage, but it was always separate.

It was always different. That's just how people thought, the elders, the way we're taught, the way we we're identified. We (family when he was young) would go to other places, Shawnees, Sac & Foxes and we were always referred to as Yuchi, not Creek.

And its still the same way. You go to other places where people know anything about you, your not looked on as Creek, you are Yuchi.⁵

Individual identity formation begins within the family structure and is reinforced by community activities. When I ask specifically how people learned the traditions and concepts of being Yuchi, the response is that it is learned first within the family structure.

At home, my grandfather would sit and talk to me about traditions, and things that you know men were suppose to do, and women were suppose to do, and young boys were suppose to do for our men folk in the family.

My mother taught me a lot, the women things. What we were suppose to do on the grounds, what we weren't suppose to do.⁶

Activities with other Yuchi people reinforced Yuchi traditions and identity:

We were taught that when we were young. We were told, this is who you are, this is your language, this is your people, these are your traditions.

Learn this at home first, and then as you became involved in traditional things, grounds and such, you were told some things there.⁷

Even for those Yuchi who did not grow up within the community, the understanding of being Yuchi is clear. One forty-five year old man who never participated in community events until recently, classifies himself as Yuchi. When he was a child, his family was not involved with other community members and he was unaware that other Yuchi existed:

All the time I was growing up I never heard anything about the Yuchis, but my grandma always told mom: "Now remember, because we are on the Creek Rolls, always remember you are Yuchi, don't ever forget you are Yuchi Indian."

I always knew that, but growing up you figure, you know how kids think, that up until a few years ago I was the only living Yuchi on the face of the earth. Nobody else had Yuchi tags, never knew anybody who was Yuchi.⁸

How can one call oneself Yuchi when there is no interaction with the community? Not only does this man claim to be Yuchi, but the community today readily recognizes and accepts his claim. After several years of research into this question, it became apparent that the community has one necessary condition and two indices for individual recognition and internal Yuchi identity: ancestry, ritual participation, and the Yuchi language. These three areas appear and reappear repeatedly in the work of the interest group organizations outlined in the following chapters.

According to the community, the only necessary condition for Yuchi identity is ancestry. An individual must have at least one Yuchi ancestor for a sustainable claim.

That ancestor may be male or female, but must bear a recognizable Yuchi surname, or be located on a Yuchi census, or be known to members of the community. The community does not clearly define the actual "blood quantum" or degree of Yuchi blood necessary for membership. I have witnessed those who have no more than 1/16 Yuchi "blood" actively involved in the community while others of near "full-blood" standing having little if any interaction with the community. The community recognizes all these individuals as Yuchi because of their ancestry. People raise the issue of blood quantum in various meetings such as this one in 1997, and they find it problematic for defining identity:

We-u-ga-na: I think it would be good here if we could start keeping records of - of people, our Yuchi people, of their blood quantum -- How much Yuchi they are. And then someday these records will be available to others down the line. They could come, if there is a Yuchi organization or somebody's got records, they could go to find out how much Yuchi blood they are.

Kaw-thlo: Well you know two or three years ago we started this membership process that kind of fizzled out I guess. I don't think it got very far.

Yah-bo: When we submitted an ANA grant for tribal governance, or whatever, we got shot down on that and included in that was the membership enrollment. And we did a (unclear), there was an enrollment committee and they were supposed to check genealogies, to verify.

We had the makings of a roll. (unclear) We had long sheets. We didn't mail them out for some reason or another. I forget what the reason was but it had to do with the enrollment form. We had written up the procedures for filling out this form and we ran into a snag as to blood quantum. We could figure out, well, we had, I think at the time, they had more or less ah stated that, your Dad (speaking to Dah-bah of Chief Sen-chilah) and others stated that a 1/4 blood quantum would be the minimum acceptable but that excluded some grandchildren and whatever, and they said we need to do something else. This is where we left it.

Dah-bah: We never did figure out how much the blood quantum was going to be.⁹

By focusing on known Yuchi ancestors rather than blood quantum, the Yuchi do not run into the serious problem of exclusion or the problematic methodology for determining percentage of Yuchi blood that has led to disagreements in the past. The community focuses on genealogy and methods to trace ancestors as far back as possible.

Today, meetings in which people discuss genealogy are an important part of social life. Groups, mostly composed of women, gather to discuss and trace Yuchi ancestors documenting Yuchi ties from census rolls, birth and death records, and oral accounts. They consider only those persons of Yuchi ancestry for this genealogical effort. They ask elders to attend meetings to relate their genealogies and those of other families of their acquaintance. If these people are unable to come, or if no meeting is scheduled, then interviews are held in the person's home. Two of the underlying reasons for community genealogical research efforts are to establish some sense of the size the Yuchi population and second to establish the interrelationships between families. For some, this second reason has the added dimension of determining potential marriage partners between Yuchi people. Yuchi intra-community marriage is preferred, but many community members fear that today's families are too closely related to one another for marriage between members to be appropriate in most cases.

In 1994 at a genealogy meeting, the group discussed several items relating to Yuchi people: an eighty year old Yuchi woman related her ancestry; various people brought in pictures of past family members with discussion of their place in the

community; where to find full-blood, marriage, birth, and death records were discussed and old newspapers articles were brought that related to Yuchi people.¹⁰ The community has requested assistance from scholars to help link names on census tracts, inform the community about ways to search genealogical records, and to be partners in various genealogical projects.¹¹ The community's efforts in genealogical investigation are a source of unrelenting work for a number of Yuchi people.

Census rolls are an intricate part of the genealogical process, in particular the Dawes Roll (National Archives 1907). Around the turn of this century, the U.S. government created the Dawes census roll for allotment purposes. The federal government enumerated the Yuchi as Creek citizens of Yuchi Town. To claim Creek citizenship, one must be able to trace ancestors back to this particular roll. Because of the town distinction, Yuchi people can easily trace Yuchi ancestors to this period in their history. The focus on ancestry allows certain people on the Creek Rolls to claim a Yuchi identity. Because the U.S. government recognizes Yuchi as Creek, the majority of Yuchi can claim membership in the Creek Nation, but not all Creeks can claim Yuchi identity. Movement between Yuchi identity and Creek is restricted. Only those persons with a Yuchi ancestor can claim a Yuchi identity:

Creek membership + Yuchi ancestry = Yuchi identity

Creek membership + no Yuchi ancestry $\neq$ Yuchi identity

Although few in number, there are those in the Yuchi community who belong to other tribal groups outside the Creek Nation. These individuals also hold membership in the Yuchi community because of their ancestry.

Other tribal membership + Yuchi ancestry = Yuchi identity

Recently, I have heard a few lone voices speak against those claiming Yuchi identity who are not on the Creek rolls, the implication being that they cannot be Yuchi. The larger community quickly put down this idea. A Yuchi ancestor gives one all the rights and privileges of Yuchi identity, no matter what other Indian ancestors fall within an individual's lineage.

The same rule holds for Euroamerican ancestors. One may have Euroamericans in the family line. The important criterion is a Yuchi ancestor who legitimizes one's claims to Yuchi identity and allows for membership within the community.

Euroamerican + Yuchi ancestry = Yuchi identity

It is a Yuchi ancestor that is the necessary condition for membership in the community. Most Yuchi people today have, at the very least, one or two grandparents who were Yuchi. Intermarriage has increased in the later part of the twentieth century, but not to the point of creating a real problem with tracing their ancestors. Future generations may find this problematic and set a blood quantum or other criterion for "being Yuchi." For today, interest group organizations furnish meeting times, places, and personnel to carry out a series of genealogical meetings, collect census data, and encourage participation by the larger community in researching their Yuchi ancestors.

Index 1: Religious Participation

Yuchi religious life includes both traditional ceremonial grounds and Christian church activities.¹² By the community's standard, non-participation will not keep one

from claiming Yuchi identity as does the lack of Yuchi ancestry. Historically, religious participation bonded individuals to the community where much of the social interaction occurred. Today, religious activities continue to reinforce gender roles, family organization, and community cohesion.

Ceremonial grounds and their activities provide a religious, as well as social, framework for many Southeastern Indians. Numerous people have documented the activities on these grounds including both Creek and Yuchi (e.g., Ballard 1978; Feder 1965; Howard 1965; Speck 1909; Wagner 1931). Today, Creek peoples recognize three of the thirteen active grounds within the Creek Nation as Yuchi ceremonial centers -- Kellyville or Polecat Ground, Duck Creek Ground, and Sand Creek Ground. These specifically Yuchi grounds comprise nearly 20 percent of the total Creek ceremonial centers.¹³ Today the Creek Nation rolls contain 38,000+ individuals of whom 1,300-3,000 are Yuchi or between 3.4 and 7.9 percent of the total population.¹⁴ This percentage is relatively small compared to the entire Creek population, therefore the large percentile (20 percent) of Yuchi grounds serves as a distinctive marker for Yuchi identity that continues to persist through time and place.

Men provide the political leadership within the grounds. Each ground has a chief and a combination of second chief, speaker, and assistants. Chiefs often serve for life or until they no longer feel they can carry out their duties. They have ultimate authority for the political decisions made about ceremonial matters (Innes 1995a). These men make many of their decisions based on a sense of community consensus and long term effects over several generations. They rarely make decisions in haste, but do so only after much

thought, listening, and discussion.¹⁵ The chiefs and their assistants, who speak for the community at large, become one of the primary methods for validation of the interest group organizations and will be discussed in the following chapters.

Activities for the Green Corn ceremony at the grounds begin during the early spring and continue into late summer.¹⁶ The season begins with men and women playing a series of traditional ball games several weeks before the actual ceremonies begin.

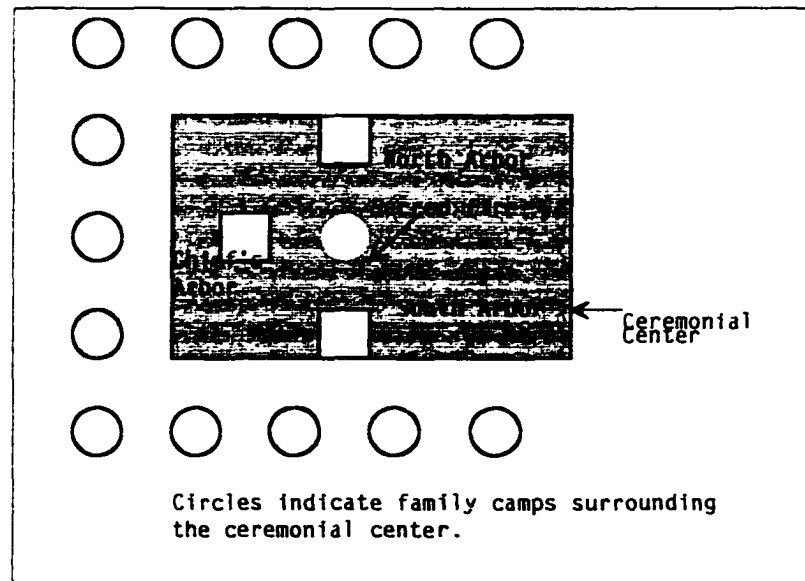
Among the Yuchi, a game similar to football tests men against women. The majority of the players of both sexes are young (between ages of 10-19) but often older members join the activity. The rules apply slightly differently between the sexes. Both men and women can throw the ball or kick it along the ground. But only women can run with the ball in their hands. There is full body contact. The play is often rough but never vicious. Bruises and scrapes are common among players, and some have reported broken bones that have occurred on a number of occasions. The rougher the play the louder the chuckles and laughs emanating from the spectators who surround the playing field in folding chairs.

During my visit to one of these games in 1995, the observers commented about the women players with their physical strength and equal ball playing ability as compared to the men.¹⁷ Women do not take direct roles in the rituals of the Green Corn ceremony several weeks later. However, the ball games set the stage for Yuchi women to interact within the community as leaders and spokespersons. They never hold political office among the grounds hierarchy, but they do speak freely at meetings outside the

ceremonial arena. The ball game discourse reinforces the strength and position of Yuchi women. Both sexes articulate the toughness and resilience of the women.

Family camps surround the sacred square where the Yuchi hold their Green Corn ceremonies (Figure 2.1 shows the camps and ceremonial center at the Duck Creek Ground). At all three Yuchi grounds, only Yuchi people maintain these camps. During the winter months, these areas become overgrown and in need of repair. Camp preparation is a joint venture between both males and females. The women's physical abilities are an essential component for completion of the tasks necessary in making the camps functioning family centers during the ceremonial season. The women's jobs include: removing and burning large amounts of debris and overgrown weeds; cleaning all the cooking utensils; preparing stoves and storage areas; and setting up various facilities for cooking and serving in the open with temperatures often exceeding 100 degrees. The men also need physical strength for jobs including: placing coverings on the camp sites, bringing in large amounts of fire wood for cooking and for the sacred fire, making repairs on the family arbors and wooden furniture, and preparing the central ceremonial ground for the forthcoming ceremonies. Each gender has clearly defined roles throughout the ceremonial season both requiring physical strength and endurance.

Figure 2.1
Duck Creek Ceremonial Ground 1994



Within camps, extended family members and invited visitors reside during the ceremonies. Little visiting between camps occurs outside of the children who mingle freely. Bonds between family members are strengthened during this time. Some relations, who live long distances, plan their annual vacation around Green Corn. Members, who have not seen each other for a year or more, will join together during the season to reinforce family bonds. Women, who do not enter the ceremonial arbors on the square, spend much of their time within the family camps preparing the substantial meals for family and visitors. Men concentrate on the ceremonial activities on the square and when in their camps they are often resting, visiting, or eating.

In family camps, gender roles are hierarchical. During meals, men eat first followed by visitors, then women, and finally children. The head woman of the camp eats last when she knows everyone else has been served. This does not indicate a lower status, but rather designates her as one who holds authority and respect.

I have never heard a Yuchi man make a derogatory remark concerning women. Their respect and admiration for women are clear. Men rely heavily on the women's work and the camp structure to support their own activities within the ceremonial square. One of the chiefs recently told his daughter that the men recognize that without the women's support men's ceremonials could not take place. The ground speaker usually articulates this mutual respect each year just before Yuchi women perform the Ribbon Dance.¹⁸

And for the ladies and for all of us we think its a great honor and
privilege for those who came before us and performed this dance
which is so old

in the day before Columbus time and before all that

...
we have been carried by our people

our mothers before us, our grandmothers, our great-grandmothers
have did this

...
Perhaps some of these ladies in this circle had a great-grandmother
that did these dances and they carried on

...
So its, it is a *great privilege*

for these ladies and these youngsters to come, to honor everything
in this life.

The way they're goin a do, some say *they honor all of us*

...
menfolk, the Creator, all creation and today its good, we feel
blessed to have

to have these ladies come and perform this dance for us.

May I say to you, *have respect for them*

...
They stand for all

motherhood

mothers

they stand for you even though you are not in the circle, your mother or else your sister. I say that to you this evening.¹⁹

The Yuchi see both genders as necessary and both are given a measure of self-worth and respect by the other. Within the camp setting, the Yuchi reinforce these rolls, family bonds, and familial organization each ceremonial season.

Community bonds express themselves most clearly during the dancing festivities. On the ceremonial grounds around the sacred fire, Yuchi people dance to specifically designated Yuchi songs such as in the Lizard Dance.²⁰ In this context, the community discourse clearly differentiates itself from Creek. Visiting Creeks do not join this particular discourse, but are welcome to dance during other, non-Yuchi performances. The community comes together during these dances, not as separate family groups as in the camps, but as a community of Yuchi people.²¹

Today, the Yuchi view the mother ground, Polecat as the most "Yuchi" of the three grounds with most of the ceremonies performed "in the Yuchi way" rather than commingling with Creek traditions. In the past, Duck Creek ceremonial center had incorporated some Creek traditions. Today, the leaders are purposely "going back to more Yuchi ways."²² For instance, this past year a Yuchi man led the traditional Buffalo Dance whereas for a number of preceding years a Creek grounds chief led this particular performance.

The activities of children and teenagers also help unify the community during the ceremonial season. Unlike adults, young people visit freely between camps and among

various families. The young form new friendships and reinforce old ones. I have witnessed several times a young child bringing a new acquaintance to camp and asking to play with that child. Often the response of a parent or other adult is to inquire about the lineage of the visiting child: *Who is your mother?* or *Whose camp are you staying at?* Whereas adults rarely visit other camps, the children do so under somewhat lenient circumstances.

Teenagers mingle together in gender specific groups during the day. Many of the young men are busy on the ceremonial grounds, and the young women in their respective camps assisting the older women or talking in small groups. During the evening hours, groups of both young men and women move outside the camps. Unlike the younger children, teenagers do not need to ask permission to engage in conversation with other youth. They spend much of their time walking around the camps rather than visiting within them. It is not uncommon to see these groups break into smaller groups of both genders for further socializing. At times one can see a young man and woman walking alone, side by side. The ceremonial ground activities provide a place to meet, explore, and socialize with other Yuchi teenagers, those who share Yuchi ancestry, history, and tradition.

The community's interaction with others occurs most clearly at the close of the Green Corn weekend. The ground's chief, through his speaker, invites all people to participate in the stomp dance that follows the Green Corn ceremony. The community's interaction with others is reinforced by this inter-community stomp dancing. Visiting groups of Creeks, Shawnees, other Indians, and Euroamericans dance along-side the

Yuchi through-out the night. These dances continue until sunrise when most visitors have left the grounds. As the new day begins, the Yuchi perform the final round of dances together, celebrating the Creator and their heritage as Children of the Sun.²³

The ceremonial grounds maintain a body of knowledge and symbols that binds the community together. Yuchi identity is expressed on the individual, family, and community levels. Members espouse the norms of Yuchi behavior and acted them out year after year, season after season. Demarcation lines between Creek and Yuchi are symbolically drawn and in reverse the bonds between each group acknowledged. In my own experience over six years, the community has graciously accepted the few Euroamericans who have presented themselves as onlookers, the boundaries between Yuchi and Euroamerican being even more clearly defined than those between Indian peoples. Often, outsiders inadvertently break the rules -- visiting between camps, asking numerous questions, shifting gender roles -- all in all being very un-Yuchi.

The ceremonial grounds and their leaders, so central to religious and social organization, play an important role in Yuchi cohesion and the legitimacy of interest group organizations. I have outlined them very briefly here and will refer to them in the subsequent chapters. Before moving to the second community index for membership, the other religious affiliation that has bearing on Yuchi identity must be discussed, the Christian churches.²⁴

Yuchi Christians attend a variety of denominations (Baptist, Catholic, Holiness, Methodist, Presbyterian, Seven Day Adventist), but the community identifies only two churches as specifically Yuchi: Pickett Chapel and Mutteloke. Both are Methodist. The

oldest, Pickett Chapel began at the turn of this century and is located near Sapulpa, Oklahoma. Church members originally named it Snow Chapel after Ca-pon-nay Snow, a Yuchi on whose property it first stood. It later became Pickett Chapel when the congregation moved and grew in membership renamed for Johnson Pickett, also a Yuchi.²⁵ According to this same source, Mutteloke arose from those Yuchi near Bristow, Oklahoma who wanted a congregation closer to home. The name came from one of the Yuchi founders, Lalo Mutteloke, who provided her home for the original services.

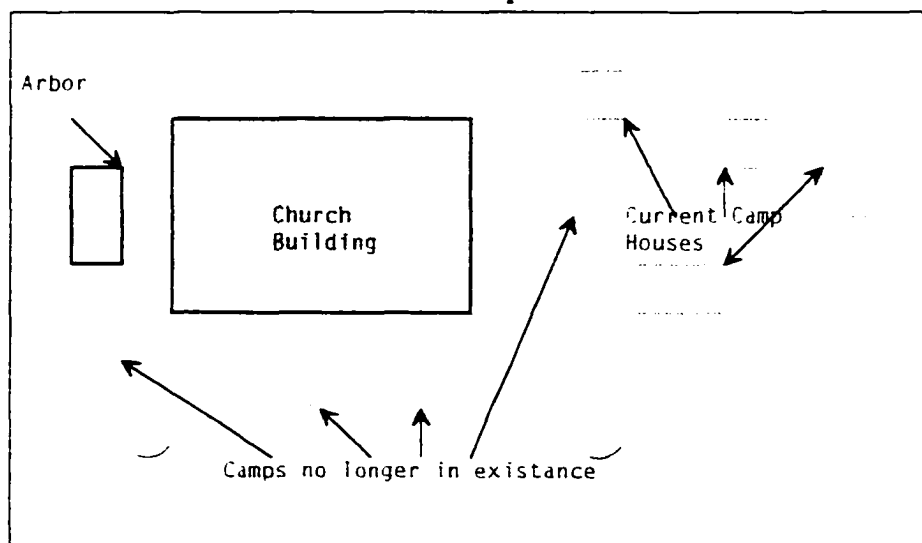
Scholars have virtually ignored the study of Christian Indians perhaps assuming members were fully assimilated into the larger society. Recent research among the Creeks and Seminoles find this may not be the case for those congregations that identify with a specific Indian identity.²⁶ This is true for the members of these two Yuchi churches. The ritual and social activities reinforce Yuchi identity, much like the ceremonial grounds. A Euroamerican woman of my acquaintance married a Yuchi man who attended Pickett Chapel. Her parents raised her in a Euroamerican Methodist church and she was surprised by the dramatic differences in the Yuchi Methodist setting. She cited such things as: the services were all in the Yuchi language, men and women sat in separate pews, and the number of social taboos not taught in the Euroamerican Methodist setting such as no drinking, no card playing, and no dancing.²⁷

Until very recently, men performed the leadership roles with the earliest ministers or exhorters predominantly Yuchi. This changed during the 1950s when the larger Methodist governing body began appointing the ministers, most of who were Creek.

Recently at Pickett Chapel, the first woman served that role, her heritage is Kiowa-Choctaw, but deacons and lay ministers remain Yuchi.

The layout of the church grounds at Pickett Chapel mirror the ceremonial grounds. See the figure below:

Figure 2.2
Pickett Chapel 1994



Until recently, family camps surrounded the church building, however, most have fallen to disrepair or have been torn down (noted on figure 2.2 as circles). Only a few remain today (noted on Figure 2.2 as squares with dotted boundaries). Like the ceremonial square, family camps surround the church building. Family meals once occurred in these camp locations. The few remaining today serve as communal areas for eating during the summer. Members constructed an outside arbor at the rear of the church building similar in structure to those built on the grounds. At times during the summer months, the congregation holds services here. The church's logistic placement of buildings is similar

to the layout of the ceremonial grounds. As the square is the central formation on the grounds, the church building itself is the focal point of this ritual venue.

At first glance, the inside of the chapel at Pickett appears similar to other Methodist houses of worship. During early 1995, several banners used for the advent season adorned the walls. All bore both the English and the Yuchi languages. On one were the words: HOPE *GO-U-SHAN-NEY*; JOY *GO-DAY-U-SHAN-NEH*; PEACE *SAN-LAY-NON-DAH-THLA*; AND LOVE *GO-GAH-TAH-U-NEH*. Another bore the English words at the top: PREPARE THE WAY OF THE LORD with the Yuchi words surrounding a central candle *GO-HAN-THON-NEY-WAY-UHM-ZAH-GUH DOHN*. One banner draws the most attention and is located to the right rear of the pulpit. It is a re-creation in paint of the original cloth banner that became too old and fragile for display. Its wording is in English - EUCHEES OF PICKETT CHAPEL "ALWAYS FORWARD NEVER GO BACK."²⁸

Like the grounds, the church's ritual performances have shortened in length and the Yuchi language is no longer predominantly used. At one time, the church services were exclusively in the Yuchi language, this began to change during the 1950s.²⁹ The congregation still sings several hymns in the language and a few speakers have translated both hymns and psalms into the Yuchi language.

Before WWII, Pickett Chapel held special services called Fourth Sundays. These services extended three full days from early Friday morning to late Sunday night. These Fourth Sunday celebrations were held several times during the year. They were similar in format to the ceremonial grounds with families gathering in the camps that surrounded

the church. The intense ritual and social activities of the weekend established community cohesion and Yuchi identity:

But years ago whenever they talk about Fourth Sunday, people use to come into their camps, a lot of people had their camps there, they'd start campin. Of course that was when there was no automobiles, no telephones, no electricity out to those churches and stuff like that.

The Fourth Sunday was something like a big camp meeting for them. It was *a special - a special Sunday*.

A lot of them would come in on Friday morning, of course you know back in those days like I said there was a few of them that had cars but not that many. They'd have horses, wagons, and buggies. Some would come horseback and stuff like that.

They'd get up Saturday morning, that was the time to go into town and buying supplies for your meal for Sunday dinner. They always had a big dinner for Sunday meal on the Fourth Sunday.

But they would have a little song service on Friday night if there was enough there.

Then Saturday they'd go into town and buy their groceries and they'd be gone all day.

Then later on that night they'd have the service, the regular service in the church. They'd have a regular service and the minister would get up and say a few words. There was more singing than anything else.

They'd get up and have a sunrise service on Sunday morning. After Sunrise service they'd go eat breakfast, then clean themselves up and get ready for Sunday school. They'd have Sunday school. Then right after Sunday school they'd have their regular morning service.

After the service they'd have the invitation for somebody wants a prayer or they'd ask a prayer for someone else. Of course then they'd have a big meal. Of course after the meal was over at noon, in the afternoon they'd start, if there was any kind of business or like that, they'd take care of that. It was for a full weekend.

After all this was done, they'd have a sacrament. All the other stuff out of they way before the sacrament. It happened inside the church. This was always the last thing. A lot of them would stay over Sunday night. If there was enough there they'd have another service on Sunday night. Like I said, *it was for a full week-end*.³⁰

The special Fourth Sunday celebrations provided a time of intense socializing with other Yuchi people reinforcing identity. The congregation strengthen family and community bonds by camping together in family groups and worship communally using the Yuchi language. Extended Fourth Sunday celebrations no longer occur at Pickett Chapel. Time allotments for ritual practices have changed here like at the ceremonial grounds. The activities that once occurred in three days now take place in a single day.³¹

To date, no scholar has studied these Yuchi churches. From my encounters with Yuchi people it appears that the social roles are reinforced within the church context much like they are on the grounds. The gender, family, and community roles mirror the traditional social ties and obligations that create the Yuchi community much like Schultz's Seminole Baptist study. Only with additional studies can this hypothesis be examined and verified (Innes 1995b).

The interaction between churches and grounds are not mutually exclusive. People who belong to one of the Yuchi Methodist churches have often been members of one of the three ceremonial grounds or visit one or more on a regular bases. However, at any given time one tends to be either a grounds person or a church person, rarely both concurrently.³² When church members visit a camp they do not take part in the ceremonies but act as visitors. No church families maintain camps at the grounds or vise versa. As with other visitors, church members will be invited to eat at one of the camps

during meals and to participate in the dancing with other guests. Church members I have spoken with believe that the ceremonial grounds are an important part of their history and identity. When the death of a grounds person occurs, the family often requests that the Christian church provide for a part of the burial service.³³

Although the study community does not find it necessary to participate in Yuchi ritual practices to claim identity, the community views these gatherings as an intricate part of "being Yuchi." Because of the loss of geographic integrity and increased wage labor following WWII, ritual life presented shorter and shorter periods of intense community interaction and interest group organizations step in to fill the void.

Index 2: Language

Today, fewer than twenty fluent speakers of the Yuchi language remain. The community is seeking ways to preserve that language and pass it on to younger generations. Like the religious index, the inability to speak or understand the Yuchi language will not keep one from being Yuchi. The community sees language retention as a primary concern. Numerous Yuchi I have interviewed over the years find preservation of their language an imperative for continuing community identity. Recently, one of the older members said to me: *You know, the elders say that if the Yuchi language is not spoken anymore, there will be no more Yuchi.*

At a recent meeting, the speaker of Duck Creek ground voiced his concern over the language situation and some of the problems faced when attempting to preserve it:

Since we are involved with the language (holding language classes)

it deals with all of us.

It appears to me that our people are not interest enough in this language

...
to learn it.

We talk about it and talk about it but when it gets down to the business, like the classes that is goin on here

...
Our peoples not there.

And if you look at it this way, say on down the line, say two or three learn to talk this language, well that's good, maybe that's important

but it you look at it on the other hand, who are they going to talk to?

...
Whose going to hear them? That's why we need more of them.

...
We talk about it in our stomp grounds, but when the stomp grounds are over, we forget about it.

...
We get separated, and we don't get serious about it.

...
And I think we ought to.

But how we goin to get to the people?

Is there a way we can

make the people understand and cause them to be interested?

That's what its goin to take.

People are working with us, trying to take advantage of these grants, the funding, making it convenient for us.

Its us. Are we goin to take advantage of it or

...
just let a handful?

...

On the other hand, if there ain't nobody to listen to me, if I learn to talk the language, it nobody can understand

...
well, its useless.

Like that John Tiger, he use to be separated from us in his last days but he knew the language. And he come up there to the ground where the language was spoken. And there were some Yuchi speakers up there and he talked with them, you know. And it made him glad

to hear that language and to talk to somebody. He said he don't have nobody to talk to. His wife was Creek and his boy didn't understand. He was like off to himself, and nobody could understand him. So to keep from forgetting the language, he said, "I talk to myself." He talked to himself to keep the language going, that's what he said. Of course there was nobody who could understand him. *And we ought to think about that.*

Its all right to get these grants. But on all of those, we got an obligation, as a tribe

...
And it takes all the Yuchi people, all with Yuchi blood to be interested in it.

But its a hard situation to get it over to the younger ones, the younger generation. It hard to talk to them, to make them, to influence them some way or another. Its difficult.³⁴

As important as the language is to the Yuchi people, it has all but disappeared from the ritual settings. The Yuchi language is no longer the lingua franca of the church services. However, as the church banners note the language itself remains important. The last ceremonial grounds speaker who knew the language died three years ago. Today, one of the chiefs who spoke the language fluently taught a young man the language skills necessary to conduct specific parts of the rituals in the Yuchi tongue. This allows the community to retain specific ritual utterances in their own language.

For a number of years the Yuchi have conducted language classes. In 1991-92, two classes were held in Sapulpa and Glenpool, Oklahoma. Both are central geographic locations for most Yuchi people. A fluent speaker taught each class with the assistance of other speakers. The majority of the students were young to middle-age adults.

The Yuchi language has never been written, causing the teachers and students considerable problems when using the English alphabet that does not contain all the phonemes found in Yuchi. Regional dialect is another area of difficulty and differentiation. The fluent speakers do not always agree on the exact pronunciation of words. The reason given by one instructor was the varying speech patterns among the three areas of Yuchi residence, Duck Creek, Polecat, and Sand Creek.³⁵ These same two problems, literacy and dialect, presented themselves in the classes taught by others in the years that followed.

There is an ever increasing anxiety over the potential loss of the language. In 1994, the Yuchi placed a special emphasize on bringing children into the language classes. A non-Yuchi speaking leader taught these classes, but with the support of several fluent speakers. The students varied in age from five to sixty-five plus. This 1994 class progressed to the point of holding a special "Yuchi Language Camp" at Pickett Chapel in August of that year. Today, the Yuchi hold two separate classes, one for adults and one for children both taught by non-fluent speakers but supported by those who do speak well. In 1995, the children's class held the second annual language camp at Pickett Chapel with twenty-one students involved. The camp structure included various hands-on activities for language learning as well as cultural instruction from

several of the ceremonial ground leaders. The instructors created a special workbook that contained the various language areas of study for the camp: Common Phrases; Table Talk; Foods and Fruits; Numbers; What Day Is It?; Short Sentences; Action Sentences; Animals; Body Parts; and House Stuff.³⁶

In the summer of 1996, the children's class held another language camp at the Kellyville Indian Center. Various community leaders taught about Yuchi cultural heritage as well as providing language instruction. A number of older community members told stories of their past, explained such things as the symbolic use of crane feathers, demonstrated weaving on a hand loom, and why turtles are only used for shell shaking and not to eat. The instructors created another instruction book and on the last pages noted all one hundred and twelve people who had been involved in the weekly languages classes over the past year. The first page of that book is enlightening:

The Euchee people have come to view our language as one of the most important aspects of our people's culture and heritage. During our regular, weekly language classes and through our spring and summer language camps, we are seeking to learn and to assist our speakers in passing on the language to our younger people.

The community continues to discuss the positive aspect of these language camps and hopes to continue them in the future.

For three years, one of the students in the class of 1991 attended the Onaldi Institute for the retention of Native American languages.³⁷ This person now teaches the children's class along with a Yuchi who is a professor in the anthropology department of Tulsa University. These two instructors along with community support are attempting to implement modern technology to retain the language. In the near future, they plan to

tape video interviews with fluent speakers, that they will transfer to CD-Rom.³⁸ These will be used on computers in various community locations that would be accessible to a large number of Yuchi people. The community is expending considerable energy, time, and expense in an effort to maintain their language heritage. To be Yuchi is to be concerned with this effort.

In previous generations, the Yuchi language marked the community as distinctly different from the Creek community (Waugh 1982). Various scholars have noted the dissimilarity between the Creek and Yuchi languages (Ballard 1975; Crawford 1973, 1975; Eggan 1937; Freeman 1966; Gallatin 1836; Gatschet 1884; Haas 1976; Pilling 1885; Powell 1887; Speck 1909; Wagner 1931, 1934). Whereas, the Creek language is of Muskogean roots, Yuchi is a language isolate in North America. In the past, this language variance differentiated Yuchi from the Creek. In an attempt to save the language since the 1970s, interest group organizations have offered language classes. Within these organizations, individual leaders have been creating language textbooks, working on orthographies, attending outside language instruction classes, and working with linguists and other scholars to obtain grant monies for language retention.

The interest group organizations of the late twentieth century address the three internal areas of identity formation: ancestry, ritual practice, and language. They have accomplished this through social dramas that require direct interaction with the state structure. They found that the community's internal conditions for membership and identity were seldom enough to project themselves outside the Creek polity in which they are encapsulated. These organizations, while addressing various issues such as

compensation for lands lost in Georgia, Indian education, and federal recognition, offer many chances for the dispersed community to meet for reinforcement of identity and community cohesion.

The following chapters note several cases of interest group organizations and interaction that define this community of study. Within each of those chapters the necessary condition of ancestry and the indices of ritual participation and language concerns are repeatedly stressed in many different venues and forums of interaction. This methodology in the form of political interest group actions has helped to reinforce and maintain the community's concept of Yuchi identity in the later part of the twentieth century.

Chapter III

Indian Claims Commission: "This is Yuchi Land, not Creek."¹

(Yuchi Claim before Indian Claims Commission 1951-56)

The first instance of a Yuchi (Euchee) interest group organization occurs shortly after the close of WWII when changing lifestyles greatly affected community interaction patterns. Potential economic and political incentives created the need for an organization to pursue these goals and created the reasons for new interaction avenues that varied from the traditional ritual venues and daily face-to-face encounters. The community created its first documented interest group organization that brought Yuchi people together to discuss mutual community concerns. This political process not only sought specific goals, but through repeated interaction and communication reinforced identity and community cohesion.

The necessity of new communication avenues follows WWII when subsistence farming gave way to wage-laborer jobs creating less frequent encounters between Yuchi people. From the late 1890s until the close of WWII, Yuchi people cultivated a variety of crops on small farms, raised domesticated animals, and hunted a variety of wild game. At times, they supplemented their agrarian subsistence by selling homemade goods or hiring out their labor during planting and harvesting seasons to larger farm owners.² Following WWII, family farms were no longer the central economic endeavor. Yuchi people entered the wage labor market in ever increasing numbers. The post-war economy furnished numerous well paying opportunities:

During WWII all these people that were taken off farms and put into service, and the ones that were left here and didn't go into service, went into defense work.

Whenever the war was over, they got a touch of that money so therefore, why spend the time here doing this (farming) when I can go out and do public work and get paid more than I could get out of doing on the farm.

That's where a lot of this comes in, they got a taste of this money and a lot of people didn't have to work over three or four hours for eight hours pay.³

Most sought employment in Sapulpa or Tulsa, some moving to those cities for convenience. The daily face-to-face encounters between community members became less frequent, but not completely lost. A number of Yuchi men and women worked for the two glass plants in Sapulpa. With varying shifts, it was nearly a guarantee that one would see a Yuchi friend daily. Several men worked as lawn maintenance employees at country clubs in Tulsa.⁴ These men interacted daily and continued their close relationships upon retirement. Those who were employed with other Yuchi people found their jobs to be one avenue for frequent interaction.

The demands of wage labor jobs curtailed the lengthy summer ceremonials, that were once a month long in duration and now are devoted to a series of weekend encounters. In addition, the generation of children born after the war, were not taught their own language and marriage to non-Yuchi became more frequent. Increasing intermarriage, fewer ritual gatherings, and the decrease of the Yuchi language threatened Yuchi distinctiveness. However, the concept of Yuchi identity remained intact partially because of the first interest group organization that arose in the late 1940s and the others that followed.

Indian Claims Commission

The large number of Indians serving in the war and entering the post-war wage market, "led white politicians and the public at large to perceive the end of the tribal way of life . . . the war was considered an accurate barometer of their readiness for assimilation" (Bernstein 1991:158). Federal officials instituted assimilation policies that would end governmental intervention into tribal affairs (O'Brien 1989:83-84). As part of this plan Congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act of August 13, 1946. This Commission established a procedure for recognized Indian "tribes, bands and other identifiable groups of American Indians" to receive recompense for lands lost by treaty or taken illegally by other means. The term *tribe* became an issue for definition and clarification, wherein, the government established certain criteria for determining which groups would qualify for claim submission.

In an attempt to include those groups that might not be recognized as a tribe or band, the Commission extended filing privileges to *other identifiable groups*.⁵ The Commission found this term problematic and shifted the definition more than once. For all practical purposes the Commission designed the phrase to include those groups that would not be covered by the terms *tribe* and *band*. The term *identifiable group* facilitated the task of bringing to finality all Indian claims, with the express purpose of freeing the federal government from further monetary obligations to any Indian group.

No one anticipated the problems inherent in adjudicating these land claims. Congress originally instituted the Commission for a ten year period, but extended the time frame nearly thirty years, not dissolving the Commission until 1978. During the

ICC's tenure, tribes filed 370 petitions. Bands and other identifiable groups filed an additional 852 claims. The Commission, the tribal lawyers, and the U.S. government's defense created hundreds of thousands of document pages. These include expert testimony, briefs (petitions, and appeals), reports from the General Accounting Office, legislative history, docket books, and the Commission's journal.⁶ By 1978, the Commission had awarded over \$818,172,606.64 covering 274 claims with 342 dismissals.⁷

As a federally recognized *tribe*, the Creek Nation, on behalf of all Creek people filed a claim for \$29 million that technically included the Yuchi as a Creek town. The Creek attempt was at least partially successful with the federal government allotting \$4 million to the Creek Nation for recompense.⁸ During the early ICC era, political in-fighting developed within the Creek Nation. The Principal Chief renounced the tribal constitution and council, appointing his own advisory council. The elected council continued to meet until the terms expired in 1955 when the federal termination era was in full swing (O'Brien 1989:132). This non-productive infighting provided a political opportunity for the Yuchi.

The Yuchi consider themselves one of the Creek towns, but not by choice. They see themselves as having been forced to join the Creek polity. This encapsulation brought some benefits, but also much perceived discrimination. Yuchi people consider themselves as an autonomous political entity that follows its own chiefs. In Yuchi eyes, joint ventures with Creeks do not make them Creek Indians. Considering themselves Yuchi instead of Creek, the community sought its own recompense through the Indian

Claims Commission. This is the first time the Yuchi appear in the public record voicing their own concept of separateness from Creeks. Acting for the community and working with a number of lawyers, leaders of the first interest group organization filed a separate Yuchi petition for compensation on eleven million, two hundred thousand acres in the East. No other unrecognized Oklahoma Creek town followed this pattern of separate petition filing.⁹

The Yuchi used the term *tribe* (Yuchi {Euchee} Tribe of Indians) in their petition and briefs, but the Commission considered them for review as an *identifiable group*. "The most difficult factual problem facing the Commission was the question of what definable territory the Indians occupied exclusively" for purposes of compensation (Rosenthal 1990:146). The two points, identifiable group and definable territory, became the crux of the Commission's decision against the Yuchi claim. Other more subtle concerns may have influenced the outcome. The Creek Nation itself filed briefs against the Yuchi claim, as did the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi River.¹⁰ By the time the briefs and decisions were completed, the Commission was inundated with paperwork and legal maneuverings. Had the Commission granted this one Creek town's separate claim, it would have opened the door for other towns to do likewise, further extending the mountains of briefs and the increasing legal costs. This struggle furnishes a glimpse at the tremendous power differential between an interest group, a formalized Indian polity, and a state structure. As an interest group concerned with direct economic benefits, the Yuchi exert pressure on both the Creek polity and the federal government. For their own economic and political benefit, the two larger polities reciprocate with the

of balance of power to their advantage. This encounter becomes a process of confrontation between the Yuchi as an interest group and the bureaucratic Creek polity with the federal government in ultimate control. Both Indian groups could not win the sought after prize. The rules established by the federal government guaranteed a winner and a loser.¹¹ As the Yuchi sought recognition for the first time in the public record, their attempt appeared destined to fail, not necessarily on merit but upon circumstance based on power differential.

Political Goal: Acknowledgment of Identity and Monetary Compensation

An overview of the Yuchi's ICC litigation supplies some understanding of the struggle this community has had throughout the twentieth century in expressing its identity externally. They were confronted with a number of cultural misunderstandings, internal upheavals, and political domination by both the federal government and the Creek Nation. W. E. Green and J. T. Smith, attorneys filed the Yuchi petition with Commission on July 27, 1951, shortly before the deadline. The Commission assigned docket 172 to the case that opened as follows:

The Yuchi (Euchee Tribe of Indians, and S. W. Brown, Legus Brown, Jacob Rolland, Willie Tiger, Fred Skeeter, John James, and Jesse James, all members of said Tribe, band or groups of Indians, for themselves and for the use and benefit of all other members of said Yuchi (Euchee) Tribe, band or group of Indians, *Claimants*, vs. The United States of American, *Claimee*.¹²

The petition itself contains sixteen findings. The most important are as follows (the three items underlined are for reference discussion in the next section):

1. This is an "unusual situation." The spelling of the name Yuchi and Euchee relate to this same tribe. The tribal members who filed include the hereditary chief and elected council members.
2. The Yuchi Tribe when brought to the Creek Nation retained, and still retain their ancient tribal organization, rarely marry outside the tribe, and since 1867 keep a separate tribal roll that in 1951 included 1365 members.
4. By the Treaty of August 9, 1814 the U.S. took 11,200,000 acres belonging to the Yuchi.
6. The Treaty of 1790 guaranteed the Yuchi Tribe specific lands in Georgia.
7. The Yuchi Tribe was a member of the Creek Confederacy at that time. The Confederation had no sovereignty, common ruler, government, laws, customs, etc. It was a was a loose confederation of distinct tribes allied for protection.
8. In 1814, the Yuchi were a settled people, desiring to live peacefully with Whites.
10. Yuchi gave assistance to the U.S. government during the Creek War of 1813. Following the war, the U.S. government extorted Yuchi land with no purchase, no bargain, no contract, no treaty, but by naked confiscation.
13. Claim recompense for specific tracts of land equaling 11,200,000 acres.
14. Value of that land in 1814 was \$2.00 per acre or \$22,400,000.

The original petition is only twelve pages in length. By the time the Commission and the Supreme Court reached their final decisions, several hundred pages of briefs had been filed. The U.S. government's lawyers did not respond to the original petition until February 9, 1954 answering in strong, if not harsh, terms. In an eight page brief, the government states: "That the claimant 'Yuchi (Euchee) Tribe of Indians' is not a tribe, band, or other identifiable group under the Indian Claims Commission Act. That the individuals named in the petition are not authorized to bring or maintain an action against the United States." The U.S. Government further discounted all points brought forth in the Yuchi petition. In summation, the government requested of the Commission:

"Wherefore defendant (U.S. government) having fully answered the petition of the claimants prays that the petition shall be dismissed."¹³

The next action occurs two months later when attorneys for both the Yuchi and the Creek Nation meet to plead their cases before the Commission on April 13 and 14, 1954.¹⁴ The Yuchi attorney argued that the Yuchi were a separate tribe from the Creeks. In response, the Creek attorney argued that the Yuchi were Creek. The transcript of the processing runs one hundred sixty-six pages. The first seventy-eight pages included the Yuchi's exhibits in support of their claim as presented by their lawyer, Dabney. He addressed two questions: 1) whether or not the Yuchi were an independent tribe, and 2) the exact location of Yuchi lands in the East. Dabney presented a multitude of citations from various historical writers who noted Yuchi uniqueness. These included Bartram, Charles Jones *History of Georgia* written in 1883, various reports for General Oglethorpe of Georgia, John Wesley Powell in the nineteenth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part 1 in 1900, Gatschet's *Migration Legends of the Creek Indians* and *The Creek Indians, Organization of the Confederacy*, Charles Jones' *Antiquities of the Southern Indians* published in 1873, Swanton's *Early History of the Creek Indians* and *Creek Social Organization and Usages*, Hawkin's *Sketch of the Creek Country*, and numerous others.¹⁵ From these documents Dabney argued for the independence of the Yuchi during the 1700 and 1800s while at the same time interacting with Creek towns. Concurrently, he argued that the Yuchi held various lands from the Atlantic Ocean to western Georgia. These lands were the exclusive hunting areas of the Yuchi people and

could be used by no other group with express consent of the Yuchi. Therefore, these lands were not under Creek control, but under Yuchi oversight.

After submitting these various documents into evidence, Dabney called only one person as an expert witness to testify for the petition, Samuel W. Brown, Jr.¹⁶ Brown claimed to be the hereditary chief of the Yuchi tribe, an important point to be discussed later in this chapter. He explained that the Yuchi had exclusive hunting grounds separate from those of the Creek people. He based his statements on oral histories he and his father had heard from the those who once lived in Georgia.¹⁷ Brown stated: "That (oral history) is the only way they (Yuchi) keep the history to hand it down. They always talk about it."¹⁸ The Creek attorney, Niebell objected to this method of using oral history calling it "hear say." Whereupon, Chief Commissioner Witt overruled, noting: "This is Indian lore, and can hardly be anything but handed down by word of mouth."

Much of the examination was difficult for Brown, particularly when he tried to explain that Yuchi traditions were different from Creeks:

Q. Now, isn't it true that the Yuchi Town, as far as these legends go, were also a apart of the General Creek Tribe?

A. No, sir.

Q. Why do you say no?

A. Because they have different dances, different songs. Each one has his own way of interpreting his own legends.

Q. As a matter of fact, each tribe has a different song and a different dance. That is not peculiar to the Yuchis, is it?

A. I didn't say to each tribe. I said the Yuchis had their own song.

Q. Each town in the Creek Nation has its own dances -- isn't that what you said?

A. Yes, they have them.

Q. And they are peculiar to that particular group of people, aren't they?

A. They are what?

Q. They are peculiar to that particular group of people?

A. That would take me a very long time to explain to you. They are different . . . We have certain things -- we use in our dances that other tribes don't use.

Q. But they all have their dances?

A. They have dances, sure.

Q. So that is not peculiar to the Yuchis at all, is it?

Q. by Commissioner O'Marr: You mean that there are different dances - - ?

A. I don't understand the others. I know the Yuchis.

This testimony is indicative of the Yuchi's problem of articulating their distinctiveness to those outside the community. Brown attempted to explain that Yuchi ceremonials were uniquely different from Creek rituals. His confusion is evident when asked if each town in the Creek Nation had its own ritual. Brown voiced Yuchi concern: Yuchi and Creek grounds are different. He did not know or did not care whether other Creek Towns differed in their practices. He knew and cared that the Yuchi were distinctly different from the others.¹⁹ Only this had bearing for Brown on the issue of Yuchi identity. From this testimony it is clear that Brown and the interest group organization knew the rules of the game, but as yet were not proficient enough in the political language to play effectively.

Brown lost further ground upon examination by the Niebell. The Creek attorney forced Brown to admit that most of what he related came from his father who was born in Arkansas and who had never lived in Georgia. He admitted that neither he, nor his father before him, had personal knowledge of Yuchi traditions prior to removal. Interestingly, the Yuchi's lawyer does not point out that removal from the Southeast occurred more than one hundred years previously and no Yuchi living was likely to have had first hand experience in the pre-removal traditions.

To verify further that the Yuchi maintained their own affairs outside the Creek Nation, their attorney offered exhibit thirty-two into evidence. This was a Tribal Roll compiled by Legus Brown "a full-blooded Yuchi king; and town king and chairman of the council."²⁰ According to Dabney, the roll proved that the Yuchi had maintained a separate accounting outside the Creek Nation tribal town rolls. Furthermore, Dabney noted that this separate roll showed the sizable number (1,365) of individuals who supported the petition and who comprised the Yuchi tribe. Niebell countered that most Creek towns kept a log or roll of participants and therefore this roll was not a marker for distinctiveness. Niebell asked Brown if any names on the Yuchi rolls appeared on the Creek Rolls. Brown replied he could probably find a few. Further, Niebell forced Brown to concede that both he and his father appeared on the Dawes Roll of the Creek Nation and were allotted lands with other Creek peoples. Again, Dabney does not counter this charge. The Yuchi had no other access to allotments except through the Creek Nation and even those Creek people who fought the Dawes Commission were forced to take allotted lands.

Dabney closed his argument by asking Brown to examine a series of Creek treaties, looking for Yuchi persons among the treaty signatures. Brown carefully explained that there were no Yuchi names, all names were titles in the Muskogee language. Under Niebell's redirect, Brown admitted that the Ft. Jackson treaty, under consideration for payment of claims, was signed by one Yuchi, Timpoochee Barnard.

In turn, the Creek Nation presented their documents for review by the Commission. These included many documents that the Yuchi submitted, but with

different notations marked for reference. These citations pointed to Yuchi incorporation into the Creek polity and reinforced the Creek's stand that the Yuchi were Creek. Much of the final testimony and arguing between the lawyers concern the actual land where Yuchi people once resided and hunted. Since no land titles existed at the time in question, the task proved most difficult. The hearing ended at 11:00 A.M. of the second day to await the next phase of legal maneuverings.

Two months later, lawyers for the Yuchi filed a brief with the Commission reiterating the testimony presented in April. They restated that the Yuchi were separate from Creeks and therefore an *identifiable group* within the ruling of the ICC and should be compensated for the lands in question.²¹

Since the Yuchi claim challenged the Creek right of ownership for certain eastern lands, the Creeks replied to the Yuchi petition in the strongest possible terms.²² In the longest brief to date, the Creeks stated that the Yuchi findings were inaccurate, unsupported, misleading, and incomplete.²³ The Creek brief claimed the Yuchi tribe "is not now an independent tribe, band, or other identifiable group entitled to sue the United States for any portion of the Creek domain."²⁴ The brief claimed the Yuchi were never aboriginal owners of any land that constituted the tribal domain of the Creek Nation in Georgia or Alabama.²⁵ The Yuchi could not designate accurate boundaries for the areas they claimed ownership to because "there were none."²⁶ In closing, the Creek brief stated "that only the Creek Nation has exclusive right to prosecute this suit under Section 10 of the Indian Claims Commission Act."²⁷

By this time, the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi entered the case. In their first brief, they chose not to "participate in the argument."²⁸ By March of the following year, they filed another brief stating the same contentions as the Creek Nation brief of the previous year, concluding: "For the reasons set forth above we submit that there is no merit to the claim of the Yuchi and should be dismissed."²⁹

In March, the Yuchi filed a lengthy response to the earlier Creek brief. In summary it noted:³⁰

The claims of the Creek Nation of Oklahoma to represent the Yuchi is obviously unsound for three reasons:

1. The Court of Claims has decided in *McGhee* that the Creek Nation of Oklahoma does not represent the Creek Confederacy or any of its constituent tribe. *A fortiori* it does not represent the Yuchi who had a special status in the Creek Confederacy.
2. Any recovery by the Creek Nation of Oklahoma would be diluted to the extent of about five-sixths by distribution to descendants of Negro slaves who have no Indian blood . . . such dilution and delay would be particularly unjust as to the Yuchi who have maintained a continuous tribal organization and tribal roll which does not include anyone not of Yuchi descent.
3. Finally, and we believe, most important, is the clear conflict between the claims of the Creek Nation of Oklahoma and of the Yuchi. It is elementary that one organization and one counsel *cannot represent conflicting claims*.³¹

On May 15, 1955, the Commission provided its Finding of Facts and Opinion. The Commission disavowed the Yuchi's claim for compensation. This was a direct monetary loss for the Yuchi Tribe. More detrimental to the community was the publicly stated non-recognition of Yuchi identity.³² In no uncertain terms, the Commission stated that once incorporated into the Creek Nation, the Yuchi became known as one of the Lower

Creek towns, enrolled as such and subject to that polity's laws. "In other words, they became a constituent part of the Creek Nation, and became for all intents and purposes Creek Indians . . ."³³ The findings went on to state that the Yuchi were never aboriginal owners of land or had any exclusive rights to Creek lands. The Commission further stated that the Yuchi were not "an independent Indian tribe, band or other identifiable group."³⁴

The Commission's decision did not end the case. The Yuchi had the right of appeal to the Commission and to the Supreme Court. For their Commission appeal the Creek Nation of Oklahoma, the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi and the U.S. government filed briefs much as before. The Yuchi appeal criticized the Commission's decision that went "against the overwhelming weight of the evidence."³⁵ Both the Creek Nation of Oklahoma and the Creeks of East of the Mississippi filed briefs in response.³⁶ They are similar in content and reiterate the stands taken in the original briefs. Interestingly, in the U.S. brief to the appeal, the word tribe is now put in quotes when addressing the Yuchi (e.g., Yuchi "Tribe"). They proceeded then to restate the same arguments they so successfully presented originally.

The Yuchi appeal to the Supreme Court proved to be no more fruitful than their previous attempts. The court's jurisdiction on appeal from the ICC was to determine if substantial evidence supported the Commission's findings.³⁷ The Court found for the Commission with Justice Littleton delivering the opinion on October 2, 1956. His statement essentially closed the case as far as the U.S. government, Creek Nation of

Oklahoma, and Creek Nation East of the Mississippi were concerned. Not so for the Yuchi.

In 1990, the Yuchi filed a petition for acknowledgment with the BIA.³⁸ In the appendix to that filing they placed a copy of the Supreme Court's opinion. Beside several paragraphs noting the Commission decisions, are hand written comments (noted below in italics) following the text of the Supreme Court document:

The Muscogee Tribes which originally formed the Creek Confederacy were the aboriginal owners of practically all of the lands which now constitute the States of Georgia and Alabama, including all the lands here in question, and were united into a confederacy at least as early as 1670. *What Supports This?*

In the opinion of the court, the Yuchi were a constituent part of the Creek Nation at least as far back as 1733 when the treaty of May 20, 1733, was entered into with Oglethorpe, Governor of the Colony of Georgia. *Not signed by Yuchi.*

By such action, the Yuchi confessed themselves a part of the Creek Nation and undoubtedly considered themselves bound by treaties of that nation. *Misleading! Presumptuous.*

Upon being incorporated into the Creek Nation, the Yuchi came under its general government and were subject to its laws though they were permitted to have their own chiefs, and have the right to local self government as was the custom in all Creek towns. *What Laws? Describe Self-government.*

The policies of the Creek Nation were set by the National Council that met irregularly . . . *What Policies?*

By 1799, it (Creek polity) was certainly centralized as the evidence shows that in that year Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, United States Agent to the Creek Nation, called a general council of the Upper and Lower Creek Chiefs . . . *Instituted for Business Expedience.*³⁹

Within the Yuchi community, the Commission and Court's decisions continued to be a point of contention throughout the years. The petition and subsequent briefs furnish an

interesting source to examine Indian politics at work. More importantly it provides an avenue to view the workings of the community in the twentieth century. The filings are important. For the first time, public records record the Yuchi concept of "Being Yuchi, not Creek." As noted earlier, this was a common view within the community, but never had it been articulated in any depth by written documentation from the community itself. In turn, the ICC proceedings note the tremendous power differential between an interest group and formalized bureaucratic polities.

Interest Group Action: The Interest Group Organization

The petition effort with its various legal battles was the first recorded instance of an interest group organization. The idea for the petition began with a small core of individuals. Using their own talents and recruiting others both inside and outside the community they created the ICC petition and subsequent actions. The sequence of documented evidence began on October 16, 1948 when S. W. Brown, John James, Wilson Clark, Willie Tiger, Jacob Rolland, Lizzie Allen, and J. P. James entered into an attorney/tribe contract with William N. Maben to represent the Yuchi before the ICC.⁴⁰ Maben immediately notified the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes of the

contract and how the community selected him to be its legal representative:

Mr. S. W. Brown, Chief of the Yuchis, called a meeting of the Council some three weeks ago to be held in Sapulpa. The Chairman selected a Committee of Five Delegates to decide upon an attorney . . . This is the same procedure we adopted in the Keetoowah Society (Cherokee Band) and the Loyal Creek contracts, which were approved by your office.⁴¹

The Superintendent promptly responded to Maben and apparently voiced concern that the Yuchi were part of the Creek Nation and therefore not necessarily justified in filing a separate claim. Whereupon, in return correspondence, Maben notes: "that there *seems to be some impression* that the Yuchi are Creek, but in actuality they are very different." He elaborated on the differences in language, customs, appearance, as well as the past warfare between the two groups.⁴²

The Yuchi council (interest group organization) was to hold another meeting on January 21, 1949. The district agent for the Five Tribes, Zeb Lowe, traveled to Sapulpa to attend. The meeting was canceled due to inclement weather and too few Yuchi in attendance. Lowe met with Jacob Roland who explained the initial formation of the interest group organization by the community. According to Lowe's letter:

Mr. Roland states that on October 16, 1948, they called a regular meeting of all Euchee Indians and about 300 of the approximately, 1200 members were present. And at this meeting they elected the Chief and Euchee Tribal Council members. This organization consists of S. W. Brown as the Chief and Jesse James as the Secretary-Treasurer. There are five committee members being Jacob Roland, Willie Tiger, John James, Wilson Clark and Lizzie Allen.⁴³

On this date, the community formed its first interest group organization with a specific goal in mind, the compensation for lands relinquished in the East. The decision making process is apparent in Roland's explanation above. Once the community decided to pursue its goal and in order to act in the political sphere, the members had to decide on personnel and procedures to follow for the collection and dissemination of information. A substantial number of Yuchi members (300) elected specific individuals to carry out the task and to keep the community informed. The community selected a Committee of

leaders (interest group core) to distribute information and act on behalf of the community in the external political affairs relating to the ICC petition effort. Such methodology is necessary for an interest group to have any level of success when dealing outside of the immediate community.⁴⁴ The community provided titles for the leaders that were symbolic in nature. The terms Chief, secretary-treasurer, and committee member gave the interest group leaders the authority to pursue their goal. These titles were normative in that they express the internal rules on conduct (e.g., the work of the leaders is for the express purpose of the good of the whole community). Such a normative rule is used by the community to judge the affect of these leaders actions as ethically right or wrong.⁴⁵ The interest group leaders' titles do not signify any real power, but symbolize their leadership roles as persons authorized to conduct business for the Yuchi with the federal government.

The efforts of the elected leaders proved to be problematic from the outset. In January 1950, their lawyer Maben died. The Area Director, W. O. Roberts, requested assistance from the Principal Chief of the Creek Nation, Roly Canard, to locate the Yuchi who signed the attorney/tribe contract with Maben.⁴⁶ Canard replied with an address for S. W. Brown and noted: "In reality, it has always been understood among the Creeks that the Eucheas were a part of the Creek Tribe."⁴⁷ Roberts contacted Brown, who knew of Maben's death, and made plans to meet with Roberts.⁴⁸

The ability to acquire council was a problem for the community as it was for a number of Indian groups. The BIA approved all attorneys to represent Indian peoples, often with many months delay in the process. In 1950, Myer, the Commissioner of

Indian Affairs, "a rabid terminationist," refused to approve contracts for a number of attorneys specifically requested by the tribes (Rosenthal 1990:118). In early 1951, Roberts wrote to both Brown and the Commission in Washington, pressing for an attorney contract for the Yuchi. Roberts indicated that both Brown's slow actions and the Commissioner's stance were the probable causes for the lack of Yuchi legal representation.⁴⁹ On May 1, 1951, the Yuchi secured the attorneys J. T. Smith, and William E. Green.⁵⁰

Green and Smith filed the petition less than a month before the ICC deadline of August 12, 1951. The Yuchi's attorney problems were far from over. In June 1952, Jesse James sent a letter to Green notifying him that the chief and council voted to discharge him as their attorney for "reasons that must be obvious to you."⁵¹ This action was ineffectual because only Myer, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs could terminate an attorney/tribe contract. This instance points again to the fact that as an inexperienced interest group, the leaders chose an incorrect methods of interaction. There are pragmatic rules to any political situation that determine the lines of conduct and the effectiveness of that conduct.⁵² As yet, the Yuchi did not fully comprehend all the subtle rules of this political game.

Concerned about the legal situation, Myer requested a detailed accounting from the Yuchi and from Green. The Yuchi submitted a formal resolution with the following reasons for Green's discharge:

(a) that prior to his discharge he wholly failed, neglected and refused to perform his duty as an attorney in the case leaving them to be performed by his co-council.

(b) that he has many times failed to keep appointments made by him or them with officials of the tribe.

(c) that the undersigned has entirely lost confidence in his good faith in their suit or his intention to perform his duties as an attorney in the matter.

(d) that the termination of the contractual relation with Mr. W. E. Green is desired as additional counsel is badly needed at this time to perform services in the case.⁵³

Green responded that "if they (Yuchi tribe) paid me the expenses (\$200.00 to \$300.00) incurred in making investigations, which we have made for more than a year, we would be glad to withdrawal."⁵⁴ Upon receipt of the Yuchi resolution and Green's letter, the Commissioner terminated the contract on January 1, 1953. Because of the heavy workload necessary to prepare briefs, the remaining lawyer, Smith, split his contract with Herbert French and Lewis Dabney, Jr.⁵⁵ These lawyers continued the case through the Supreme Court appeal of October 1956. Upon defeat of the appeal, the interest group terminated the services of Dabney by "mutual consent" and French "for cause."⁵⁶ They retained Smith to file a writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court. On February 25, 1957, the Court denied the writ and a motion for a rehearing on March 25, 1957 making the Commission's original decision final.⁵⁷

These legal problems required frequent meetings, constant written correspondence, and decision making that point to an interest group that was organized efficiently enough to address the adversity. Before moving into the community's continued activities, it is worthwhile to focus briefly on the wording of the petition itself and the leadership of the interest group organization. As noted in the previous chapter, the Yuchi people had no problem stating their identity as Yuchi and not as Creek, but convincing others was problematic. Interest groups rely heavily on symbols of identity

and as such the Yuchi attempted to manipulate a new set of symbols to express their identity.

Interest Group Maneuvering: Facts or Fiction

Leadership and community membership played important roles in the petition's filing. The petition itself referred to leadership as the *hereditary chief and tribal council*, and to tribal membership as the *tribal roll*. As noted in the last chapter, the community organized around the three ceremonial grounds and the churches. Whether church or ground members, the community viewed the ceremonial chiefs as the traditional leaders. These leaders know and express the rituals and traditions passed down from their Yuchi ancestors. This type of power is normative and essentially symbolic (see Chapter 2).⁵⁸ These men are elected to office from each ground and hold that position for life. Ceremonial chiefs tend to be elected from specific families. The positions are not hereditary in nature, but the chief must be from the patrilineal chief's society (Jackson 1996b:125; Speck 1909:74). The only councils for the Yuchi exist on the grounds and are called committees that assist the chief. The only mention of a roll has been by one consultant who stated that each ground used to keep a written list of members of that particular ground. No mention has ever been discovered of a tribal roll kept from removal to the present except in the case of ICC petition testimony.

The leaders of a interest group organization differ from the traditional leaders. Their titles are normative and symbolic and bind them to community interests. They hold no power or authority either normative or coercive. Their job is to work effectively

outside the confines of the community for the interests of the community. Because their work involves interaction with both the Creek polity and the federal government, they must be versed in the workings of both. S. W. Brown, Legus Brown, John James, Jacob Roland, and Willie Tiger had been directly involved in Creek Nation politics.⁵⁹ Willie Tiger and Legus Brown were Yuchi Town's representatives at the time of the petition. S. W. Brown was familiar with both Creek and federal politics. On October 15, 1934, Oklahoma Senator Elmer Thomas and Commissioner John Collier held an open meeting in Okmulgee to discuss the affects of the Wheeler-Howard Bill on the Five Civilized Tribes.⁶⁰ Many tribal representatives asked questions of both Thomas and Collier. At the meeting, Brown explained the Yuchi situation:

I am a member of a small band of Indians that you perhaps have never heard of. We are called Eucheas. We are on the Creek rolls and all we ever got for blood we gave was Creek allotments. There are just a few of us, probably 1,000. They allotted us with Creeks . . . We were allotted in the Creek Nation as Creek citizens, but if you will look up our record back in the past you will find where our forefathers gave their blood to help the Government (U.S.) out and that is the result. We have never signed no kind of an agreement to this date, but we are legally members of the Creek Tribe . . . We are affiliated with the Creeks . . .⁶¹

Brown is explaining that the Yuchi were designated as part of the Creek polity and allotted accordingly, but in reality they are not Creek. Alongside federal troops in the Creek War of 1813, the Yuchi fought against the Creeks. By being a part of such discussions, leaders in the interest group organization became familiar with political maneuvering and learned how to present an acceptable case to the federal government. Through work in the Creek Nation they acquired a political expertise shared by few within the Yuchi community. Such skills are necessary ingredients to becoming an

interest group leader. As noted above, these first leaders did know the community's normative rules of behavior, but as yet did not know all the pragmatic external rules necessary for the successful completion of their task. They understood their work was for the benefit of the community, but did not fully comprehend the complex strategy necessary to win. Future leaders learned from the successes and failures of the initial effort, refining their knowledge and skills for the next political undertaking.

For the petition effort, the interest group organization attempted to manipulate circumstances and symbolic concepts, but not to create a new identity. By using white concepts and standards within the petition, the lawyer and leaders tried to explain the identity of the Yuchi people. The original petition notes several facts that are historically incorrect: that the Yuchi have a hereditary chief, that there existed an elected tribal council, and that they kept a separate roll from removal forward. These statements were not attempts to defraud, but were created in the hope of receiving validation and recognition. The terms hereditary chief, tribal council and tribal roll served as symbols in the white society of Indian tribal identity and continuity. All identification is contextual. A group defines itself in relation to others. The greater the difference between the groups, the more general the model of identity becomes. It is crucial to realize for whom that identity is being constructed.⁶² In this case, the petition presented Yuchi identity in generalized white terms that were acceptable within the federal polity for recognition of Indian tribes.

In some ways, these actions are an example of "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm 1983). However, the traditions stated were not meant to be explicitly accurate, but were

paper traditions that reformulated the Yuchi community into an acceptable form for Euroamerican recognition. These paper traditions were attempts to show historical continuity and as noted for *invented tradition*:

"Invented tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.

(Hobsbawm 1983:1)

By using invented traditions on paper, the Yuchi hoped to be acknowledged in terms the federal polity could understand. They were not presenting misstatements as much as trying to implement wording that would express to another culture's preconceived concepts, their own true identity. As traditional ground and church leaders manipulate symbolic ritual for community cohesion, the interest group leaders manipulated the external symbols of the Euroamerican society to explain the existence and persistence of the Yuchi community.⁶³

Social Goal: Community Interaction and Identity Reinforcement

Today, the community still uses the Yuchi Tribal Roll created at the time of the petition. It is the only existing written roll of Yuchi people outside of the Creek Nation town records and federal census tracts. It contains the largest number of Yuchi people on any census. Apparently, the roll began earlier with the efforts of S. W. Brown, Sr. who had been involved in Creek politics and was an advocate for the Yuchi people.

Yon-shen explains this early creation of a roll by Brown, Sr. and the continuing effort of his son, S. W. Brown, Jr. with the help of Legus Brown:

Sam Brown, the old man, and his boy Willie (S. W., Jr.) Brown. Of course during that time, the Creeks and the Yuchi's were not closely related as they are now. Because those days, Sam Brown's days, Creek Nation were mostly on their own. There wasn't any government funds. There wasn't anything for them to fall back on to operate, see.

So when ah, they was in a talkin stage, how things could work out. But the thing had to be done, he had to get the people involved. All right, now, in order for them to get somethin goin, he had to get statement from these people that they'd be involved. Meant visitation, he went around and talked to people.

Ok, ah now that's what he was doin. He was contactin Washington also and that's where he was gettin his information from. See the Creek Nation wasn't set up for him to get information from. He was gettin his information from Washington. Then, that's what he was doin when he became sick. He never did get well.

And then, all the materials he had collected and all the names on the petition (tribal list), then his son Willie (S. W., Jr.) stepped in and appointed himself as chief. Then he told the people what could be done.

I never forget. He said he had to have money, he had to go to Washington to find out about what the Yuchis could do. So the Yuchis, he went around, and some of the people, made donations. And a lot of people, they had sale and stuff like that for him to make this trip. So they, he made this trip, and ah, he got some information and he came back.

He found out he has to get practically all the Yuchis livin on that petition. Therefore he started back where his dad left off. He went around. He seen that there was a lot of people, a lot of Yuchis so he appointed Legus Brown to come help. So Legus come and he helped out.

Legus and his wife use to go around from home to home and make visitations. They'd talk, see Legus and his wife talked fluently (Yuchi language). Everybody did in those days. They all talked

fluently, they talked Yuchi. The people they talk to, talk Yuchi. They understand good what they was talkin about that they could have in the future. Well, it sounded good to all of them so, they signed, they signed that petition.⁶⁴

The traditional visitation method worked well for the first workers on the petition effort. They visited various homes and were able to begin the list that was to become the tribal roll presented to the ICC. The large number of Yuchi people in various locations required the efforts of more than a few people. Word circulated concerning the petition effort and the possible benefits to the community. Reported by one person, people learned about the effort by talking to one another: "Jeanetta Tiger use to talk a lot to mom and she said: 'We got treaties and they broken it and we need to claim that.'"⁶⁵

In at least one case, members of a family traveled to Legus Brown's home to insure their inclusion on the tribal roll.⁶⁶ Others remember meetings called by S. W. Brown where he asked for funds and requested names for the tribal roll. Brown spoke of the ICC effort at both the ground functions and at the church.⁶⁷ Community involvement is clear when Yon-shen speaks of the "sales" that supported the ICC effort. These are not uncommon even today and serve as a means to support various community concerns.⁶⁸

The interview noted above shows how the petition effort helped maintained everyday social interaction necessary to retain and reinforce identity. As an accepted leader, S. W. Brown, Sr. used the routine method of Yuchi communication -- visitation from home to home. Likewise, his son and another interest group leader followed the same procedure supplementing with meetings at the various ritual centers. In turn, community members discussed the ICC issue among themselves and supported the

effort. The interest group leaders were the disseminators of political information received from Washington. They were able to articulate to community members the petition process and the need to enumerate the Yuchi people. Legus Brown and his wife spoke the Yuchi language to those whom they visited showing the continued use of the language by most people at the time. The use of the ritual centers and the language reinforced the importance of the two indices of identity still considered significant in the community today. Although the ICC interest group organization had a specific economic and political goal, it was the social goal of communication and membership interaction that reinforced Yuchi identity during a time when the face-to-face contact was decreasing.

The Community Roll: A Link to the Past, A Tie to the Present

In its formative process described above, the 1957 Tribal Roll points to those persons who were members of the study community during the ICC effort. For one's name or family to appear on the roll, the person had to be involved in the community through interaction in some form. Opportunities to have one's family enumerated occurred through house-to-house visitation and discussions at various ritual and social venues. The enumerators chose to include those who were involved even if the family preferred not to be included. In one case related during fieldwork a family who was very active in the community but who did not trust the leaders was added to the list even though they expressed a desire not to be included. Each and every person on the list was not necessarily involved in the workings of the ICC effort but through community

interaction and family/friend networking they were familiar with the petition effort. This is the largest membership number documented for any of the interest group efforts in the twentieth century. The roll offers a rare opportunity to explore Yuchi membership and the connection between community members both past and present. The roll defines the community boundaries for the ICC era and as such furnishes demographic data on the community and its ritual and interest group leaders discussed in this and later chapters.

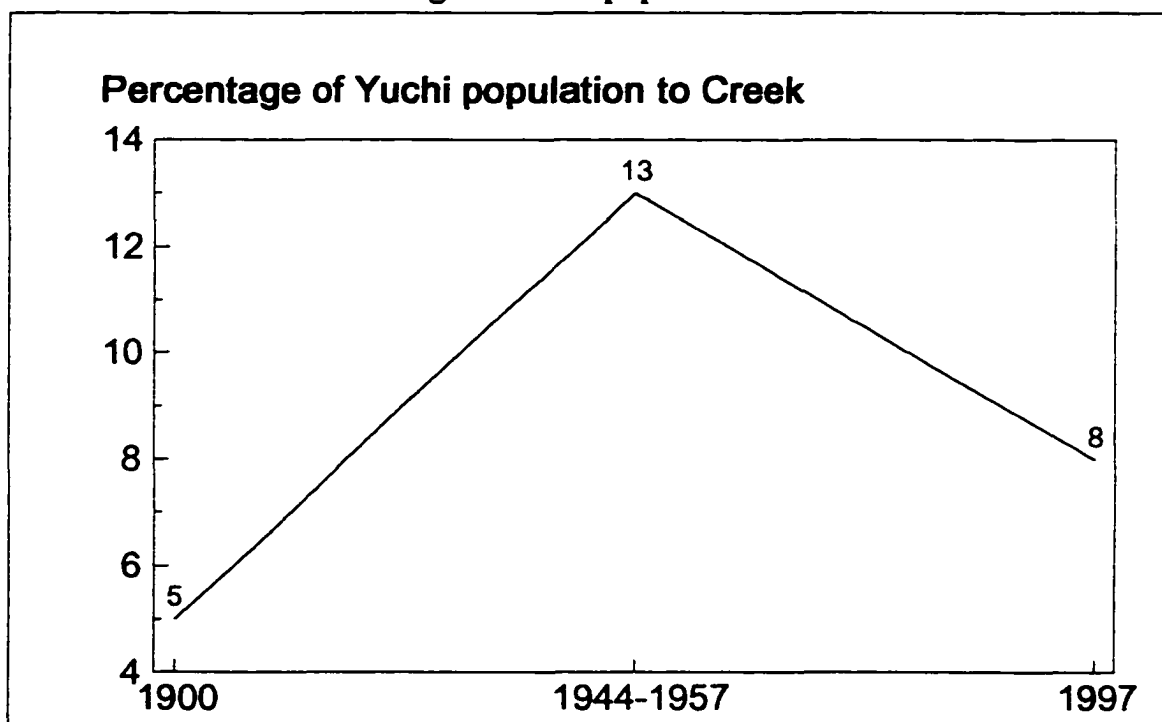
Second, the roll supports the Yuchi community's contention that to be Yuchi is to have Yuchi ancestry dating to the 1898 census and 1907 Dawes Roll. The 1898 census data are actually the field records for the Dawes enumeration and was begun in 1898 and ending April 1, 1900. These records with additions for newborns became the 1907 Dawes allotment roll that lists each family members with a specific Dawes number and included the designation of Yuchi town people and their degree of blood-quantum. The 1898, Dawes, and 1957 Tribal Roll can be linked to show a continuous pattern of interacting Yuchi people who trace their ancestry back through Yuchi ancestors by blood.

The ICC leaders continued to update the roll until October, 1957.⁶⁹ As such it furnishes a glimpse of the Yuchi community during the mid-1900s. The information is somewhat eclectic with names the only common variable making the linkage to the past community censuses of 1898 and 1907 problematic but not impossible.⁷⁰ Tribal Roll records include an inconsistent mixture of: Dawes enrollment numbers, census number, notations of birth dates, death dates, ages, parents or grandparents, blood-quantum, and a few addresses. There are 1,345 records, twenty-two are blank numbers and two are

duplicates for a total enumeration of 1,321 individuals. This is a dramatic increase over the 589 enumerated on the 1898 Creek Census Cards.

To see if this increase is consistent between the percentage of Yuchi to Creek at 1900 it was noted that the Creek enumeration on the 1907 was 11,367 with 589 or 5 percent of those being Yuchi.⁷¹ The Creek population figure in 1944 was 9,900 and the Yuchi at 1957 1,321 or 13 percent, a dramatic increase.⁷² This can be extended to the 1990s with the Creek population approximately 38,000 and the Yuchi at 3,000. The percentage of Yuchi to Creek would be 8 percent.

Figure 3.1
Percentage of Yuchi population to Creek



The increase in percentage at 1900 and 1957 varies so greatly some explanation is in order. The 1898 census and the 1907 Dawes identity was imposed by the federal government it could be argued that Yuchi identity for the 1957 Tribal Roll was

self-identifying and the growth rate indicated by this percentage increase would be higher than normal population growth. It was thought that perhaps more people who could claim Yuchi identity did so because of the potential economic and political gain from the ICC effort.

To test this hypothesis a projected increase for the Yuchi population was done. The preferred method of population project over extended time is the component-method. The principle of this method is the number of persons of a given age and sex who will be alive in the population in any year is the number in the population one year earlier and one year younger, less any deaths during the year and plus or minus any migrants (Pollard 1990:119). For the 1947-57 roll, only portions of the information are available and thus this method is not usable. This formula requires birth, death, emigration, and immigration figures.

Inter-censal projections can be made on total population, but these are less accurate and do not account for catastrophes or cultural shifts such as changes in preferred number of children. However, it can supply some indication of future populations barring catastrophic events or extremely high fertility rates. There are several methods available. The Linear interpolation requires the mathematical calculation between two different census figures that are in close proximity. The polynomials method requires three or more censuses and is somewhat more accurate than the linear but are unreliable for future projection of any time-depth. The geometric or compound interest formula is most commonly used (Pollard 1990:118). This assumes that population growth will remain constant (Yuchi 1.6 percent per annum).⁷³

$$P_t = P_o e^{rt}$$

P_t = the population projection
 P_o = population at the census year
 e = natural log (2.718)
 r = rate of growth per year
 t = years between census tracts

The population projection for 1957 (P_t) is:

$$P_{1957} = 589(2.718)^{(0.16 \times 59)}$$

$$P_{1957} = 1,514$$

This demographic method supports the increase from 589 to 1,321 persons between 1898 and 1957 and is a better correlation of population growth than percentages of Yuchi to Creek. If we carry this method to 1990 a similar result occurs:

The population projection for 1990 (P_t) is:

$$P_{1990} = 1.321(2.718)^{688}$$

$$P_{1990} = 2,628.248$$

The Yuchi community and scholars in that community conservatively estimate the population between 2,000 and 3,000 today. This is consistent with the demographic geometric formula to predict population increase through time. Without accurate birth, death and migration records, this is the best estimate available based on the current data.

The population projection does not support the hypothesis that the 1957 Tribal Roll indicates more people self-identified as Yuchi than in the past for economic/political reasons. Rather, the actual increase between 1898 and 1957 is proportional to the projected increase for the community. Upon further evaluation of the Yuchi/Creek population percentage noted in Figure 3.1, it was found that the enumeration in 1944 of

the Creeks is low because it did not include an increasing number of those with Creek descent outside of the agency rolls (Wright 1951:29). This low Creek enumeration caused the percentage of Yuchi people to appear nearly three times larger than at the turn of the century. Second, the 1957 Tribal Roll included those Yuchi who were interactive in their own community and who were enumerated on other than Creek Rolls (e.g., Shawnee). It seems more likely that the community members who could claim Yuchi identity in 1957 were interested enough and concerned enough with the ICC effort to be included on the rolls. The internal community condition of traceable Yuchi ancestry acts as its own limiting factor and those without that necessary condition could not be included. The 1957 Tribal Roll appears to include the majority of Yuchi people who interacted within the community during this time frame and as such are considered as the community of analysis in this chapter.

The 1957 Tribal Roll supplies information about the construct of the community. It was noted that there were 683 males and 629 females, giving a sex ratio of 108.58.⁷⁴ This ratio shows a decrease from the 112.00 ratio based on the enumeration at 1898. The sex ratio at 1957 is within the acceptable range for a small human population. Random fluctuation in the sex ratio was calculated to 0.09394 using Meister's method (Meister 1980:158). This calculation is preferable since small populations produce stochastic fluctuations due to their size that allows little variance. The Yuchi tribal roll does not supply enough information to create age specific sex ratios and therefore cannot be compared with the results of the 1898 Creek Census enumeration (Wallace 1993). The crude sex ratio and population projection supply the bases to hypothesize that the

Tribal Roll is a valid enumeration of the Yuchi population. To test further the hypothesis supporting the roll's validity, a surname analysis was performed. By using surnames as a comparative variable further analysis was possible linking the 1957 roll with the 1898 census and 1907 Dawes. This analysis was performed to show that community members in 1957 could claim Yuchi identity through ancestral ties to those recorded on the 1898 and Dawes Rolls. As various surname studies in biological anthropology, genetics, epidemiology and various other disciplines have shown that such linkages have a sound base to determine those related through genetic heritage and point to uniqueness of community members (see Chapter 1).

Surname Analysis

The only consistent variable in the 1957 data is the specific names of individuals. The central problem with name linkages is that the era between the 1898 and the 1957 enumerations was a time when many Yuchi traditional names (e.g., Ar-lo-co-hay-nie, Ca-pon-nay, and Yar-pan-nie) shift to Euroamerican surnames. Without the inclusion of age data to insure probability, a linkage between 1898 and 1957 becomes more problematic. As outlined in Chapter 1, several approaches were necessary to validate that name shifts were within a continuous related community. The starting point was to determine the variance in Euroamerican/non-Euroamerican surnames between 1898 and 1957. The following table depicts the shift to Euroamerican names:

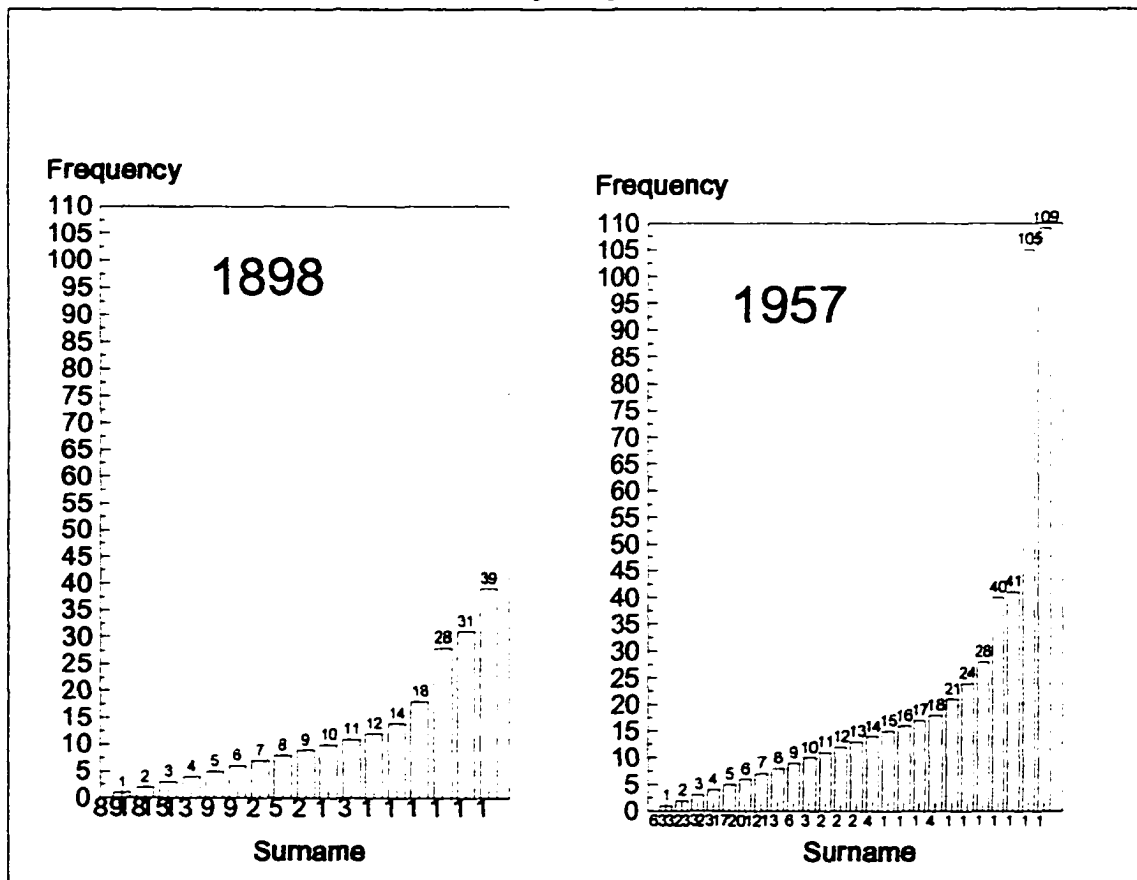
Table 3.1
Euroamerican/Non-Euroamerican Surnames 1898 and 1957

Surnames	Census 1898	% 1898	Census 1957	% 1957
Non-Euroamerican	84	48.6	22	8.5
Euroamerican	89	51.4	225	91.5
Total	173	100	246	100

The 1898 census reflects a nearly even proportion between Euroamerican and non-Euroamerican surnames. By 1957, less than 10 percent remain non-Euroamerican. A few of these non-Euroamerican surnames are Yuchi in origin and were recorded as such in 1898. Other non-Euroamerican surnames could indicate intermarriage with other native peoples since names such as Atchego, Buffalohorn, Wapakineha are not traditional Yuchi names and have not appeared in previous Yuchi enumerations. The lack of intermarriage data in many surnames studies is a problem (see Chapter 1). The Yuchi offer the added methodology of genealogical data to overcome the problem and to make the analysis more representative of the total population.

Surname frequencies were calculated to determine the variances in surnames between 1898 and 1957. This supplied a starting point to link the turn of the century community with its counterpart in 1957 (see Appendix Table 3a). These were tested for name-change from Yuchi to Euroamerican and for the inclusion of new surnames from intermarriage (see next section for detailed discussion of intermarriage). The following graph depicts the beginning point of surname frequencies for both census years:

Figure 3.2
Surname Frequency 1898 and 1957



Not only has the population between 1898 and 1957 doubled as projected, but the number of unique surnames had increased from 189 to 247 (40 percent increase). The most prevalent surnames in 1898 remain the most prevalent in 1957, providing some consistency between the two enumerations. The most frequent single surname in both 1898 and 1957 was Brown, followed by Tiger. Other high frequencies are listed below with the percentage of increase between the two enumerations:

Table 3.2
Increase/Decrease in Surnames 1898 and 1957

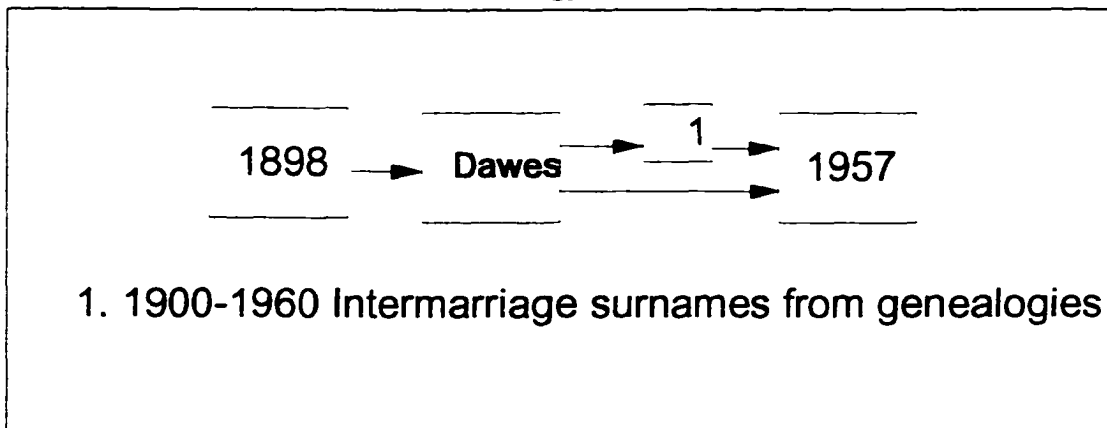
Name	1898 Frequency	1957 Frequency	% >	% <
Brown	39	109	280.5	
Tiger	31	105	338.7	
Bigpond	28	41	146.4	
Barnett	18	24	133.3	
Jackson	14	0		100
Jack	12	9		75
Allen	11	40	363.6	
Clinton	11	18	163.6	
Washington	11	0		100
Watashe/ Watoshe/ Painkiller	6	45	750	

Analysis of the most common surnames produced name-change patterns that link individuals and families between the two census tracts and support the hypothesis of a continuous community. Three sources of surname changes proved helpful:

1. 1898 and Dawes enumeration comparisons
2. Oral History accounts
3. Genealogical data

These three sources supply information on surname frequency patterns and name-shifts within the community occurring from natural birth, arbitrary name changes, intermarriage, and reversal of first and last names. Pertinent examples explained below include linkages between the surnames of Brown, Tiger, and Watashe. This methodology was explained to Chapter 1 with the section pertaining to the 1957 roll graphed below:

Figure 3.3
Surname Methodology between 1899 and 1957

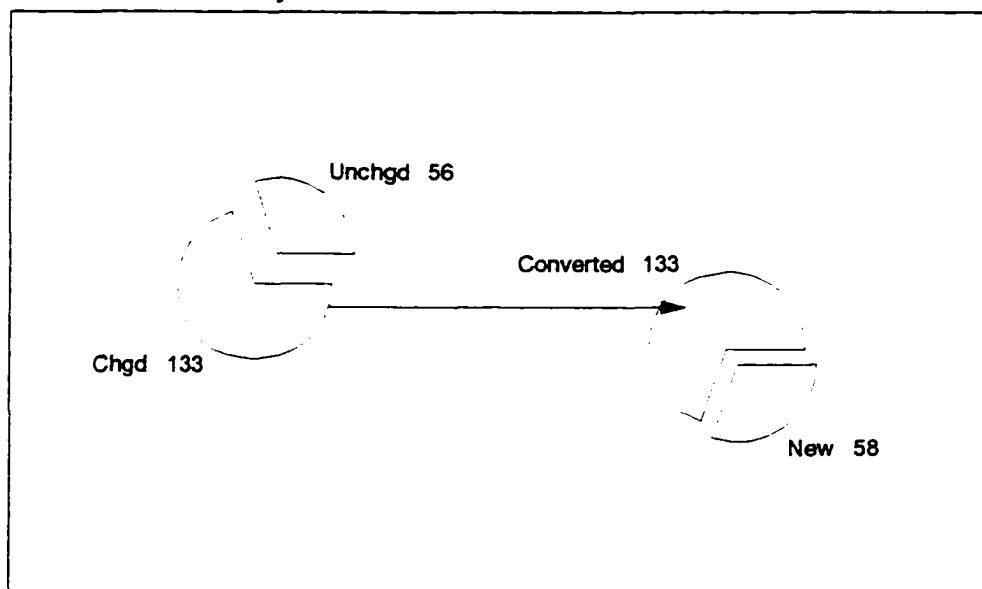


According to the 1898 census and genealogical information, the Brown surname increases by natural births, arbitrary name changes, and intermarriage with white Browns.⁷⁵ The surname Tiger furnished another source as well as a different explanation for surname changes. A comparison of individuals on both the 1898 and Dawes census tracts indicates that numerous name-shifts occurred during this brief nine year period. Some individuals on the Dawes Roll have a different surname than reflected on the previous 1898 census. This analysis notes at least three families that changed their names to Tiger by the Dawes census (see Appendix Table 3.b) Additionally, intermarriage with Creek Tigers occurred according to the genealogical data.⁷⁶ The Watashe surname presents a clear case of dramatic increase occurring from name changes and birth increases without intermarriage additions to the actual surname Watashe that appears to be uniquely Yuchi in origin.⁷⁷ Analysis of those few 1898 Euroamerican surnames that disappear by 1957 supply additional information in name shifts. These can be accounted for by no male offspring to carry the name (Washington), the shift to another Euroamerican surname (Washington to Sharp), and by the reversing

of first and last names (Jack to Tiger).⁷⁸ All increases in surnames occurred among individuals and families within the Yuchi community and show a continuous population section between 1898 and 1957.

Even if all non-Euroamerican surnames (133) appearing on the 1898 changed to Euroamerican this would not account the additional names that appear by 1957. There were 56 surnames that remained the same, and 133 that changed or dropped for a total of 189 surnames in 1898. By 1957, there were 247 surnames enumerated leaving 58 additional names added, *if* all other non-Euroamerican surnames had converted from 1898:

Figure 3.4
New Surnames by 1957 If All 1898 Non-Euroamerican Converted



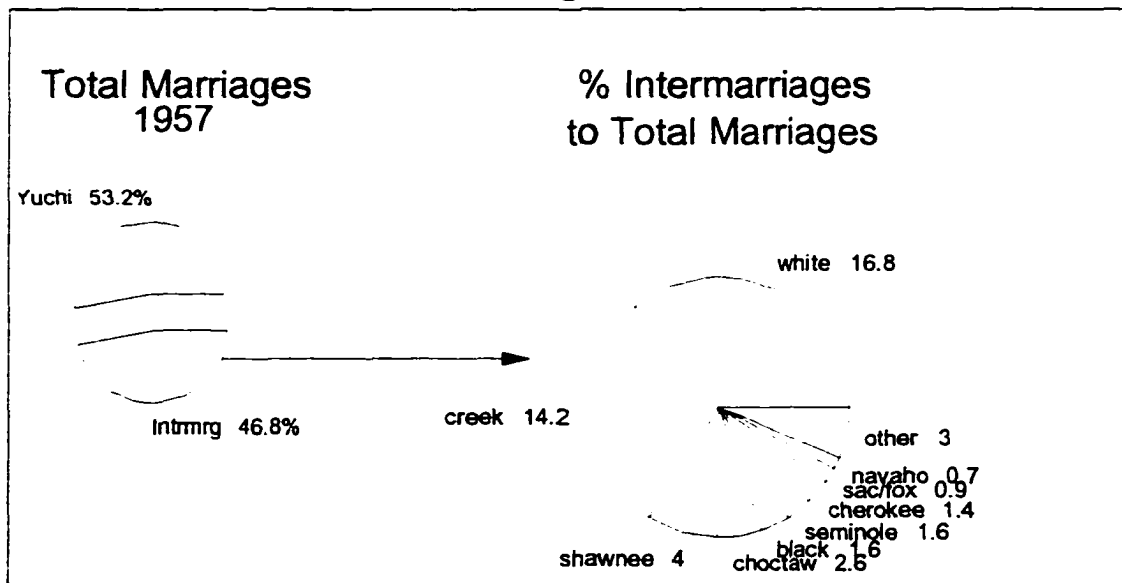
These additions could be new members of the community who previously had no connection to the 1898 community. Potentially it could be argued that the ICC leaders included such individuals to booster their petition and potential monetary reward. However, another explanation is more consistent with the community's identity retention

based on the necessity of at least one Yuchi ancestor (see Chapters 1 and 2). The Yuchi were intermarrying with other groups in 1898, and it was assumed they would continue this pattern (Wallace 1993:104-06).

Intermarriage: Crucial to Surname Analysis and an Indicator of Social Behavior

One drawback of some surname methodologies is the exclusion of those marrying out (usually women who acquire new surnames) creating an incomplete data set. Genealogical information collected over the several years, assisted in the analysis of intermarriage that brought new surnames into the Yuchi community. Of 429 known marriage partners documented between 1900 and 1960, 228 were Yuchi intramarriages, 201 were intermarriages outside the Yuchi community.⁷⁹ By 1957, marriages within the Yuchi community remained the preferred pattern at 53.2 percent, a decrease of 14.3 percent since the turn of the century. The percentage of intermarriage was 46.8 percent an increase of 14.3 percent over the percentages recorded in 1898.

Figure 3.5
Yuchi Marriage Patterns 1957



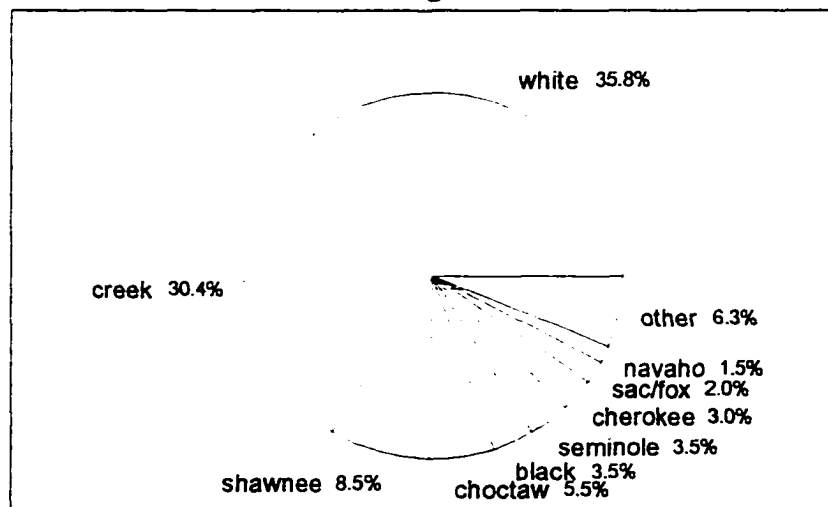
Even with a substantial increase in intermarriage, Yuchi partners are preferred to any other specific group (left pie graph of the Figure above). Yuchi marriage partners occur four times more frequently than the next highest group of White at 16.8 percent (right pie above).

If we look at those intermarriage patterns alone, different groups and percentages appear from those recorded in 1898. The 1898 enumeration recorded only six groups with percentages of total intermarriage as: Creek at 53 percent, White 27 percent, Colored 3 percent, Cherokee 1 percent, and Chickasaw/ Choctaw 6 percent (Wallace 1993:106).

The 1900-1957 genealogical data show total intermarriage percentages as follows: White 35.8 percent, Creek 30.4 percent, Shawnee 8.5 percent, Choctaw 5.5 percent, Colored/Black 3.5 percent, Seminole 3.5 percent, Cherokee 3.0 percent, Sac

and Fox 2.0 percent, Navaho 1.5 percent and others at 6.3 percent.⁴⁰ These are graphed below:

Figure 3.6
Intermarriage 1900-1960



White intermarriage is the most prevalent followed by Creek. This a reversal of the pattern in 1898 where Creek intermarriage was the most prevalent followed by White. The percentage for white intermarriage increased by 3 percent and the intermarriage with Creeks decreased by 23 percent. Intermarriage as a social interaction signifies contact with other groups. The data presented in the graph above indicate that interaction with Creek peoples may have decreased and White increased. However, other groups enter the pattern that were not previously recorded as Yuchi marriage partners. When these are considered, it could be argued that the 1950 Yuchi community was in closer contact with other populations than they were in the past. Post-WWII travel and wage-labor employment could account for much of this new pattern by providing a wider range of social interaction and potential marriage partners. Additionally, it should be considered that by this period there were strong indicators that the community sought to separate

itself from the Creek polity. Other intra-community individuals may have been perceived as preferred marriage partners before Creek people as a result.

With intermarriage from a wide variety of groups, new surnames enter the Yuchi community. Genealogical information showed 201 intermarriages between 1900 and 1960. Out of 113 surnames recorded in searching intermarriage data, 56 surnames appear on the 1957 tribal roll (See Appendix Table 3.c).⁴¹ Of these surnames, the 1898 census records 14 already in existence (e.g., Brown, Tiger, Barnett . . .). The remaining 42 surnames appear for the first time on the 1957 roll. These include the surnames: Bible, Cloud, Dunn, Evans, Fox, Freeman, Gibson, Green, Hardridge, Harjo, Lee, Littlebear, Neafus, Seber, Selzer, Tom, Warrior, Washburn, Wilson. These names are common in the Yuchi community today. Intermarriage adds additional surnames, but does not change the community's concept of its necessary condition for identity based on at least one Yuchi ancestor.

The 1957 Tribal Roll points to intermarriage, not as a weakening or a dissolution of membership, but as part of the central condition for exclusiveness. Without intermarriage data 229 or 18 percent of the persons appearing on the 1957 Tribal Roll could not be determined as having Yuchi ancestors at 1900 since their surnames cannot be linked to prior records. The inclusion of genealogical intermarriage data from field research broadens the methodology of surname analysis often lacking in the work of other scholars.

Ancestral ties expressed on the 1957 roll form a "charter for action" whose symbols are continuously manipulated to adjust for changed in demographic

(intermarriage), political (ICC effort) and economic (monetary rewards) conditions (Cohen 1974:69). Membership in the Yuchi community in 1957 remains determined by ancestors and increased intermarriage does not exclude one's membership in this community. Ties to Yuchi ancestors through surname analysis broadened by intermarriage inclusion links the 1957 community to those Yuchi ancestors at 1900.

Surname analysis furnishes a consistent linkage for ceremonial and church leadership from 1898 to 1957. Ritual leaders appear on the 1957 roll or earlier census. A list of these individuals appears in the Appendix Table 3.e and their membership in the Yuchi community is consistent with the surname analysis presented above. The ritual leaders are the moral leaders and retain the authority and power in inter-community affairs and validate the political intra-community work of the transactional interest group leaders. A central purpose of moral leaders is to be identified with the ritual setting and symbols that provide a focus for the people (Bailey 1969:42). For these moral leaders, the service and esteem are the rewards. These men remain within the community directing the moral and ethical needs of the community and its interest group efforts.

The interest group leaders were individuals associated with both ceremonial grounds and churches (See Appendix Table 3.e). None of the original members of the interest group organization held central leadership rolls in either place. Only Fred Skeeter, who joined the core interest group in 1950, held any position within the church community. The interest group leaders were free of ties that bind the ceremonial leaders to the internal community. The interest group leaders had both the time and expertise to organize the external processes necessary to file the ICC petition. Their ritual

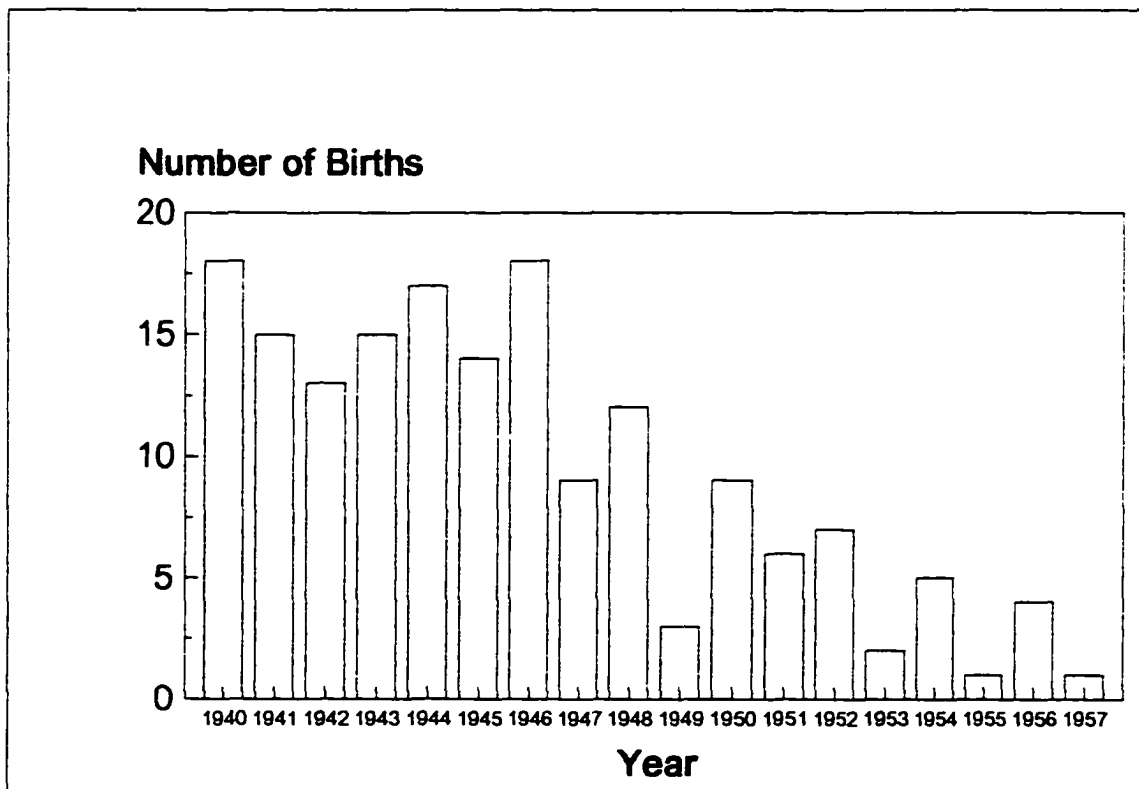
participation points to a pattern followed by other such leaders in future efforts analyzed in the following chapters. Until the post-WWII era, ritual venues served as the central meeting place that reinforced community identity.

The Tribal Roll created for the ICC effort supplies a demographic glimpse of the community at the mid-century mark showing a population growth consistent with population projections and with standard human sex ratio. Surname analysis further defines a continuous community of related people over time and shows a new intermarriage pattern consistent with the a new way of life in the twentieth century. Those data established a source for concise linkages for important ritual leaders in the 1950s who may or may not carry pre-1957 surnames from the turn of the century. This analysis explains the current use of the 1957 roll by the community to link members today with their ancestors of the past and coincides with the community's concept of the its exclusive identity based on ancestry. At the same time the roll give us the largest source of community members interacting during any period in the twentieth century.

Demise of the Interest Group Organization:

Because interest group leaders attempted to keep the Tribal Roll current for several years after the petition filing (1951-57), it is possible to view the gradual loss of interest in the effort as the ICC petition litigation dragged on and the outcome appeared less than satisfactory. Birth dates were carefully recorded during the years 1940 through 1957. At first glance there appears to be a dramatic decrease in birth rates after 1950:

Figure 3.7
Births Recorded 1957 Tribal Roll



The birth rates remain high during the 1940s when the ICC leaders were preparing the initial information for the petition and community optimism was high. The year 1949 shows a marked decrease in recorded births. This was the year when the interest group organization began having problems acquiring another lawyer following Maben's death. Some community disillusionment and impatience could account for the dramatic drop in recorded births during that year. The births recorded in the 1950s never reach the height of the 1940's effort. This may be a reflection of the petition problems in the ICC process. The Yuchi lawyers filed the petition in 1951, but the first response by the U.S. government's lawyers did not follow until 1954. The three year wait for any response and the indication that the federal government was going to fight the petition took its

toll. The lack of recorded births is indicative of a withdrawal of community support. The ICC ruled against the petition in 1956 and only one additional year's births were recorded in 1957. The dramatic decrease points to the community's lack of interest in the effort and its hopes of success.

Alternatively, one could argue that actual births had decreased during the 1950s. The genealogical information recently collected shows this was not the case. Genealogical data confirms a much higher birth rate for the late 1940s to 1957 than appears on the roll.⁸² The total number of genealogical births was 141 compared to only 59 Tribal Roll births. These data indicate that new births were not being enumerated at the high rates shown during the early and mid-1940s when community interest was at its peak.

Oral accounts reinforce the hypothesis of community disillusionment. During the early and mid-1940s through visitations and meetings, word moved throughout the community concerning the petition and the potential benefit to the Yuchi people. The community strongly supported the effort in the beginning. As the petition effort dragged into months and years, the community lost enthusiasm and began to question the motivation of the leaders. The interest group organization was not producing the desired results. S. W. Brown, Jr. received the brunt of the criticism that continues today. According to one source, people were proud of Sam Brown and what he did until he "publicly got outside of the community" and he started to care more about himself than the Yuchi.⁸³ From another source: "Sam (Sr.), he was honest, and you could trust him. What he said, he'd try and do it. When his boy (S.W., Jr.) came along, well, it was

altogether different. People didn't trust him. Every time he asked for money to go to Washington, first thing on people's mind was he needed money to go on a vacation (laughter)."⁴⁴ Community members still tell the stories of his soliciting money for personal use. "Boy, that guy could con you out of anything. He was quite a story teller. I think he even believed himself sometime." This same person noted that Brown came to visit after a return trip from Texas:

And he came in from there, from down in Texas, and I thought it was an old bum comin to the house. He never looked worse. He had on old bib overalls, the knees all wore out, ol wore out boots. You never seen that man look that way. And he had an ol straw hat on. He came on in the house, mom fed him breakfast and he cleaned up a little bit. He said "I'll be back in a few minutes." I said: "Where you goin Will?" He said, I'm goin down here to Butlers (dry goods store). Never had a penny on him. He went down there and about an hour later, boy he come back and he looked like a Senator or like that. He had on new Justin boots, a new suit, a brand new hat. He looked entirely different than the guy that came to the door. And where that guy got his money or how he got his money, that's a different story too (laughter).⁴⁵

The harsh criticism of Brown and of at least one other leader, depicts the ephemeral status of interest group leaders. If the community does not perceive their work as good for the whole, the community invalidates them and their efforts ("publicly got outside of the community"). The community holds interest group leaders to the same high standards as ground leaders, but without the same authority. Their foremost concern must be for the benefit of the community at large, never for self-interests. The relationship between the interest group leaders and the community is reciprocal through rites and obligations that bind these leaders to the community (Goffman 1961:85). The leaders must seek and provide benefits for the Yuchi community, and in turn receive

esteem and recognition for those efforts. To fail results in the loss of position and community support. In the case of Brown, his lack of success and apparent self-interest resulted in harsh long-term criticism.

Education, wealth or political savvy tend to put these leaders (new elites) into a unique position that adds another layer of stratification within a community (Barth 1969:33). For interest group leaders this stratification is fragile, often dissolving if the community views their work as detrimental or nonproductive. Likewise, interest group leaders broaden and add to the leadership concepts of Bailey (Bailey 1969:35-85). Bailey provides two types of leadership: transactional and moral. Both exist in the Yuchi community. Interest group leaders are transactional (Bailey 1969:36-37). They are not the moral leaders, those positions come from within the ritual arenas as discussed earlier. Through economic and political transactions, the job of the interest group leaders is to furnish resources for the community. In return, the community rewards these leaders with a certain level of prestige and continued support. According to Bailey, transactional leaders manipulate situations for the benefit of an interest group that in turn provides additional authoritative power for the leaders. For leaders of an encapsulated interest group, such as the Yuchi, power and authority do not exist outside of the confines of what they supply to the community. The tried and trusted leadership of the moral leaders retain the internal authority. Externally, the encapsulating Creek polity and the federal government hold the power and authority. Having no real authority, Brown and the other ICC leaders found their rolls and prestige dissolving as the petition met with problems and eventual failure.

Brown died in December, 1957 and according to the Muskogee Areas director Paul L. Fickinger a "very heated dispute (occurred) concerning the tribal representatives, two or three different groups claim to be those officially representing the Yuchi (Euchee)." The Muskogee Area Director noted that his office "had been deluged with correspondence and office visits from these groups, each claiming to represent the Yuchi and many charges and counter charges have been made."⁸⁶ Fickinger does not elaborate on who the factions were, how they were organized, or who they represented. The factionalism itself required a certain level of interaction that reinforced the concept of Yuchi identity. Clearly, the community continued to discuss its own identity and interest group association leaders. Throughout this turmoil, members of the organization continued to work on overturning the ICC's ruling and other projects that drew community attention. These leaders hoped to reinstate their prestige and position within the community by providing other benefits.

The End of the ICC Effort and a New Focus:

In 1958 and 1959, following the Supreme Courts final decision, the interest group organization sought assistance for recognition from U.S. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson and Congressional Representative Thomas Steed. Johnson referred the complaint to the Department of Interior for action.⁸⁷ Steed requested information from the Department of Justice. In a return letter to Steed, the Assistant Attorney General, Perry W. Morton outlined in detail the Yuchi case and the reasons for its refusal by the Commission and the Supreme Court.⁸⁸ Steed took no further action. The Yuchi

attorney Smith then sought assistance from Senator Robert Kerr for his support of a Yuchi Memorial drafted by Smith "to secure justice through just compensation for the Yuchi people arising from the taking of their lands . . ."⁸⁹ Smith eventually sought monetary compensation from the BIA for his additional legal work following the ICC rulings. The Commissioner of the BIA stated that the obligation to pay the attorney ended with the final ruling as stated in section 22 of the Indian Claims Commission Act: "The final determination against a claimant . . . shall forever bar any further claim or demand against the United States arising out of this matter involved in the controversy."⁹⁰ This action ended any further attempt to re-institute the petition and its claims.

The interest group organization contributed one other important venue for the Yuchi community, a direct connection with its pre-removal ancestors. Before Brown's death, he traveled back East where he discussed the Yuchi situation with people in Georgia and Alabama. In exchange for land, he promised them a number of Yuchi cultural artifacts for the Columbus Museum in Georgia. In a letter, his daughter discussed the trip made in June, 1957:

He wanted to go to Georgia and Alabama ever since I can remember to see if he could find the old lands of our people . . . He did want to go to the Seminole reservation because he thought there might be a few Yuchis still left among them, so we started there. After a three day visit with the Seminoles, we went to Georgia and Alabama . . . After getting into Georgia, we crossed over to Alabama and I stopped for gas. I asked about Indians and from this point things began to happen. We were amazed when people started falling all over themselves and beating a trail to our motel . . . Papa was the center of attraction . . . They recognized in Papa, what every one else, even his own people, have taken for granted or were just too dense to see.

When Papa saw their interest and felt they were sincere, he told them in plain English, that if they were so anxious to have him there, then they would have to do something for his people in return. He told them of his collection, and that he would consider putting it there (Columbus Museum) if they would do something for his people. They asked him what he wanted and he told them (land), but it was always for his people, not for his children or himself but his people.⁹¹

Brown's efforts proved fruitful. After his death, remaining members of the organization established the *Yuchi Cultural Foundation* in order to receive Alabama land donated by the Coweta Memorial Association. Under the laws of Alabama, such a foundation could accept the one hundred acres near the town of Seale as a gift and no tax would need to be paid by the Yuchi community. In a resolution, the Yuchi Cultural Foundation stated that "All Yuchi people are members of this organization."⁹²

Brown's efforts in Georgia and Alabama did not reestablish his position and reputation in the community. His efforts connected the people with their ancestral lands, and thus a link to the necessary condition for identity: ancestral ties. Brown's job as an interest group leader was to bring external resources into the community that would furnish direct economic/political benefit. Indeed, he helped secure land for the Yuchi in Alabama. However, that land proved no more than a symbolic tie to identity. There were no economic resources built into the transaction. The people of Alabama encouraged Yuchi people to come and settle on the hundred acres, but with no jobs available they did not consider this a feasible possibility. "They (people in Alabama) said any of the Yuchi wanted to come back they was welcome, but nobody wanted to go back. If I had an income, I'd go. That would be the only way. I didn't see anything you'd make a livin' at. It was just all wooded area."⁹³ It is not an uncommon tactic for a

leader to stage a ritual for collective solidarity to reclaim prestige and appease dissatisfied followers (Bailey 1969:45). However, since interest group leaders are not the moral and ritual leaders of the Yuchi community, this action did not enhance Brown's fallen status. In his assigned political role, he failed to act in the best interest of the community.

On June 7, 1958, the people of Alabama formally presented the land to the Yuchi. Two buses, filled with Yuchi men, women, and children attended the event. The following account is by a participant of that first trip. Disagreements within the organization and the community are clear. One of the original members of the interest group attempted to stop people from attending. The text below is partially paraphrased for clarity:

The first trip was in June of 1958. There were two bus loads of Yuchi and a few families followed in their cars (from memory she related fifty individual by name plus additional children who made this trip).

I was invited to go. J. P. James, I still got the card. J. P. James sent me a card inviting me, they was goin to make a trip. I had to be at the bus station at a certain time you know. Zoe-dee and Yah-bo-ah invited a whole bunch but J. P. was the one that invited me.

I talked with my family about going. Then momma told us they were goin to go and asked if I wanted to go with them. I said Yeah. I guess they said yeah the kids can go. That's why I got my children to go. I talked to my niece and my brother's family. That's where Way-cha-nee went and Lock-chu went. They was goin, them little ones, Way-cha-nee and Lock-chu, and they changed their mind. Their momma changed their mind. They wasn't gonna go, and they was cryin. They asked me "Are you goin anyway?" I said: "Yes, I was goin, I made up my mind and I was preparin to go, I was goin there ain't no way I would stop."

Well, what happened was Legus and Esther (Brown) went around and told em that something was gonna happen. They said they had seen a fortune teller in Okmulgee and that fortune teller told them - warned them not to go.⁹⁴ They warned people not to go, so they came over Sphn-see's and told them "Don't send your kids up there, now. They might not make it back."

And John Brown, (chief of) Duck Creek you know, he was goin he and his wife. And they (Legus and Esther) went up there and tol them and they backed off. Jake Skeeter and them, a whole bunch backed off, the old people. The old people, they all backed off because they said somethin terrible gonna happen with those Yuchi they sendin over there (to Georgia). They probably won't make it back. I said: "Well, I'm gonna die anyway, I'd just as soon die over there." I said, "I'm goin," And it was just all fraud.

Lots of people planned to go. It was in June and Green Corn wasn't until July so lot of people available to go.

The people back in Georgia wanted us there. They was havin a festival there in Georgia and they wanted Yuchi people up there to participate. And show up to their home place. And stuff like that. I took a picture where they gave the key, the city key to the chief. They had Sam Brown (Sam H. Brown)⁹⁵ acting as chief because they wanted John Brown to go as chief. But he backed off so they didn't have no choice. And he wasn't no speaker.

We left early one mornin. There were two buses. Everywhere we stopped there were appointed places for us to eat, you know and it was all paid for. They was expectin us and we'd go eat and then go back and go on. They probably prepared that before we started that trip cause they was expectin us and had everying ready and we'd go on. When we got there they brought lunches, box lunches out there, chicken and everything. And when we ate at the cafe everything was paid for and everything.

Billie Brown (S. W., Jr.) was the one that found that land they gave the Yuchi people. It was on a bank, on Yuchi Creek. Yeah, we made an appearance and they introduced the Indians to the city and then we went out to, I forget the place, and had BBQ, they had BBQ for us.

At the beginning we went out to the ground, the square ground. And ah played ball, football. They had already put up arbors out

there. And we played ball out there. And we danced. George Watashe and his daughter Sutta Mae, Sutta Mae sure do play football (laughter). And the army band, now get this, army band out there greet us. You know they don't do that to just anybody. But they was there to greet us and that was really somethin. And those army boys put up, what you call it, seats - bleachers and everything. They made everything possible. It was really nice. We had a nice reception. A lot of white people attended, the dignitaries were there.⁹⁶

Like I said, it was one hundred and twenty-five years since Yuchis had moved from there to here. And that was their first trip back there, that was history. So I said, I couldn't miss that. Then they gave that land to the Yuchis and all kinds of business people, mayors and such was there, you know. We was treated real, real good. It was excellent.⁹⁷

The division between family members, between young and old, and even between interest group leaders concerning the community participation in the Georgia trip is symptomatic of a normative collective power situation. Factionalism between political leaders (e.g., ICC leaders) is not uncommon and is often a rejection of past allegiances and a searching for new ways to arrange social interaction (Bailey 1969:52). Legus Brown, a prominent member of the ICC effort spoke directly against the trip warning that something terrible may happen and the people may never come back. The chief of Duck Creek ceremonial ground originally planned to attend the Georgia festivities, but later changed his mind. His decision did not stop other people from his ground from traveling to Georgia, but it did stop others. The oral account of this incident shows marked disagreement between family members concerning the trip. That same account notes that most older people chose to remain home. Many of the young adults who attended now hold leadership roles in both the ceremonial grounds and in the volunteer organizations of the 1990s. The young adults apparently understood that new avenues

of interaction where necessary in order to strengthen and preserve Yuchi identity in a rapidly changing world. They embraced the chance to connect with their ancestors in a new way and tell their children of the land of their forebears. These people continue to travel occasionally their ancestral lands in the Southeast and speak of their trips in various community gatherings.

This first trip back to their ancestral lands led to at least one other organized trip the following year. Since then, numerous Yuchi people have traveled back to Georgia and Alabama to visit the sites where their ancestors lived before removal. One Yuchi woman, who helped organize the original trip, worked in the Columbus Museum in the late 1960s and donated handmade articles to that collection. She goes back every year to work at Round Mountain, Georgia displaying Yuchi hand-weaving and relates Yuchi traditions to tourists.⁹⁸ Many Yuchi people travel to Georgia today and relate their experiences to their families and to others at community gatherings. The family of Chief Sen-chilah of Polecat made the trip back to Georgia in 1993. They met a woman who had done some personal research on the Yuchi in the East and felt she had some artifacts the community might find of interest. The Browns extended an invitation to this woman to come for the annual Green Corn Ceremonial and she accepted. Communications and travel create a bridge to pre-removal ancestors and formulate new connections for expressing Yuchi identity.

The ICC petition effort furnished two new symbolic reinforcements of Yuchi identity: the tribal roll and the trip to Georgia. The initial Georgia trip opened the door for the post-war Yuchi community to reconnect with its ancestral lands. Yuchi people

continue to travel to Georgia. Upon their return, the trips become focal points of discussion with other community members reinforcing the longevity of the Yuchi community and its distinct identity. The goals of recognition and compensation was not realized, but have little bearing on the fact that the community used the work of the interest group organization to meet and reinforce the concepts of being Yuchi. Through networking, community meetings, and traveling together the post WWII members found new avenues to interact on a regular basis.

As a second byproduct of the ICC effort, the community created a tribal roll, the first known outside the Creek polity. Today, the "tribal" roll is a symbol for the community of its Yuchi identity in the 1950s, not that it is merely a roll, but that it was created by Yuchi people for Yuchi people. It is one source used today to prove one's genealogical ties and thus one's Yuchi identity.

With the advent of wage-labor jobs that shortened communal ritual life, the community through the efforts of the interest group organization increased the availability and frequency of interaction between members. The effort intensified communications between individuals, families, and in community meetings. These venues for discussion defined and strengthened the criteria of Yuchi identity. Since there was potential for a large monetary gain, such criteria were necessary. Since only Yuchi were invited to Georgia, the community had to decide the criteria that determined who those people were. If "all Yuchi" were members of the *Yuchi Cultural Foundation*, those individuals had to be determined. No matter the exact criteria that determined membership, the discussions of the possibilities reinforced Yuchi identity and sense of

community. More importantly, the petition effort became the source for continual discussion of being Yuchi and why others did not recognize that identity. Discussion of the petition denial remains today central to the community members' deep concern that the federal government refuses to accept them for what they know themselves to be -- Yuchi, not Creek.

Conclusions:

Industrial societies are highly stratified with various groups vying for political and economic power. Interest groups are those that cannot or are not allowed to formalize their organizational tactics. An interest group is a collective of individuals tied by distinct criteria for identity and that mobilize for action. Such a collective of people without organization is not a group (Cohen 1974:66). Study of an interest group's organizational tactics for political interaction can determine how members exercise their identity, power, and community longevity.

As a parapolitical group within another Native American polity, the Yuchi are forced to organize along non-bureaucratic lines that rely heavily on normative power and authority. Interaction necessary to maintain identity relies heavily on symbolic interpretations of identity and normative power structures. The Yuchi community's late nineteenth and early twentieth century internal interaction patterns, that supported membership identity, became less frequent (e.g., ritual participation and daily encounters). The community members instituted a new form of interaction based on a perceived economic benefit that required political action.

The ICC supplied a mechanism for the community to organize as an *identifiable group* of Native people. The community's political organization and interaction with the dominant polity took the form of an interest group organization with specified leaders outside of the traditional ritual leaders. Through the workings of the ICC effort, it is possible to view the workings of the community as it solves the basic problems of any interest group: identity (membership), communication, decision making, authority, ideology, and discipline (Cohen 1969: 69-84).

Identity:

An interest group must define its membership identity and the boundaries or collective distinctiveness in relation to other political players. Without such, the collective is not a group. Today, individual membership identity is based in ancestry with at least one Yuchi ancestor necessary for Yuchi identity. The 1957 Tribal Roll created for political action, with its linkage to 1898 and the Dawes census inclusive of intermarriage, points to the importance of ancestors as the necessary condition for Yuchi identity. A single Yuchi ancestor is sufficient to insure membership on the roll and to allow participation in community events and endeavors. The linkages did not reveal any member who did not have at least one ancestor recorded on earlier census tracts. Yuchi ancestors symbolize inclusion in the distinct membership of the Yuchi community.

An index of identity is the community's stress on religious activity. To be a part of the community a person needs to be active in some form of ritual participation that symbolically reinforces the identity of self-hood and of community distinctiveness.

Brown's attempts in court to explain the distinctive differences between the Yuchi ceremonials and the Creek rituals proved disastrous.

Although not recognized by the dominant polity, the differences in ceremonial dances and songs continue to give the Yuchi a unique set of ritual practices that distinguished them from other Creek and Southeastern peoples. Such differences are symbolic and serve as an index of a distinct internal Yuchi community identity. Scholars seldom note the possibility of distinctiveness between various Creek people's ritual practices. Likewise the ICC officials did not acknowledge such differentiation. The possibilities for uniqueness within a ritual typology (e.g., the Creek ceremonial grounds) are virtually limitless (Cohen 1969:73). Other Creek towns that interact with Yuchi people acknowledge Yuchi uniqueness. Within the Creek Nation, Yuchi ceremonial distinctiveness is not significant enough to move them outside the confines of the Creek town system. The dominant polity refused to accept any differences as uniquely Yuchi. The non-acceptance of distinctive identity marks the clear power differential between an interest group and formalized political structures. This in no way changes the index of ritual participation for the Yuchi people. Ceremonial activities continue to be a central place for communication and for the symbolic expression of internal identity.

The Yuchi language, as the second index of identity, remained in frequent use during the ICC era. The elders continued to speak the language both at home and in conversation with other Yuchi people. Those who were young adults were often fluent speakers who had learned the language at home or who at the very least understood the language.⁹⁹ As expressed through oral history, Legus Brown was a fluent speaker of

both Yuchi and English. When he visited homes for tribal roll enumeration the native language was often spoken. It remained a marker of uniqueness. Apparently the community did not have a sense of imminent language loss for a few more years. This would be a concern of future interest group efforts and a new generation of leaders. Whether in the Yuchi language or in English, the ICC efforts contributed an additional forum to discuss and document the community's concept of its own unique identity.

To gain political power for interaction, an interest group must be able to express and have accepted its internal identity. This being problematic, the interest group effort couched Yuchi identity in the political terminology and symbolism of the dominant polity: hereditary chief, elected council; and tribal roll. These three terms did not serve the purpose for which they were created and never became part of internal identity nor of the symbolism that unites Yuchi people. Identity as expressed in the tribal roll (ancestry), in the ritual participation (membership in churches and grounds) and language remained the central focus of community interaction that reinforced Yuchi distinctiveness.

Communication:

Distinctiveness alone does not insure the formation of a political interest group. Routine communications between members are imperative to solidify and coordinate activities and to reinforce community identity (Cohen 1974:75). Without frequent communication a political interest group cannot exist. Thus, the workings of the Yuchi

community as a political interest group provided additional avenues for intense communications between members.

The post-war economic shifts decreased the frequent face-to-face encounters of Yuchi people. On a daily basis, family members were no longer working side by side, neighbors had less time to visit, and ceremonial rituals at both grounds and churches took place on a much reduced time schedule. The work on the ICC petition became a subject and reason to meet more frequently in one to one conversations or in group meetings. The incentive of economic gain for both individuals and the community supplied the necessary impetus for members to take time from already busy schedules and come together as a community solidifying Yuchi identity. The original meeting described by Rolland shows that a large number of community members met in 1948 to sanction the interest group effort and select its leaders. Creation of the Tribal Roll included visitations in Yuchi homes, discussions in various ritual centers and personal networking that increased communication opportunities and identity concepts. Person to person interaction continued to occur as the effort ICC proceeded and leaders planned and executed the Georgia trip. The interest group organization and its tasks provided a method for the community to intensify its level of communication that once relied heavily on the frequent ritual participation and face-to-face daily contact.

Decision Making:

Distinctiveness and communications alone do not provide the necessary ingredients to form and act as an interest group. There must be a method to collect,

discuss, and make decisions concerning political information. The collection of such information flows through defined channels of communication whereupon the information is discussed and decisions are made on behalf of the entire group (Cohen 1974:75-77). For the ICC effort, the community formed an interest group organization that enhanced communications and formulated specific political decisions.

In most areas, ritual leaders make the internal moral decisions for the community, based in large part on community consensus. The basic norm that decisions must be for the good of the whole shaped all such decisions. The ICC effort required a new form of decision making since ritual leaders did not have the expertise, not did they have the available time to devote to the new political effort. The community delegated everyday ICC decisions to a new group of individuals who became the core of the political interest effort. This core initially defined the situation (ICC potential) and presented those findings to the community. In turn and by consensus the community elected involvement in the effort, formed the organization, and selected its leaders.

The community furnished to the interest group leaders only limited decision making power that centered exclusively in the ICC petition effort. The leaders had no decision making power concerning any other internal community concern. As with ritual leaders, the community held these interest group leaders to the same norm of conduct. Their efforts must be for the benefit of the entire community first and foremost. The organization collected information on the petition, made that information available to the community for discussion, and made limited political decisions on behalf of the community.

By forming this interest group organization, the Yuchi were able to interact with the dominant polity directly and in a way that initially circumvented Creek Nation. For the first time since political encapsulation a forum presented itself that allowed the community to organize for political action as a separate entity with its own decision making power.

Authority and Discipline:

Decisions must be backed by authority whether coercive, economic, or normative (Cohen 1974:77). The ability to secure economic and political gains for the community was the base of the interest group leaders' limited authority. The community gave them the authority to interact on its behalf for the petition effort exclusively. The community never granted these leaders any authority over other areas of Yuchi life. Interest group authority is purely political/economic and if these leaders do not perform satisfactorily, the community creates sanctions through gossip with potential ostracism.

Reciprocity remains the central key. The community grants a level of prestige and funding resources to interest group leaders and expects some economic or political benefits in return. If the community perceives that the leaders are taking more from the community than they are supplying or are not meeting their obligations, sanctions are implemented and authority is removed. Overall, authority in the Yuchi community is a collective effort that can and does exert pressure on individuals through gossip and ostracism. The ICC failure, exemplified by the community's reaction to Brown, Jr., is a powerful example of collective authority. The economic authority granted by the

community to interest group leaders is fragile and remains only as long as their efforts meet with some level of success measured as community benefits. The ICC effort met not only with failure, but with explicitly detrimental difficulties with the two larger polities. In no uncertain terms, the Creek and federal polities stated the Yuchi were no more or no less than Creek Indians. This statement runs counter to the very concept of identity within the Yuchi community and potentially threatened its very existence as a unified political entity. Harsh measures against Brown reinforced the community's concept of "benefit to the whole" while serving as a symbol for all Yuchi people of responsible actions as a community member.

On the other hand, the authority of the ritual leaders is not economic. Their power is normative based on community consensus. As a norm the community selects older men for their chiefs. Through the years, these individuals have proven repeatedly their commitment to the community over and above their own personal concerns. This commitment is symbolic of not only the expected reciprocity between members, but of the willingness of leaders to set aside personal gain for community benefit. Even the chief's authority is not above the collective authority of the community that can, and does at times, refuse to follow the decisions of its ritual leaders.

The Georgia trip notes that the community did not form a clear consensus concerning this new interest group effort and granted no group of people economic authority to continue as a transactional organization. Without full community support the interest group effort did not continue beyond the original Georgia trip. The authority remained within the boundaries of community consensus that in turn delegated specified

authority to their moral or ritual leaders, and as needed to core groups of volunteers for specific economic or political gains. All leadership within the community is mainly symbolic. This allows the members the right of refusal to obey a leader without fear of physical or economic sanctions.¹⁰⁰

Power and Symbolism:

The formation of interest groups is the source of social stratification within many large, complex, industrial societies. The study of the distribution of power in industrial societies must operate systematically in terms of specific interest groups, their scope, organization, and interrelationships (Cohen 1974:121). Such studies furnish a methodology for understanding dominant/subordinate power relationships and undermine the concept that small interest groups are powerless and defined only in terms of the politically dominant. Interactions within the political and economic areas of industrial society can and do provide a method for interest groups to solidify and reiterate their identity both internally and externally. The power differential may not shift, but political actions function as methods to retain and express uniqueness.

The tremendous shift in the post-WWII economy led to drastic and potentially life threatening changes for the Yuchi community. No longer were community identity and cohesion a guaranteed product of daily face-to face encounters and lengthy ritual participation that historically formed the bases for their political representation with Creek Nation. Frequent interaction took on an added form and new context: a mobilized political effort through an interest group organization. The community

organized as a political interest group to obtain a share of power. This share of power had eluded the Yuchi because of their encapsulation within the Creek Nation. The federal government's ICC offering afforded the community a chance to organize collectively as a unique political group outside of the confines of their encapsulation. The ICC effort supplied specified economic and political goals but more importantly furnished forums to express and solidify community identity.

Interaction with larger politically dominant polities in the ICC effort points to the power differential that explains the necessity of retaining normative power within the community. Both for ritual and interest group leaders, this power symbolizes Yuchi identity and community cohesion. Old symbols of identity are retained and new ones tested for inclusion or exclusion. Symbols are essential for the maintenance of social relations and remain "largely unconscious and unintended by the actors" (Cohen 1974:8). When community members are questioned about what it means to be Yuchi, three themes continually surface: ancestors (blood), language, and ritual participation.¹⁰¹ Their answers are never explicitly stated as these three, but the unconscious association between the necessary condition (ancestors) and two indices (ritual participation and language) surfaces in most any Yuchi gathering.

The ICC effort points to these same themes of identity in symbolic form. The 1957 Tribal Roll, created for the ICC effort, stands as the central symbolic interpretation of Yuchi identity. The roll records individuals whose ancestors were Yuchi people. This roll continues in use today in genealogical meetings aimed at identifying or validating Yuchi people's identity within the community.

Throughout petition litigation, the testimony and briefs become symbolic of the perceived distinctiveness of Yuchi identity for community members: Yuchi people are affiliated with but are not Creek people (Yuchi Tribe was member of the Creek Confederacy . . . a loose confederation of distinct tribes)¹⁰²; the persistent of negative reciprocity from the dominant polity toward the specific Yuchi community (Yuchi gave assistance to the U.S. government in the Creek War of 1813, but the government then extorted Yuchi land);¹⁰³ Yuchi uniqueness through the eyes of others (noted by travelers, scholars, government officials, and the testimony of S. W. Brown, Jr.).¹⁰⁴

The petition effort and the roll created for this effort symbolize the uniqueness of Yuchi identity, its persistence and resistance following WWII. It also symbolizes for the Yuchi people, the necessity of an interest group organizations to work for the community's welfare and not to seek personal gain by extracting more from the community than is taken from it. The most important strategy of the ICC effort was not its goal of economic or political benefit that eventually failed. The strength of the petition effort was to intensify Yuchi communications and interaction that in itself reinforced community identity.

Chapter IV

Title IV - Indian Education Act:

"You have to work together to accomplish anything. So that's what we must do."

("What the elders use to say" - Yon-shen 5/13/96)

Every decade is one of social upheaval, in some form or another. In the late 1960s and 1970s, some Indian people publicly displayed their disfavor with previous federal termination policies and the lack of economic opportunity. In 1969, a group of Native Americans seized Alcatraz claiming the abandoned area as their own. In 1972, another group seized the BIA headquarters in Washington, and in 1975 militants took over the town of Wounded Knee demanding the return of tribal lands. Most of these militants were born following WWII, and understood the world beyond their own tribal areas. The federal government responded with legislation and social programs aimed at eliminating poverty and discrimination. These policies included the Indian Civil Rights Act, Economic Opportunity Act, Manpower Development and Training Act, Indian Health Care Improvement Act, and the Indian Education Act, to name a few (O'Brien 1989:87-88). The government considered the Indians Education Act (Title IV of Public Law 92-318) "a major step" in the new policy of self-determination.¹ For the Yuchi, passage of this act supplied an opportunity to create a new interest group organization. An organization that would address the specific community goal of education but more importantly would furnish a methodology to bring the community together for interaction and identity reinforcement outside the confines of a restructuring and somewhat ineffectual Creek Nation.

The Creek government had essentially been abolished following allotment in 1906. Individual Tribal Towns strengthened during that time and had no desire to re-institute a Creek polity for federal government interaction fearing that such a federal relationship would undermine their sovereignty (Moore 1988: 181). BIA Director John Collier succeeded in having Congress pass the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act in 1936. This legislation was similar to the Indian Reorganization Act but acknowledged the unique legal status of Oklahoma Indians (Moore 1988:180, Opler 1972:3-9, 83-88). This act allowed Creeks to elect their own principal chief, adopt a new constitution, by-laws and the legislative body of the Muscogee Indian Council that lasted for fifteen years (O'Brien 1989:132).²

By the early 1950s, internal disagreements erupted within the Creek polity. The principal chief refused to acknowledge the council and constitution.³ The chief selected his own council that met until the term of the chief ended in the mid-1950s. The elected council continued to meet until their terms expired in 1955 at which time the termination era "was in full swing" (O'Brien 1989:132).

From the mid-1950s until 1970, the BIA appointed the principal chief for the Creek polity. With the increase in social programs under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and because of oil royalties compensation, the federal government saw the need to reinstate or reinforce a viable Creek polity to interact on behalf of Creek people regarding these new programs. The federal polity elected to create this new government from assimilated Lower Creek elites, bypassing traditional Tribal Towns (Moore 1988: 182). For the Creek polity, the 1970s were a time of restructuring under the Oklahoma

Indian Welfare Act. Creek Nation did not draft a new constitution until 1979, and did not become an effective functioning political entity until the mid-1970s (O'Brien 1989:133-37). In 1973, Claude Cox became the first elected Principal Chief in twenty years. Cox fit the federal criteria for a chief: he was assimilated and could work effectively with the federal government. According to Moore, the BIA had more than a little influence on Cox's successful election (Moore 1988:183-4). Until 1990, Cox held a tight rein on voter registration often changing the requirements and thus controlling the vote. "Tribal Towns people were denied the vote and denied access to employment and other programs sponsored by Creek Nation" (Moore 1988:184).

The election of Cox did not guarantee that Creek Nation would quickly reestablish governmental form and function. A Council and constitution were needed to comply with the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. During the process, Tribal Towns fought to retain their sovereignty. Their struggle is evident during the attempt to recreate the legislative branch of the Council. Two years after Cox's election, a notice to Creek Indians in 1975 from Phillip Deere, Fullblood Creek Chairman reads:

All members of the Muskogee (Creek) Tribe are urged to attend a very important meeting to be held Saturday, May 17, 1975 – 9:30 A. M. at Henryetta High School Auditorium . . .

In accordance with the original Creek Agreement the Creek tribal government expired on March 4, 1906 . . . the Repeal Act of April 26, 1906 provided that "Tribal existence continues . . . but Tribal Council shall not be in session for a longer period than 30 days in one year." This excerpt from the last article of the Repeal Act specifically recognizes the existence of the Tribal Council, and no act of Congress has ever abolished the Tribal Council or its authority.

The election of 1970 gave the Tribe only the right to select the Principal Chief by vote. This law does not give the Principal Chief the power or authority which remains with the Tribal Council . . .

The problems of the Creek Tribe lie in the absence of a Creek Council to represent 44 Tribal Towns . . .

Therefore, we must come together and organize a council that will represent you. The future of your generation depends on you.⁴

This notice indicates the concern among Tribal Town members of Creek Nation for fair representation with an underlying fear that the newly elected Principal Chief would exercise an unacceptable level of authority. Traditionally the Tribal Council consisted of elected representatives from each town within the polity. Town representation guaranteed each town a voice within the political structure (O'Brien 1989:126). The struggle continued until a traditional tribal town member Allen Harjo, a candidate who ran against Cox, filed and won a law suit against the BIA in 1978 (Moore 1988:184). The federal ruling stated that Tribal Towns were the only legitimate authority among the Creeks and ordered the Creek polity to disband. The court ordered the BIA to follow through on this directive. "The BIA, on the loosing side, promptly appointed Cox Interim Chief and bulldozed a new constitution which put things back exactly as they were before" (Moore 1988:184).

Much of the legislative reformation centered on electoral methodology for Council representatives. Many Creek people preferred a method of electing representatives from each of the five districts within the Nation. Others preferred the traditional election methodology from within tribal towns. This historic tribal town method had become problematic. Many tribal towns no longer had central ceremonial

centers. Of the forty-four tribal towns originally in place after removal, less than half continued to organize around ritual centers. The five districts became the more feasible boundaries for legislative representation. This new method no longer guaranteed the Yuchi community a voice on the Council. The Yuchi reside in dispersed locales that are included in two districts, Creek and Okmulgee, neither of which represent exclusively Yuchi people. As a tribal town, the Yuchi no longer had direct representation within the overarching federally recognized political structure of Creek Nation.

Because of the disarray within Creek Nation between the 1930s and early 1970s, most information accessible to the Yuchi people came directly from the BIA. "See the Creek Nation wasn't set up to get information from. (We) was gettin this information from Washington."⁵ Some Yuchi community members actually traveled to Washington to acquire information.⁶ Other data came from government officials in Oklahoma. One consultant noted that a woman from the BIA would come to the community once a month to assess the needs of the children. She made her contacts through the churches, in the case of many Yuchi through Pickett Chapel. From this information, the BIA would supply children and their families with assistance that included clothing and vouchers for other basic necessities.⁷ The BIA was the primary source for supplying Indian children with the basic needs for school until the 1970s. In 1972, the passage of the Indian Education Act under Title IV offered a new opportunity for the Yuchi community to provide better educational benefits for its children. This effort would require that the community form a new interest group organization to address this goal.

Perceived Goal: A Community Value

Yuchi men and women who raised families following WWII believed education within the larger system was important if their children were to lead successful lives. With the closing of Euchee Mission in 1948 and many other mission schools closing in the succeeding years, most Yuchi children attended public classrooms. Yuchi parents saw this as beneficial. One consultant notes that her mother felt school was extremely important. "She said its eventually goin to be a whiteman's world and she wanted us ready for the whiteman's world."⁸ The overall curriculum, including English as the primary language, became a value that parents sought for their children. In homes where family members spoke the Yuchi language, they rarely taught it to the young. This occurred, not because of the past fear of mission style punishments, but because the older generations did not perceive it as a necessary tool for survival.

Post WWII parents averaged 9.25 years of schooling for boys and 9.1 years for girls.⁹ Their children, born shortly before or after the war, increased their education by an average four years with 13.7 attained years of schooling for both boys and girls.¹⁰ Many completed high school and some went on to college where several graduated. Some attained post-graduate degrees. As articulated below by various community members, the focus on education became a primary goal within the community.

According to one parent with four children born after the war: "My son went into the navy. He was the only one, all my other children, all went to college. But he was the young one and he joined the navy after high school."¹¹ She voiced considerable pride that her children had obtained a good education. A man who grew up after WWII

noted: "What he (my father) was also saying was that it was important for us children to get a higher education, and thus be able to survive for one thing, and be more competitive and effective in the society as he was seeing it develop."¹²

The goals of these parents for education and thus survival in the post war world did not necessarily relate directly to the goals articulated within the dominant society. The dominant society's concept of a good education is to make one self-sufficient. For the Yuchi, education is for the benefit of the community at large, not the individual. This presents the Yuchi normative actions of reciprocity. A Yuchi community member is expected to provide through skills, material wealth, or other expertise the things necessary to insure community welfare (see Chapter 3). Many of those who attained college degrees and post graduate education are indeed using those skills to benefit the Yuchi community. One member, who acquired a CPA, has been instrumental in the community's organizational efforts. His skills furnished the expertise necessary for grant budgeting, for seeking non-profit status for interest group organizations, and for articulating the benefits offered by various governmental and educational agencies. A law school graduate works diligently on teaching the Yuchi language with classes that have met for several years. Another, who attained a Ph.D., works long hours to learn his native language and then teach the young. He is currently working on the creation of an interactive computerized program to teach a larger number of Yuchi people their native tongue.

People with formal educational expertise have become necessary as the community tries to make use of opportunities in the post-war society. These educated

individuals assist in the creation of interest group organizations that provide effective vehicles for interaction with the dominant society. The Yuchi worldview does not see education as an individual process, but as a dialectic between the person and his or her community. This concept was played out during an E.T.I. meeting in 1996. A community member with a graduate degree asked for a letter of support from the community for his assistance on a Yuchi language retention project. At times, E.T.I. grants such letters to scholars outside the community. A motion was made to acknowledge and give this tribal member general support for his efforts to preserve the language. The motion was seconded and discussed. One E.T.I. member noted that this person felt "snubbed" by one of the language classes currently ongoing and a letter of support would be helpful. Another member stated that as a community member this person should not need a letter as his efforts were on behalf of the community. The discussion took several minutes before a vote was called. The motion appeared to pass with only two dissenting votes. One of those votes was a loud NO. Chief Sen-chilah of Polecat Ground had voiced his clear disagreement with the motion. He had not previously entered the discussion although his daughter had voiced her disapproval. Chief Sen-chilah stated that this individual was part of the community. He further stated that the Yuchi community should not formally voice such support for a tribal member as he was part of the community and his participation in his area of expertise was expected to be given without formal acknowledgment. The motion was quickly dropped. Chief Sen-chilah was present for most E.T.I. meetings and only occasionally spoke to any issue and never in a loud voice. His presence alone was an acceptance of E.T.I. and its

workings. His clear disapproval of this tribal member's desire for separate recognition served as a reminder to all Yuchi people of their obligations to the community. As a central ritual leader he voiced the community norm of placing the community above the needs of the individual. The member's expertise was needed and used by the community, but it was not to be placed above a concern for the entire group. The interest group organization formed during the 1970s in response to Title IV follows this normative rule of community benefit over and above any concern for individual recognition.

The Offering:

By the 1970s, parents had experienced the affects of the post war educational system for their children. They also understood the problems inherent in the system that was now educating their grandchildren. Not all Yuchi youth were succeeding within the structure. Statistics supported the parents' concern that Yuchi and other Indian children were not receiving the same high level of education that others were afforded. Only 50 percent of all Indian children completed secondary school, only 17 percent attended college as opposed to 38 percent of the eligible students in the general population, and of those Indian children who enrolled in college only 4 percent graduated.¹³ According to a joint study by the BIA and the U.S. Department of Education, there were several key reasons why Indian children did not do as well as others:

Success in school required a proficiency in reading. Indian pupils performed consistently well on nonverbal tests but underachieved on standardized tests.

Conflict between social and cultural priorities placed Indian children between two opposing forces.

Poverty and limited education impaired Indian parents from participating in and reinforcing their children's education.

Not enough Indian educators and administrators were available who understood the needs of the Indian student.

Tests and grading standards did not accurately chart the skills and knowledge of Indian children.

Social conditions were deficient in terms of health care and social welfare services.¹⁴

On June 23, 1972 to combat these problems with Indian education, Congress passed into law The Indian Education Act (Title IV of Public Law 92-318).¹⁵ This act allocated monies over and above the limited funds appropriated annually for Indian education programs, earmarking the money for both children and their elders.¹⁶ Bureaucratically, the act created the Office of Indian Education with a Deputy Commissioner and a National Advisory Council made up of Native people appointed by the President. The Advisory Council was to insure that the program had Indian oversight in shaping and developing programs that would benefit Indian people. The act itself had five parts, three of which are of interest here (*italics added*):

Part A: for financial assistance to local educational agencies with 10 Indian children or 50% Indian children enrollment. These monies were to be used for supplementary educational programs designed to meet the needs of Indian students.

Part B: authorized a series of broad grant programs for special projects and programs to improve educational opportunities for Indian children. Grants would be made to Indian tribes, *organizations and institutions*, state and local education agencies, and Federally supported elementary and secondary schools for Indians. These grants required a *Parent's Advisory Council* consisting of at least 50% Indian parents of the children served.

Part C: awarded grants for Adult Indian education. Preference was given to Indian tribes, institutions and organizations.¹⁷

As the term *identifiable group* furnished a mechanism for organization in the ICC effort, two Title IV phrases *Indian organizations and institutions* and *Parent's Advisory Committee* allowed Yuchi people additional avenues to mobilize. As an Indian organization, they earmarked money for Yuchi educational effort. The Parent's Advisory Board brought together many geographically dispersed Yuchi people for discussion and interactions while serving as the formalizing vehicle for the interest group effort.

Nationwide Title IV Parent Advisory Councils were highly successful. For the year 1975, the Indian Education Commission reported a high level of parental involvement in planning, operation, and direct involvement under Section B grants. The Commission reported that these findings "suggests a movement away from making the Indian child fit the school system and toward making the school program conform to the Indian child's needs." The report acknowledged not only parental involvement in the Parent's Advisory Council, but the involvement of the community-at-large. This extended structure allowed for the strong familial ties that often bond the Indian child to grandparent or parents siblings more strongly than the biological parents.¹⁸ By the second year, 81 percent of the parent's committees reported the program to be effective. The Parent's Advisory Council stipulation provided an excellent avenue for Yuchi involvement and community interaction.

The Interest Group Effort: The Yuchi Community Organization:

Acting within the confines of an informal political interest group, the community formed a new organization. As in the ICC effort, it began with one person who brought together a small core group of workers. The larger community acknowledged the benefit and work of the interest group organization by becoming involved in its projects. This involvement required intense community interaction.

A devastating job related accident for one Yuchi church leader began the process in the 1970s. Yon-shen and his wife have seven children. Three were in their twenties in 1972, but four others were attending secondary school ranging from age seven to sixteen. They had one grandchild of school age when Congress passed Title IV. While raising his children, Yon-shen worked for one of the large glass plants in Sapulpa for fourteen years before leaving for more lucrative work in the oil fields as a pumper. While high up on an oil rig, fellow workmen accidentally threw a guide-wire over an electrical line resulting in Yon-shen being thrown to the ground. His injuries required an extensive hospital stay with partial disability that forced him to remain at home.

According to Yon-shen, this obligatory inactivity "got me down." His spirits lifted and life had new purpose when he read an article in a Tulsa newspaper concerning the Title IV educational possibilities. According to the article, there would be a meeting in Tahlequah to explain the workings of the program and the necessary criteria for acquiring money for Indian children's education. Yon-shen and his wife attended the information session. For Part A that supplemented children's classroom work, he discovered it was necessary to work through an educational institution. Yon-shen met

with the Sapulpa superintendent and school board. The school officials looked favorably on the prospect of acquiring Title IV assistance for Indian children.

In Norman, Oklahoma, the government held an informational meeting for superintendents and other school administrators. Among those in attendance was Kermit Tilford who would write the proposals for the Sapulpa school district and who became the first area director for Title IV. The Sapulpa superintendent persuaded Yon-shen to go with Tilford assuring him there would be many Indian people in attendance. When the two entered the Norman meeting, Yon-shen found himself to be "the only Indian in that whole group. And I told this black man (Tilford) I went with I said: 'I thought they told me there was gonna be a lot of Indians.' He laughed and said: 'You can't back out now, you're here' (laughter)." It was well Yon-shen attended, since the program sought the Native perspective to insure the success of the Title IV programs. He spoke to those present:

Well, the meeting got started and ah the director of that meeting got up and he spoke: "We all came here together to talk about this new program which is suppose to be in all the schools throughout the United States. Wherever there is Indian students goin to school its gonna be there. Well, they're havin same meetings elsewhere, all over. So, whatever comes up out of this meeting is gonna match with the other meetings and at the end the staff in Washington will look it over. It will come through the state, the superintendent of the state he'll be in there too, he'll be involved."

We was in there for about two one-half hours talkin. It seemed like what they was tryin to do they were tryin to work out a system. A lot of the superintendent were against that cause they said they didn't think it was right for a school to accept a program where it benefited only Indian students.

Leader asked: "Is there any Indian superintendent here? We want to get their version of it." Well, nobody got up. This old black man

got up and he said: "No, but we have one Indian here and he's pretty well up on education about getting things started in our community." So he introduced me. Gaah, boy, boy. And when he set down I told him: "If I had a cup of hot cocoa I'd just pour it over your head (laughter)."

But I got up and told them, well, I said: "Well, I don't know how to begin to tell you, said I'm a full-blood Indian, and ah, this is my first time I ever stood up in front of superintendents like this and talkin.

I said: "You peoples has master degrees, certificates, and all sorts which I don't have, but I think we all recognize the needs." I said: "All the students regardless of who they are, they all have need in the school system." I said: "Course now we look at it this way, when you are an Indian, and ah you get well acquainted with an Indian," I said, "you'll know more about their life and you'll know more about their needs, you will be more concerned about them."

I said: "For my part, that is what I have done, and I done a lot of research work on this program. We have families that not able to work, some have part-time job, and they have students going to school and they cannot buy the things that the school required from them. And then even whatever it is whether its in sports, and whether it in ah books, whether its a graduation ring or whatever, they not able to afford those things because they are just barely makin a livin."

"The kid goes without good clothes, so that's what I see in Indian people in my area." I tol them, I said: "These Indians you hear about they havin oil wells, they have good income, the government's supportin them, but this is not so."

I told them I said: "When I was goin to school, in the public school, ah, we didn't have buses to ride, we walk to school rain, shine, cold, or hot, we walk. We sit in a classroom with water just drippin off our head with wet clothes, with muddy shoes, we sit in a classroom. And ah, of course ah, some of the students came with raincoat, rain cap and their clothes was dry, but we couldn't afford that." I tol them.

"But now we have an opportunity right here in front of us that can help the Indian students, that we can be help, and its money that's not out of nobody's pocket here. This is a grant that's gonna help

not only the student but it will help the family also to kinda get on their feet. And so I think this program gonna be well worth our time."

And I said ah, I told them, I said before I sit down: "I'm gonna put all my one hundred percent of my time on this and my wife, she's involved just as much as I am." I said, "We gonna do all we can to get this promoted in our school system."¹⁹

This oration points to a number of dialectics occurring between the Indian communities and the white-run public schools. The government created Title IV with the understanding that the native view was an important part of the system. However, in this important early meeting in Norman, only one lone native voice was heard, that of Yon-shen. The system needed and desired change, but did not have procedures in place to make the necessary shifts to include an Indian perspective at all levels. When the meeting chair asked if any Indian superintendents were present, he must have been very poorly informed about those in attendance. The meeting was for school officials. Indeed, it would have been a rare case for a Native American to have held such a post in any public school system in Oklahoma during the 1970s. Education opportunities kept most Native people out of such positions. Yon-shen himself talked about his fear of attending the meeting. He felt his lack of higher education made him vulnerable and unable adequately to express his views to the other participants. The only reason these participants heard Yon-shen's voice that day was because of Tilford's effort. Tilford had worked with Yon-shen and understood his fear. At the same time, Tilford recognized the power of Yon-shen's oratory, and knew he was an excellent candidate for speaking about Indian problems. As part of the system, Tilford possessed the professional status

necessary to present Yon-shen. In turn, Yon-shen supplied the much needed native voice.

Most likely, this was the first time many of those present had heard the Indian perspective from a Native person. Yon-shen's quiet and unhurried speech presentations are so non-confrontational that people quickly pick up on his speech patterns and listen intently. Yon-shen opened his oratory by acknowledging that his education did not equate to those present, thus he acknowledged the expertise of the others. He quickly shifted the tone by showing that both they and he (as representing the Native voice) perceived the same problems and felt the same needs in relation the Indian children. This is the establishment point when Yon-shen and his audience exchanged "critical signs" of compatibility (Goffman 1961:13). In this way he equalized the perceived differences between speaker and listener and set them both on a course of mutual concern.

In his quiet way, Yon-shen dismissed the concept that all Indian children come from oil rich homes. It must be remembered that this meeting took place during the oil boom of the 1970s, when many outsiders viewed the Indians of Oklahoma as getting rich from royalty payments. He told of current conditions, and then his own childhood where Indian children had been and continued to be too poor to compete effectively in the public school system. These children could not afford the basic needs of education much less the extracurricular activities associated with sporting and social events. To any educator this condition would be unacceptable. Yon-shen assured his audience that if they would get to know their Indian students, they would see the problems inherent in the system as it stood. To fund these programs, Yon-shen reminded the group that there

were special grants available that would be an addition to their school budgets not a drain on their current funds. The school systems would have more money available to them that would enrich the entire system. By calling on the values of both worlds, Yon-shen presented the Indian voice articulating the Indian children's needs in a non-confrontational manner.

Throughout his speech, Yon-shen shifted the meeting focus away from the potentially detrimental discussion of discrimination, and moved it to common ground, the education of children. By formulating a program to give Indian children a better chance at success these educators would be performing the job they were trained to accomplish. Yon-shen is one of the few individuals able to mediate effectively between the Yuchi and White worlds. He is able to blend the two worlds for the benefit of the Yuchi people. One or more persons with this quality are necessary in any interest group association that works on goals outside the immediate community. In order to secure the community goals these individuals must understand the explicit rules of the game that are made and implemented by the dominant polity. Otherwise, the cultural misunderstandings become too great to bridge the gap between Yuchi and White players. Yon-shen relied on his experience with the dominant culture with a wide diversity of people he met while in the military and when working in the wage-labor market. This knowledge blended with his unique oratory skills furnished the community with an advocate who understood and could articulate Yuchi concerns to the White world and in turn White concepts and opportunities to the Yuchi people. Others who served in the military and labor jobs were able to articulate the dominant societies concepts to Yuchi

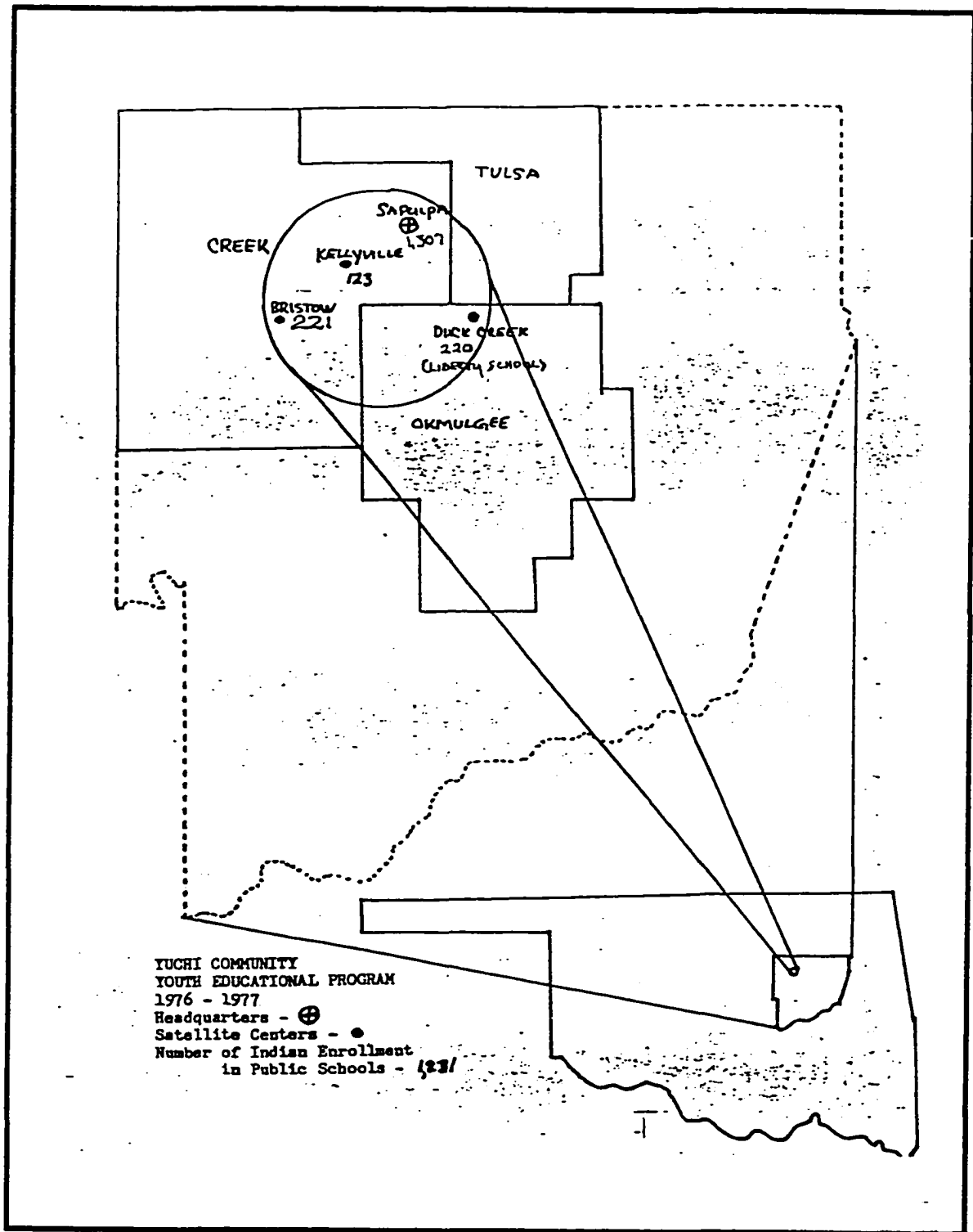
people, but only a few such as Yon-shen can articulate clearly Yuchi needs and concepts to the dominant culture.

To acquire clear understanding of Title IV Part B that required community interaction, Yon-shen and his wife attended several workshops for training in the procedures necessary to establish a Parent's Advisory Council. Yon-shen was aware that this effort would work only if the Yuchi community showed an interest and willingness to join in the effort. He said: "Course this well ah, you know what we was lookin at (under Title IV, Part B) we had to present it to the community and if the community wanted it, then all right, we carry it on." This procedure continues today. If the community sees no value in the proposed goal, there is no need for an individual or interest group organization to continue in its pursuit. The community will not respond and the interest group effort will never succeed. As noted in Chapter 3, communal authority is the normative authority within the community. Without validation and support from the community the goal earmarked by Yon-shen could not be successful.

Because the community perceived the Title IV programs to be advantageous, meetings were called in the areas of Yuchi residence to discuss the possibilities. These meetings took place in private homes in Duck Creek, Bristow, and Sapulpa where Yon-shen explained the potential benefits for Yuchi children.²⁰ The map below comes from a Title IV proposal in 1976 and depicts the areas of Yuchi settlement and the four school districts affected: Sapulpa, Kellyville, Bristow, and Duck Creek (Liberty Schools). The map notes the central location of Sapulpa where the interest group group first organized and the subsequent satellite areas that formed from Yuchi involvement in

Title IV. These are the same general geographic locations where the Yuchi have resided since removal.

Map 4.1
Title IV Part A Proposal Map for 1976-77²¹



These designated map areas were the places of Yuchi residence. This residence pattern has been consistent from removal through allotment and into the 1990s (Wallace 1993:65). By law, Title IV proposals could not be written exclusively for Yuchi children. They were for the benefit of all Indian children in a given school district. By focusing exclusively on areas of Yuchi residence, the community insured that Yuchi children directly benefited under Title IV. The map boundaries are clearly symbolic of Yuchi activity with the central organization around Sapulpa and the satellite communities:

Well, we went to Duck Creek, we went to Kyaw-gaw's house, we went over and held a meeting there, explained it to them about this program and how they could get involved in it. I said you gotta get organized and we get things goin for your community and programs, projects.

So then we went to Kellyville, and done the same thing. Then we went to Bristow, we done the same thing there. And they all got organized.²²

As with the ICC effort the community began to interact outside the ceremonial and church ritual centers. Communications between members intensified as they made decisions concerning the education status and opportunities for Yuchi people. As noted in various minutes presented in the next section, these meetings were a time to discuss Yuchi distinctiveness and cultural ways. The meetings included all the areas of Yuchi residence and corresponded with the ceremonial ground locations and the two churches. Title IV interaction between the school districts and related residences becomes an analytical unit for community study. It shows that although the community is and has

been somewhat geographically disperse, it continues to find new ways to create intense face-to-face encounters and frequent group interaction.

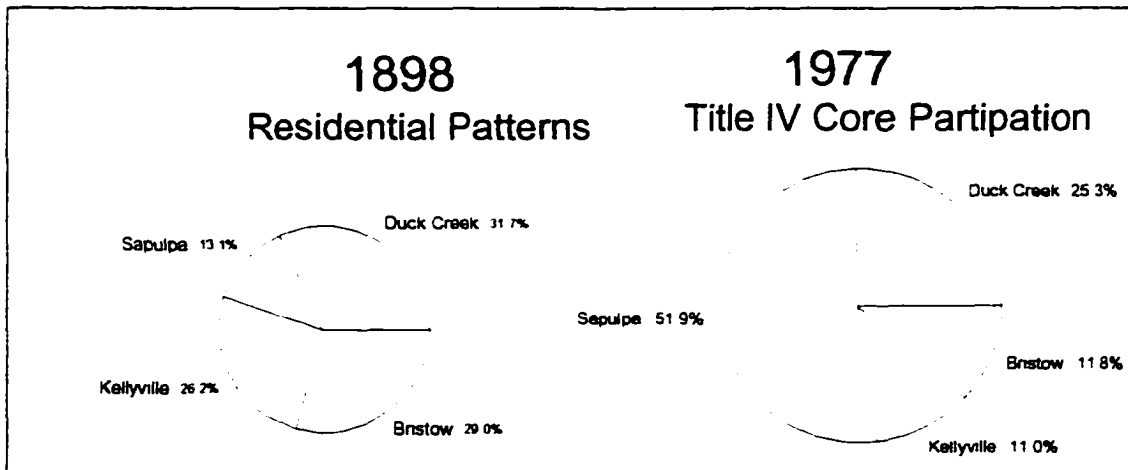
The intensity of meetings grew as the Title IV programs progressed with more and more Yuchi people involved in the meeting process and the opportunities created by the interest group effort (see Table 4.1). Community meeting minutes that have survived record twenty-three meetings with at least an additional twenty to thirty satellite meetings between September 1975 and October 1981. The classes offered for children and adults include a much larger total of Yuchi people involvement although no record exists of numeric proportions. These meetings and the educational opportunities they afforded brought Yuchi people together for decision making, discussion of identity, and for close interaction with others. Intense communication is a necessary ingredient for any political group and certainly for the informal interest group:

This is particularly important if the members of a group are scattered in different residential and employment places, as is often the case in large cities and in modern industrial society generally . . . it is only when the members of the group exchange messages, pool their separate experiences, discuss their problems and identify the common denominator of these problems, that it is possible for them to develop a common policy and to coordinate their activities accordingly. (Cohen 1974:75)

With Title IV, the occasions to communicate and to come together became a drawing card for frequent community interaction. The goals of the Title IV projects drew together all age groups. The effort began much as the ICC effort with visits in homes. This method soon became unfeasible for the large number of people involved. Community meetings in a central locale became the venue. Here, participants represented all historic residential areas forming a cohesive Yuchi community unit. The

graph below depicts the known Yuchi residential pattern in 1898 with a comparison to the core participation in meetings by location for the Title IV effort.²³

Figure 4.1
Comparison in Geographic Pattern



The graph shows a consistent pattern between the known central areas of Yuchi residence in 1898 and the Title IV meeting participants places of residence in the 1970s.²⁴ The percentages vary between the locales, but the consistency of residence areas is clear. Yuchi people from all four central areas participated in the Title IV effort. The inconsistency in percentages between the two data sets can be attributed to a number of variables. The residence areas for the 1898 data were based on known post office locations, those locales have shifted with new post office locations and expanded city boundaries. Sapulpa dramatically increased in percentage for the 1970s. This can be attributed to several factors: the increased city boundaries, the shift from rural to urban as Yuchi people moved to Sapulpa to work in the two glass factories and other wage-labor jobs, and the fact that the central location for the Title IV effort was in this city.

A substantial number of elders attended these community meetings (see Figure 4.3). Yon-shen often asked them to supply the prayer for the meeting stating: "I use to try and get the elder people to say the prayer. The elder people they done a lot and have good thoughts." Elders hold the highest respect within the Yuchi community. Their years of living and interpreting their experiences supplied wisdom for the younger generations. This communal joining of young, middle-age, and elders in various projects such as Title IV creates a strong binding community that crosscuts family structures, and that supports the various efforts of the community. A great deal of validation for community endeavors comes from elders beginning involved and articulating their approval. When speaking of Title IV, Yon-shen recalled the voice of Yuchi elders:

They all use to get up and say: "Something had to come cause there wasn't nothin here for us." They use to say that, then this program (Title IV) come in.

We begun to be recognized, all the (Yuchi) communities being organized and workin together.

That's what the old folks say: "You have to work together to accomplish anything. So that's what we must do.

Yon-shen expresses the frustration of the elders who saw no help for the Yuchi within the confines of Creek Nation until Title IV. These wisdom bearers then articulated the ideal of communal work and identity. Working together is to be Yuchi. It is only through routine communication that cooperation arises to reinforces identity.

During the first year under Part A, the Sapulpa school systems received \$12,000 to enhance learning for Indians students. By the second year, the amount "soared to over \$200,000."²⁵ With the first year's grant money, the Yuchi's Title IV organization

rented a portion of the Creek Nation's health clinic building.²⁶ This leased space supplied a meeting area that could accommodate a community gathering. The building was in a deplorable condition. "That building was just about gone, windows out, floor had holes in it, walls, ceiling broke in, it was a mess." With prospects of Title IV funding, the community hoped to build a new community center.

A large number of community members took advantage of adult education under Parts B and C. Part B furnished broad grants for several programs while Part C focused on Adult Education. Under Part B, the community purchased a van to drive children and adults to various gatherings. Under Part B, the community established the first *Indian Heritage Day Pow Wow* celebrated in the Sapulpa schools. This festival continues today, and is enjoyed by white and Indian alike. Such was not the case during the first celebration. The white community feared there would be violence from such a large gathering of Native people. Yon-shen described this uncertainty and its eventual outcome:

Boy, and the people round they thought, you know, ah they thought it was gonna be just a rough deal, rough thing, you know, there gonna be fightin, drinkin.

They had the police out there, just walkin around, in cars, in the parkin lot, everything. We done that about two years, somethin like that. I got acquainted with these policemen. And ah well, I got acquainted with them before, they's kinda treatin Indian boys kinda rough Well, so I went and talked to them. So I got acquainted with them and ah then the (Indian) parents they got involved in somethin, they come and ah they wanted me to go and talk to them (the police).

So we use to do it that way. So now, about the second or third year began ah they quit comin around. I told them " You all don't

have to come around, we are all right" I said. So they don't come around. All they got is the Creek Nation lighthorsemen there.

So anyway, we been carrin that dance on ever since.

This story points again to misunderstandings between two worlds, white and Indian, and the type of leadership needed within interest group organizations. Yuchi parents involved with the Title IV project became concerned over the rough treatment of their children by the white police force. Yon-shen acted as mediator, this time between law enforcement and the community. His ability to articulate the concerns of both worlds in a non-confrontational manner pacified both sides and solved a potentially volatile problem. Had Yon-shen been unable to mediate the situation, his own credibility in both the Yuchi community and the white community would have been badly damaged.

For children, the work of the Yuchi community under Title IV Part A furnished necessities, as well as items to enhance their education including: clothing, senior rings, sports equipment, and the annual *Heritage Day Pow Wow*. According to people in the Yuchi community today, over-zealous law officials continue to be problematic.

Arbitrarily being stopped by a state or local law officer after an all night stomp dance is an all too frequent occurrence. Today, the community has no avenue to address that concern.

Yon-shen knew the leaders of the ICC effort and their difficulties when the community perceived they were taking more from the community than they were able to return. Yon-shen learned from their mistake and was able to call upon an additional quality that insured that his work was not self-seeking but community centered. His life-long ritual participation taught him well the normative value of community-centered

leadership and the reciprocity necessary for this role. As a young child he lived with his grandmother and attended Polecat ceremonial ground. His grandmother camped there each year and was instrumental in helping move the ground to a new location. Until ten years of age he camped and participated in the summer rituals performing the duties of a poleboy and taking medicine. Much of his early socialization came from ceremonial grounds that espoused Yuchi ideals and assisted in identity formation (see Chapter 1).

Upon his mother's return from living in "Cheyenne country" he participated in the Native American Church held at her home. "It was mostly other tribes, I guess there were ten or twelve Yuchis but it was mostly other tribes. See it was just beginning here with the Yuchis."²⁷ During this time when his ritual life was outside of Yuchi specific ceremonies, Sundays at his mother's home became a central meeting place for Yuchi people:

Then Sunday mornin come when we weren't goin to church then.

Then Sunday morning we had a great big elm tree in the yard and Sunday mornin my brother Jimmie, he had an orange crate and a little table and he put that orange crate on that. He got his clippers, comb, and scissors and farmers all come around Sunday mornin to get their hair cut. We put chairs out there under the tree you know. They'd sit around there and they'd talk until they all get their hair cut.

Then at the noon time, my mother she'd be bakin pies, cakes, and thing like that. And 1:00 come and here come the rest of them. The people that went to church you know. Well, they come there, neighbors you know, and some others.

We had a ball diamond right there where the hay field is. We had a big pond and right next to it we had a ball diamond. They all pitched in and built a backstop, we all built that.

And on Sunday, Sunday at 1:00 they put their food together and they ate, then after that they played ball. They played baseball. Then we had a set of horse shoes and they played horse shoes.

And the women they watched games and they sat around and they talked. Evenin come and the people go home you know, then that night.²⁸

As a child the ceremonial grounds brought him into contact with the Yuchi community and the reinforcement of Yuchi identity. When he returned to live with his mother who was active in the Native American Church, Yuchi community participation continued on Sundays. The entire afternoon and early evening hours were filled with Yuchi people interacting. These get-togethers were common affairs among Yuchi people during which time routine communications occurred between community members. Discussions included the specific men and women's roles in the community; children listening to the stories of their elders; concerns with Creek Nation politics; new births, marriages and deaths that had occurred in the community; ritual church and grounds activities; and general discussions that reinforced Yuchi identity.

A few years later he began attending Pickett Chapel with his family. Following his return from WWII church members elected him to Chair the Methodist men's group. Meeting frequently, this group was very involved in church life. "What we use to do, we join together and we have a cook out, we sell food, we have breakfast together, make visitation and we just kept busy." Yon-shen just recently gave up this position feeling it was time for younger men to assume the responsibility. Yon-shen remains an active participant at Pickett Chapel and is the church's official historian.

Yon-shen never became a central church leader like his father who was a preacher nor did he hold a high position in the ceremonial grounds. He has remained active in ritual participation all his life where he learned the values of the community and was socialized into Yuchi traditions. Today, Yon-shen is among the central elders who the community greatly respects and listens closely to as he teaches Yuchi values to the younger generations (see Chapter 6). Unlike the leaders of the ICC effort, the community views Yon-shen as a interest group leader who is known to uphold the moral values of the community.

In 1988, the National Indian Education Association honored Yon-shen as "Elder of the Year." Letters of affirmation for Yon-shen to the NIEA came from a wide cross-section that include Creeks, Yuchis, whites, and blacks. These letters supported Yon-shen's nomination, but more importantly, they spoke to the type of leadership necessary and expected within the Yuchi community:

He is a man of integrity and high moral standards. He cares about others. He is not an aggressive leader but more of a quiet one. But when he speaks, things get still and everybody listens. That is how much respect others have for his good judgment and honesty.²⁹

He always tried to do the right thing regardless of pressures by various groups.³⁰

Those Indian students that are doing so well in school and after graduation owe a lot to their parents and community but also to the wisdom, loyalty and courage of Senior Elder - Yon-shen.³¹

He was not only a tireless worker for our program, but he was also an inspiration to us all to see to it that Indian children received every benefit and opportunity that could be provided.³²

He has not looked for recognition for his accomplishments, but simply a better educated people.³³

He is an honest man in his business dealings and respected among his peers.³⁴

He has proven to be an able leader, always putting the needs of others before himself, giving of his time, talent and efforts generously to serve others.³⁵

These letters of affirmation state the necessary qualities for a Yuchi leader, as well as one who takes the reigns of a successful interest group organization. These same characteristics are found among ground and church leaders: quiet, fair-minded, honest, having integrity and wisdom, high moral standards, devoted to family, loyalty, tireless, never seeking self recognition, and most importantly putting the needs of the community first.

Successful leaders of interest group organizations must at times function as "moral leaders" who hold up the community's ideals, but who never take on the roll of chief or preacher. Leaders such as Yon-shen have no actual authoritative power only the power of persuasion that is reinforces by espousing and demonstrating the moral standards of the community. In the Title IV case, the moral ideal was the right to a good education, a value espoused by both the white and the Indian communities. The Yuchi community had learned from the ICC effort that more than outside expertise was needed in its central interest group leaders. This transactional leadership process expanded beyond the scope of Bailey's (1969) definition of purely economic/political to include leaders who held no ritual positions but who practice the moral codes and who uphold the community's normative values in their transactional work.

Under Title IV Part C, the Yuchi organization established a variety of adult education opportunities. These included instruction in the Yuchi language, an index of Yuchi identity. Class notes that surfaced recently record that the language class met every Tuesday and Thursday from 7:00 PM to 9:30 PM. This one class supplied an additional five hours of face-to-face interaction, and it was only one of the many classes offered.³⁶ Other offerings included GED, sewing, driving, typing, and silversmithing. These classes remain in the memory of current Yuchi people who discuss them within the framework of being Yuchi. The classes provided skills and training for every age adult:

I mean there was old folks, you could go up there, up to the sewing night, you could see them elder people on sewing machines, sewing.

And then some of them, said they'd like to get in on typin like the middle-age people you know. Well, I got with the school, I worked with the school and we paid the instructor \$7.00 per hour to teach a typin class. We went in there (the school). They signed up, and those people that signed up there was six started out with, (increased over each night to) thirty-five. We had enough typewriters and enough room. Then the third night, there's people come up there sign up we didn't have enough room, we didn't have enough typewriters. We had to go to different offices and bring in typewriters. We had fifty-one.

We had fifty-one people taking typing. And right today, I meet people, you know, ah, at different places, you know, you know they said they always remind me of that time they took typing class, if it hadn't been for that they said they wouldn't have got a job.

You can just stand back, I just see all them Indians typing some old, some middle-aged. That was somthin.

And then the silvermith class, it was mostly teenagers.

We had drivers-license classes, we had that too. We had that on Friday afternoon. In the GED, we gave out twelve certificates.

The above analysis by Yon-shen indicates the effectiveness of the Title IV Part C efforts. The core group of workers provided educational benefits for the entire Yuchi community while offering frequent venues to maintained routine communications between members. Not only were Yuchi people meeting together for specific learning opportunities, but to socialize and interact with other members. Many of the elders who attended the language class and the sewing classes were already proficient in these skills. Title IV offered them the opportunity to be with other Yuchi people for interaction and socializing on a more frequent basis.

From 1976 to 1979, Title IV provided funds to meet certain goals sought by the interest group organization for the Yuchi people. These goals brought the community together regularly through several venues. The Parent's Advisory Council met every week and presented its activities at regular community meetings. Individual community members met one or more nights a week for instruction in one of the classes. Minutes for a number of community meetings have survived and provide a glimpse of the community interaction at the time.³⁷ Many subjects are discussed including the history and contemporary meaning of being Yuchi.

The Meetings: Community Decision Making and Identity Reinforcement

There are essentially three stages in political decision making. This first is to identify the problem through the available sources and communication. Second is deliberating on possible solutions. Third, decisions are made for the benefit of the whole

group (Cohen 1974:76). This process is presented here through the minutes of the interest group group.³⁸

The chief of Polecat ground, George Watashe, and Yon-shen, a church leader, called a meeting for September 28, 1975.³⁹ A meeting called by moral leaders of the community validated the meeting for the community members whether they were church people or grounds participants. Such validation furnished the interest group organization with the necessary backing by the ritual leaders who maintain the moral standards of the community.

The minutes of this September meeting are headed *Euchee Tribal Meeting*.⁴⁰ The meeting was to inform the community about the possibilities under Title IV, Parts B and C. The minutes reflect that \$89,000.00 had been allocated under Part A for the current year. Yon-shen then outlined the possibilities under part B that would include a community center, and under Part C adult education classes. This first meeting was also a venue for the community to voice other concerns. One such issue was the white population's perception of Indian people. After the first Heritage Day Pow Wow, a local paper noted that Indians had damaged the gym floor. According to the minutes: "The news article was written to sound demeaning and degrading to all Indians. The general feeling of the tribe was that the item was in poor taste." In this meeting the first lines of communication opened around the prospect of Title IV for the Yuchi community. At the same time, the community voiced its concern with a common problem beyond the stated goal. Subsequent meetings follow this initial pattern of discussions concerning Title IV

followed by other concerns in the Yuchi community. Title IV is the perceived reason to meet, but other concerns frequently become the central focus of discussion.

A month later on October 11, 1975, the meeting participants discussed the Title IV prospects. They also voiced concern over the new Creek constitution, and Yuchi representation on the new Council. The community had found a venue to discuss its goals for better education, and to express unease with its encapsulated status. The members clarified the specific type of individuals who should represent them on the new Creek Council. These people should be elders. The Yuchi people hold their elders in great esteem as culture bearers who have the wisdom necessary to interact within the Creek Nation for the benefit of the Yuchi:

(For the Creek council position) selection should be thoughtful and meaningful responsibility of all members, not a chosen few . . . We should ask the older tribal members to share the knowledge of their years with the youth of our people, by the same token select one of our older people to represent us.

Middle-age and elders attended these first two documented meetings. By January of 1976, these members continued to be present, but with the addition of younger adults in their twenties and thirties (see Figure 4.3). The majority of these young adults had succeeded in completing high school and college. The meeting discussion centered on Title IV Part B, and whether to seek funding on their own or with the Creek Nation. The participants discussed three possible methods to receive funding: 1) by incorporating the Yuchi Tribe as a non-profit organization, 2) by allying directly with the Creek Nation efforts, 3) or by seeking federal recognition for the Yuchi Tribe. The group decided there was not sufficient time to file with the Creek Nation application.

They would do the necessary preliminary work and file for Part B as a separate organization. Representatives were chosen from each residential area to form planning committees (Parent Committees) for Part B (see Table 4.3).

A week later on January 10, 1976, a tribal meeting took place at Yon-shen's home to further discuss Part B. The group decided to call the Title IV activities *Yuchi Community Educational Program* with Sapulpa the central locale and Duck Creek, Bristow, and Kellyville satellite centers. The group brainstormed ideas for the Title IV programs including: tutoring, adult education programs, GED classes, bi-lingual classes, transportation logistics, and drop-out prevention. This meeting led to a series of weekly meetings in which the number of people in attendance increased each time.⁴¹ The first planning meeting on January 10, 1976 had eight Yuchi in attendance, the next had seventeen, and the following twenty (see Table 4.1 and Figure 4.4). Word circulated, and the Yuchi community responded to the effort in ever increasing numbers. The meetings were always opened with a prayer, usually in the Yuchi language. Those in attendance included men and women from both the church and grounds. The age of this core group ranged from people in their thirties to those in their sixties and seventies.⁴²

During these first community meetings, the three satellite areas reported their specific needs and assessments of Title IV possibilities for their own area. A representative from Sapulpa noted that there was a 78 percent drop-out rate among Indian children in that school district. A Bristow representative stated that their members felt the proposal should address pre-school children. A key representative for the Duck Creek area noted that there were sixty children in the Liberty Mounds school

district that were 1/4 blood quantum or more and that of the entire student population at least 50 percent were at least 1/64. This same representative noted he "was making an effort to get all the parents in the community involved in discussing the different parts of Title IV and urgin all to communicate with one another."⁴³ Another member stated that the Parent Committees "are the backbone of all programs and they should have input in everything that is for the good of the community."

By articulating various local concerns, the community could make decisions that were in the best interests of the entire group. This coalescing process then became a ritual of solidarity. These early meetings show the evolution of an idea into the formation of a interest group organization that was a vehicle for community interaction. Workers within the organization became the *core* for the effort, and those who participate in the benefits were the *followers* with both groups being *supporters* of the overall project.⁴⁴ It is advantageous to the interest group to include as many of the supporters in the core as possible to decrease the possibilities of opposition and to keep the lines of communication open for all members. The division of the group into the traditional geographic areas of residence further decreased the problem of factionalism. By forming subordinate cores in these geographic locations, and coalescing their efforts under the aspics of the community meetings, the community conceived its efforts as beneficial for the whole. The concept of the "Yuchi community" as an entity became the ideological tie that bound the members through interaction to each other, a value expressed by the wisdom of Yuchi elders.

On February 28, 1976, the group formalized the core effort, defined the areas of responsibility and participation, and articulated the concept of being Yuchi by developing a formalized set of by-laws. During this meeting, one of the young college educated members detailed the budget and program objectives:

1. Hiring the official staff, develop a central office and one staff conference room in each community.
2. Provide counseling and career guidance in each of the four communities.
3. Establishing a learning resource center.
4. Educational and cultural activities.
5. Youth Leadership Course.

The minutes reflected that "the Project Director would be in charge over the whole area know as the *Yuchi Community*" (italics added) and that:

- a. There would be one representative from each of the satellite centers, who knows each community's needs and community involvement.
- b. The parents need to come in and participate.
- c. Each area representative should sit in with the School Board at their meetings and report back to the Parent Committee.

Discussion then ensued concerning the structure of the organization. In order to receive grant monies, whether incorporated or not, the organization had to develop by-laws.

These by-laws are interesting in that they center on the Yuchi community, but carefully note the community's inclusion within the Creek Nation. The Yuchi did not choose to make the same mistake as the interest group organization did during the ICC hearings that created an adversarial relationship with the Creek Nation. All the workers on this effort were Yuchi people who were concerned with their specific community's needs.

Also, to comply with the law, they carefully worded their efforts to include other Creek

or Indian people living in their area. The by-laws speak directly of being Yuchi, while concurrently including others. A portion follows:

Name: Yuchi Community Organization

Geographic Location: in the Sapulpa area with additional concentration in the Duck Creek, Kellyville, and Bristow areas.

Purposes:

Primary purpose shall be to establish an organizational structure for the Yuchi Community and other Indians living within the designated area

To be the official community organization of the Yuchi Tribe within the Creek Nation

Membership:

Voting membership shall be composed of Yuchi and other members of the Creek Nation of at least one-fourth (1/4) degree of Yuchi and/or Creek blood quantum, living within the designated area, and *any other Yuchi members of the same blood quantum.*

Non-voting membership shall be comprised of all other Indians living within the designated area, of at least one-fourth (1/4) degree blood quantum.

This document further designates various offices, elections, and meeting times. The first officers elected included a church leader as President and ground leaders and active participants as vice-president, Secretary, and Treasurer. By selecting leadership from within ritual areas, the community entrusted the work of interest group organization to those who uphold community values. These ritual settings continually reinforce Yuchi norms and identity. The document shows clearly that this organization was composed exclusively of Yuchi people working to improve conditions within their own community. Their concerns did not exclude, but did not focus on, others within Creek Nation or any

other Native American people. These by-laws were a formal statement of community cohesion and identity.

The by-laws and committee structure were attempts to formalize the Yuchi community for interaction with the dominant society. Such documents symbolize political organizations, and are necessary manifestations of communities that seek to interact with a formalized bureaucracy. By adopting the correct form, the Yuchi were attempting to move from their informal interest group status to one of legitimate formal relations. It is their encapsulated political status that was their undoing. No matter their form, under the legalistic standings, they did not formally exist as a political entity until either the federal or Creek polity acknowledged them as such. During this era of Creek Nation's restructuring, there was a brief window of opportunity where Yuchi political forces functioned as a formal recognized unit.

By May of 1976, the Title IV organization held its meetings in a large vacant room of the Sapulpa Indian Clinic building. This is the building Yon-shen spoke of as being in horrible disrepair. A lot of physical labor and a profitable trip to Washington to meet with Congressman Risenhoover transformed the building into a usable place to meet and work as a community:

And I went to Risenhoover's office. And you know the funniest thing, I never forget that, when I went to his office, you know the doors opened, the halls open, I just walked right on through, right on up to his office. No security stopped me, nobody searched me nor asked for my ID nor anything.

Yeah, I went right to his office. Anyway . . . I tell him I said: "We sure need help."

I said ah: "We don't have a place to meet, we don't have anything."
I said, and I said "We need a place to meet." And I said ah: "We
got a place but we gotta have some money to ah operate on."

And you know he got on that phone and he called the finance
department and he got \$10,000, it just take five minutes.

Okay, that \$10,000 we got we used that to rent that (building
space) from Creek Nation.

And a so, anyway with that grant we lowered the ceiling down, we
painted the room, put new floors and windows in it, we put a
heating system in it, and everything, we put carpet in it, it really
made a difference.⁴⁵

This meeting with Representative Risenhoover acknowledged this brief period of formal
organization with direct access to the dominant political structure and its available funds.
Not only did Yon-shen visit Risenhoover, but the Congressman was present at the
September 25, 1976 meeting in Sapulpa.⁴⁶ This first attempt at formal organization
articulated the groups' distinctiveness, methods of communication, decision making,
authority, and ideology. This formalization is the most efficient type of organization
structure found in industrial societies (Cohen 1974:67).

The first part of the meeting on May 22, 1976 dealt with the organization's
responsibilities with respect to Creek Nation. The meeting quickly turned to a topic that
would be discussed frequently in the coming year: federal recognition for the Yuchi
Tribe. One of the younger college educated members explained the recognition process
and suggested "we take a vote of the people on whether we wanted federal recognition
while remaining under the auspices of the Creek Nation." The minutes reflect the
subsequent discussion:

female church member: I am in favor of our being recognized as a
tribe by the federal government in the event of the dissolution of the

Creek Tribe (while this may not be likely, we would be ready to step forth as a tribe of our own).

male ground leader: I use to hear the older people talk to us as a young man, and we should have these people with ability in our own tribe to step forth and lead us and not always be hanging on to another tribe to conduct our business for us.

male ground leader: The Creeks have their own language and the Yuchis have their own language. This is one time we have the chance to do something for ourselves. There has been some confusion in that some people have the idea that we are trying to pull away from the Creeks. This is not so. I am in favor of this federal recognition of our tribe.

male ground participant: If the Yuchis can be federally recognized, this is the time to do it; without losing any of the benefits we presently enjoy. This is an opportune time.

male church leader: Maybe we should meet in some of the other areas (to discuss this topic) because there are a lot more Yuchis than we have here, it might be more convenient for others to attend our meetings.

male ground leader: I would like to express my appreciation to (the young college educated male) for his unwavering efforts to get our people recognized he made trips at his own expense and took a lot of time to do this for us.

This interplay explains a great deal about the organization of the group, its validation by ritual leaders, and the necessity of having interest group organization leaders who have the expertise to understand and manipulate the dominant power structure. In the above discussion, a church leader brought forward the issue of federal recognition. It took the expertise of a college educated individual to articulate the process for the community. Both grounds and church leaders expressed their views giving sanction to the effort. The final statement, made by a prominent ritual leader of the grounds, legitimized the effort of this young interest group leader ("I would like to express my appreciation . .

.").⁴⁷ Following his statement a motion was made, seconded, and unanimously carried to seek federal recognition for "our people as the Yuchi Tribe." The motion was then to be re-affirmed at the next meeting that would be held in Bristow at the home of the Chief of Sand Creek ceremonial ground. Here, people from that area could discuss this particular issue. Actions taken by moral leaders during the May meeting point to normative concepts of Yuchi life based on ideology and cooperation. These consensual actions emphasize the solidarity of group identity.

By June 1976, the interest group organization formed a Parent Advisory Council to "communicate with the Yuchi Community members from the four communities and bring the needs of the students to the attention of the Yuchi Title IV staff." This advisory group consisted of one parent from each of the four communities. They organized people from each community, and then reported back monthly at the community meetings. The composition of these four consisted of one woman and three men with one church member and three grounds people.

In turn, each of the four areas had a community chairman, vice-chair, and secretary (see Table 4.3). The composition of the officers in the Sapulpa area was three women and one man, all church people. However, the central Sapulpa area also had a woman treasurer who was a grounds person. Duck Creek area had three men and one woman all grounds persons. Kellyville area had three men and one woman all grounds persons, and Bristow had three men two church and one marginal grounds persons with the position of secretary unfilled as of June. The total composition is reflective of the overall community. Of the fifteen positions, women held five (33 percent) and men held

ten (67 percent). Women held all secretary positions. One woman was the advisory board representative and another the vice-chair for Sapulpa.⁴⁸ Men held all other leadership roles. Having observed the Yuchi community, this is consistent with today's patterns. Women are very active and often vocal, but the roles they assume are not as titled leaders. Six persons (40 percent) represented the churches and nine (60 percent) represented the grounds. Being the largest in terms of membership, the grounds would be more likely to have more representatives on these area parent committees (see Chapter 3 Tribal Roll affiliation).

Title IV funded several programs under Parts B and C for the Yuchi community. Creek Nation administered the funds, but under the oversight of the Yuchi interest group organization.⁴⁹ The meeting of October 23, 1976 again addressed the issue of incorporation so that Title IV funds could come directly to the Yuchi community. Such action would cut the overhead costs absorbed by Creek Nation, and put the monetary flow directly into the hands of the Yuchi community. Similar to the previous discussion, a member suggested that four communities vote on the issue at the next meeting.

The November 1976 meeting reported on various programs under the grant and then addressed incorporation of the Yuchi Tribe. Attorney Goldesberry was present to briefly explain several options for incorporation: 1) Under Oklahoma Statutes for Non-profit, 2) 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, 3) Yuchi Tribal Town as federally and tribally reorganized band of Creek Nation, 4) Yuchi Tribe Federally Recognized either administratively or by Congressional Enactment. The lawyer suggested that items three and four were the "best way to go at the present time." Following his presentation "Mr.

Goldesberry answered questions as they were applicable to our situation." The lawyer's presentation and the question/answer session is one of many such meetings that reinforces the concept of community and individual identity. To be Yuchi, was not to be designated as Creek either by themselves or by others.

Principal Chief of Creek Nation, Claude Cox attended the January 22, 1977 meeting for a question and answer session. The first issue concerned procedures necessary to apply for housing through Creek Nation. Questions followed concerning possible taxable items to rebuild Creek Nation's treasury. Questions then turned to Yuchi-specific interests. The first concerned the sale of Euchee Mission in Sapulpa, and final disbursement of those funds.⁵⁰ Cox merely replied: "I will check on it further." He indicated that the Yuchi community might benefit in some way from the sale when he said: "There is a 9 acre tract by the depot in Sapulpa an attorney is working on (for a community center)."

A meeting participant "inquired about open slot on the council."⁵¹ Cox noted that any "recommendations could be made to him and he would consider these people." Cox then addressed health issues without an apparent question opening this area of discussion. The Yuchi present quickly brought him back to the issue of Council representation by formally nominating and voting on a person they thought qualified to represent them. Whereupon, Cox said he would let the person recommended by their vote "know his (Cox's) decision." This notation depicts clearly a central problem for an encapsulated group. Such groups have only as much power and voice as the dominant polity allots them. Lacking town representation on Creek Council, the Yuchi community

as an whole had no direct voice in Creek politics at the time. They now shared representation with other Creek people in the various districts in which they resided. Outside of individual voting, no direct method was in place to express the needs and concerns of the encapsulated group.

One of the most interesting meetings occurred in March of 1977 for the purpose of preparing a 1977-78 Part C proposal. The minutes reflect a proposal that is purely Yuchi in design and desire. In part, it reads:

Needs and Objectives:

A. Uniqueness of the Yuchi Community within the Creek Nation.

Since the time of removal from the Eastern United States the Yuchi Tribe has been included within the Creek Nation. The Yuchi people have been considered as Creek people, are on the Creek Rolls, are subject to the Laws of the Creeks. However, the Yuchi people speak a completely different language, have different, although similar, customs from the Creeks. The majority of the Yuchi people live in Northeastern Oklahoma, concentrated in the area where Tulsa, Creek and Okmulgee counties meet. This results in some differences in opinion as to how the various programs of the Creek Nation should operate affecting the Yuchi. It is felt by the majority of the Yuchi area representatives, as well as the people themselves, that the greatest input and achievement will be obtained by having a separate program, within the Yuchi Community, designed and operated by the Yuchi themselves.

B. Yuchi needs as determined from community input. A meeting was held on January 19, 1977 in Sapulpa . . . There was strong support in learning the Yuchi history and culture which does not exist in publication in the United States. The following needs are being recognized for program focus:

1. Need to revive and cultivate the Yuchi culture.
2. Need for continued adult education program.
3. Arts & Crafts
4. Traditional Sewing
5. Language
6. Vocational Training (Typing)

C. Lack of Yuchi Education Programs.

The program developed and administered by Creek Nation has not considered the Yuchi Tribe a separate entity in providing services and the funding for their programs are inadequate to meet the needs of the Yuchi Tribe. As a result of the lack of educational programs, low income is a direct result for Yuchi people.

E. Objectives of the Program:

1. Research and compile material in package form covering historical and cultural information on the Yuchi Tribe.

Sub-objectives:

1a. Using the information gathered to teach the history and culture in the community.

2b. Implementing in classes and findings available to all interested people in communities.

2. To establish cultural courses for Indian Adults in the Yuchi Community.

Sub-objectives:

1a. To establish Yuchi language classes for adults with classes divided into beginning and advanced classes.

2a. To hold sewing classes with emphasis on sewing Yuchi designs and styles for working men's shirts and jackets, women's dresses and quilts.

Section A above articulates clearly Yuchi identity as expressed by the community in the concerns based on language, customs, and residence patterns. Section C notes dissatisfaction with Creek Nation's efforts in offering educational opportunities for Yuchi people. The entire proposal takes on a divisive tone pointing to Yuchi uniqueness and desire to explore their own history and culture outside the Creek polity. In various meetings today, the Yuchi community expresses this same concern. The formalized structure of Creek Nation continually overshadows and often dominates the perceived needs of the encapsulated Yuchi community. An interest group, such as the Yuchi organization, has a difficult time voicing its concerns and needs particularly when confronted or dominated by a formalized polity such as Creek Nation.⁵²

The April 22, 1977 meeting discussed use of the van received under Title IV. The Kellyville area used the vehicle for visiting house to house informing people about the language classes soon to be offered. The Duck Creek area used it for language classes and tutoring. Accessibility of the van made it possible for those in the community without transportation to be involved with other Yuchi people in classes and in home visits. The van became another venue to bring community members together for interaction with each other.

By the winter of 1977, additional items began appearing in the minutes. Various workings of the reorganized Creek Nation that could be of benefit to Yuchi people were discussed. These included health services, seed programs, dental coverage, winterizing homes, etc. Spokespersons from Creek Nation were asked to attend the Yuchi meetings for explanation of various issues.

During the December 3, 1977 meeting, the minutes reflect that the community had requested, but never received, an accounting from Creek Nation for expenses made by the Yuchi community with Title IV monies. At some later date, they received a budget for the 1976-77 Yuchi Community Adult Education Programs. Of the total cost \$30,816.57, salaries were 54.6 percent, equipment 3.3 percent, office and program supplies 8.8 percent, general expenses of 12.7 percent and indirect charges of 20.6 percent. Creek Nation absorbed these indirect charges as overhead costs for their distribution of the Yuchi funds. High charge for Creek Nation administration may have been a factor in subsequent tactics. In the December 21st meeting, the community began looking for additional outside funding to teach the Yuchi language. John Holden from

Colorado came to speak to the group noting several granting sources for language education through federal programs and private foundations. This process of locating funding outside Creek Nation would be a tactic used frequently by the interest group organizations in the 1990s.

By March 25, 1978, Yuchi dissatisfaction with Creek Nation becomes more evident. The minutes note that two Creek Nation representatives had been asked to attend the meeting, but they did not appear. The minutes state: "We would like to call another special meeting if we can get representatives from Creek Nation here.

Representatives always say they will come and never show up." The concern of this meeting was with Title IV money. Yon-shen noted that some money had not been used as requested and that Creek Nation made arbitrary decisions without consulting the Yuchi organization. "Title IV Part C requires an advisory board (Yuchi Community Organization), to make decisions, then sent them to Creek Nation, they make revisions without our board's knowledge." Yon-shen brought up the prospect of incorporation again. He stated that at least \$27,000 used for Creek Nation overhead plus other programs would thus be directly available. A lengthy discussion ensued. One participant noted that one drawback would be that the Yuchi would be competing against the Creek Nation on proposals.

Prospect of incorporation brought to the surface a common concern among the Yuchi that has been witnessed during fieldwork. They feared that if they attempted to break away from Creek Nation they would no longer receive some benefits accessible through that polity. During this particular meeting in March, one participant who

understood the process spoke about incorporating as a Tribal Town. He stated that it must be done openly so that no benefits under Creek Nation would be lost. He noted three needs before incorporation could begin: 1) create a Yuchi Roll, 2) create a structural process for getting the work done and 3) funding. The representative from the Bristow area stated that his community would not support Tribal Town incorporation. It was suggested that the issue be discussed at a special meeting since there seemed to be some disagreement. This issue is more volatile than it first appears. The Bristow area was the least represented within the organization, but the people in that location were no less a part of the community. The three articulated needs required for incorporation would obligate the group to tackle the basic problems of identity: definition of membership, communication, decision making, authority, ideology, and discipline (Cohen 1974:69-84). Disagreements over these concepts could threaten the very core of the interest group organization that had, to this point, successfully achieved not only educational goals, but also bringing the community together at frequent intervals. Had the Bristow area been in favor of incorporation, the potential for division would not have existed, and the meeting would likely have proceeded with further discussion.

The Title IV Part C grant for 1979 included the purchase of land and the building of a community center in Sapulpa. This was the year that Creek Nation adopted a new constitution, and was finally functioning as the formalized reconstructed government for Creek people (O'Brien 1989:133). The polity began taking complete charge of various community programs. Funds marked for the Yuchi Community Center went directly to Creek Nation which no longer administered the funds according to local requests.⁵³

Creek Nation transferred the Title IV community center money to health services combining it with a grant from the U.S. Economic Development Administration to build an Indian Clinic in Sapulpa. Once built, it took a number of years to staff the clinic.⁵⁴

Yon-shen noted that Chief Cox promised a community center in Sapulpa and the subsequent related events:

. . . Creek chief (Cox) met and told them (Yuchi): "I'll show you where your community meetings going to be, it will be right down there (pointing to an area of land). This is where your gonna have your community center, your meeting place right here." That's the way he talked to me at that time, right here anyway.

It didn't work out that way. That building (clinic) stood there for three years, they couldn't get it rented to staff it, to buy equipment. So this man, named John Davis, he was superintendent of all the Indian Health Service clinics and hospitals

They wrote a letter to him that they wanted money to staff this clinic. Well, he wrote back to them, he didn't know Sapulpa had a new clinic. He said if he had known about it he would have matched funds and got a bigger clinic, but he didn't know anything about it.

But anyway, that sat there for three years, in those three years they tried to search and get a grant so they could staff it, buy equipment for it, and they didn't . . . and ah so finally when John Davis said that building was just sitting there going to waste, he finally gave in. So he give that money to go ahead and use, staff, and buy equipment. And right today, when you walk in that hall, when you walk in that front door, there's a big ol plaque on the wall there says "Sapulpa Indian Community Center."

Anyway so ever since, I've been writtin application its been turned down, I've looked place, everthing though. I guess probably fifteen or sixteen years now I guess no community center.

But this Title IV had done our community, our school real good, its really done something for us.⁵⁵

Here, Yon-shen acknowledges the benefits his community received under Title IV. For over twenty-years he has been working with Creek Nation and local government officials to see the often promised community center placed in Sapulpa. He had architectural plans drawn that included a large gym, classrooms, social center, and plenty of parking. He sees it a meeting place for Yuchi and other Indian people in the area, a place where they can come to learn their language, play sports, hold benefit stomp dances, serve meals for the elderly, and other community events. To date, his efforts have proved fruitless. Creek Nation finally agreed to purchased a tract of land in 1996. The City of Sapulpa then sought to stop the effort for fear the center would be "used for commercial activity such as a smoke shop or bingo."⁵⁶ Initial loss of the community center and continual fighting for its completion has become symbolic of Creek Nation's discrimination against the Yuchi people. Title IV brought much good to the Yuchi community, but in the end the overarching polity of Creek Nation exerted its power and authority frustrating the efforts of the interest group organization.

Visages of Formal Organization:

The community no longer sought Title IV money after 1979. Members did continue to meet a few times in 1979 and once in 1981. Meetings were sporadic and in 1979 were no longer attended only by Yuchi people.⁵⁷ In June 1979, a meeting was held at the Sapulpa Library meeting room that did draw a substantial number of Yuchi people and no others. The meeting focused primarily on Yuchi identity and continued research in Georgia:

There is the need to continue research of the Yuchi Tribe. The committee feels it necessary to send a team of four tribal members to the states of Georgia and Tennessee in order to acquire accurate past accounts of the Yuchi.

The state of Oklahoma and the local Yuchi community have limited written material about the Yuchi.

In order for the necessary historical data to be obtained, the Yuchi Tribal investigating team will:

A. Make on-site visitations of Yuchi ceremonial sites and original towns in five geographic location within the state of Georgia. Visual records and taped recordings will be compiled.

B. Interview knowledgeable Yuchi tribal members still living in the area and educated non-Indian authorities and anthropologists of the tribe.

C. Research written records of the Yuchi which the state of Georgia has available.

Upon return, the tribal investigating team will compile the research obtained for future educational use. The investigating team shall continue research at the local and state level.

Conclusion: If financial assistance can be found for the project, implementation of Yuchi studies, curriculum design, educational structure and Yuchi language can be taught in tribal communities.

Although this effort does not appear to have begun in actuality, the chance to meet with a specific Yuchi goal and to discuss being Yuchi drew the community together for interaction. Apparently no meetings occurred in 1980. A meeting in October 1981 again drew a large crowd. The focus of concern was the Tellico Dam scheduled to be built in Tennessee. This effort required the removal of Indian burials. At this meeting, Robert Trepp, an employee of Creek Nation who worked on federal government issues

and Creek history, brought the information to the Yuchi community.⁵⁸ The minutes

reflect the conversation:

Trepp: TVA is building dam -- Tellico Dam on lands belonging to the Eastern Cherokee but Yuchis lived there before the Cherokees got ownership of the land. 1100 Indian bodies were removed and sent to University for study but the Eastern Cherokee have contested this action and want them to reburry these bodies. Creek Nation sent a letter of support to the Eastern Cherokees.

Trepp suggestion: that the government set aside a site for reburial and pay expenses for the trip for the religious leaders to go there and make it a proper burial.

Yuchi woman: I think more Yuchis should meet together and discuss it more.

Yuchi ground leader 1: I believe the bodies should remain there -- in home territory and how do we know these are Yuchi bodies?

Yuchi church leader: The artifacts that were in these graves should be reburied with these bodies.

Yuchi ground leader 2: Does the government recognize that these are Yuchi bodies?

Trepp: No but the Yuchis lived on that land before the Cherokee and the Cherokee sold this land to the government.

Yuchi ground leader 2: I've been in Tennessee territory, land is selling at \$9,000 an acre. Let the government take care of all that reburying of these bodies.

Yuchi ground leader 3: I think the government should take care of it all.

The concern voiced by the Creek Nation representative about reburial was not of overwhelming concern to the Yuchi community in 1981.⁵⁹ In fact, the two final meetings point to the fragility of interest group organizations. One of the key elements is a perceived goal acceptable to and validated by the community. Merely to meet outside of

the ritual setting to discuss being Yuchi, whether through potential long term cultural projects or long buried ancestors, is not sufficient. The organization must have a goal that the community validates and actively pursues. It must be a goal that will bring community members together for an explicitly stated purpose that then becomes a venue for intensive communication and interaction that reinforces identity. The community can function as a political interest group only when routine communications occur. These are necessary for disseminating information and making decisions for the whole group (Cohen 1974:75). By developing interest group organizations that work in the political sphere, community interaction and communications intensify and support Yuchi distinctiveness.

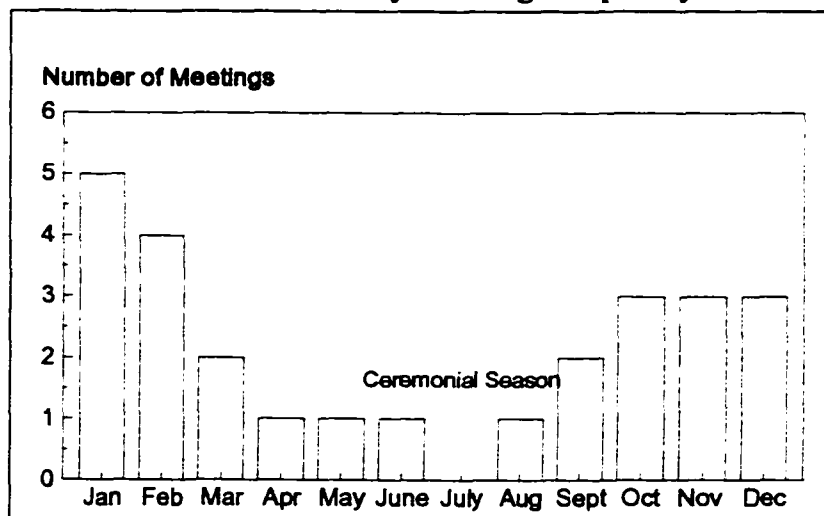
Visages of the 1970s effort can still be seen. Creek Nation developed community centers in Duck Creek and Kellyville that were at least partially based on the successful pattern developed by the Yuchi interest group effort of the 1970s.⁶⁰ Since these geographic areas are predominantly Yuchi, they have become meeting places for Yuchi people. The facilities at Duck Creek are new and in good repair. The building at Kellyville was once the Silver Dollar Ball Room, and is an extensive space that currently is in need of some restoration. In recent years, the children's Yuchi language classes have held camps at both the Duck Creek and Kellyville centers. Other activities include frequent benefit stomp dances, an eightieth birthday celebration for the chief of Polecat, Green Onion dinners to support the ceremonial grounds in the two areas, and focus groups to discuss various aspects of Yuchi life. The Sapulpa area continues to have the Sapulpa Indian Community. The lack of a suitable building space has left this area

behind the others as a place to hold community meetings. The current location is an old building that once housed a laundromat, and is in great need of repair without even adequate plumbing. On one wall hangs a poster of *Yuchi Town* an archaeological sight in Georgia, and place of Yuchi residence prior to removal. Yon-shen continues to work diligently to acquire adequate space in Sapulpa. Creek Nation's decision to take Title IV monies designated for the Sapulpa Community Center remains a continuing source of concern.

Demographic Analysis: The Core – Leadership and Followers:

The various lists of meeting participants furnish additional insights into the core and leadership of the Title IV interest group. The meetings took place during the months when the ceremonial grounds were not active. The graph below depicts the monthly pattern of Title IV meetings that occurred from 1975 through 1981:

Figure 4.2
Title IV Monthly Meeting Frequency

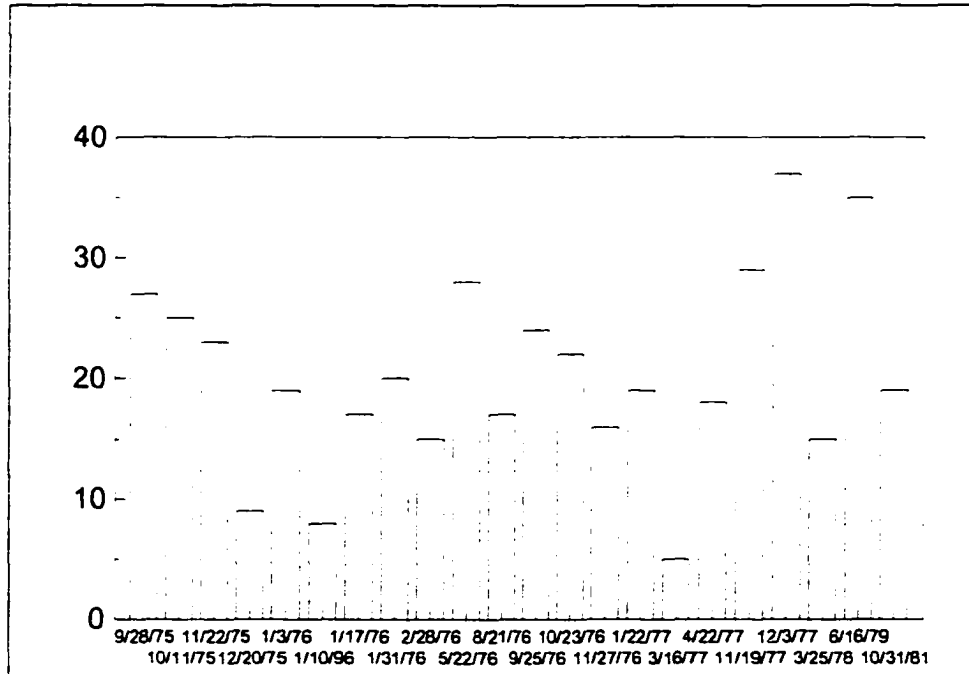


The 1970s meetings occurred most intensively from October through February. They never took place from late June through mid-August. The community reserves these summer months for participation in the Green Corn ceremonies (see Chapter 1). This pattern holds today, with interest group organization activities occurring mainly during the fall, winter, and early spring months. Once the first ball game begins at Duck Creek, other community activities wind down in time for the summer rituals.⁶¹ This methodology allowed year round face to face encounters for Yuchi people. The ceremonial centers continued to offer such interaction in the summer months supplemented by the interest group organization's activities during the rest of the year.

Numbers of Participants:

The actual number of participants per meeting ranged from a low of eight to a high of thirty-seven. The largest participation occurred in meetings discussing Yuchi identity issues such as May 22, 1976 federal recognition for the Yuchi Tribe; December 3, 1977 concern over Creek Nation expenditures with Yuchi designated funds; and June 16, 1979 continuing research on Yuchi history (see Figure below). The lowest meeting attendance involved a few individuals who met for specific needs such as on December 20, 1975 a core group set the agenda for a community meeting to discuss Title IV Parts B and C; January 10, 1976 meeting of the Planning Committee on Title IV Part B; and March 16, 1977 meeting of Parent Advisory Board to discuss adult education in each satellite area:

Figure 4.3
Total Number of Persons Attending Title IV Meetings



The numbers of people in attendance at these meetings show the relatively small number of community members needed to form and maintain a interest group organization. In the Title IV effort, core participants were no more than two to three percent of the total population.⁶² Those adults involved in various classes comprised perhaps another twenty-five to thirty percent. The inclusion of children who benefited from the internal school efforts increases these percentages. These persons were inclusive of nearly every household or kinship group. Therefore, even if a person was not attending directly any class or meetings, he or she was hearing of the meetings, their agendas, and discussion topics through personal networking. Intensive core, follower, and personal network interaction brings cohesion to the community and perpetuates the very concept of Yuchi identity.

Participation by Places of Residence:

Participation lists contained in the minutes of the Title IV meetings show that the three areas of Yuchi residence were represented. These areas coincide with the ceremonial grounds and churches: Sapulpa -- Polecat grounds and Pickett Chapel; Duck Creek -- Duck Creek Grounds -- Bristow -- Sand Creek grounds and Mutteloke Church. Of the twenty-four meetings analyzed 51.9 percent of the attendees lived in the Sapulpa area, with the Duck Creek area at 25.3 percent, Kellyville at 11.0 percent and Bristow at 11.8 percent (see Figure 4.1 and Appendix Table 4.a.). This supports the reasoning of the organizers to make Sapulpa the central meeting and working place (see Figures 4.1). It coincides with both ground and church activities. Polecat has consistently maintained the largest number of participants and the largest number of camps (Innes 1995c). The largest Yuchi church membership is at Pickett Chapel, also located at Sapulpa. In addition to traditional ritual places, Title IV meetings allowed the various residential groups to gather on a regular bases creating an intense interaction pattern that reinforced community solidarity.

Participation by Men and Women:

The minutes and participation lists give insight into the rolls of both men and women. The average working group at Title IV meetings was twenty-one persons, half men and half women. The ratio of attendees by sex for all meetings is 1.01 or 1:1 (see Appendix Table 4a). Such a ratio is standard for human populations. If viewed as an age specific adult sex ratio, it can be argued that the attendees were a balanced representation of the adult population. As to gender participation, men spoke more often than women. When

looking at who made motions or nominations from the floor, the ratio of men to women was 5:4 indicating interaction from both men and women.⁶³ As noted earlier, women have voice in community meetings even though they rarely hold the higher titled positions in either the ritual centers or the interest group organizations. Women do hold lesser positions such as secretary, treasurer and advisory board representative. Women spoke frequently during the meetings concerning such issues as incorporation, concerns with Creek Nation, and reported on satellite center concerns. As with the ceremonial grounds, men and women divide the work but see this division as a joint effort for the benefit of the whole. Both men and women work for the goals set by the community on behalf of the entire Yuchi community.

Men and women's specific concerns hint at some differences as well as similarities in the issues addressed. The highest number of women in attendance at any one meeting occurred on May 22, 1976. This meeting discussed, in depth, the possibility for federal recognition. A woman opened the floor discussion, noting her approval of such a measure. The meeting with the largest number of men occurred on December 3, 1977. This meeting concerned the lack of budget information from Creek Nation concerning the cost of Yuchi Title IV programs. The highest attendee number for both men and women occurred after Title IV money was no longer directly accessible to the Yuchi people. This was the meeting of June 16, 1979 that discussed forming a four person team of tribal members to travel back to Georgia and Tennessee to research, record, and preserve Yuchi history for future generations (See Figure Figure 4.4). These three meetings stressed three basic items: 1) recognition of the Yuchi Tribe, 2) potential

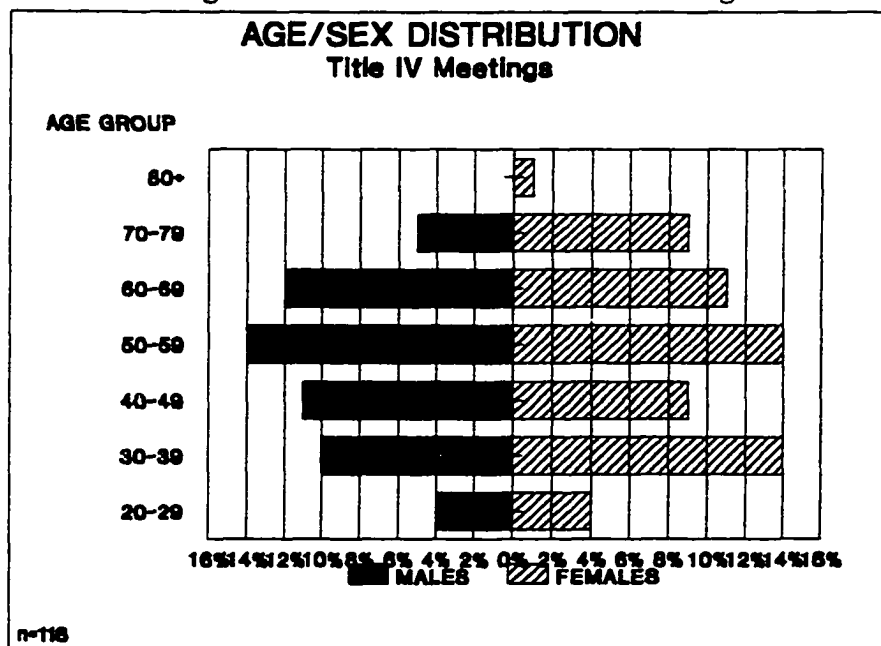
funding possibilities for the community, and 3) connecting with historical traditions and ancestral ties. Various topics permeate the other meetings, including the importance of the Yuchi language and the uniqueness of Yuchi cultural ways, methods to get Yuchi people to and from various meetings and classes, information on benefits under Creek Nation, and dissatisfaction with Creek Nation effort on behalf of Yuchi people. The gender balance shows the importance the community placed in the Title IV effort.

Participation by Age:

The age of meeting participants supplies a profile of the core followers who supported the Title IV effort. Of the 236 persons noted as participants, the age was calculated for 119 persons.⁶⁴ Only one person was under the age of twenty and was excluded from the following analysis based on 118 persons with 56 men and 62 women.

Eighty percent of the participants ranged in age from thirty to seventy-nine:

Figure 4.4
Age/Sex Distribution - Title IV Meetings

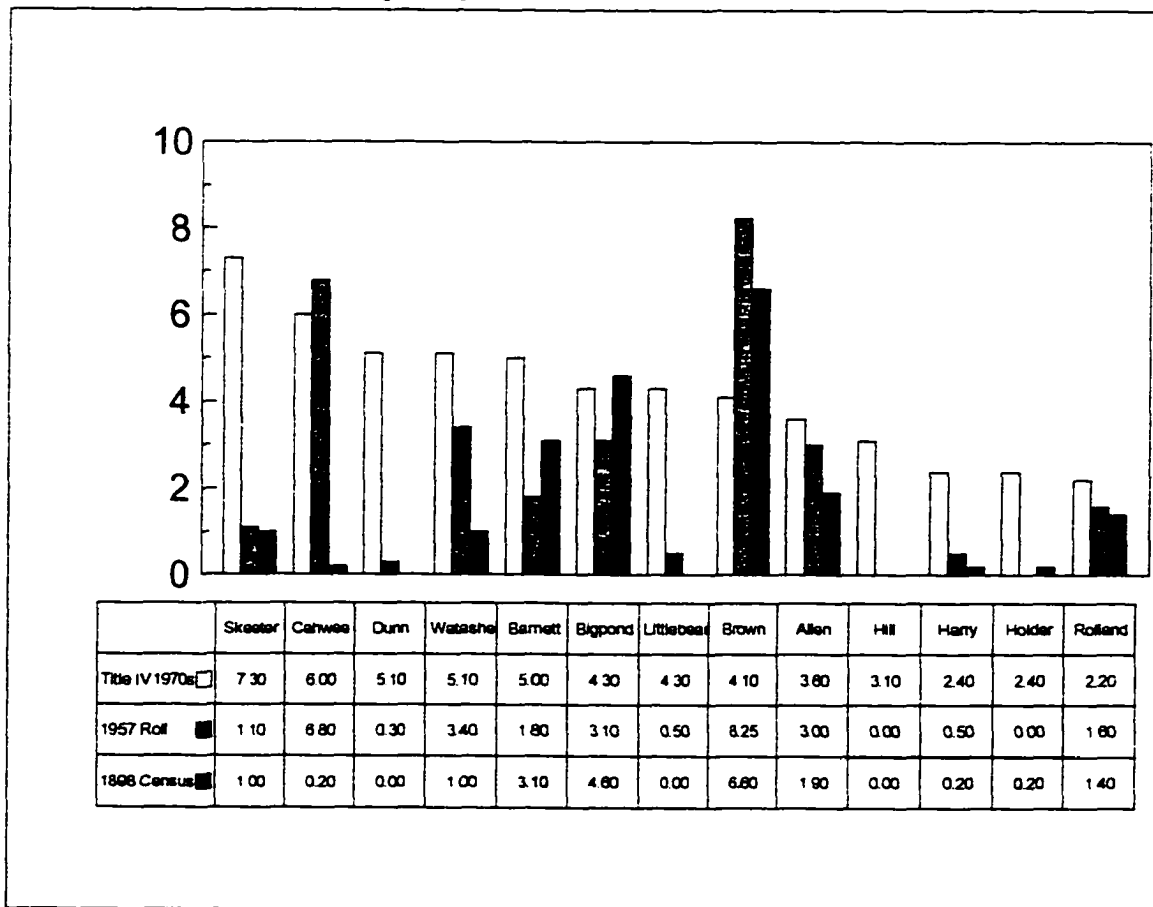


These individuals comprised the core of the organization including elders who spoke and validated the Title IV effort. These individuals represent both church and grounds persons, college educated, parents of school age children, and elders with grandchildren. Elected leaders averaged fifty-two years of age ranging from thirty-five to sixty-five (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). Most of the leaders were grandparents whose children had already been through the post-WWII educational system and who, like Yon-shen, sought something better for their grandchildren.

Participation by descendants of earlier Yuchi people:

A surname frequency analysis of Title IV core participants furnish a partial view of the community through time. The most prevalent Title IV surnames appear on one or both of the previous enumerations linking Title IV participation in core meetings to the Yuchi people of the past. The linkages between Title IV and the 1898 and 1957 rolls including intermarriage data show again a continuing pattern of related people working within the Yuchi community.

Figure 4.5
Surname Frequency Title IV, 1957 Roll and 1898 Census



This chart is based upon surname percentages to total participation for the Title IV effort compared to surnames percentages to total population for each of the two census tracts. Relatively high levels of Title IV participation reflects the persistence of certain family involvement in the activities of Title IV. In most cases these names are consistent with past enumerations with the additions of 1960-1997 intermarriage surnames (see Appendix Tables 3d, 6a, and 6b). Several surnames in the above graph have not changed since 1898 and include Skeeter (Big Mosquito), Cahwee, Watashe, Barnett, Allen, Harry, Bigpond, Brown and Rolland. The surname Dunn enters the community through intermarriage to a Watashe, a consistent surname since 1898 (see Chapter 3).

The Littlebear surname appeared through intermarriage noted in 1957 with Skeeter (Big Mosquito). The surname Hill entered through intermarriage with the granddaughter of a Brown. This analysis furnished a linkage between those people involved in Title IV and the Yuchi community twenty years previously and at the turn of the century.

Participation by Ritual Leaders:

Many of the highest percentage Title IV surnames link directly to the same surnames on the 1898 and 1957 census tracts. Many of these persons were ritual leaders either in the grounds or at the churches. Kyaw-gaw was Speaker of Polecat Grounds, Jimmie Cahwee was a minister at Pickett Chapel, E-baw-thlahn is an Assistance to the Chief of Polecat, George Watashe was the chief of Polecat, Roy Bigpond was a preacher at both Pickett Chapel and Mutteloke churches, Shaw-aw-nee is the current Chief of Duck Creek, We-u-ga-na is the current Speaker at Polecat ground, and Shaw-tee was the previous chief of Duck Creek. Although not listed as a frequent surname Dah-thlah Bucktrot attended meetings and is the chief of Sand Creek grounds. Baw-do was also in attendance and held the position of Vice-Chair for the Title IV Mounds (Duck Creek) Advisory Board and a chief of Duck Creek (See Appendix Table 3.e). In part the success of Title IV was due to the heavy participation of ritual leaders who validated and held the interest group leaders accountable to the community norm of reciprocity.

Two men who spoke often during meetings were Kyaw-gaw and We-u-ga-na. Both men are or were Speakers for the ceremonial grounds. Kyaw-gaw was a fluent speaker of the Yuchi language and between 1976 and 1981 he offered opening prayers for the Title IV meetings. His prayers in the language of his people marked the

importance of this index of identity. At the last meeting in 1981 concerning the Tellico dam, Kyaw-gaw spoke to the fact that the bodies recovered could not clearly be known as Yuchi ancestors and therefore were not of concern to the current Yuchi community. His words reinforced the necessity of clear genealogical or known ties to ancestors that is the necessary condition for Yuchi identity. Without this marker, the human remains in Tennessee were not considered Yuchi persons. Kyaw-gaw also spoke to such issues as federal recognition, concern over getting parents involved in Title VI, and made a number of motions.

Ground Speaker We-u-ga-na does not know the Yuchi language but he also offered opening prayers, discussed various classes to be taught, gave reports from the Kellyville satellite meetings and spoke to incorporation of the tribe. As grounds Speakers, these two men often spoke for their chiefs who were frequently present but who rarely spoke directly at meetings. Chiefs (both current and future) who were present but rarely or never spoke were: Shaw-tee, Baw-do, Shaw-aw-nee, George Watashe, and Dah-thlah. Although present at most meetings, Chief George Watashe spoke at the first meeting but very little from that point forward. The presence of the chiefs as well as their speakers supplied validation for the efforts of the Title IV effort.

Likewise, church leaders were present giving validation from that ritual area. As a minister, Jimmie Cahwee gave benedictions and prayer in 1977 and 1979. Roy Bigpond, a Yuchi minister from Mutteloke, was present giving validation of the meetings. Charter members of Mutteloke church were present also including Mary

Mutteloke Yocum, Bo-dah-senh, Jah-t'yah and Wanney Cahwee. The presence of church leaders brought additional validation to Title IV meetings and agenda.

Within the Title IV effort the ritual leaders and others tied closely to the ritual venues held leadership roles in the interest group effort. They are listed in the following chart:

Table 4.1
Yuchi Community Officers and Leaders

Title IV role	Ritual Affiliation	Aprx Age	Genealogical ties to Yuchi ritual leaders
Chairman	Church	62	Son of exhorter Pickett & Mutteloke
Called first meeting on Planning Committee	Chief of Polecat	65	Grandson of Painkiller (Watashe)
Planning Committee	Speaker Polecat Grounds	60	Brother was church leader, he was ground Speaker
Planning Committee	Polecat Grounds	60	unknown
Treasurer	Polecat Grounds	35	Daughter of Chief of Polecat
Secretary	Polecat Grounds	45	Granddaughter of Legus Brown

The four school districts had elected members to work within each geographical location. They are as follows:

Table 4.2
Title IV Area Leadership

Location	Title IV role	Ritual Affiliation	Aprx Age	Genealogical ties to Yuchi ritual leaders
Sapulpa:				
	Secretary, Advisory Board Rep.	Polecat Grounds	50	Sister-in-law of Speaker
	Chairman	Church	62	Son of exhorter Pickett & Mutteloke
	Vice-Chair	Duck Creek	53	Sister of Speaker
Kellyville Satellite				
	Advisory Board Rep	Polecat Grounds	45	Grandson of Painkiller (Watashe)
	Vice Chair	Polecat Grounds	65	unknown
	Secretary	Polecat Grounds	52	Wife of Speaker
Duck Creek Satellite:				
	Advisory Board Rep.	Duck Creek Grounds	60	Brother was church leader, he was Speaker
	Chairman		42	unknown
	Vice-Chair	Chief Duck Creek	unkn	son of 2nd chief Duck Creek
	Secretary	Duck Creek Grounds	40	Daughter of Speaker
Bristow Satellite:				
	Advisory Board Rep.	attend Mutteloke and Choska churches	unkn	unknown
	Chairman	attend Mutteloke and Choska churches	unkn	unknown
	Vice-Chair	attended grounds infrequently	unkn	unknown

The table notes the ritual affiliations for the interest group leaders. These affiliations as grounds and church participants add credence to the effort and validate its work as being

for the benefit of the entire Yuchi community. Polecat and Duck Creek grounds are well represented by the central leadership. These are the two largest ritual affiliations for the community. Sand Creek ground is not represented in leadership, but the chief and other family members attended the meetings. Pickett Chapel is well represented by Yon-shen. His brother Jimmie attended many meetings and was affiliated with both Pickett and Mutteloke. The strength of the interest group effort relied a great deal on leaders who the community viewed as upholding Yuchi standards and who understood the concept of "being Yuchi" while encapsulated in the Creek polity.

The Bristow representatives further support the concept of Yuchi identity based on ancestry. The two Bigponds and Warren Allen did not share the same ritual affiliations as the other leaders. The Bristow area tends to be less involved in community activities even today. The Bigponds were associated closely with Choska church, a Creek Baptist ritual center. They tended to have closer associations with Creek people, but retain the identity of Yuchi.⁶⁵ The Bristow area was the one that voted against federal recognition during the meeting on March 25, 1977. Although not as involved in the workings of the community, the community members consider these Bristow people Yuchi because of their ancestral ties. To have ignored this group in the Title IV endeavors would not have supported the community concept of providing education for all Yuchi children.

Leadership as recorded in the minutes reflect the various geographic areas and ritual foundation for validation needed for an interest group effort to succeed. Interest group leadership remained consistent throughout the Title IV effort. As the initiator,

Yon-shen chaired all community meetings, being re-elected each year to that position. He never received monetary compensation for his work that has involved many years and many projects, Title IV being only one. His ritual affiliation and the community's concept of him as a strong moral person supported the efforts for Title IV.

Yon-shen expressed the possibilities of Title IV to ritual leaders who held the same moral values. These individuals along with younger more highly education persons formed the core interest group organization that accomplished both the stated goal of better education, and the unstated goals of community cohesion and identity retention. Traditional chiefs, speakers, other ground leaders as well as church ministers and charter members were present at the meetings. Those who were or who later became chiefs were most often quiet, not participating directly in the meeting. However, their very presence gave credence and validated the efforts. Those who were or became speakers at the grounds or churches were more vocal and often reinforced traditional values in their speeches, motions, or statements of concern. These leaders made up approximately 40 percent of the attendees.

The remaining members varied in their community roles. Two very active women were the daughter and granddaughter of an ICC petition leader. The granddaughter served as a parent's representative for the Sapulpa area, and as acting secretary for the community meetings on numerous occasions. The daughter attended many meetings, but was rarely vocal. She was one of those elders whose presence gave credence to the work at hand. No actual persons who worked on the ICC petition

attended these meetings, some had died, others were no longer living in the area. Other members of their families did participate in the 1970s effort.

A number of attendees were young parents who sought assistance for their own families through Title IV. They came to meetings to express their ideas and listen to their elders. They did not actively lead, but did help maintain and support the group's work. These young parents were to become the core of the interest group efforts in the 1990s when in turn they were grandparents themselves. Adult Title IV participation included young parents, middle-age grandparents and elders, the full range of the adult population. Each brought their own talents, concern, and wisdom to the effort. It is important to note that in these meetings, only Yuchi people attended until 1979 when Title IV no longer became available directly. The only outsiders were invited guests who spoke on a given topic. Title IV programs were created by Yuchi people for Yuchi people. Fieldwork shows that community members continue to discuss this interest group effort long after the closure of the program. Today, the Title IV successes and the failure of the Community Center project symbolize the Yuchi community's identity and its uniqueness within Creek Nation.

Meetings stimulated by Title IV are a classic example of an interest group formation and expression. The federal government does not allow the Yuchi to organize formally as they consider them under the umbrella of the Creek polity. The Yuchi continue to seek formal avenues through their interest group organizations using them as a means to attain specific goals while furnishing opportunities for community interaction. It is the ritual practice of "being Yuchi" that best articulates the concerns of the

community internally. As ceremonial grounds provide a ritual for Yuchi identity, interest group organizations supply additional venues to express identity and to articulate the community's concept of itself to others.

Conclusions:

Political groups range in organization from the bureaucratic formalized structures to the very informal interest groups that rely heavily on ritual, kinship or other symbolic patterns known as "style of life" (Cohen 1974:68). Much of the historic Yuchi organizational pattern revolved around their ritual centers that reinforce community and individual identity (see Chapter 1). During brief windows in time, the Yuchi are able to formalize at least marginally in attempts to achieve specific goals offered through the dominant polity. The organizational structure of the interest group effort remains consistent with they symbolic patterns of the ritual centers as they address the problems of distinctiveness, communication, decision making, authority and leadership, ideology, and the process of socialization.⁶⁶

Distinctiveness:

Title IV meetings and agendas continued to mark the uniqueness of Yuchi identity. The interest group effort strategized, organized, and implemented its programs for Yuchi people. The organizational effort went beyond central meetings to incorporate the various geographic residential areas insuring that all Yuchi could interact within the Title IV effort. Only Yuchi were involved in the effort with their perceived goal of

educational efforts for the entire community. The map included in the Title IV Part A funding proposal is symbolic of Yuchi identity reflected in residential patterns. The organizational name *Yuchi Community Educational Program* further symbolizes the concept of distinct identity unique from the overarching Creek structure. The by-laws uphold the ancestral (blood quantum) criterion for Yuchi identity. The struggle with Creek Nation officials over the sale of Euchee Mission, council representation, and Title IV funding accountability reinforced the perceived notion of discrimination and the boundaries between Yuchi and Creek. The longest lasting symbol of Yuchi separate identity and perceived discrimination is the continuing lack of a community center in Sapulpa. Title IV meeting formats included discussion of educational opportunities followed by discussion of other community concerns that reinforced the concept of the Yuchi community's unique problems as an encapsulated political unit.

Communication:

Title IV meetings supplied opportunities for a substantial number of Yuchi people to interact face to face. These people in turn communicated to others the workings of the organization on behalf of the Yuchi people. Title IV furnished more intensive interaction between Yuchi school age children as well as their parents and grandparents. Also, the effort provided many adult classes that met regularly for both instructions and social interaction. As ground and church activities continued to decrease in length of interaction, the interest group Title IV effort brought Yuchi people

together to interact and reinforce the norms of behavior and the perceived notion of Yuchi identity.

Decision Making, Leadership and Authority:

Title IV minutes reflect that final decision making remained in the hands of the community. Yon-shen was very aware that as much as he and his wife considered Title IV beneficial for the Yuchi, if the community did not see its value there was no reason to pursue the possibilities. Meetings reflect again and again a community consensus over issues. If enough members were not present to make a decision on a given topic, that subject was discussed in other meetings until a consensus occurred. If an issue appeared divisive, as the concern over federal acknowledgment, and no consensus could be seen, the issue was tabled.

Community consensus did not require the vote of the entire community. Title IV organizational structure incorporated ritual leaders who voiced their concerns over various issues. The community trusted these leaders who had proven themselves within the ritual areas of both grounds and churches. Chiefs, speakers, grounds councilmen, and church pastors were all present and validated Title IV as an endeavor for the benefit of the entire community. Secondly, but of no less importance, elders took an active part in Title IV meetings and in adult classes. As wisdom bearers they furnished additional validation for the organization and its programs.

Ideology:

With formalized meetings and political interaction with the dominant polity, interest group groups organize differently from the kinship and ritual areas of Yuchi life. Even so, interest group organizations continue to integrate the ideological concepts of reciprocity and that all efforts must be for the benefit of the whole. This ideology sets the methodology and goals for the interest group organization. The Title IV goal was community oriented with the various talents of individual members given willingly for the overall good of the entire Yuchi community. New symbols arose in the form of a interest group organization with its by-laws and goals. The creation and workings of the Title IV organization were viewed as a distinctly Yuchi endeavor. Old symbols of ritual leadership became redefined or expanded to include areas outside of traditional church and ground venues. The wisdom of Yuchi elders was incorporated to insure that ideological concepts remained firmly planted in the workings of the Yuchi Community Educational Effort. A new type of ideological guardian arose in Yon-shen. His role as a central interest group leader included mediation between Yuchi and white. His ability to articulate the ideological concepts of both worlds greatly assisted in obtaining specific benefits to the Yuchi community. When combined with summer ritual, interest group organizational activities furnish year long opportunities for route communications that reinforce individual and community identity.

The interest group that formed to address Title IV benefits began with the dreams of one Yuchi man and his wife. It quickly spread to other community leaders who took up the gauntlet and pursued a goal that the community at large perceived as

needed and beneficial. The core workers of any interest group organizations are never large in number, but provide venues for the community to coalesce in large groupings for interaction. This interaction becomes a method of reinforcing Yuchi identity and then expressing that identity within the community and to outsiders.

In the case of Title IV, the interest group organization attained its goal. The minutes of various meetings reflect again and again that this effort allowed community members to articulate what it is to be Yuchi. In the end, more powerful external groups disavowed the Yuchi's interest group organization as a legitimate political interest forcing them once more into silent encapsulation. Brief recognition of the interest group organization as legitimate proved profitable for the community and the pattern was to be repeated. The effort allowed avenues for the Yuchi community members to discuss their history, their internal identity, and their relationship to both Creek and federal polities. Most of all, this interest group organization provided places and reasons to meet with other Yuchi people in frequent face to face encounters reinforcing community cohesion.

Chapter V

Petition for Acknowledgment: "We are nothing more than step-children."

(Dah-bah., 1996)

The Yuchi community of the 1990s continues in the same patterns of ritual practice, residential location, and identity perception described in Chapter 4. Green Corn celebrations continue each summer with the three Yuchi grounds supporting one another.¹ Pickett Chapel and Mutteloke churches persevere as active venues for Yuchi Christians. Most community members continue to reside in the same locales that include Kellyville/Sapulpa, Duck Creek/Tulsa, Sand Creek/Bristow. The concept of Yuchi identity remains strong within the community reinforced by a number of new interest group organizations and their programs. These new interest group efforts received their initial impetus from the community's dissatisfaction with, and perceived discrimination by Creek Nation. This perceived bias combined with external stimulation from potential repatriation possibilities moved the community once more to seek direct political action. An unprecedented move regarding cultural patrimony by museums and the federal government afforded an opportunity for the Yuchi community to mobilize politically. In turn, this process reinforced identity by bringing the community together for intense interaction that supplemented ritual gatherings. This and the following chapter analyze these new forums that began in early 1989 and continue today. Chapter 5 relies heavily once again on documents and oral accounts for analysis. Chapter 6 uses these same tools but includes extensive ethnographic material.

Stimulus for Action:

With the close of direct Title IV involvement in 1979 by the Yuchi community concepts of Creek bias did not disappear. Indeed the Title IV shutdown accentuated the the loss once again of external identity recognition through the heavy handed tactics of Creek Nation and the federal government. In the late 1980s, the issue of repatriation stimulate meetings and discussions once again among community members.

Concerns over cultural patrimony and repatriation have been an ever increasing political issues between various federally funded organizations and Native groups as far back as 1967. Repatriation actions and controversies did not go unheeded with the the Yuchi community. Long before the passage of the 1990s federal Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA),² Native People began working to have their ancestors remains and items of cultural patrimony returned. A few of the highlights of those twenty years are noted below that focus on the success of the Native effort:³

1967 Kwakiutl began negotiations with the National Museum of Canada for the return of potlatch materials.

1970 The American Indian Student Association of the University of Minnesota in an attempt to show a double standard submitted a proposal to the National Science Foundation to excavate a Euroamerican pioneer cemetery.

1973 The Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan returned Indian remains for reburial.

1975 The Buffalo and Erie County of Canada returned several thousand wampum beads to the Onondaga Nation.

1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act was passed by Congress. The act called for a Commission to study the friction between Native Peoples and those museums and institutions that held religious objects.

1979 The National Museum of Canada returned potlatch materials to the Kwakiutl.

1980 The North American Indian Museum Association assisted the Zuni in negotiations with the Smithsonian for the return of their sacred War Gods. The effort has resulted in the recovery of most of these items.

1980 FBI confiscated from a thief Hopi masks and returned them to the tribe.

1981 The National Congress of American Indians adopted a resolution critical of the federal government for not acting on proposed regulations for the American Indian Freedom Act making the act "null and void"

1983 A *Newsweek* article discussed four Hopi sacred carved figures stolen in 1978 and sold to collectors for \$1,600. The article brought the concept of repatriation to public attention.

1983 Five ritual objects stolen for the Museum of the American Indian "increased the public outcry for repatriation."

1984 The Smithsonian returned the remains of five individuals to the Modoc Tribe.

1985 In a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* the executive director of the American Indian Community House in New York City called for access to Indians to their own cultural patrimony.

1985 Judge C. Lenton Sartain of the 20th Judicial District Court ruled that artifacts uncovered on private land were the property of the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana. The Appeals Court upheld the ruling and the human remains were reburied by the tribe.

1986 The National Congress of American Indians at its annual meeting in Phoenix called for changes in the federal laws to include Native religious and cultural rights. (Hill 1996)

During the late 1980s Native People's work on repatriation intensified. A middle-aged Yuchi man kept apprised of these interactions that could potentially affect his own people.⁴ A few of these occurrences were:

1988 The American Association of Museums (AAM) published it "Policy Regarding the Repatriation of Native American Objects and Human Remains." Items would be repatriated to Native American groups with *legal and cultural standing* (italics added).⁵

1988 The Pawnee Tribe of Oklahoma started official action to repatriate all remains of Pawnee Indians and funerary items.

1989 The Pawnee Tribe of Oklahoma released a preliminary report of the Nebraska State Historical Society's holdings as part of the their repatriation effort.

1989 The Field Museum of Chicago adopted a repatriation policy and returned remains of Indians to tribes.

1989 Nebraska passed a law required Nebraska public museum to return Native remains to the *appropriate Native American Tribal Governments* (italics added).

1989 Smithsonian returned for reburial sixteen remains to the Blackfeet Tribe of Montana.

1989 Stanford University announced it would return 550 Native remains to the Ohlone People.

1989 The University of Minnesota agreed to return the remains of nearly 1,000 individuals to comply with a 1981 state law requiring repatriation of Native remains.

1989 The National Museum of the American Indian Act was signed into law requiring the Smithsonian to return all human remains.

(Hill 1996)

Twenty years of Native struggle to claim their ancestors and cultural patrimony gradually changed the American view on Native Peoples and their heritage. On November 16, 1990, the President signed into law H. R. 5237, the Native American Grave Protection

and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). This law established a mechanism to return to Native burial remains, unassociated funerary objects, and sacred objects of cultural patrimony held in federal agencies and federally funded museums. Upon completion of their Native American inventories, agencies and museums were to repatriate these items back to the appropriate culturally affiliated *Indian Tribes*. Similar terminology had been endorsed in the 1988 AAM, the 1989 Nebraska and the 1989 Smithsonian efforts (see above). As in the ICC efforts, this terminology becomes problematic. The the NAGPRA Act defines Indian Tribe as:

any tribe, band, nation, or other organized group or community of Indians, including any Alaska Native village . . . which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United States to Indians because of their status as Indians.⁶

As an encapsulated unit within a federally recognized tribe, agencies would repatriate Yuchi culturally identifiable remains through Creek Nation.⁷ With the passage of AAM resolution, the Smithsonian repatriation effort and discussions in Congress on NAGPRA some community members feared that Creek leaders would represent these repatriated remains and artifacts as Creek and not as Yuchi.⁸ The Yuchi based much of this concern on their perceived ongoing discrimination by the Creek polity toward Yuchi people and their needs. One such incident, addressed in the previous chapter, was the issue of the Title IV grant money for a community center that was never built. "The Creek Nation come in and took all that money (for the community center) in 1979."⁹ This particular issue remained fresh in the memories of many as do other instances of perceived Creek bias. Community members frequently speak of historical and contemporary acts of Creek political prejudice toward individual Yuchi and the community as a whole.

Creek Bias: Identity in terms of "The Other"

The oldest documented account of Creek bias concerned the building of Euchee Mission Boarding School in the 1890s. In 1870, Congress appropriated money for the building of Indian boarding schools under the supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Reyhner and Edner 1992:44). The Creek government located these schools centrally within various Creek communities. In 1887, five boarding schools received monetary assistance from the Creek polity: Wetumka, Wealaka, Asbury, Nuyaka, and New Tullahassee. The Creeks located other schools at Coweta and Muskogee and an orphanage in Okmulgee (Debo 1941: 310, 352). The Creek polity had no school located near Yuchi settlements until the mid-1890s. The resolution by the Creek House of Warriors that approved a measure to build Euchee Mission in Sapulpa is enlightening (italics added):

Whereas: The Euchee Tribe of Indians *have been - incorporated into* and made a part of the Creek Nation, and have always been accorded all the rights privileges and immunities of citizens of said Nation, and,

Whereas: While they are now living in the Creek country as citizens thereof, yet *they are regarded in some respects as a different people*, and have on that account been more or less exclusion in their manner of living, their amusements and in their social relations, and

Whereas: On account of this difference *they have been more or less neglected* in providing neighborhood schools and especially the Boarding Schools, and

Whereas: The ultimate salvation of the Creek people requires that this education facility be equally and justly tributed among all the citizens, and for the purpose of secureing (sic) this end,

Be it Enacted by the National Council of the Muskogee Nation: That the sum of Seven Thousand (\$7,000.00) Dollars for and is appropriated to be used in the erection of a school building in the Euchee Town to be used as a Boarding school *exclusively for the Eucheas*.

Be it Further Enacted - That the money hereby appropriated shall be expended under direction of the Board of Education in the same manner as other funds for similar purposes have been expended in the past.¹⁰

This resolution brings to light a condition that the Yuchi people today still consider valid when trying to work through Creek Nation. As noted in the resolution above, they often feel *they have been more or less neglected*, and therefore, often do not receive an equal share in the benefits distributed by the Creek polity.

The above resolution noted that Creek officials considered the Yuchi as incorporated but separate, and as such, they suffered some measure of discrimination. The Creek Council did indeed construct such a school in what is today Sapulpa, a central locale for the Yuchi community. This Boarding school was never *exclusively* used for the Yuchi. In its first year of operation, it opened with fifty Yuchi children and thirty Creek children in attendance.¹¹ By 1911, the annual report reflected the names of many Yuchi children, but the report listed them as "Creek" with no other affiliation recorded. Not only was Euchee Mission never exclusively used for Yuchi children, but even those Yuchi children in attendance came to be listed as Creek and not as Yuchi.¹²

Today, the community has shifted its discrimination concern over Euchee Boarding School from its construction to its sale. The Yuchi community continues to question the whereabouts of the money realized by the sale of the school in the 1950s. The Yuchi people claim to have received no direct benefit from this sale. This issue

raised concerns in the 1970s during a Title IV community meeting: "Because the proceeds of the sale of the Euchee Mission were never fully understood it is best that we (Yuchi people) become aware of just what is happening in our tribal affairs (within Creek Nation)." ¹³

The sale of the mission has been a continuous point of contention between the Yuchi and the Creek government. A middle-aged female related the following story from her youth. As a child in the early 1950s, she attended a meeting at Pickett Chapel where adults voiced considerable concern about the sale of the school. Creek Chief McIntosh spoke to the group:

I remember then, I was seven years old when they (mother and grandmother) took me to this meeting out at the church and McIntosh, the leader of the Creek Nation, was speaking.

I was sitting there coloring. I remember these people hollering, and I looked up and I seen McIntosh standing up there at the pulpit and I seen this man holler real loud to him:

"Who gave you the right to sell Euchee Mission? That wasn't yours. You had no right to do that." ¹⁴ McIntosh said he didn't know. He said he would find out and get back to him. That was in the early fifties.

I was a kid then. I remember the grown-ups talking about this, my grandmother and mom had taken me to that meeting.

Now, most people don't take their kids to meetings. I could have stayed home. My dad stayed home and my sister. Its not like I had to go. They just took me. I think even these little things reinforce the idea that you were Yuchi. Like when people were so upset about them selling Euchee Boarding School. ¹⁵

This particular discourse brings a number of points to light. During the 1950s, when the community met to discuss specific issues, children were part of the discourse process.

They were not active participants, but observers of the Yuchi community. Their attendance was not mandatory, but encouraged. During public events such as this meeting, funerals, or other gatherings, adults expected children to be present as quiet listeners.¹⁶ In this way children experienced the Yuchi community outside the boundaries of daily family and friendship interaction. During such community discourse, children learn that Yuchi identity is a dynamic, processual, and contextual phenomenon.¹⁷

This meeting shows a *pattern of activity* used by the Yuchi community to solve basic problems. In this case, the focus was the persistent problem of Creek Nation not addressing the needs and concerns of their Yuchi constituency. The differential power between the Yuchi and the Creek political structures becomes clear with McIntosh's response to the question of the sale: "he would find out and get back to him." This is nearly identical to the response given by Chief Cox to the same question twenty years later. Cox stated "I will check on it further" (see community meeting January 22, 1977 in the previous chapter). For adults and children alike, such meetings reinforce Yuchi identity. That identity includes the perceived disinterest and negative bias by Creek leaders toward the Yuchi community.

The heavy hand of Creek Nation during the ICC petition filing continues to be a point of contention and voiced discrimination. In the 1960s after the ICC awarded the Creek Nation four million dollars, the Yuchi attempted to "get their fair share." They understood from the ICC ruling on their own petition that the Yuchi people would benefit directly through the claim of Creek Nation. They assumed Creek Nation or the federal government would allot the money to individual Creek citizens, and therefore the

Yuchi, as a part, would receive monetary awards. When this allocation did not occur, the community publicly discussed the issue:

I think it must have been in the 60s, they had a meeting down in Okmulgee (Creek Nation) regarding this Docket 172 (Yuchi ICC petition). Most of the Yuchis wanted the money. Someone talked about getting a petition to present down there (Creek Nation). I don't remember how many, one hundred and fifty or so names, that wanted it paid out. I did present it to those people at that meeting. I don't remember now who the people were, but they were from Washington. I said, based on the number of Yuchis, that's how they should pay it out. I think they took that money and put it into general fund where, I guess, they provide educational assistance and stuff.¹⁸

Community members frequently discuss the sale of Euchee Mission, the ICC claim, and Title IV funds as documented cases of Creek discrimination. The issue of a Sapulpa community center brings forward another account of Creek Nation's arbitrary rulings. When the Yuchi community was holding Title IV meetings in a renovated section of a health clinic, Yon-shen had a sign constructed to hang outside that meeting place:

I had a sign made, I had put on there "Yuchi Indian Community Center." That was all right, but about a month past, boy, get calls, get letters on it. Creek Nation said I had to change that, said it could be "Yuchi/Creek Community Center" But I never did put it back up. I left it off.¹⁹

Yon-shen still has that sign in his garage, a symbol of Creek political power over the Yuchi community. His refusal to replace the sign with "Yuchi/Creek" was symbolic of the Yuchi's refusal to acquiesce to a forced identity. Yon-shen attempted to explain the sign's wording by telling Creek officials that the name "Yuchi Community Center" was like other Creek town community centers. He gave examples such as Coweta Community Center and Tulsa Community Center. According to Yon-shen's argument, these centers were named after Creek towns, and therefore, it made sense to do the same

for the center in Sapulpa.²⁰ His explanation made no difference, and if anything, reinforced Creek Nation's stand that the sign must be changed or come down. Creek Nation apparently felt that the Yuchi were manipulating a symbol of identity for exclusive benefit and use of the Yuchi people. This dispute was basically a symbolic struggle over the distribution and exercise of political power with the encapsulated Yuchi unit forced to acquiesce, in part, to the dominant formalized power of Creek Nation. Group identity is formed in social relations with other groups, and in this process the balance of power plays the major role. The continual misunderstandings and disagreement with Creek Nation reinforce the Yuchi's concept of the powerlessness of their position as an encapsulated group.

Fieldwork has presented many instances over the years of Yuchi people's perception of Creek bias. The stories are both personal accounts and generalizations of such prejudice:

I've been Yuchi all my life. The only reason I have a Creek Card is for health care and such. I've never received any help from the Creeks. My children have had some and my grandchildren might. But, I never have. The Yuchi are nothing more than step-children. That's all we are, just step-children of the Creek Nation.²¹

The Creeks came to fix up my mother house. One of the Creek men told her, he said: "You Yuchi are costing us Creeks a lot of money!" And she said: "Creeks have gotten a lot of money that should belong to the Yuchi!"²²

I think the Creek Nation often snubs the Yuchi. Like, (names an active Yuchi member) has repeatedly helped the Creeks and then they don't even note our (Yuchi) meetings and functions.²³

You know the Creek Nation was given that deed for that land given to the Yuchi down in Georgia in the 1950s. They lost that deed. They say they never had it or they can't find it!²⁴

Over time, as tribes grew, Creek Nation, there were a lot of people (Yuchi) who had some negative experiences in dealing with the Creek Nation administration and a lot of them felt like they were being discriminated against. Now whether or not they were, I don't know, but they very strongly felt they weren't getting treated properly because they were Yuchi. They were sat in the back or ignored or you know. It was obvious to them, they were not getting equal treatment. That occurred over the years.²⁵

I can remember so many people at church, I was telling about joining Yuchi Tribal Organization at the time and someone said: "We can't do that because we will lose our (Creek) benefits." And I said: "What benefits?" And they said: "Oh, that's right!"²⁶

The Creeks, when they came in with this deal on the, you know, to join the CD Card and all that. You went down to Okmulgee and they kinda, you know, you was kind of a step-child. They really didn't want you in there the way they acted. You know, I still go down there, I use to take my Dad down there all the time. We'd go down there all day long, never get nothin accomplished, they just kinda run you around a big circle. When we got ready to leave we'd say: "Well there's another day wasted."²⁷

They're taken more effort with the Creeks than the Yuchi and use Yuchi money for the Creeks more than they are for the Yuchis. If they're getting any money from them, well, the use doesn't show up, they won't even help them (the Yuchi) when they are down and out.²⁸

One Yuchi man, who has been a part of the Creek political structure, spoke of the Creek prejudice he witnessed within the workings of that polity:

I think we have been treated unfairly. I've had a number of people over the years say that they had very uncomplimentary, if you would, comments made to them (by officials of the Creek Nation) because they were Yuchi.

A brief example that I can relate to, as a member on the staff of Creek Nation, (was) when we went through this strategic planning

process this year, trying to set some long-term goals. And several of us brought up the fact, well, you know, we included the Yuchi people, their name should be included in some way. Ultimately it (the Yuchi name) was eliminated. The rationale that was used was that if we include the Yuchi then we must include all the other towns. Well, (the other towns) they're all the same, they're all Muskogee people. So the Yuchi people were eliminated from the final copy.

To me this is another example. Probably unless we have a Yuchi person as Chief (of Creek Nation) that the Yuchi won't even be recognized as some of the other tribes.²⁹

Another Yuchi man explains how he circumvented Creek Nation to accomplish his goal:

I've dealt with people down here at Okmulgee, even when Cox and Fife (two past CN chiefs) was down there. I haven't had too much dealings with Beaver (current CN chief), but I've had a run in with him a couple of times. And we know how we stand. And I went over his head two or three times to Oklahoma City to get things done. And he didn't like it, but it didn't bother me at all because he wasn't doing what he was put in office to do and wanted me to go through channels.

Yeah, I said: "I can go through channels, how long will that take? Will it take thirty days, three months, six months, will it take a year?" But, he wouldn't answer me. I said: "No, I'm not going to, I'm going straight to the man in Oklahoma City." So I did. And they came down here, and we had a pretty good go around there for about an hour and a half. Now, when I go down there I don't have near as much trouble. But I don't think they want to throw out the red carpet or anything, but I do get a few things accomplished.³⁰

Creek officials themselves are aware of the distinctiveness of the Yuchi and the apparent discrimination against them. Some articulate this discrimination as unfair while others describe the Yuchi people as troublesome and problematic for Creek Nation:

(Creek man running for councilman) I know the Yuchi are included in the numbers of the Creek Nation, but often those services available by such numbers sometimes by-pass the Yuchi.³¹

Those of us in the Creek Nation don't really know who to talk to in the Yuchi community. The Yuchi are so factionalized. You know

just the other day, I said to a Yuchi man in a joking fashion: "I understand there is now a separate organization for every Yuchi person!" You know he didn't take that as a joke. I was afraid I had touched on a near truth. At Creek Nation, we really don't understand the Yuchi or just what it is that they want.³²

The "near truth" noted above did not just concern factionalism. The Yuchi man may well have perceived the statement as a discriminatory remark. The Creek official's joke portrayed the Yuchi as disorganized with constant internal fighting to the point that no two Yuchi could agree on anything.

The Yuchi people see such discrimination as coming from the Creek polity itself, not from individual members of other tribal towns. Creek citizens often speak favorably of the Yuchi people accepting them and their differences. During fieldwork such statements were noted: "You know the Yuchi use tobacco in their funerals. I know a lot of Yuchis, they are nice people."³³ "Lets see, you said Lisa lived around Kellyville? I'm not sure, but I think I know her brother, she's Yuchi right? I've gone to some of their dances, real friendly."³⁴

The Yuchi's perception of Creek discrimination is one way the community identifies "the other." These Creek bias stories were recorded from Yuchi group meetings where community members discuss Creek politics. Speaking publicly about Creek Nation's bias toward Yuchi people acts as a measure to set boundaries between themselves and those in the encapsulating polity. This voiced discrimination becomes a means to explain the power differential between themselves as subordinate and the Creeks as dominant.

The point is not whether this discrimination is a fact, but that it identifies the Yuchi and Creek as distinctly adversarial players within a political or power relationship. "Since action is shaped by the way people perceive themselves and their partners, what they think of themselves and of others is more important than the reality of their status" (Mach 1993:12). This does not mean that reality is unimportant, but rather that it is the interpretation of reality that creates the lines of demarcation between oneself and "the other." This method of identifying boundary demarcations made it possible for the Yuchi community to form and legitimize the next interest group effort that sought complete and total separation from Creek Nation.

A Political Response — Yuchi Tribal Organization, Inc.

With heightened discussion and acts of repatriation in the late 1980s, the Yuchi feared that Creek Nation would not handle Yuchi burial remains and artifacts appropriately. The community saw these items as part of Yuchi history and customs, not Creek. For the first time in two hundred years, they did not only discuss but actively sought federal acknowledgment as the Yuchi Tribe desiring to eliminate their status as an encapsulated Creek town. This effort is still on going, with Yuchi members frequently voicing their concern with Creek policies and actions. In a recent Yuchi meeting, a Yuchi man, hired by Kialegee Tribal Town as their Repatriation officer, discussed the issue.³⁵

A way for the Yuchi Tribe to be part of the repatriation is work with Kialegee Town, unless the Yuchi would rather work through the Creek Nation.

(This comment solicited extended laughter from those present and the following remark):

Not likely! They won't even let us see the lists! (speaking of the inventory lists from government agencies and museums that have come into Creek Nation).³⁶

Although repatriation was a stimulus, the underlying current was the problem inherent in being Yuchi within the Creek polity. The chair of two 1990s interest group organizations explained:

(The Title IV problem was) one of the catalysts, but as long as I can remember and before I was even aware of it, a lot of efforts had been toward doing that [separating from the Creeks].

A law suit (ICC) was placed in the 1940s and early 50s. All those things had been ongoing and I was old enough to understand the generalities, but I was not involved other than some of the elders were working on these things.

At different times in my youth and young adult life that discussions were held at some of the grounds about different things and this is the thing that I kept hearing consistently: "Well, you know we need to be recognized for our own, we have our own language and beliefs and so on."

In the 60s and 70s with the advent of the funding coming into the tribe (Creek Nation). A lot of people never really thought about it, myself included - we were Yuchi but we couldn't register as Yuchi. We only had one choice. Those that were Yuchi/Creek or Yuchi had to register as Creeks.³⁷

The Chair reiterates the previous discrimination against the Yuchi people and their interest group organizations in the recent past. The community organized the Title IV program and the ICC effort to bring specific economic resources into the Yuchi population. In the 1990s, the Yuchi based their political action on the additional concepts of perceived discrimination and potential for direct repatriation.

The proponents of action theory tend to explain the causal factors of an interest group's action and symbols of identity as based in the desire for political power and/or economic resources. For instance, the Hausa in Ibadan maintain identity in order to control a profitable begging industry (Cohen 1969). The Mende of Sierra Leone use symbolic ritual to mobilize votes and to support uprisings against the English (Kilson 1967; Little 1965). Bailey (1969:3-5) discusses the rules and symbols that elites must manipulate in order to win a seat in the British Parliament. The division of economic labor in South Norway is supported by the various divisions within the peasantry in specific ecological niches (Knutsson 1969). The ability to actually shift identity can be economically advantageous to the Fur and Baggara of the western Sudan (Haaland 1969). Mach (1993:108) states that central political players in autocratic regimes monopolize symbolic action to retain power and economic advantage.

Behind economic and political goals are the symbols that unite a group of people and that evoke a communal response that impels members to action. The explicitly stated symbol that incorporates a concept of Creek bias is the frequently uttered statement "I am Yuchi, not Creek." The utterance is perhaps one of the clearest symbol of Yuchi unity that continually unites them for political action outside the Creek polity. This symbolic statement provides continuity for the community and as noted in earlier oral history accounts it has existed far longer than any such political maneuvering and continues after political actions have ceased.

Symbols propel members to action. All too often scholars address the political action without taking into account the symbolic structures that unite a community

allowing them to take action. The focus on analysis tends to remain only in the "rational" economic and political spheres. To include symbols of identity does not exclude the subsequent Yuchi interest groups efforts for economic benefit and the manipulation of power, but allows us to see how this community is able to coalesce for action even under extremely oppressive conditions where their identity is rarely recognized by outsiders. The very concept that Yuchi ancestral remains and artifacts could be repatriated and labeled as Creek created a response in the community. Yuchi heritage belonged to the Yuchi people and no other:

You see, when the government did this repatriation thing, you know about burials and such. Well, we heard that the Creek Nation would get all those things that belong to the Yuchi.

We aren't Creek, and you know, they would just have this as Creek and we wouldn't have no say in it. Its not right. We are Yuchi and want our own recognition.

You know the other thing we heard was that the Sapulpa Museum wanted to get Yuchi artifacts. Now that's something! That's as bad as the Creek Nation. You know they have Yuchi stuff there that's been donated by families, but when you visit it ain't there!

Anyway, we feel like this repatriation this is important for the Yuchi people. Its our culture and our people. It don't belong to the Creek Nation and never to the City of Sapulpa.³⁸

This concern over Yuchi heritage and identity became the impetus for a series of community meetings that culminated in a new interest group organization called The Yuchi Tribe of Indians, Inc. (Y.T.O.).

Formation and Programs: An Exercise in Identity Reinforcement:

Community members interested in repatriation and recognition held their first meeting in a private residence in March 1989.³⁹ "There was just a few there."⁴⁰ The number of people was small but included important community individuals: a prominent church leader, a ceremonial speaker, a ceremonial leader and his daughter, the councilman for the Creek district who was Yuchi, a Yuchi lawyer, an outspoken Yuchi and Indian civil rights activist, and a Yuchi/Shawnee woman whose uncle is a current ground's speaker. A few other small group meetings occurred before a large community meeting convened at the Kellyville Community Center (a.k.a. the Silver Dollar Ballroom).⁴¹ In this meeting, community members created the core of the organization that was to tackle to problematic issue of repatriation and federal acknowledgment:

We had been talking about the repatriation stuff back in the Southeast. And we were talkin about the repatriation and one of the guidelines, it said only federally recognized tribes could apply for this repatriation. So he (Yuchi man) was saying that they had relaxed the regulations for submitting an application for federal acknowledgment. So we decided this was the best bet in order to repatriate things.

And I guess it was in April 89 we had a community meeting at the Silver Dollar. Instead of electing a business committee, they more or less selected a committee, an organizational committee. Okay, and they (community members) decided to include the three grounds, and we wanted representatives from the three grounds. The Duck Creek area selected (a middle-aged male with a professional degree), the Polecat people selected (middle-age college educated female and an older female involved in the 1950s Georgia trip), and then there wasn't anybody from Sand Creek but one or two, and they selected (Yuchi man who was Creek District councilman) to represent them. But they was trying to include representatives for those people not involved in the stomp grounds so they selected (middle-aged male activist) to be an outside representative and (middle-age active grounds female) to be an

outside representative. Oh, (elder male church leader) was selected to be the representative for Bigpond, that's how he was there, because it was a defunct stomp ground.

Then they decided that group needed a secretary, so selected me from the floor to be their secretary. They didn't give them a chance to vote on their own secretary. That's how I got in there (middle-age Yuchi/Shawnee female).

And then, after that I think we had a couple of meetings and we decided to submit an application to ANA for funding. So they (this core group) worked on that.⁴²

The organizational pattern should be familiar. In the formation of the interest group organization, the community included representation for all three areas of Yuchi settlement based on ceremonial ground affiliation. They selected a church leader who technically represented a one-time ceremonial ground, but in actuality provided a voice for the Yuchi church community. This type of representation was imperative to maintain open communications between the various settlement areas and the ritual settings of church and grounds. By repeating the methodology of the 1970s, they kept the potential for political factionalism between the various areas within bounds so that such divisions would not interfere with the workings of the interest group as a whole.

The core committee consisted of an equal number of men and women each with an area of expertise. There were two elders, one female ground's person and one male church leader. The man is one who often related his war stories of the children overseas and who shows considerable concern with passing Yuchi heritage on to the community's young. The woman was instrumental in organizing the earlier trip to Georgia and continues to work there during the summer teaching Yuchi history and crafts to visitors. The remaining members were middle-aged. One held a post-graduate degree and two

were college educated. The activist continually speaks at national and international conventions concerning civil rights for Native People. He keeps the Yuchi people informed on various issues that affect all Indian groups. Each of these people brought special talents to the core that would assist in the formation of the interest group organization.

The officers for Y.T.O. included these same individuals and one other. The Chair was the delegate from the Duck Creek area who is a CPA with a college background in business and accounting. The Vice-chair was a highly respected church leader, the Treasurer was the Polecat ceremonial representative, and the Secretary the Yuchi/Shawnee woman who was the niece of a grounds Speaker. These individuals created the initial core working group. This core obtained its validity from their ritual areas of representations and from their election by the community at large.

The Interest Group at Work: Identity Reinforcement:

This 1990s effort began with a small group of individuals with a specific concern. They brought that concern forward in meetings where the community validated and acted on the issue brought forward by formally creating another interest group organization. This process brought community member together for interaction based on a perceived need. Venues for communications concerning "being Yuchi" became more numerous again following the brief lull after the Title IV effort. Through this interest group effort and two others, the 1990s became an intensive era for

community interaction with specific goals of retaining Yuchi identity and teaching outsiders about the Yuchi people.

Y.T.O. officers and volunteers held a number of meetings to organize their efforts and to work on a funding grant. These meetings included other interested community members. According to the Vice-chair beginning in April of 1990 through much of 1991, the participation in meetings increased in number with each subsequent gathering:

Then about two weeks later we had a meeting at the library.⁴³ At that time we had quite a few people to come to the meeting. We had more and more meetings. Like I said, each time it seemed like it was gaining momentum, people were interested in it.

It was going pretty good so we got the (grant) proposal together and (the man who was to become the paid Director) and (the Chair) worked on this proposal and then presented it to us. We all took a look at it, and read it and it sounded real good like it was really something that we could live with. So we mailed it off to Washington to ANA.

We kept waiting and waiting. At this time we were still, no money or anything, we were just hanging in there you know. So, finally we did get a notice that we did get the grant.⁴⁴

The next project was to find a place to call our office. So we looked down at Kellyville, just north there of Kellyville out there was no police protection or fire protection or anything out there. Of course we knew what all we would have to have, all the equipment and everything. We didn't want to jeopardize that by letting somebody break in and do damage or even take it or something like that you know. We backed out of that little office down there.

We found this little place in Sapulpa down there on Water Street. That was a real nice little ol' place. We just felt like it was home. So that's where we settled then. That's where we started operations, right there.

Everything was goin real good. We started filing our petitions (for funding) for year after year. The first one we got was for two year grant. At that time they were limiting their grants to \$50,000 a year. Not much. The next year we got another grant for \$50,000. Then before that one ran out, we got another one for I think it was only for \$75,000 which was still below our operations because we was paying Director's salary out of it, paying rent, utilities and all this other expense. We had a built-in expense account for a councilor to come in, and for travel expense and things of that nature. But we were running along real well.⁴⁵

The community elected to move completely outside Creek Nation to seek funding and work space. This avoided the conflicts that occurred in the 1970s with Title IV efforts.

By circumventing the power and control of Creek Nation, the Yuchi sought to meet their own needs. Before receiving grant money, the initial work took place in the Chair's business office in Tulsa:

So we started working on that. I had my office (private business) here in Tulsa on 14th Street at that time. I had quite a bit of office space then so we started workin on that about two months before the (ANA grant) deadline.

We were able to get the grant and one of the stipulations of that was you had to be incorporated. And so we had already submitted the proposal before we incorporated, but it was a small deal and didn't take us very long to do that. So we incorporated as the Y.T.O., a state non-profit. That really never came up as an issue at that time, but we went ahead and did it. So we had a legal structure under us.⁴⁶

Once Y.T.O. received the grant money, the officers selected a location for the office in downtown Sapulpa. This locale provided centralized access for all Yuchi people. The rental agreement was between Y.T.O., Inc. and an individual. This contract eliminated possible interference from the Creek polity.

One of the criteria that serves these 1990s organizations well, is the education of the interest group leaders. For the Chair, with his financial/business background, to

incorporate the organization was within his area of expertise and required no outside assistance. Internally for the first time, the community had many members who understood the larger power structure and who had the skills themselves to pursue the community's specific goals. In 1990, a part of the expertise of the Chair and others included the ability to create Y.T.O.'s incorporating constitution. The preamble reads as follows:

PREAMBLE: We, the Yuchi Indians of The Yuchi Tribal Towns, a recognized Tribe of Indians composed of the Tribal Towns/Communities of Yuha (Polecat), Duck Creek, Sand Creek and Bigpond, in compliance with the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, Section 3, of June 26, 1936 (48 Stat. 1967), to govern our towns, under the guidance of the Almighty God, Our Creator, to promote Unity, to establish justice, and secure to ourselves and our children the blessings of Freedom, to preserve our basic Rights and Heritage, to strengthen and preserve self and local Government, in continued relations with the United States of America, do ordain and establish this Constitution for The Yuchi Tribe of Indians.⁴⁷

This opening statement is informative for a couple of reasons pertaining to Yuchi ritual life and symbols of identity. The constitution notes the three central areas of Yuchi residence under the auspices of tribal towns or communities. It designates the fourth area of Bigpond in order to include those Yuchi who once belonged to the Bigpond ceremonial ground and whose representative was a respected church leader. The reference to *Almighty God, Our Creator* is an inclusive phrase. Although both ceremonial grounds and churches refer to their deity by both terms, commonly the ceremonial people use the term Creator while church people more often use the term Almighty God. Thus, the use of both terms symbolize the unity of Yuchi people no matter their ritual practice.

The second statement of importance is: *secure to ourselves and our children the blessings of Freedom, to preserve our basic Rights and Heritage, to strengthen and preserve self and local Government, in continued relations with the United States of America.* The community is seeking freedom from their encapsulation within the Creek polity desiring to interact directly with local and federal polities in order to preserve their own heritage. No longer do they wish to be encapsulated within a polity that does not speak to their needs and concerns. Once more, the ground work was laid for a power struggle involving all three interacting polities, two formalized political actors (federal government and Creek Nation) and one interest group (Y.T.O.) that sought formalization.

As with most governing documents, the Yuchi constitution provides the criteria for membership within the tribe. "Each Yuchi Indian by blood shall have the opportunity for citizenship in The Yuchi Tribe of Indian."⁴⁸ Article I, Section III further states that a person must be "a Yuchi Indian by blood whose name appears on the final rolls (allotment roll) . . . or the person is a *lineal descendant* of a Yuchi Indian by blood whose name appears on the rolls." The document does not designate the degree of blood quantum. Such a statement supports the internal identity criterion for being Yuchi: having at least one ancestor who was Yuchi (see Chapter 2).

Through its constitution, Y.T.O attempted to establish the forerunner of a tribal government that would oversee the concerns affecting Yuchi people while excluding Creek Nation from any oversight:

(a) To promote the public health and safety, education and welfare that may contribute to the social, physical well-being and economic advancement of citizens of The Yuchi Tribe of Indians.

(b) To negotiate with Federal State, and Local government and others.

(c) To manage, lease, prevent the sale of, dispose or otherwise deal with tribal lands, communal resources or other interest belonging to The Yuchi Tribe of Indians or reserved for the benefit of such Tribe.

(d) To authorize and make appropriations from available funds for tribal purposes. All expenditures of tribal funds shall be a matter of public record open to all the citizens of the Yuchi Tribe of Indians at all reasonable times.⁴⁹

These four points under Article VI section 7 speak directly to past problems with the Creek polity. The one area that the Yuchi concede does work, albeit slowly and with difficulty is the health service provided by Creek Nation. There are many grumblings over the long waits, mis-diagnosis, lack of concern, and general mountains of red tape within the health care system. Sub-section (a) addresses the fact that the Yuchi must still be able to receive health services, but under a better self-regulating system. Sub-section (b) is the heart of the petition, to be able to interact directly with dominant political structures, no longer having to use Creek Nation as an intercessor. Sub-section (c) speaks specifically of tribal land and funds. This is a way to circumvent the problems of land reimbursement that occurred in the ICC petition and for which the Yuchi feel they have received no recompense. Finally, subsection (d) addresses the appropriation of funds. The tribal entity would be authorized for such expenditure without any interference from the Creek polity as occurred with the Title IV monies. It also states

clearly that such expenditure would be open for review to *all* tribal members, unlike Creek Nation's failure to disclose the use of funds from the sale of Euchee Mission.

Wanting to insure that Creek Nation did not subvert their recognition process, several Yuchi members discussed with Creek National Council representatives the idea of the Yuchi seeking separate federal acknowledgment. "See, we didn't want to have no trouble with the Creek Nation, so we presented a petition."⁵⁰ Creek Nation gave its consent to the Y.T.O. effort by passing a resolution on October 17, 1990 that stated:

A RESOLUTION OF THE MUSCOGEE (CREEK) NATIONAL COUNCIL SUPPORTING THE YUCHI TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, INC., IN ITS ENDEAVOR TO GAIN FEDERAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE YUCHI TRIBE.

Section 100.

Be it enacted by the Muscogee Nation in Council Assembled:

Section 101

WHEREAS, The Yuchi Tribal Organization was incorporated, under the laws of Oklahoma, on July 6, 1989; and

WHEREAS: The Yuchi Tribal Organization desired to create through an increased awareness of the true History, contributions and cultural differences of the Yuchi Indian Tribe; and

WHEREAS: The Yuchi Tribal Organization desires to stimulate and promote research and study of early Yuchi History; and

WHEREAS: The Yuchi Tribal Organization desires to identify, locate, catalogue, photograph, display and otherwise preserve the Yuchi culture; and

WHEREAS: The Yuchi Tribal Organization desires to recommend to the Federal Government possible legislation which would gain Federal Acknowledgment for the Yuchi Tribe.

Section 102.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, THAT THE MUSCOGEE (CREEK) NATIONAL COUNCIL fully supports the Yuchi Tribal Organization in its endeavor to gain Federal Acknowledgment of the Yuchi Tribe.⁵¹

Twenty Council members, both Yuchi and Creek, presented this resolution that passed with no opposition. Creek Nation had publicly stated its support of Y.T.O.'s effort on behalf of the Yuchi people. The Creek Council did not affirm that they wished the Yuchi people to leave Creek Nation. They merely passed a resolution that supported the proposed efforts of the Yuchi community to seek federal recognition. This resolution was an attempt by the Yuchi community to circumvent any interference from the Creek polity. The Yuchi did not want a repeat of the ICC petition endeavor where Creek Nation played a large part in the Yuchi's defeat.⁵² If the Yuchi community could eliminate any interference from Creek Nation, they would then be dealing with only one powerful polity, not two. If Creek Nation would indeed ally with the Yuchi and support their effort, the balance of power is slightly shifted giving the Yuchi at least a possible chance at success.

The reason the Creek Council chose to pass the Yuchi resolution may well have been the internal struggle in that polity to oust Chief Cox.⁵³ The National Council and tribal administration were at odd to the point that the BIA stepped in attempting to reconcile the differences. The Muskogee Area Superintendent described the relations between Cox and the Council as "strained and difficult."⁵⁴ The Yuchi as a group did not have Council voice but as individuals they represented a voting block that could conceivably assist in the effort to remove the Chief in the upcoming election.

Cox had publicly stated that the three tribal towns who had received recognition through the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 had "hurt the Creek Nation in terms of federal contracts and numbers of citizenship rolls."⁵⁵ Cox had taken the reigns of Creek Nation in the 1970s and had been a part of the withdrawal of Yuchi funds from the community during Title IV and certainly would not have been in favor of another group seeking recognition. The Council may well have viewed a large voting block of Yuchi instrumental in Cox's eventual removal from office. Support of the Yuchi petition by Creek officials may have been one means to that end.

The leaders of Y.T.O took other measures to insure that their Creek friends and neighbors did not misunderstand their action to seek recognition. No matter Yuchi people's dissatisfaction with the Creek polity they maintained many close relationships with other Creek people.⁵⁶ On September 8, 1990 several Yuchi interest group and ritual leaders spoke before a Creek Tribal Town Organization meeting in Okemah.⁵⁷ In his opening commentary the Chair of Y.T.O. explains the differences between Yuchi and Creek:

I think that most of us that grew up in a traditional area through the square grounds, ceremonial grounds, etc. We grew up just knowing who we were and who our parent were and who our people were. I grew up as a Yuchi person. And while young we went to a lot of the other square grounds back south and they was always referred to as the Creek grounds. And we knew basically that we were all affiliated but we, we identified as being the Yuchi grounds, the Creek grounds, the Pawnee, the Sac N Fox, the Shawnee. We recognized all this and whenever you go among these different people, they recognize you. "Oh, yeah, you're Yuchi." "You're Creek" etc. So we grew up knowing this.

In order to be enrolled as a federally recognized Indian person you enrolled with the Creek Nation or another tribe, if you were another

tribe or you didn't belong. A full-blood Yuchi couldn't register any place else except the Creek Nation. And so, that's what the majority of people did.

If you look around, if you look at the different areas, I would say that there is a high degree of involvement by the Yuchi people in the various communities and tribal grounds that are within the Creek Nation. And so, there's always been this close association, going back and reading things, books that were written years ago about being over in the Georgia area back east and subsequently being here. There was always that close affiliation, but the people always said: "No, were not Creek, we're Yuchi." And there's a lot of intermarriage of course for that.

Reminding the Creek tribal town members present that Yuchi people are unique in their identity, the Chair continues by showing how closely allied the Creeks and Yuchi have been in the past. This alliance had been beneficial to all but does not discount the differences between the two groups. The Chair then called upon the Speaker of Polecat ground who was highly respected in both the Creek and Yuchi community. This man was a Yuchi language speaker and as such reinforces the difference:

I think the language sets the mood of the tribe, the language and the ways and that's what I always say . . . When in this area here, among the Creek people when I come to the ceremonial grounds I heard them talk. I couldn't understand them. I couldn't understand the language but I catch here and there and when they talk and they was talkin in the Indian language of the people. I thought that was good. That was the way it that was the way it was handed down. My people, that's what they say to us and I followed that.

The Yuchi Speaker is both showing the differences in the two native languages and at the same time showing the value of both. The speaking of the Yuchi language was as intricate a part of Yuchi life as was the Muskogee language for Creek people. As both a respected ritual leader and a speaker of his native tongue, the grounds Speaker has shown that the Yuchi are just as concerned with their unique heritage as are the Creeks.

Traditional for Yuchi public meetings if not for Creek, the Treasure of Y.T.O, a Yuchi woman was asked by Y.T.O.'s Chair to speak. She explained the importance of ritual and of the friendship between Yuchi and Creek through time:

So from that time on, we started out with prayer, from the very beginning we started out with prayer. We asked God to guide us and go with us because what we wanted was something real good for our people. While we have nothing against you Creek people, you have always been our friends, been our neighbors back in the

Southeast when the Indians lived in Alabama and Georgia they were neighbors, they helped one another, they loved on another back there. I know that's the way it was back here, but we do want to be known by our own name. If the situation was reversed and the world recognized you as Yuchis, you wouldn't feel very good. You'd want to be known as Muscogee people which you are. That's the way we are, we want to be known by our own identity, our own name.

There are distinct differences in our people. However, the distinct differences in our people, when we get together they compliment each other. We can work together. We can do real good together. We can further and advance the causes of all our people to go forward. We can help one another that way. That's the way our people lived and worked back there. And so, my desire and the desire of the others that think along with me is because, is not because we want to upset anybody, we're not fighting anyone, we just want to get something so the world will know who we really are.

We want to be know by our own name. That was my whole intent on starting this and I constantly reminded people, I said: "Now, we're not up here try to upset anybody, or criticize anybody, we're not tryin to hurt anyone. We are just tryin to help ourselves so that we can be known by our own name and we want to get all of our history together in one place so that our young people, our younger generation will know where to go and look for it.

As it is, our young people don't know how to do research. They say they're Yuchi but they can't explain anything about it because they don't know their history outside just the little bit they've learned. But there's a lot in the background they don't know. Since

they don't know how to go about looking for it, they just don't do it. And I said: "This way we can get all of our, all the values of our people together in one place."

Anyway, that was our whole intent, to get our name recognized before the federal government, before the world so we can stand proudly and say who we are and contribute what we have in our own heritage to try and help other people around us. And that's the reason I started this. I'm just glad we are trying to make some strive.

And like I said we look to God for guidance at all times. We always want to move forward with the thought of love in every action because what we want is good. We don't want anything bad to happen to anyone. So today as I'm standing here, I speak to you in the spirit of love and I just wish good for all of you. That's all. Thank you.

The treasurer reminds the Creeks present of the long standing ties between Yuchi and Creek. She calls upon custom ways and religious convictions to express the Yuchi people's desire to pursue their identity and history and pass these on to the younger generation just as Creek people do with their own heritage. Both the alliance with the National Council and the Tribal Town meeting show the Yuchi have understood the rules of the game and seek to pacify Creek Nation and its people regarding this new Yuchi political effort. With one less political power to fight, they might have a chance at finally achieving their own recognition after two hundred years of being considered Creek people.

More than Creek alliance would be necessary to pursue their goal. Tribal members with expertise in legal and financial areas were necessary. These individuals helped create the wording for the constitution after listening closely to what the community desired. People with such expertise usually held professional jobs and could

not devote their entire time exclusively to the interest group organization. Once funding was secured, the community hired a paid Director who was Yuchi. He had worked with other Indian groups on grants and community assessment projects. However, it was not this criterion that was of upper most significance for the appointment. The Chair spoke to the importance of ancestry, ability to work with other Yuchi, education, and integrity as necessary characteristics for the Director position:

Of course I had know his parents and they had been very active in the community both at the grounds and the peyote meetings of the Native American Church. They were good friends with my dad (a highly respected Yuchi ground's speaker) and all. I knew all the kids and such. We hadn't really spent a lot of time, but we'd see him at these different things

I really felt like he probably, outside of myself, although I was very strongly interested, I didn't have the time to devote to actually doing that. I felt he would be the person most knowledgeable and interested in doing that. Of course the interest was there.

He was pretty knowledgeable. He knew quite a bit about a lot of things. He had, I think, a bachelors (degree) or close to it. He might even have something on a masters. He had a pretty good educational background.

He was a pretty fair writer. He come up with a lot of good stuff and we'd talk and seemed to work pretty well together at least initially. And that all worked out pretty well.⁵⁸

To lead in any fashion in the Yuchi community one must be able to work directly with the people and have their needs as the central factor in all endeavors. The new Director appeared to have all such qualification. His primary task was to work on the petition for federal acknowledgment. He was to create petition drafts to be reviewed by the Y.T.O Board. The draft copy makes an interesting observation and speaks to the central concerns of the Yuchi community:

It is our inherent right to protect and preserve our language, tradition, values and beliefs. Under our present status of being recognized as a part of a confederation, we find the recognized Creek Government to be insensitive and incapable of protecting these that we hold sacred and valuable to us as a tribe.

Therefore, we are resolved to undertake these responsibilities unto ourselves through our own autonomous separate Tribal recognition.⁵⁹

This statement articulates the two indices of Yuchi identity: language and beliefs while incorporating the concern over Creek Nation bias and thus the potential loss of Yuchi identity. Although federal recognition originally stimulated by repatriation was the impetus, it was to become the preservation of this Yuchi identity and cultural ways that influences the working of this and other interest group efforts in the 1990s.

The petition draft gave a historical overview of the Yuchi from 1539 through 1898. The document cites a few ethnohistorical documents that link the Yuchi in time and place. The Yuchi's ICC Petition with its tribal roll was included as the major documentation for the community's actions in the twentieth century. Few other works were available and none were used. Much of the historical documentation relied heavily on the work of Joseph Mahan the curator of the museum at Columbus, Georgia (see Mahan 1992). Mahan's work attempted to link the Yuchi with Egyptian and Cretan peoples, a concept most scholars have never considered viable. The Y.T.O Board, sensing this and other problems with the draft, forwarded a copy to an attorney who noted the deficiencies in the historical sequencing. The Chair explains:

The first one (draft) had a lot of verbiage to it but probably 75% was probably from what the guy over at Georgia (Mahan) had verbatim and included stuff in there. See (the Director) didn't seem to realize that the Bureau (BIA) didn't want these verbatim things, they wanted argument and presentations as to why this has

happened and then using those as support documentation referring to this book, that document and so on.

A really scholarly treatment of the whole thing as well as some legal aspects to it. He (Director) never realized that and trying to deal with that as tactfully as I could, you'd discuss that well, maybe if we did some other things.

We sent his first draft off to be critiqued by the attorney who had been involved with this for a number of years and who had recently helped another tribe gain the status, the Paiute group. And everything he sent back was pretty much what I saw as being the deficiencies and so did several of the other people.⁶⁰

The Board had requested the Director to be in touch with scholars who could help in the petition effort, providing their expertise and insights. This did not occur until after the first draft had been completed. One of the largest gaps in the original document concerned the lack of continuous treatment of the Yuchi from the 1800s to the twentieth century. For the process of creating the final petition, the Board requested that the Director seek the expertise of scholars at Tulsa University, University of Oklahoma, and Kansas University. These scholars began working on the analysis of political structures, genealogical links, and oral accounts that would link the current community to the historically documented Yuchi populations in the Southeast.⁶¹

Community Interaction: Identity Reinforcement:

A central part of the petition filing concentrated on the development of a tribal roll. For this effort, Y.T.O. created an enrollment form for members to complete and submit to the corporate office. This form required an extensive genealogy that extended back four generations. The information for each ancestor included full name, tribal

affiliation, degree of blood, and Dawes roll number where applicable. The effort to completed these forms brought about extensive interaction between community members as well as with outsiders.

The ICC Yuchi Tribal Roll and the Dawes Allotment Roll proved central for Yuchi identification of some ancestors. Those born before the Dawes Act proved more elusive. Y.T.O., together with researchers from the University of Oklahoma, met several times with Yuchi elders attempting to link pre-1900 census data to the current community. The problem in linkage concerned name shifts that occurred near the turn of the century, the move from Yuchi based names to Euroamerican surnames. These Yuchi speaking elders viewed the Yuchi names on an 1832 census and translated the meaning of those names into English with the hopes of making linkages to the Euroamerican name shifts.

Internally, the search for genealogical ties brought members of the community into close contact with each other. In particular, it created interaction with Yuchi elders who knew the genealogy of their generation and could fill in the gaps for others who did not know their family linkages.⁶² These meetings between members included not only the passing on of family births, deaths, and marriages, but the stories of Yuchi people in a variety of times and places. "My grandmother use to talk about the Trail of Tears and how bad it was. She told us stories about"⁶³ "You know my Daddy was a U.S. Marshall here after the Civil War. He tracked lots of outlaw gangs back then."⁶⁴ Brought forward by the quest for genealogical information, these stories are sources of

continuing discussions among community members that reinforce their own history and unique identity.

In an attempt to regain and retain another part of their history, the Vice-chair of Y.T.O. investigated a report that the Yuchi had once lived near the Austrian Salzburger settlement of Ebenezer, Georgia in the 1700s. While in Georgia, he had a chance encounter with the President of the Salzburger society who invited him to attend to the annual Salzburger meeting on Labor Day.⁶⁵ The *Georgia Salzburger Society Newsletter* of August 1, 1990 carried the announcement of the Vice-chair's upcoming visit to the annual meeting:

(Vice-chair) is a full-blooded member of the Yuchi Tribal Organization, Inc. of Sapulpa, Oklahoma. A chance meeting of our President, Marvin Brown, and (Vice-chair) brought the fact that the Vice-chair's ancestors had been members of the Yuchi Tribe originally living in the Red-Bluff--Blue Bluff area of the Ebenezer settlement. Mutual interest in the history of the Salzburgers and the Yuchi Indians formed a fine friendship. The idea grew that it would be most interesting for the Salzburger Society to issue an invitation to the Vice-chair to visit the former home of his ancestors after an absence of over 200 years. He accepted . . . There are 700 members of the Yuchi Tribal Organization. The Vice-chair is one of the 30 full blooded members. He is very active in the affairs of his tribe.⁶⁶

Both the Vice-chair and the Director of Y.T.O. attended the Salzburger meeting in 1990.

The article quoted the Vice-chair at the meeting: "We are proud to be here and revisit the footsteps of our forefathers." The news item also quoted the Director: "We (Yuchi) are trying to establish in law that the Yuchi tribe is a distinct, autonomous group that existed since before Columbus. If you don't know where you've been, you can't know where you're going."⁶⁷ In a similar vein to the 1958 Columbus Georgia bus trips, the

leaders of the new interest group organization were connecting directly with the history of their people. To date, few others have traveled back to the Ebenezer community, but their early Georgia history has become clearer for Yuchi community members with this trip by Y.T.O. officials. The community has incorporated this information on the Yuchi at Ebenezer into their history, and from time to time in meetings it is articulated by various tribal members. Concurrently, the Yuchi community extended its identity to the Salzburger community that believed there were no longer any living Yuchi people.⁶⁸ The perception of a current Yuchi community now extends from east (Ebenezer) to west (Columbus) Georgia with people in that state aware of their attachment to, and continuing interactions with a community they once thought has ceased to exist. The Yuchi people had made connections with their past that increased not only their own self-awareness but that of others.

Y.T.O.'s efforts supplied a reason for community members to meet and communicate frequently concerning the workings of the petition. The organization soon furnished another venue for community interaction based on concern for the Yuchi language and its potential loss. At the same time, other people in the area became aware of the Yuchi and their activities. The Vice-chair is a fluent speaker of the Yuchi language. During the early 1990s he taught a language class. Several area newspapers raised the awareness of the Yuchi among others when they reported on this class.⁶⁹ The language class met every Wednesday evening from 7:00 to 8:30PM. The instructor taped each class lesson and made these tapes available to community members who, for whatever reason, could not attend the classes themselves. "These tapes are not for sale.

All I ask is that you purchase the (blank tapes) and you can have the class tapes."⁷⁰

Likewise, he created a workbook for each class that was free to all interested Yuchi people.

In 1992, I attended one such class. There were approximately thirty-five people involved ranging in age from five to eighty-five. The meeting opened with a sign-in sheet passed around. This is the same procedure begun by Yon-shen in the Title IV effort. The meeting close with a prayer in the Yuchi language followed by a traditional meal that included sofke, corn and beef, and fried bread. The meal allowed for an extended period of social interaction among the students, visitors, and elders. The meeting did not last the stated hour and half, but continued for nearly three hours. This is a common occurrence. Indeed, the participants may transact business in the allotted time, but additional time is a necessary custom that allows for extended socializing between Yuchi people.

The instructor opened the class by stating a common concern: "If we are to keep the language goin, we have to get together and do it. This is why we come down here every Wednesday. The first night we got together, I think it was twenty-seven or twenty-eight people that were interested." He went on to explain that the classes had dwindled in size. He felt that this lack of participation made it clear to the Yuchi people how their language could be lost, and the Yuchi culture could disappear unless people became more involved.

This particular evening, the instructor had invited elders fluent in the language to speak before the students. This way the students could listen to actual recitations from

several people in their native language. Each orator spoke in Yuchi with the instructor translating their words into English. The speakers included three women and four men. The first speaker was an elder woman who taught a similar class to children in Sapulpa. Another was Yon-shen, the leader of the Title IV effort of the 1970s. A third was the speaker at Polecat ceremonial ground. The oldest speaker was the mother-in-law of the second chief at Duck Creek. As the community's culture bearers, the presence of these elders provided not only instruction, but validation of the language effort. One poignant moment came when the ceremonial speaker said:

When the language is gone, they will look around and ask: "Where is the Yuchi Tribe?" There won't be no Yuchi, we will be classified as American citizens. I don't want to be known as just an American citizen. I am Yuchi.

The message was clear. The Yuchi people were endanger of loosing an index of identity, and potentially loosing their very identity as Yuchi people. Y.T.O and the Vice-chair's willingness to teach provided another venue to meet and discuss for extended periods the concept of being Yuchi thus reinforcing community identity and cohesion.

Involvement in the Larger Community: Articulating Identity Externally

While reinforcing Yuchi identity through community meetings, petition formation, genealogical work and language classes, the Yuchi community sought to create a more public image in the city of Sapulpa. "We were trying to do some things within the Sapulpa area and getting more PR and information about the fact that we exist because most of the people, a lot of them weren't very familiar. We got involved with some of the city stuff."⁷¹ The city of Sapulpa holds an annual Sapulpa Fest with various

businesses, civic organizations, and social groups supplying food and crafts along the town's main street. Y.T.O's members organized the effort that was extremely successful the first year. The community built an arbor on Main Street where they sold arts and crafts with the proceeds going for community use:

F: We had a deal where we split it four ways, Y.T.O. got 1/4 of the proceeds, and the three grounds got 1/4 of it. I think they made over \$1,500 for that weekend.

W: We had a lot of people show up to participate.

H: That first time there was a lot of participation.

F: It was like a city festival, everybody in town was down town. They had food booths and other arts and craft booths, carnival rides.

P: Was the booth you set up designated as Yuchi?

F: Yeah. It was a very unique booth, it looked just like an arbor. I think they did a video tape of it.

H: There was a lot of work, there was a lot of planning that went into it. We had to go by the health codes, there was a lot of work

W: Then we danced. And the people around here said: "We didn't know you all did that."

F: See, the Indians had never participated in anything. The only reason we were down there was because we had that down there and they came to see us or help us. And I think the next year when we didn't participate in Sapulpa Fest they didn't have near the crowd they had that one time.⁷²

Sapulpa was once a place to meet and visit with Yuchi people (see Chapter 4). The Yuchi in 1990s found a new way to express their presence in the city and heightened the awareness of the Euroamerican community to the Yuchi living in their midst. The involvement with the Sapulpa festival was as Yuchi people, not as Creek. The raising of

awareness to those outside the Yuchi community intensifies in the coming years with the rise of two new interest group organizations (see Chapter 6).

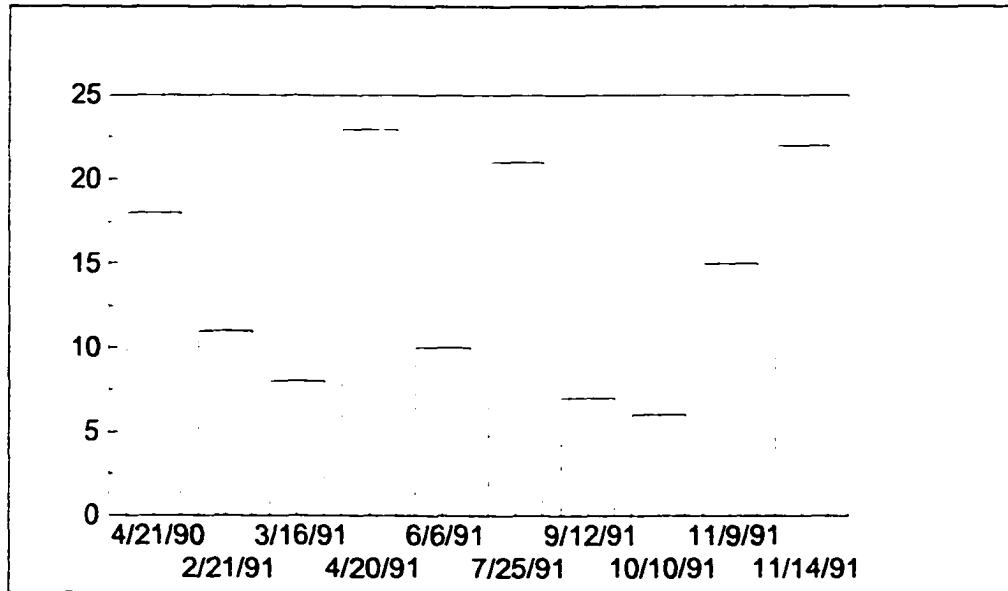
Demographic Analysis: The Core and Leadership

Few Y.T.O. participant records have been secure to date. The original acting secretary did furnish one set of meeting participation lists that included one meeting 1990 and nine in 1991. The records for meetings in 1990 were not available and it is unclear if the 1991 records are complete.

Numbers of Participants:

Even though the data are incomplete some information is about the organizations' core members can be analyzed assuming that the core was the most consistent in attendance at these meetings. The lists do supply a glimpse of the number of people present at these gatherings. The total number of participant involvement in the different meetings was one hundred forty-one consisting of fifty-nine unique individuals:

Figure 5.1
Y.T.O. Core Participation Numbers



Without accompanying minutes the reasons for fluctuation in participant numbers cannot be full analyzed. Some conclusions can be drawn from previous patterns during 1994 and field experience in the 1990s. The Vice-Chair noted previously that the April 21, 1990 meeting (one of the largest in participant numbers) was a community gathering at the Sapulpa library. Other meetings that included the community were most likely those with the largest participation numbers on the above graph (4/20/91, 7/25/91, 11/9/91, 11/14/91). The discussion topics are unknown but these meetings do increase in participant numbers through 1991 showing community support and involvement. The annual membership meeting on November 21, 1992 a year later (not graphed but discussed later in the next section) reverses this trend. There were only thirteen Yuchi present, not all members of Y.T.O. and consequentially a quorum was not present and business could not legally be conducted. The community had for all intents and purposed withdrawn its acceptance of this interest group organization's efforts.

The 1991 gatherings with smaller participation numbers appear to be the working meetings of the interest group core. Using the Title IV analysis from Figure 4.4 and from fieldwork experience the conclusion can be drawn that the actual workings of any Yuchi interest group organization requires very few persons to carry out the actual work. Without further data no other substantial conclusions can be drawn from participation.

Participation by Men and Women:

The participation lists consists of fifty-nine unique persons with one of unknown gender. Men number twenty-six and women thirty-two for a percentage of men to women being 81.25 percent that is not a standard human sex ratio. This alone could indicate that the data is incomplete or that the organization of Y.T.O. does not includes equal representation from the entire community. The reason for the larger percentage of female involvement is unclear. The high numbers of both genders does indicate the Yuchi norm of men and women working together whether in ritual or social in context. Without adequate minutes of these meetings no other conclusions can be drawn on gender balance and participation.

Participation by Age:

The data on age of participants are incomplete. Of the fifty-nine for only thirty-six persons could be the age be estimated. This is in part due to unavailable information during fieldwork of one active Y.T.O. family. Those know are displayed in the following table:

Table 5.1
Age/Sex Distribution - Y.T.O.

Age Cohort	Men	Women	Total
30-39	5	2	7
40-49	5	8	13
50-59	0	5	5
60-69	5	3	8
70+	1	3	4

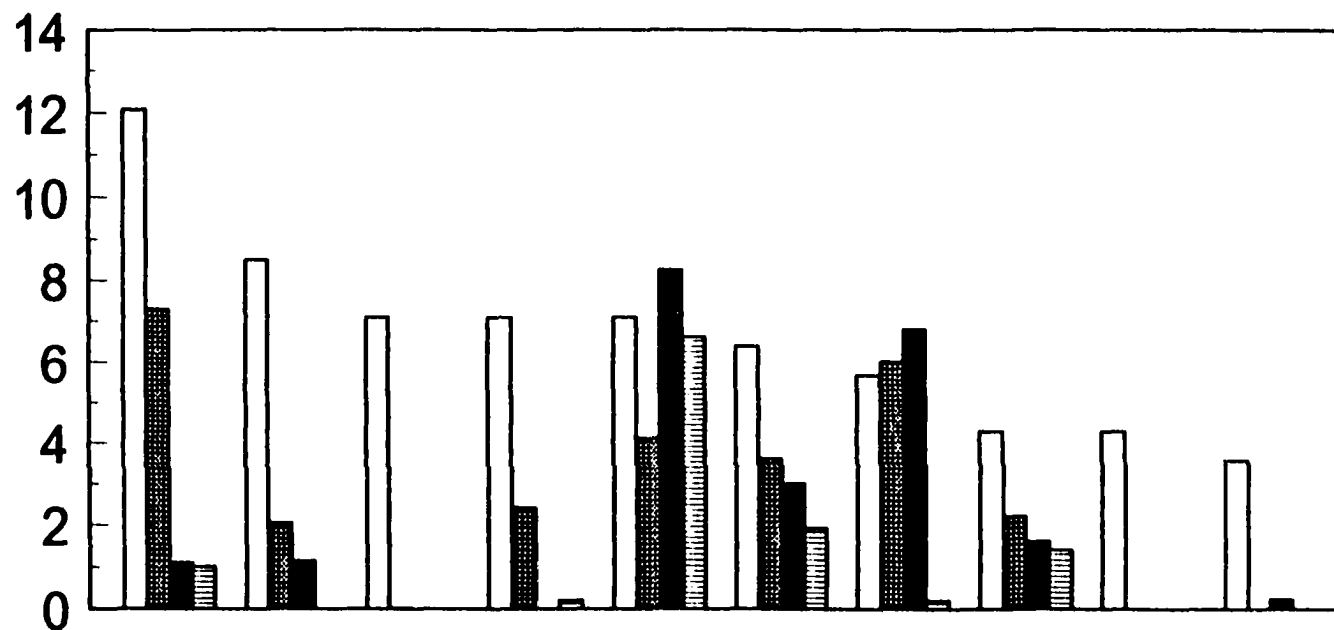
The average age of participants both genders was 50.15 years. Upon further evaluation it can be noted that the highest level of participation was with people between the ages of 40-49 balanced by elders 60 and over. This format follows that pattern of Title IV and the work conducted on the next two interest group organizations discussed in the following chapter. The middle-aged persons tend to be those with a certain level of expertise of the outside world while the elders serve as the culture bearers who keep the organization on track in relation to community norms of behavior. It would be most interesting to see if this pattern shifted in 1992 when the community ceased to support the effort. One could hypothesis that the average age would decrease with fewer elders involved to guide the organization.

Participation by descendants of earlier Yuchi people:

A surname frequency analysis furnishes a partial view of the organization's core during the height of community acceptance of Y.T.O's programs. The one hundred and forty-one persons were analyzed for the most frequent surnames. These are assumed to be the core participants and were present of most all meetings. As with Chapter 4, these surnames were then analyzed to see if their is a consistency between the 1990s and previous enumerations dating back one hundred years. The chart below is based on

percentages of surnames to total participation for both Y.T.O. and for Title IV and
surnames percentages to total population to the 1957 and 1898 census data:

Percentage of Surname in each enumeration



Surname	Skeeter	George	Freeman	Holder	Brown	Allen	Cahwee	Rolland	Wheeler	White
YTO 1990-91	12.060	8.510	7.090	7.090	7.090	6.380	5.670	4.260	4.260	3.550
Title IV 1970	7.300	2.040	0.001	2.400	4.100	3.600	6.000	2.200	0.000	0.000
Tribal Roll 1957	1.100	1.130	0.000	0.000	8.250	3.000	6.800	1.600	0.000	0.220
Census 1898	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.200	6.600	1.900	0.200	1.400	0.000	0.000

Figure 5.2
Surname Frequencies Y.T.O., Title IV, 1957, 1898

As with the Title IV effort surnames that link families through time remain the same for many of these core leaders: Skeeter, George, Holder, Brown, Allen, Cahwee, and Rolland. By using intermarriage linkages to include new surnames entering the community the names Freeman, Wheeler, and White are those that have married into Yuchi families with surnames in 1898. This method links these new surnames to the community by direct decent with other Yuchi people (see Appendix Tables 3d and 6b). If was found that the surname Freeman enter with a marriage to a Barnett traced to 1898; Wheeler enter through marriage to a Yuchi Bucktrot traced to 1898; and White was a surname in 1898 and also enters recently by marriage to a Watashe.

Surnames in a unique community indicate biological ties (Cavallie-Sforza and Feldman 1981; Chakraborty et al 1989; Crow and Mange 1965; Guglielmino et al 1991; Guglielmino and Silvestri 1995; Kent and Neugebauer 1990; Koertvelyessy et al 1990; Lasker 1977; Leslie 1985; Mascie-Taylor and Lasker 1996; Rao 1995; Relethford 1992; Rodriguez-Larralde 1989; Rosenwaike 1994). Therefore, the core individuals of Y.T.O show a continuous link of Yuchi people for nearly one hundred years. These are people whose families were recognized as Yuchi on two enumerations, the 1898 that was produced by the federal government and the 1957 created by the community itself. There is no case of Y.T.O participants in either core or community meetings whose ancestral ties could not be traced back to the turn of the century. The necessary condition for Yuchi identity is verified by this analysis. All participants in the Yuchi organization were recognized as Yuchi people within the community.

Ritual Participation:

As noted in the previous chapters, ritual participation and genealogical ties to ritual leaders of the past provide validation for interest groups leaders. The community perceives person who participate in ritual venues as tending to uphold the community norms particularly the mandate of working for the benefit of the entire community. In the following table, ritual affiliation and ancestors ties to ritual leadership are present among the core representative:

Table 5.2
Y.T.O Officers and Leaders

Y.T.O. role	Ritual Affiliation	Aprx Age	Genealogical ties to Yuchi ritual leaders
Chair	Duck Creek Grounds	48	Son of Grounds Speaker
Vice-Chair	Pickett and Mutteloke Church	65	Son of exhorter Pickett and Mutteloke
Secretary	Polecat Ground	42	Niece of Speaker
Treasurer	Polecat Ground	60	none known
Paid Director	Polecat Ground	45	none known
Business Committee	Polecat Ground	35	none known
Business Committee	Polecat Ground	70	none known
Business Committee	none - attends grounds occasionally	42	none known
Business Committee	Sand Creek Ground	40	Grandchild of Chief of Sand Creek

All the titled leaders were active in either the ceremonial grounds or churches. The major difference in ritual participation from Title IV and from the succeed interest group efforts in the 1990s is less involvement from actual ritual leaders in the workings of the Y.T.O. organization (see Chapter 4 and 6). Unlike the Title IV effort, fewer ritual leaders appeared to have been present at most meetings. The Chief of Polecat attended

only one community meetings on 11/9/91. The Chief and Second Chief of Duck Creek attended only two community meetings on 11/9/91 and 4/20/91. The Chief of Sand Creek never attended. The Speaker We-u-ga-na attended only two community meetings 4/20/91 and 7/25/91. None of these men who are the moral leaders participated in any of the core working meetings. The Chief of Polecat was not comfortable with the person holding the paid position of the director and told his daughter that if that man was involved "count me out."⁷³ For the chief of the mother ground to refuse his support speaks volumes to the community at large. The other ritual leaders attended only the larger community meetings when apparently things directly affecting the community were discussed. They did not actively participate directly in the organization itself.

One ritual leader was very involved, Kyaw-gaw the last Yuchi language grounds Speaker. He was present at seven of the ten recorded core and community gatherings. He also spoke at the Creek Tribal Town meeting concerning the Y.T.O. project (see previous section this chapter). Kyaw-gaw supported the effort to break away from Creek Nation and more importantly showed his support of his son who was the acting Chair. Kyaw-gaw knew his son had not only the expertise necessary to begin the federal recognition effort, but knew his son's moral commitment to the community. Speaker Kyaw-gaw is one of those Yuchi men who felt the education of his children was necessary for survive in the Euroamerican world and through his encouragement over the year his son exceed his expectations by earning a professional degree. Kyaw-gaw felt this added education helped the young survive, but more importantly their expertise could be used to assist the Yuchi community.

The participation by only one ritual leader was not enough to insure to other community members that community values were espoused and carried out by the interest group organization. The refusal of the chiefs and other speaker to be involved in the workings of the group may have been a central reason for its down fall. This lesson was taken to heart. In the next interest group formed immediately following Y.T.O the ritual leaders serve as the Board of Trustees who oversee all the organization's activities. This is clear case of the Yuchi people learning and refining their interest groups processes for the next political endeavor.

The Decline of Y.T.O: Political Power and Control

Y.T.O filed its petition for acknowledgment in 1991. The following year the BIA sent a letter of obvious deficiency (OD) to the organization. The letter noted several problematic areas, many could be addressed and rectified. The most detrimental point for the Yuchi concerned BIA criterion (c) for which there maybe no solution:

a petitioner must be politically autonomous from the governing body of a recognized tribe. If the Yuchi participated politically in the government of the Creek Nation, they would not meet the requirements of criterion (c), regardless of whether they may have been separate some time in the past and are still a somewhat distinct community within the Creek Nation.⁷⁴

The other BIA comments pale in comparison to this statement. For indeed, Yuchi people have been active in the government of the Creek polity since the early 1800s.

Leaders such as Timpoochee Barnard in the early 1800s were delegates to Washington and signed Creek/U.S. treaties in Georgia prior to western removal (Cochran 1972, 8:300, Kappler 1904:188). In the late 1800s, Samuel W. Brown, Sr. served as a District

Judge, Creek Nation Treasurer, Yuchi Town representative to the House of Warriors, and served as Trustee for both Wealaka and Euchee Mission (Debo 1941: 218, 280-82 315; Tuggle 1973:3). Several organizers of the ICC effort served on the Creek Council including Willie Tiger, John James, Legus Brown, and Sam Brown, Jr.⁷⁵ The leader of the Title IV effort Yon-shen served as a representative to the Council in the 1990s and many other Yuchi members served on various boards and committees.⁷⁶ This involvement does not address the fact that many of these people were working to preserve Yuchi interests under extremely detrimental and discriminatory conditions. The only voice they had in Creek politics was through Council representation. Early Yuchi alliance with the Creek towns may at one time have been for self-preservation. Today, they are no longer an ally, but have been placed into forced encapsulation by two larger polities. Because of Yuchi activity in Creek politics, no matter its root cause, the Yuchi are excluded from receiving federal acknowledgment through the BIA. According to the OD letter, the Yuchi's encapsulation within the Creek polity has every indication of being a permanent situation.

State structures incorporate multiple overlapping and intersecting spatial networks of power that include Native polities and unrecognized groups such as the Yuchi. Again, the Yuchi experienced the paramount power of the dominant polity, and its ability to determine the community's political and ethnic identity necessary for interaction. The Yuchi's attempt to formalize their political structure by creating a corporate non-profit entity in no way was detrimental to the continued workings of the federal bureaucracy. Such an entity has no direct political power. The federal

government will allow the workings of an interest group and its decisions to continue as long the group's agenda is of no consequence to those at the top of the political ladder. Should an interest group seek measures viewed as detrimental to the dominant polity, the powerlessness of that interest group becomes readily apparent.

In this case, it is not advantageous for the federal polity to create yet another Native political structure for the Yuchi who are already inherently part of a larger Indian polity. Such a division would set a precedent for others, that would require further federal time, effort, and expenditures that serve no positive purpose for the dominant polity. As is the ICC effort, by refusing to segment existing Native polities, the federal government maintains the balance of power as it has existed in much of the twentieth century.

By its overarching power, the federal polity controls the setting of interaction between themselves and the Yuchi, themselves and the Creeks, and between Yuchi and Creek. As controlled by the federal government, political organization is the key that sets up relationships among people to allocate and control resources and rewards. The Yuchi continue to challenge this forced organization that insists on their encapsulation. They continue to define potential methodology that will allow them to become autonomous political players.

For the most part, their efforts through Y.T.O were unsuccessful in reaching the community's goal of repatriation through federal recognition. A core Y.T.O. group remained to work on the petition revisions, but resources ran short according the Vice-chair:

So that's where we went until like I said the funding ran out. He (the Director) stayed with us until I guess he was drawing unemployment. You can't expect people to do something for nothing for any length of time. But he did, he stayed in there with us.

That's when we had all this equipment in there, runnin out of money. We knew we had to do something. Some of them wanted to continue to hold on to the office just by donations and fund raising. The chairman and I got together. I told him, you know, we're goin to have to have a lot of fund raisers. We'd have to have a fund raiser every weekend, everyday or whatever to raise enough money for this office to continue. We need to find out because we already owed him two months back pay. Our utilities are still on. We need to take care of those. In the event we do open an office in Sapulpa, that's goin to be a black eye toward us if we don't get it taken care of. I'm kinda funny towards that. If I got a bill, I want to get it out of the way. But some want to put off and put off and put off. Just like our rent, we were probably a month behind. I told him I said there's probably enough people on board that \$10 is not goin to break anybody. If everybody that's on board gives us \$10 a month toward our rent we can hang on to our equipment. That's where we are right today. ⁷⁷

Indeed, the petition effort continues with a skeleton crew. The few Y.T.O members remaining have secured a recent extension from the BIA to answer the OD letter, but they have so far accomplished little else. The community at large no longer supports Y.T.O's efforts. This is partly due to the apparent failure of the petition, and partly due to disagreements concerning the current Y.T.O. leadership.

The community's decision not to support Y.T.O. was clearly expressed at the Annual Meeting on November 21, 1992. There were only thirteen Yuchi in attendance. A quorum was clearly not present, and the new Chair postponed the meeting for over an hour awaiting more people. When the Chair finally called the meeting to order, the Vice-chair gave a presentation on his trip to Ebenezer, Georgia. The Director briefly

discussed the BIA petition alluding to, but not discussing, the OD letter. The previous secretary stood up from the floor and asked how Y.T.O. planned to address the OD letter. The Director replied that he could not discuss the issue in this meeting, but if she would come by the office he would explain the details. The Treasurer's report reflected that the organization had only \$1,000 left for expenses and no further income was foreseeable. The Chair then noted that a quorum still was not present and tabled the proposed election of three Board members who had resigned.

This meeting was significant for its lack of participation from the community that previously had supported the efforts of Y.T.O. The community knew their absence spoke more loudly than words. One official, who had left the organization, attempted to draw others to the meeting to elect new Board members and restore Y.T.O. to the satisfaction of the community:

I tried to get people to attend the meeting and they said no, they didn't want to go. They said they didn't want to be a part of it. Well, this is how they are. I could have told you this.⁷⁸

This social drama played out in the Y.T.O. annual meeting points to a central form of political organization used in the Yuchi community. By refusing to attend this meeting, the community in essence removed its validation from Y.T.O. The organization may continue in its efforts, but without the support of the community at large and certainly without its ritual leaders who validate any Yuchi effort, and who were not present at the annual meeting. Instead, the community organized two additional interest groups aimed at cultural retention and Congressional recognition (see next chapter).

Conclusions:

Political groups must have some form of interaction that identifies membership, organizes methods of communication and decision making, and that distinguishes leadership rolls. Symbols become uniting forces to draw members together to form a political organization. It is not uncommon today to hear Yuchi people say: "We are nothing more than step-children of Creek Nation, what have they ever done for us?" This perceived discrimination on the part of Creek Nation is one of the symbol that unite the Yuchi community. It was not until the issue of repatriation appeared that the community politically acted on the problem. The community saw this discrimination as economically and politically detrimental, but it was not moved to action until the members feared this same Creek bias would cause undo harm to their ancestors and thus to the culture history of the Yuchi people. The community would not accept the possibility that their ancestors may erroneously be repatriated as Creek and not as Yuchi. For generations, their elders had taught them: "We are not Creek, we are Yuchi."⁷⁹

Distinctiveness:

The new political process in the form of Y.T.O, furnished new venues for intense community interaction that reinforced identity. The community met to discuss its goal and more importantly met to discuss what it is to be Yuchi whether in the context of Creek discrimination, the tracing of genealogies and oral histories, connecting with their Georgia past, or language and cultural loss.

Additionally, the community began efforts to expand its identity as a unique Native group to various people outside of the Yuchi community. In the past, elders taught the people to keep Yuchi ways within the community never discussing them with outsiders. Today, elders teach that Yuchi history and customs must be explained to others so they will know the Yuchi exist and so the community can interact with outside groups.⁴⁰ In two year's time, Y.T.O. expanded outside awareness of the Yuchi through newspaper articles, visits to Ebenezer, working with scholars, and active participation in the celebrations held in Sapulpa. The community members made considerable progress in presenting themselves to the surrounding populations by expressing their differences through public displays of language, customs, and ritual practices. Such expressions of being "the other" must exist before interaction can occur between groups. The Yuchi presented clear differences between themselves and others. They chose images that are particularly positive and attractive for outsiders: regalia worn by Vice-chair and Director at Ebenezer, building an arbor on the main street in Sapulpa, by newspaper articles on the Yuchi language, and by dancing for the Sapulpa Fest. Such activities provided a contrasting model for those unfamiliar with the Yuchi. In this way, outside groups form a perception of the Yuchi as "the other." Only in this way can any group interaction occur. Identity is contextual. Internal identity can be maintained on the ritual and social levels, but a group must have external relations to interact within the political realm of the twentieth century. Y.T.O presented the first attempts to form an identity of the Yuchi outside of their own community or the Creek polity. One must have this external

identity in order to become a political player, something that has eluded the Yuchi for several hundred years.

Communication:

Board and annual meetings, staff meetings, community meetings, and individual interviews all provided avenues for discussing Yuchi identity and cohesiveness. Through Y.T.O., the members became active in various events held in the city of Sapulpa, created language classes, and sponsored meetings between scholars and community members. The workings of Y.T.O. became common topics of conversation between individual community members. This familiar pattern of interaction continues in the community today even though the petition for acknowledgment has yet to prove fruitful. For any interest group to maintain itself routine communications are necessary. These communication efforts not only support the interest group's work but continually reinforce identity.

Decision Making, Leadership and Authority

In 1989, the community with at least one ritual leader along with formally educated community members formed The Yuchi Tribe of Indians (Y.T.O.). Y.T.O.'s purpose was to create a BIA petition for separate recognition outside of the Creek polity with the hope of eventually securing their own repatriated ancestor's remains, unassociated funerary objects, and sacred objects of cultural patrimony. The Yuchi developed The Yuchi Tribe of Indians, Inc., their first corporate interest group

organization with a Board of Directors and a formal constitution. The leaders hoped this formalized structure would give them some measure of negotiating power.⁸¹ This organizational structure allowed them to compete for various grants to fund their efforts while excluding Creek Nation oversight. The community used not only its own member's expertise in several areas, but sought scholarly and legal assistance.

The formation of the groups began much as the Title IV effort with the work of a handful of people interest in a specific goal. They were drawn together over the repatriation issue and formulated a plan to achieve that goal and the larger more pressing community concern -- to extract them from their encapsulation within Creek Nation. They were able to stimulate enough interest in their goals to draw a representative number of community members together to validate their effort and set the structure for pursuing their goals.

In an open meeting, the community formed the core of this interest group to carry on the work acknowledged by the community at large. The ultimate power remained in the hands of the community members as we saw with both the ICC and Title IV efforts. The quick withdrawal of community support virtually destroyed any hope that Y.T.O. could either achieve its goal or continue to exist outside the confines of community consensus.

Although the individual core leaders for Y.T.O. were for the most part ritual participants, the lack of support by the ritual leaders themselves proved detrimental. The community looks to those ritual leaders as safeguards of the beliefs and normative social patterns. The core leadership was relatively young and none were transactional leaders

with the inclusion of moral community acceptance as was Yon-shen in the Title IV effort. The very active participation by one ritual leader was not enough to overshadow the lack of involvement by the others. Distrust built within the organization and among community members who eventually chose to withdraw their support.

Y.T.O's effort has not achieved nor is likely to achieve its goal of federal recognition. For a brief time Y.T.O. filled a gap in community interaction patterns by providing forums for the expression of Yuchi identity. As the first interest group incorporated and acknowledged in some small way a formalized structure, it was to serve as a pattern for the next two interest groups created by the community. These two new organizations built upon the knowledge of what worked and what did not in the Y.T.O. effort. Learning from past experience, these two additional organization have existed longer than any previous interest group in the Yuchi community. The following chapter explains the workings of these two groups from an ethnographic perspective. Having been involved in the workings of these two groups since their beginning, extensive data is available to view the interaction process in far more detail. This interaction continually reinforces Yuchi identity by offering venues to discuss the necessary condition of ancestry and the two indices of identity: language and ritual participation.

Chapter VI

Cultural Retention: "I've heard the elders say: 'If the Yuchi language is no longer spoken, there will be no more Yuchi.'"

(We-u-ga-na 1/15/94)

The Yuchi community of the 1990s sought several goals that created ever increasing venues for interaction and identity reinforcement. A substantial number of core volunteers left Y.T.O. and formed two additional interest group organizations: Eucheas United Cultural, Historical, and Educational Effort (E.U.C.H.E.E.) organized on December 14, 1991 and Euche (Yuchi) Tribe of Indians, Inc. (E.T.I.) organized in the spring of 1992.¹ These two political entities work side by side sharing many of the same leaders, but with distinctly different goals sought by each. E.U.C.H.E.E. seeks goals based on genealogy, language preservation, and cultural retention that symbolically evoke identity perception. E.T.I. seeks grant monies to establish a formalized long-term political unit with a central focus of federal recognition for the Yuchi as a separate tribe.

As Y.T.O. gradually curtailed its operations, E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. formulated methods to supply numerous and ongoing community-based activities. These activities invariably included elements of ancestry, language retention, and ritual practice, the symbolic expressions of identity that draw the community together and act as catalysts for action.² These activities, meetings, and special benefit efforts furnished the Yuchi people with consistent opportunities for face-to-face interactions and routine communications that reinforce identity and community cohesion. The activities are so numerous, that one anthropologist who lives in the immediate area finds he could attend

a meeting or function nearly every day. This is far from exaggeration. Those of us who have worked in the community over several years have become aware of the marked increase in gatherings during the fall and winter months. The community continues to reserve the spring and summer months for ceremonial activities when members need no additional gatherings to be with, and talk to, other Yuchi people on a frequent basis.

E.U.C.H.E.E. and Cultural Retention:

The wording behind the E.U.C.H.E.E. acronym is self-explanatory: Euchees United Cultural, Historical, and Educational Effort. "It was established as a non-profit organization to preserve our (Yuchi) history and retain our rich cultural heritage while educating tribal members and the public."³ Members formed E.U.C.H.E.E. specifically for cultural retention and identity reinforcement. Their efforts include genealogical workshops, creation of annual calendars using the Yuchi language with pictures of tribal members from the past, a picture journal of community activities since the turn of the century, frequent benefit dances, and a planned exhibit of Yuchi cultural ways at the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa. Unlike Y.T.O., E.U.C.H.E.E. leaders state they wish to remain outside the "political arena" focusing their energies on internal community identity documentation. Contributions, by the membership and by businesses and individuals outside the community, have funded many of these efforts. The first calendar was supported by such groups as: Oklahoma Historical Society, Archives and Manuscripts Division; University of Pennsylvania Museum; Plymouth Drug Company, Inc.; Creek County Abstract Co., Inc.; W. C. "Bill" Sellers, Inc.; Citizens Bank;

Oklahoma Petroleum Reclaimers; C. Clifton Brown, Inc.; G. M. Hardware; Bayouth's Clothiers, Inc.; Bay-Thom, Inc.; The American National Bank & Trust, Co.; Harlan & Harlan, P.C.; Judge April Sellers White and Steve White; Representative Mike Tyler; Senator Ted Fisher; and several individuals.⁴ Established as a non-profit organization, E.U.C.H.E.E. has been able to obtain small grants to assist in its programs pertaining to cultural retention including grants from Running Strong for American Indian Youth and the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Community Folklife Program.

The initial and continued central foci for E.U.C.H.E.E. are the annual Yuchi calendars. E.U.C.H.E.E. produced its first calendar for the year 1992 and for each subsequent year to date. On the front cover and above each month is a photograph relating to Yuchi life. The calendar itself includes national holidays, Christian holidays, and the cycles of the moon. With many Yuchi people in the workforce today, national holidays are an important part of everyday life. The Christian calendar is important to those Yuchi who attend church and follow this ritual pattern that includes Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter, and Christmas. The moon cycles are important as several ceremonial ground activities revolve around the lunar rotation.⁵

E.U.C.H.E.E. continues to produce these calendars each year. All their efforts are aimed at the uniqueness of Yuchi cultural ways and reinforce the concepts of Yuchi identity. The calendars repeatedly address the necessary condition of identity (ancestors) and the two indices language and ritual participation. They also reinforce the norm of reciprocity among community members and the traits necessary for leadership within the community. These calendars hang in the homes of many Yuchi people and those who

know them. The calendars are sold at minimal cost. The funds "are used to offset the cost of photography reproduction and publishing with the proceeds going towards continuing work on the next year's calendar."⁶ There is no monetary gain on this project. The gain is viewed by the community as a way to reinforce Yuchi uniqueness.

E.U.C.H.E.E. that produces the calendar states its job is to "research the genealogy and history of our people, create awareness of our culture and history, and aid in the survival of our unique language."⁷ These calendars alone provide a tremendous amount of interaction between community members. E.U.C.H.E.E. members spend a great deal of time together creating the format. In turn, they visit with many community members to solicit photos and histories for the calendars. Once printed, many community members sell the calendars to others. Often during fieldwork when visiting with Yuchi people, the conversation turned to the calendars and whether I had seen one. Most often the conversation then shifted to specific pictures and oral histories of the persons or events depicted. Much interaction transpires between members over photographs of person unidentified by the calendar committee. These unidentified persons remain an ongoing topic of discussion from year to year until they are identified by someone who knew them. They offer a method to discuss various possibilities and multiple genealogies that may then lead to identification. With the creation of the calendar, Yuchi people have a new venue to discuss their ancestors, heritage and Yuchi custom ways. The calendars created by E.U.C.H.E.E. hold a wide appeal throughout the community. The calendars link past to present and symbolically represent the necessary condition and indices espoused by the community and part of its identity. The

projects of E.U.C.H.E.E. furnish many other avenues for community interaction and will be discussed later in this chapter.

E.T.I. and Recognition:

Euchee (Yuchi) Tribe of Indian, Inc. (E.T.I.) rose concurrently with E.U.C.H.E.E. and was incorporated under the laws of the state of Oklahoma. Like Y.T.O. this organization seeks to present a public image of the Yuchi to outsiders and works for eventual recognition as a separate tribe. According the first newsletter *The Euchee Sun*:

While the tribe will be looking at various possible programs, the immediate priority areas are: development of a comprehensive governing structure, formal enrollment processes, evaluation of the recent BIA Obvious Deficiency Letter regarding a formal petition submitted last year (by Y.T.O.), organizing and attempting to institutionalize Euchee language classes both in accredited colleges and universities and at the local level.⁸

The organization meets monthly except in the summer with leaders and the Board of Trustee present. These meetings are always open to the larger community and many faithfully attend, but often the central leadership and core members conduct the business at hand. E.T.I. has successfully sought grants specifically for language retention, collection of oral histories, and to document genealogical information. Recently, E.T.I. acquired a permanent office and added paid staff for the first time. This office is open every week day and is accessible to most Yuchi people, who are encouraged to use the facilities.

E.T.I. has extended its efforts to include the scholarly community with anthropologists from three different institutions currently working within the community. Interest group leaders know to achieve their goals it will take expertise outside of community members. The Yuchi must document that they are unique within their encapsulated political status and as such deserve separate political recognition:

We got to do some things. We've got to show that we are self-governing. Things like OU is doing, some of the reports, things like Jason, Shu, other things that we can use as part of this total documentation that are from outside people, outside scholars that are validated by independent universities, independent genealogists, linguists, things of that nature. Those have got to be the things that we have got to have that will support this.⁹

This oration speaks to the various activities begun by E.T.I. over the past few years. Activities that required outside expertise and are seen as necessary on their long road to recognition. Headed by Morris Foster, anthropologists from the University of Oklahoma are working with E.T.I. on a National Institute of Healths Grant (NIH). This effort supplies written genealogies and taped oral history accounts for the community while documenting the decision making process within the community. In 1997 after working several years in the community, Jason Jackson completed his dissertation concerning the annual ritual cycle of the Yuchi people. Mary Linn a doctoral candidate from Kansas University is working as a linguist on the Yuchi language. My own MA work involved demographics of the Yuchi community at the turn of the century and now my documentation of political activities in the twentieth century.

E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. share many of the same core leaders and workers and were created within months of each other. Discouraged with efforts of Y.T.O., several

leaders broke away from that organization with dual purposes in mind. These core workers sought to preserve Yuchi history and culture while concurrently forming a precursor organization to establish a federally recognized tribal polity.

E.U.C.H.E.E.'s focus is on the preservation of Yuchi cultural ways. In the process reinforces identity through community education and intense communication between members. E.T.I. was established as the political entity to achieve recognition for the Yuchi community and as a vehicle for monetary grant awards to support social and extended educational opportunities. E.T.I.'s Chair explains:

It was about March of that following year (1992) that after a number of meeting, discussions and things that we incorporated the Euchee (Yuchi) Tribe of Indians (E.T.I.).

Recognition through Congress is our only legal alternative now. Having submitted a petition from the Yuchi people (through Y.T.O.), allegedly, through this routine and finding that several things cannot be adequately addressed legally. Number one being enrolled with another tribe (noted in BIA's O.D. letter to Y.T.O.). And then administratively, I read in all the responses of the Bureau that's something they cannot get past because they do not have the authority set it aside. So the only people that can now do that is Congress themselves. In five or six years we need to be looking at submitting that petition there.

At some point, I'd say four or five years hence, after we go through a formal enrollment process and get membership things and all that done, that we'll probably need to have some kind of elections.

When we first started this I figured it would take about ten years to do. Three to five years to try and work through the petition process and try to answer all the things. But obviously this isn't going to happen in that frame. But in four, five or six years that federal recognition could get done then the other things could start coming in.

In the mean time there are certain dollars we are eligible for that we need to go after.

One of things we need to look at is a basic development grant from ANA to do some of things that are there. Or do an economic deal. I'm going to try to get from the current TNTA people a person or persons to come in and meet with us to make some suggestions. We are still looking for E.T.I. to become validated by working on grants like with the University of Oklahoma and ANA. Those are things we are looking for to create this organization legally and obviously clearly, an entity to be reckoned with then.

If the recognition can be achieved. Without that there are so many things you can't do. You can't get land in trust. You can gaming, Class 2 to some extent, but certainly not Class 3, or things that come with that (recognition). With that you get some base line dollars from the Bureau (BIA) for initial development and so on and so forth. But it will take a long time to do it.¹⁰

The interest group leaders are aware that seeking recognition for the Yuchi community is a long-term process that will not come easily. All of these leaders were at one time or another involved in the Y.T.O. petition that will most likely fail. The leaders of E.T.I. are willing to struggle for recognition even though the effort will take up to a decade to complete. In this way, they perceive the community as a whole will benefit from their work. Since community members so often feel that Creek Nation slights them because they are Yuchi, to have their own tribal identity will open doors for many. As Aw-bay stated about recognition: "Without that there are so many things you can't do." The list is nearly endless of the things that cannot be done unless the community is considered a legitimate political unit that can interact on its own with state and federal governments. E.T.I.'s effort toward this end can potentially move the Yuchi from its present interest group status to a formalized polity with the same rights and obligations as any other recognized Indian tribe.

The Core: Interest Group Leaders:

Past attempts at political organization have shown that to be successful several leadership types are necessary: ritual leaders, core volunteers with community concerns at heart, and leaders with certain educational and experiential expertise. These leadership types exist within E.T.I.'s core workers.

Ritual Leaders:

Unlike Y.T.O.'s lack of ritual leader participation, ceremonial ground leaders serve exclusively as E.T.I.'s Board of Trustees. The original Board Members were: Sen-chilah, Chief of Polecat Ground; Shaw-tee, Chief of Duck Creek Ground; Dah-thlah, Chief of Sand Creek Ground; Kyaw-gaw Speaker; and We-u-ga-na, Speaker.¹¹ Since that time two chiefs have died and those elected to hold the ritual position of chief now sit on the Board of Trustees. The Chair, Aw-bay explains the traditional ritual authority and its necessity in the interest group efforts:

We (in E.T.I.) have a really good group of workers. We need to expand it a little bit.

But, its going with the traditional authority (ritual leaders) and these are people selected by the people. It isn't a self-appointed kind of thing. The chiefs and traditional leaders are a central piece.¹²

Chiefs and ritual leaders validate for the community at large the workings of the interest group organization. These men listen closely to the needs of the community and respond accordingly. They seek to make decisions based on community consensus and always with the benefit of the whole being the primarily objective. The difference between most

community members and traditional ritual leaders is explained by Cohen's reference to individuals and their obligations to their group:

Men in general are always happy to claim their rights in the group but feel constrained when they are called upon to fulfill their obligations to the group. To use the terms of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard in its pragmatic and utilitarian aspects, the autonomy of the group is a source of immediate private interest and satisfaction to the individual. But as a common interest it is non-utilitarian and non-pragmatic, a matter of moral value and ideological significance. (Cohen 1974:77)

Yuchi ritual leaders and in particular chiefs, spend a lifetime serving their community often at the expense of family and social life. The job is not assumed by those who cannot bear the burden of responsibility. Indeed, the job includes upholding the moral values and not only espousing but living up to those values both in the ritual and private settings. These men are known to hold the community above all else long before elected to their ritual positions.

Organizers of E.T.I. knew the value of having the participation of ritual leaders within the interest group. Ritual leaders agreeing to serve as the Board of Trustees furnished E.T.I. with clear validation for its existence and for its efforts on behalf of the community. The first newsletter made the announcement to the community of ritual leadership and its role in E.T.I.:

The Euchee (Yuchi) Tribe of Indians is pleased to announce it has formally established an organization and is currently transacting business.

At the present time, the governing body of this entity is comprised of a board of trustees.

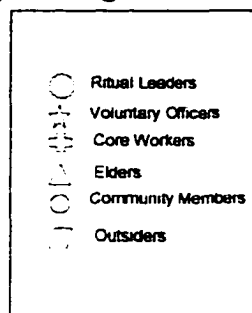
These initial trustees decided, after numerous meetings regarding the current state of the tribe, to formally incorporate as The Euchee

(Yuchi) Tribe of Indians to provide a structure that would adequately represent the Euchee people.

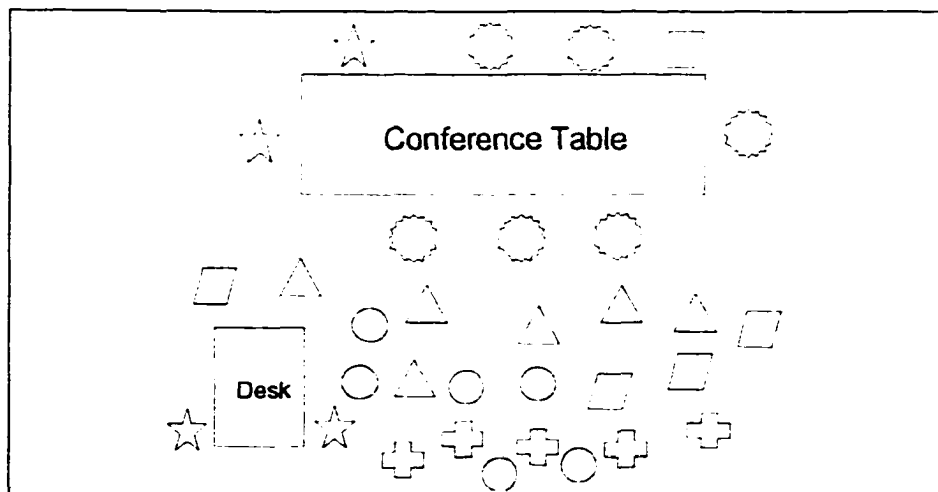
This board consists of the Euchee Tribal Grounds Chiefs and key tribal ground representatives from the Polecat Creek, Duck Creek, and Sand Creek stomp grounds.¹³

These ritual leaders are present at most meetings and speak to issues as needed. Their names are listed on E.T.I.'s letterhead and meeting agendas so there is no question of their validation of the interest group organization. For any member attending an E.T.I. meeting the seating arrangement designates clearly the importance of these moral leaders as those who guide and direct the workings of the interest group organization:

Figure 6.1
Seating Arrangement for E.T.I. Meetings



(Legend)



The number of persons vary from meeting to meeting (see Figure 6.16), but the general seating pattern remains the same. Until 1996 the meetings were held at the offices of a lawyer in Sapulpa, the spouse of a core member. The meetings center around the conference table on the west side of a large room. Around this table sat the ritual leaders or Board of Trustees and the Chair and Secretary for E.T.I. On rare occasions, outsiders sat at the table to present their business. The other officers of E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. sat at or near the desk area facing the conference table. Occasionally outsiders presented their business from the west area of the desk. In chairs facing the conference table sat the other meeting participants. As a general rule, elders sat closer to the conference table with interested community members and outsiders behind them. The core workers tended to sit behind the community members.

The symbolism within the seating arrangement becomes clear over time. Although the Chair conducts the meeting from the conference table, the ritual leaders who supply validation are the most numerous and most visual to the other participants. As culture bearers elders sit in places where the participants can easily see and hear their input. The core members, who do most of the work, sit behind the community members and all other participants symbolizing their role as working for the community and not for themselves.

To some degree those members who sit near the back do so for logistical purposes. Most are women and are the ones who will leave quickly at the close of the business session to prepare food in the kitchen behind the meeting room. Even in this case, they are there to serve the community and its ritual leaders. As noted in other

venues both ritual and interest group organizations, women are both vocal and workers in the efforts of the community. They do not hold the central leadership offices, but do hold the supporting offices and do much of the work necessary for the community to act through the interest group organization.

The seating arrangement of the ritual leaders states for all to see their prominent roll within the organization and within the community. Ritual leaders symbolize the community itself as the most important player in any activity. For these ritual leaders E.T.I. is but one small facet of an extremely time consuming job. For the actual hands-on work and for special expertise, E.T.I. relies on a core of volunteers from varying backgrounds and a variety of talent and expertise.

Core Leaders:

E.T.I. core leaders include a Chair, Vice-Chair, Treasurer, Secretary and numerous other hardworking personnel (See Table 6.3). These leaders understand how difficult it will be for the Yuchi to become a recognized political entity. Each is willing to use his or her expertise to achieve that goal. Their talents and education vary, but each is a needed part of the core if E.T.I.'s goals are to be achieved.

The Chair's position is similar to the leadership roll held by Yon-shen during the Title IV meetings. Aw-bay was the first Chair of Y.T.O. and E.T.I. Aw-bay a CPA was instrumental in the incorporation of both Y.T.O. and E.T.I. For E.U.C.H.E.E. Aw-bay completed the necessary 501C(3) forms needed for non-profit status that provides additional possibilities for educational grant awards. Aw-bay is aware of the problems cause in the ICC effort and the Title IV by not having the Yuchi recognized as a

legitimate political entity.¹⁴ He feels the first success along these lines was with E.U.C.H.E.E. and creating it as a non-profit. He often refers to E.U.C.H.E.E.'s status as a 501C(3). This designation (501C{3}) has become symbolic for Aw-bay and others of the potential for valid interaction with the federal and state polities.

With his expertise in finance, the Chair has worked for several Native American tribes in South Dakota, Colorado, Arizona, Kansas, and recently as an economic advisor for Creek Nation. Through these varied experiences, Aw-bay has gained considerable insight into how tribal groups function as well as how the American government relates to Native Peoples. His financial background also affords him insight in the workings of the Euroamerican business world. He keeps abreast of all these areas and uses his knowledge for the Yuchi people.¹⁵ Aw-bay is aware of the benefits of long term leadership within a community. He is aware also of the inherent problems within tribal governments and speaks to that issue within Creek Nation:

But you've got to have some continuity and some support. And you have to educate the people. Creek Nation is still behind and part of it is because of internal conflicts. See within the Creek Nation individual members can and do run the smoke shops. Some of these people are on the Council, the governing body, the law setters. So they're in conflict of interest situations. I've seen things even when I was there that I think were wrong, bad decisions being pushed by the people who were benefiting personally, and financially. In one way, by licensing certain things like the Creek Nation does you build an economy by allowing individuals to do it and I certainly don't see anything wrong with that. But I have a major problem with the people who are making and pushing the laws are benefiting directly from their own decisions. That creates some internal difficulties there.¹⁶

Aw-bay speaks clearly about the difficulties when individuals place their own concerns above the whole. Aw-bay holds to the Yuchi community's concept that one must work

for the benefit of the entire community. For this reason he does not adhere to open elections for E.T.I. until the organization has become firmly rooted and achieved some major goals. He knows those who are now working within E.T.I. are community centered and do not seek to gain personally from the efforts. He hopes in this way, E.T.I. can survive long enough to create the necessary documentation needed to present the Yuchi case for recognition before Congress.

Aw-bay is giving to his community the years of expertise he has acquired. His efforts are not viewed by him or by the other interest group leaders as above any other core member. His expertise just happens to lie in other areas that he now willingly and openly provides for the Yuchi community. Like Yon-shen in the Title IV effort, Aw-bay views himself as a person to facilitate others for the good of the community not for personal gain.

Other leadership:

The core of E.T.I. has a large variety of talented and dedicated people. They include those who have worked in the Sapulpa school district under Title IV; those who have monetary resources that supplied many of the early needs before grant money was available; those who are active or keep up with national and international concerns that may affect Yuchi people; those who have taken extraordinary efforts to learn the Yuchi language and pass it on to others; and most of all those who are willing to spend long after-work hours to assist the community in its need to preserve its cultural heritage and to become a full player on the political scene without interference from Creek Nation. Most of these people are middle-aged with grandchildren. This is the same pattern as

with Title IV effort (see Chapter 4). These people find the time and energy to pursue the needs of the community that recognizes them as having a certain level of wisdom and life experience that will assist in meeting community objectives.

Added to the ritual and middle-aged core leaders are many elders who attend meetings, giving of their time, talents, and wisdom as culture bearers. Among these are elders concerned with the language such as Bo-dah-senh and Jah-t'yuh. Both these men are well versed in the ancestral ties of most Yuchi families and are Yuchi speakers who work with the language classes. Se-nee is an elder who knows much of Yuchi history and genealogy. She is often vocal at meetings expressing her understanding of Yuchi ways and family connections. Other elders attend meetings from time to time to support and work on various projects. Elders, middle-age, and young adults attend the meeting and offer their time and energy to fulfill E.T.I.'s goals (See Table 6.16). In 1993, one hundred and twenty-seven community members signed a document stating their support of E.T.I.'s "endeavors to achieve federal recognition and to develop appropriate programs in behalf of the Euchee (Yuchi) people."¹⁷ The statement reads:

We, the undersigned members of the Euchee (Yuchi) Tribe of Indians do hereby affirm that we are qualified members of the tribe. We further state that we support the Euchee (Yuchi) Tribal Council in their endeavors to achieve federal recognition and to develop appropriate programs in behalf of the Euchee (Yuchi) people.¹⁸

Not only did they sign this document but they put those sentiments to work through their help in formulating and implementing the various projects of E.T.I.

Each leader brings unique abilities and skills into the organization where as a unit they work for the community's goals and needs. Diversity in leadership creates an organizational structure that can address the multifaceted problems of an encapsulated interest group. Some leaders are ritual specialists that can manipulate the symbols of identity while others act as agents of communication between the community and outsiders. Others are coordinators, planners, and implementors of the programs offered.¹⁹ These leaders have structured both E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. upon past interest group experiences, expertise of ritual leaders, and a interest group core that insures their efforts are for the community at large. E.U.C.H.E.E. works on goal of cultural retention through genealogies, oral histories, and language. The organization seeking to preserve Yuchi identity for the generations to come. E.T.I. takes a more pragmatic view and seeks to insure the maintenance of identity through federal recognition that will allow more resources to flow directly into the community. Through various activities, both organizations over the past five years have furnished ever increasing opportunities for Yuchi people to come together for routine communication and decision making that reinforces their identity outside of Creek Nation. Agendas and minutes of past meetings and activities offer a view of the interaction process.

Interest Group Meetings: Seeking Ways to Reinforce Identity and Interaction

E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. focus on preserving Yuchi identity through various activities that intensify interaction and communications between community members. These activities center on the necessary condition of ancestry for identity, the index of

language, and includes history, and cultural ways or customs. The index of ritual participation is addressed in a somewhat different and less direct manner. Both organizations seek the knowledge and decisions of ritual leaders and consider ritual participation an important part of Yuchi identity. However, these organizations have no say within the ritual settings themselves. This index is reserved for the moral leaders and participants of grounds and churches. The exclusion of the ritual settings as an area of endeavor was made clear early at an E.U.C.H.E.E. meeting on April 8, 1992. The city of Sapulpa was holding a "Route 66 Festival" and Polecat ground members were asked to dance:

Sen-chilah, Chief of Polecat (Kellyville) Ground, has been contacted by Law-lay of the Y.T.O. to have the Polecat ground members participate in this festival by dancing. After some discussion regarding participation, it was suggested that this matter be brought to the attention of all three grounds at an open meeting to decide whether or not they would participate.²⁰

This statement stresses three points of concern within the Yuchi community. First, the community does wish to extend its identity to the citizens of the Sapulpa area. The Route 66 festival could offer such an opportunity. Second, such a decision to participate with dancing must come from the members of the ritual community in an open meeting. This point shows the authority of community consensus (see Chapter 4). Neither ritual nor interest group leaders could make the determination. Ritual leaders who will voice the decision rely strongly on community consensus. It is the community itself that maintains the authority through interaction. An elder explains the process of community decision making:

To me things are this, you go and talk about it. Then each one tell about their view and put everybody's view together kinda come out

with what they're wanted to say or wantin to do and get their minds together . . . I think if we talk about things we want to do and everything why we could all understand one another. But we have to talk about it, discuss it.²¹

Third, to reinforce this consensus, it is not just Polecat Ground members who would attend the meeting, but ceremonial people from all three grounds. Herein lies the cohesion and support of the Yuchi community members for each other. One ground does not act in isolation. They work together (See Chapter 1). The decision to participate cannot be made within the confines of the interest group organization. These interest group organizations are designed to augment not replace existing structures and certainly not to interfere with those historic moral venues of interaction and participation.

The meetings of E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. do work to reinforce ancestral ties and language retention while including oral histories and other cultural ways or customs (e.g., ancestral dress). Reviewing meeting agendas brings to light these items and the financial means to support efforts toward those issues. These two interest group organizations cross-cut each other not only in leadership, but in activities that support Yuchi identity. Which ever group has the organizational structure to support certain efforts becomes the vehicle for those efforts. For instance, because of its non-profit status, E.U.C.H.E.E. can acquire certain grants not available to E.T.I. As a by-product of E.U.C.H.E.E.'s work, E.T.I. supports and documents these efforts for future Congressional action concerning federal recognition. By mid-1992, the monthly meetings of E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. were combined for ease and interaction among the shared leaders.

To summarize for analysis the many interest group business meetings between 1992 and 1996 the topics of discussion were categorized by subject, charted for intensity, and briefly discussed in the following section. Agenda and fieldnotes were used to compile the information. In some cases only agendas are available in others extensive fieldnotes supplied detailed information on the topics. Several examples of the subjects included in each analytical category are noted briefly below:

Table 6.1
E.T.I. Meeting Categories 1992-1996

Charted Category	Sample of subjects included for analysis
Language	conferences, workshops, classes, special education for leaders, needs assessment
Genealogy	creation of workshops, working with elders on collection of such, conferences attended, special education concerning, needs assessment, meetings with scholars, calendar inclusion of language and future projects.
Federal Recognition	avenues to seek such, formalization of E.T.I., discussion of Y.T.O's effort, asking BIA for information on, development of constitution, enrollment process, needs assessment, options through Congress, seeking a State charter
Grants	seeking possible granting agencies to fund interest group efforts, successful and unsuccessful attempts, organizing to file grant petitions
Oral History	working with elders on collecting such, seeking assistance from scholars, general oral traditions related at meetings,
History	work on the annual calendar and picture journal, seeking documents, assistance from scholars, and visiting archives
Georgia	trips to Georgia and the visiting of others from there to the Yuchi community
Scholars	discussion of and actual work with scholars on several projects
Repatriation	discussion and possible tactics to pursue this end before and after federal recognition
Other	Expressing Yuchi identity outside the community, community fund raising, problems with Creek Nation , interactions with Sapulpa city council to rename Mission Street to Euchee Mission Street, British filmmakers desire to record the community in relation to they Human Genome Diversity Project

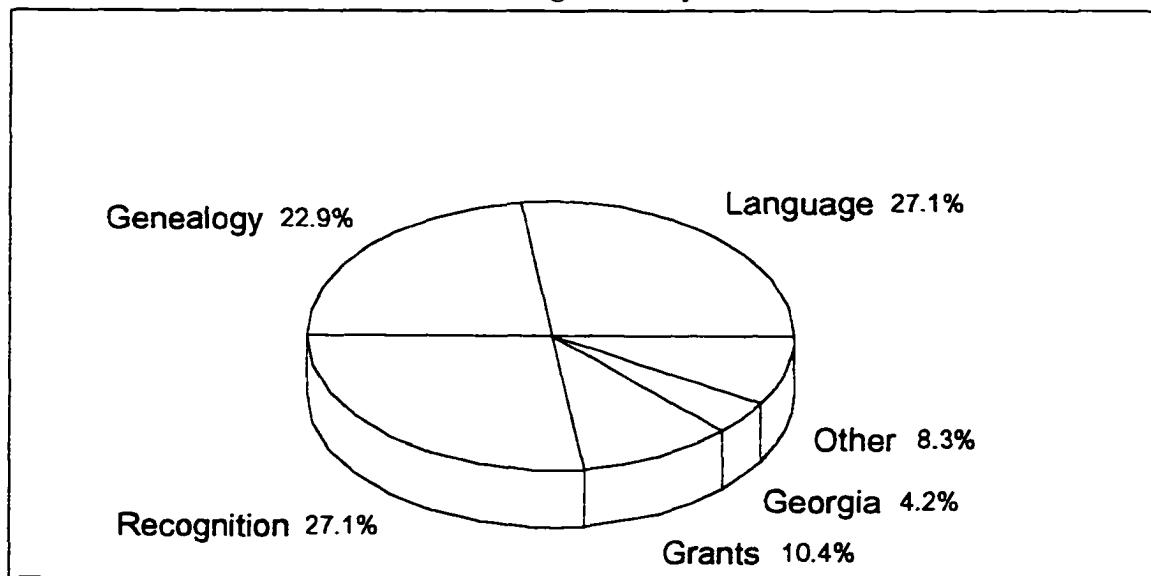
These are samples of the type of subject that is contained in the categories charted for each of the following years.

1992 Agendas:

In the first year of operations E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. held twenty one different meetings beginning on January 6, 1992 and ending December 9, 1992. The subjects of

genealogy, language, and federal recognition were the common themes. After the initial organization, genealogical information appears on nearly every agenda as does the first calendar that is symbolic of Yuchi identity and cultural traditions. Language concerns (27.1 percent), federal recognition (27.1 percent), and genealogy (22.9 percent) were the highest percentage of topics discussed by the core workers. Other topics included securing grants and other monetary resources, trips back to Georgia, and participation in the larger community through activities in the annual Sapulpa Fest:

Figure 6.2
1992 Agenda Topics



The three most frequently discussed topics are those that relate directly to Yuchi identity. Ancestral ties as the necessary condition for identity was remarkable high for the first year of operation when much of the discussion centered on organizational efforts for recognition. Genealogical meetings were being held with core workers and elders, a large community meeting was planned and carried out that brought in scholars from the

University of Oklahoma to discuss Yuchi genealogy, and work was begun on a tribal roll that required lengthy discussion of blood-quantum requirements for inclusion.

The index of language is even larger in percentage. By this time the community was beginning to feel that the language was nearly lost. The few language speakers living were now elders and there were few younger people who could carry the tradition forward. Continual concern over the potential of language loss remains high on the agenda topics for the following years and will be noted. Grant proposals were considered for language retention, core members attended Oklahoma Native American Language Institute (ONALDI) with the hope of learning ways to learn and save the language, the two language classes being taught by community members were supported and the ground work set for offering classes through E.T.I. The language itself was incorporated in the meetings with prayers offered in Yuchi by a grounds Speaker.

The core members viewed federal recognition as a stronghold to insure the funding needed to pursue language retention, genealogical and historical research thus preserving and reinforcing Yuchi identity. The work toward this end in 1992 included the incorporation of E.T.I., discussions of methodologies to seek Congressional recognition, work on a constitution and enrollment procedure. The Yuchi are attempting to move from an interest group status to a more formalized political entity that has some power to negotiate on behalf of tribal members. Forced by two larger polities, Creek Nation and federal government, the Yuchi must organize along informal non-bureaucratic lines. The difference between formal and informal political organization is often a matter of degree. The interest group leaders, supported by the

Board of Trustee's ritual leaders and with the consent of community members sought to organize once again. Their goal was to achieve federal recognition that would move them from an encapsulated political status to a viable political unit to insure the survival of Yuchi identity for generations to come.

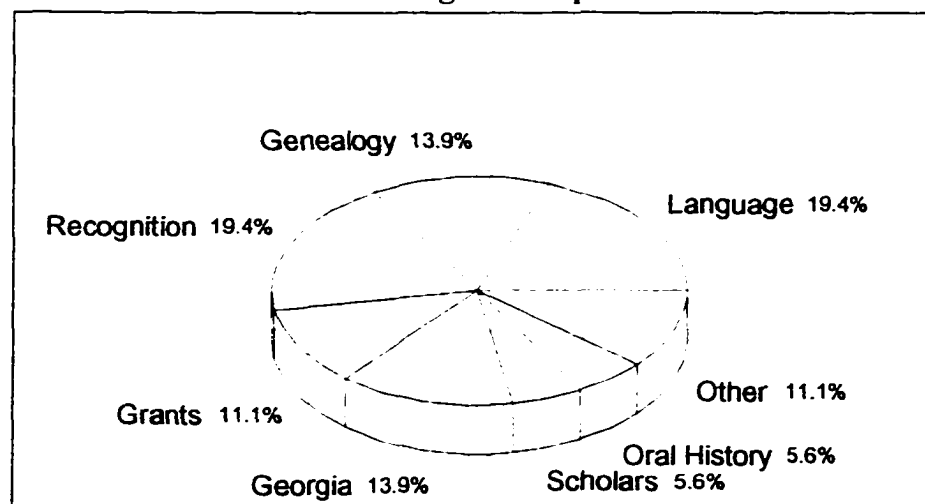
For 1992 the interest group entities of E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. furnished new meeting formats for face-to-face interaction while working to heighten Yuchi identity that included a Yuchi calendar, genealogical workshops, and language grants. At the same time they created a more formalized political entity that they hoped would set the foundation for eventual Congressional recognition. Both E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. set a foundation that would intensify community interaction over the next several years. By focusing on the symbols of distinctive identity, channels of communication are open between community members. There is a perceived need and reason to draw together for interaction. Previously, ceremonial grounds and churches supplied these venues as did daily contact with neighbors. With the shortened summer ceremonial and church ritual and less daily communication between members because of wage labor jobs new venues were necessary to maintain route communication necessary for community identity retention. E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. sought to furnish such venues (see following section on demographics for participant numbers).

1993 Agendas:

Agendas exist for nine of the seventeen meetings.²² Genealogy, language and recognition remain the central issues of discussion although they decrease in percentage to the total topics. This decrease is because the core focuses additional energy on grants

to fund these central concerns. Other concerns include historical ties to Georgia that became a matter of discussion and action in five meetings. Two vans were to be taken to Georgia from May 13 through May 18, 1993 to view Yuchi homelands in the Southeast. Fund-raisers and grant money became another heavily discussed topic in at least five meetings. Without funding genealogy, language, and federal recognition attempts were not possible. Outside scholars were actively sought for the first time by E.T.I. as invited guests to discuss oral history collection, genealogical research, and linguistic assistance. Other items appear on the agendas such as work on the calendar effort, possible participation in an Environmental Conference at the Sac and Fox Agency, a resolution to the city of Sapulpa for recognition of the Yuchi as an intricate part of the city and the renaming of Mission Street to Euchee Mission Street, and potential involvement in the Human Genome Diversity Project. The total topics of discussion are graphed below:

Figure 6.3
1993 Agenda Topics



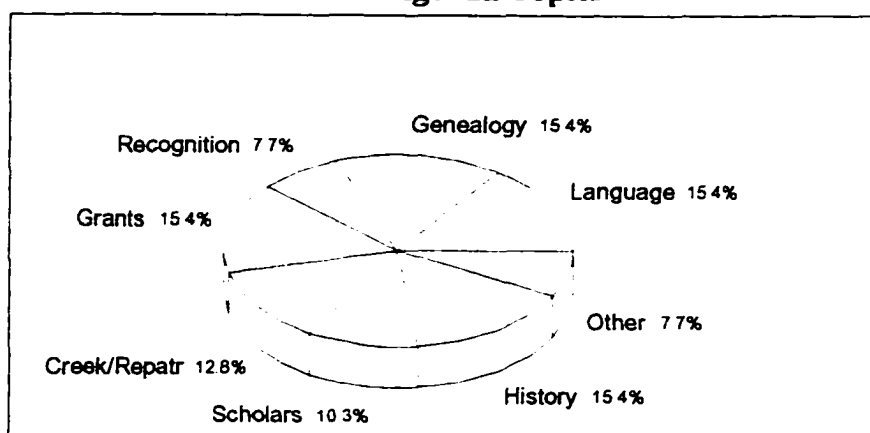
The most frequently discussed topics remain those that center on Yuchi identity. To "be Yuchi" is symbolized by genealogical ties, language concerns, and ritual participation.

Based on these topics in 1993, the interest group efforts supplied many opportunities for community members to interact with each other regarding the symbols of identity. There can be no concept of self-identity without symbolic interaction (see next section). The maintenance of identity became the impetus for political action with the formation and continuation of two new interest group organizations. Similar patterns continue for the next three years.

1994 Agendas:

For 1994, three agendas and minutes are missing for the meetings held on February 16, June 6, and July 2, 1994 but participant listings do exist. Eight other meeting agendas and fieldnotes are available for analysis. The data supplies percentages of topics discussed in the meetings that are noted in the following graph:

Figure 6.4
1994 Agenda Topics



Language discussion appears to have decreased from 1993 by 4 percent. In actuality, undocumented meetings were occurring to set the agenda for new language classes sponsored by E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. These meetings were informal with no agendas and no list of participants.²³ The May 28, 1994 meeting was exclusively held for the

discussion of language preservation and was attended by a linguist from the University of Kansas. Discussion in this meeting included previous language classes and their formats, the differences in dialects, the possibility of teaching Yuchi in the public schools, and potential grant money available. In no way had language concern decreased in importance during 1994.

Genealogical work increased by 1.5 percent from 1993 to 1994. Separate genealogical meetings took place in January, February, March and April according to fieldnotes. Other such meetings occurred during the year, but were not documented. No formal agendas appear for these meetings and no list of participants except for those that I attended. So the percentage of actual genealogical work is undoubtedly much higher than documented. Genealogy meetings included the collection and discussion various census tracts, marriage and death records along with oral histories. Usually one or two elders attended the meetings relating family connections and oral histories. As the sole condition for identity, genealogical research took a central focus for the interest group organizations in 1994.

With the incorporation of E.T.I. the discussions of federal recognition were not as prevalent. However, the final two meetings were community gatherings that discussed this issue including the attempt by Y.T.O. and the future planned attempt by E.T.I. The monthly meetings on this subject focused on working with scholars and obtaining grants that would validate the interest group effort and help legitimize the Yuchi community for eventual Congressional petition. Scholars were working on the language, genealogy, oral history, and additional grant opportunities. Grants that

included scholarly work were considered from the National Science Foundation, The Department of Health and Human Services (ANA), and the Department of Energy. The organization sought these grants to achieve specific goals related to Yuchi identity. At the same time, the leaders hoped that successfully obtaining such grants would become part of the documentary effort to show that the Yuchi were a separate political unit outside of Creek Nation.

Two subjects that appeared fairly often were repatriation and the problems of Yuchi people with Creek Nation's political structure. This could be considered as part of the move to federal recognition. Their political encapsulation thwarted any efforts to have Yuchi items repatriated directly to them. Continuing problems with service and perceived discrimination by the Creek polity were open discussion topics.

Overall, the meetings in 1994 continued to focus on Yuchi identity and its expression. Meetings for calendar preparation also continued each year, but are undocumented as to time and participants. This groups continued to discuss the focus of each year's calendar and how best to represent Yuchi culture pictorially. They continued to meet in the homes of elders and others collecting picture, genealogies, and oral histories. The collection of family photographs has increased to the point that separate pictorial journal is in process of development.

1995 Agendas:

Fieldwork in the early months of 1995 was not as intense and agendas for those early meetings have not been located through E.T.I.'s office.²⁴ A language camp was held for the first time at Pickett Chapel and was well attended by both young and old.

Of the seven meetings that were documented in the later half of the year, four focused heavily on grants to support language studies, genealogical data, oral histories, and the calendar effort. Grants were submitted in conjunction with the University of Oklahoma. Other grants considered were the Lannan Foundation and Running Strong for the children's language class, and Seventh Generation fund for the historical picture journal. In September, repatriation was discussed and the problems facing non-recognized tribes such as the Yuchi. Two meetings took place concerning an agreement with the Gilcrease Museum to house artifacts and papers from Yuchi people. Jason Jackson, a graduate student who had worked in the community for several years, was also employed at Gilcrease. Jackson was instrumental in bringing together the Yuchi community through E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. and the museum for projects of joint interest. At one meeting Dan Swan, the senior curator for the museum explained that Gilcrease would like to establish a relationship with the Yuchi people and was anxious to serve that community. Swan and the museum have started an active program to include the input from Native Peoples in the area. For the Yuchi this opportunity is a way to raise awareness of their existence to others while investigating and documenting their own cultural heritage.

Beginning in September, 1995 under the NIH grant, I began interviewing elders and collecting genealogical data and oral histories. These interviews stimulated discussion between individuals, families, and at various meetings concerning family ties and traditional cultural ways and values. This grant brought another aspect into the organizational and politicization of the interest group. The single interviewee and those

who participated in the focus groups were paid a stipend. A new economic factor emerged that gave the interest group organizations additional validation:

A political order becomes institutionalized in a society only when it becomes integrated within its economic, religious, moral and ideological structure. Indeed, it is only in this way that it becomes validated. (Cohen 1974:53)

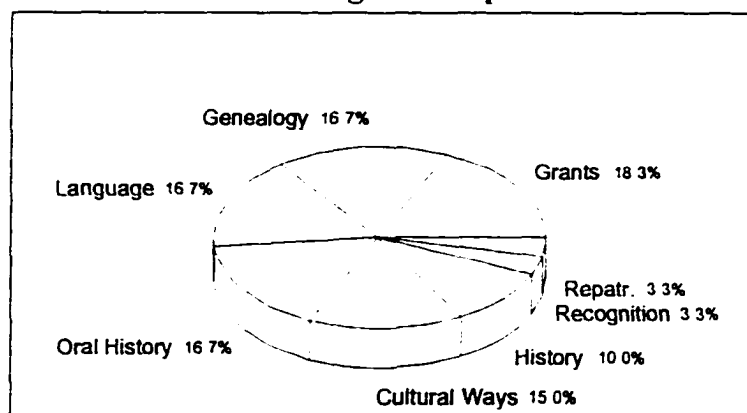
The interest group efforts of the past had never directly supplied monetary recompense for so many nor had they been as involved in the ritual aspects of the community. The unsuccessful ICC effort promised economic benefit, but was only marginally supported by the ritual or moral structures within the community. The Title IV effort certainly could be viewed as having an economic facet based in better education. The leaders of Title IV's successful efforts were closely tied with the religious and moral venues of the Yuchi community. Both E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. were well integrated into the religious, moral, and ideological structures of the community through their leaders and their programs of identity retention. Wisely, no ritual nor interest group leaders accepted any monetary recompense for their work with the organizations. They furnish their skills and talents as a measure of reciprocal exchange wherein they received validation while the community at large received the benefits of their work. The volunteers gave willingly of their abilities for the benefit of the whole, a normative behavior pattern within the Yuchi community. With the NIH grant an economic facet entered the picture for E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. that brought increased validation for their efforts on behalf of the whole. Thus, according to Cohen the interest group organizations moved closer to becoming institutionalized within the society.

Even though the complete meeting data are not available for 1995, from the sample obtained the interest group organizations continued to show concern with the central issues pertaining to identity. Their focus on grants was to insure their ability to proceed with programs to preserve the language, established genealogical information, and collect oral histories. By 1996, the organizations' grant efforts paid off with several proposals funded.

1996 Agendas:

Agendas and fieldnotes document eleven of the fourteen meetings for 1996 beginning on January 10 and ending December 11, 1996. The percentages of topics discussed in these eleven meetings are noted in the following graph:

Figure 6.5
1996 Agenda Topics



Grant discussion entered every recorded meeting and ranged from grants in process to possible new grants for the coming year. After several successful attempts with grant proposals, the interest group felt confident that others were now possible. Again, these grants were viewed with a two-fold purpose. One purpose was to achieve specific and immediate goals such as the establishment of a language curriculum and the tape

recordings of oral histories. The second purpose was to begin the documentation process by E.T.I. that would establish it as a legitimate political entity necessary to file for federal recognition a few years in the future. The subject of recognition itself was raised only twice and that in conjunction with Y.T.O.'s problems with their BIA petition and the pressing need to seek other methods to insure eventual tribal status for the Yuchi people.

The NIH grant supplied the funds necessary to achieve E.T.I.'s desire to work on identity through the necessary condition of ancestry. The grant allowed for the collection of genealogies with an emphasis on interviews with elders. In conjunction with the genealogies and oral histories were taken at the time of the interviews and stored in E.T.I.'s office. In each monthly meeting, participants discussed the interview process. Discussion turned to the possible creation of a large wall size drawing of Yuchi family connections. Most Yuchi people believe that all Yuchi are interrelated in some way through either consanguinial or affinal kin. By displaying the information on a wall it would be open to all Yuchi people for discussion, correction, and additions.²⁵ The data supplied by the NIH grant served also as an impetus for meeting participants to discuss their own histories and well as those collected from others. These discussions often emphasized various aspects of ancestral life-ways such as sun drying of food, medicinal herbs, the four day funeral with its feast, medicine men, and many other topics dealing with both material culture and ritual life.

Language as a central index of identity remained a consistent topic of discussion. The language programs received several boosts from grant money in 1996. Weekly

language classes began for beginners and children with two language camps held in the spring and summer. E.T.I. received an ANA Language Planning grant that paid the salary for Mary Linn a graduate student in linguistics from the University of Kansas. For 1996, most of the work on this grant was preparatory for intensive interviews to begin in 1997. The language grant required a great deal of work by interest group members as well as Linn. The grant proposal stated the following objectives:

By the end of the project year, a systematically conducted language resource survey will be developed and completed. The survey report will: identify all current speakers of the language in the community; assess levels of language fluence; determine the roles each language speaker is willing to take in on-going language preservation efforts; formally assess the current social (speaker demographics) and cultural (language beliefs and values) status of the language in the community; identify all published and unpublished language materials available for use in language education programs.²⁶

The combined efforts of the interest group workers, community members, and linguist fulfilled all the stated objectives. Linn and core volunteers completed the initial working on the language grant in 1996. The completed project included interviews with thirteen fluent speakers, eleven semi-fluent, and eleven who could understand but not speak the language. The final report records that when interviewees were asked about their attitude toward the language "the response was overwhelming that knowing the language is an important part of the Euchee/Yuchi identity." Several who speak the language "have stated clearly their beliefs and fears that losing the language is paramount to losing the Euchee/Yuchi identity."²⁷ The graph above notes that language remained a consistent topic of concern and action for the interest group organization based on the communities perception of its importance in identity retention.

Cultural ways (customs) such as dress styles, basket designs, hunting equipment, and ceremonial paraphernalia became a central theme with the acquisition of the Lila Wallace grant through the Gilcrease Museum. This grant allowed money for an eight month planning stage for a Yuchi exhibition at the museum with an additional year's money to acquire items for the exhibit. The first year's money was designated mainly for community focus groups to discuss what should be in the exhibit itself and to catalogue existing items and purchase additional arts, crafts, traditional dress and the like. Jackson contacted various museums requesting information on Yuchi holdings and what could be made available through museum loans. Many of these items Jackson had photographed during his own archival work and supplied the community with slides. He showed these slides in various meetings where community members discussed the items such as men's ribbon jackets, basketry, and hunting gear. The museum exhibit supplied another venue for community members to discuss their history and cultural ways.

By 1997, the interest group organization commissioned a Yuchi seamstress to design and sew many of the traditional dress items not located in museums. Once complete, these items were a source of enjoyment at various community meetings where they were displayed and discussed at length. The museum project moved steadily forward during 1996 and early 1997 with an additional Yuchi festival planned that would include food booths, stomp dancing, church singing, ball games, arts and crafts, and a story time for children and adults.²⁸ Dah-bah explained why her father Chief Sen-chilah thought this project was a beneficial idea for the community: "When Dad was still alive he thought working with Gilcrease was a good idea because no one knows about the

Yuchi, they think we are Creek. I'm proud to be Yuchi, I've always been Yuchi."²⁹ Not only would the museum and festival assist in retaining cultural way and bringing the community together for discussion, it also raised awareness of the Yuchi people to outsiders. Gilcrease museum is visited yearly by people from throughout the United States as well as foreign visitors. The Yuchi exhibit will introduce others from around the world to a group of people whose identity has been summarily denied by political powers, but which is rich and alive today.

Other methods of retaining cultural traditions in 1996 included the ongoing calendar effort and the photo journal. Both required long hours of work by interest group members with the assistance of many community people who supplied photographs and stories. Retention of customs passed from ancestors is considered important by the community and its elders: "We need to bring out our Yuchi ways so our children will know them or they will die out. We are all Yuchi and we must believe what the old-timers told us. We must carry on."³⁰

One of the most successful cultural retention programs begun by E.T.I. in 1996 was a cultural meeting at Duck Creek ceremonial ground before the Arbor Dance on June 22, 1996. The chief of Duck Creek and others, both men and women, discussed the ceremonial customs of the ground. By 1997, a similar gathering took place at Polecat ground for three evenings between Green Corn and Soup Dance. Discussion included in these meetings were: the history of the tribe; the history of the current three ceremonial grounds; ceremonial activities such as ball games, preliminary dances, major dances, and fall activities; clothing styles both old and new; ceremonial objects; calls,

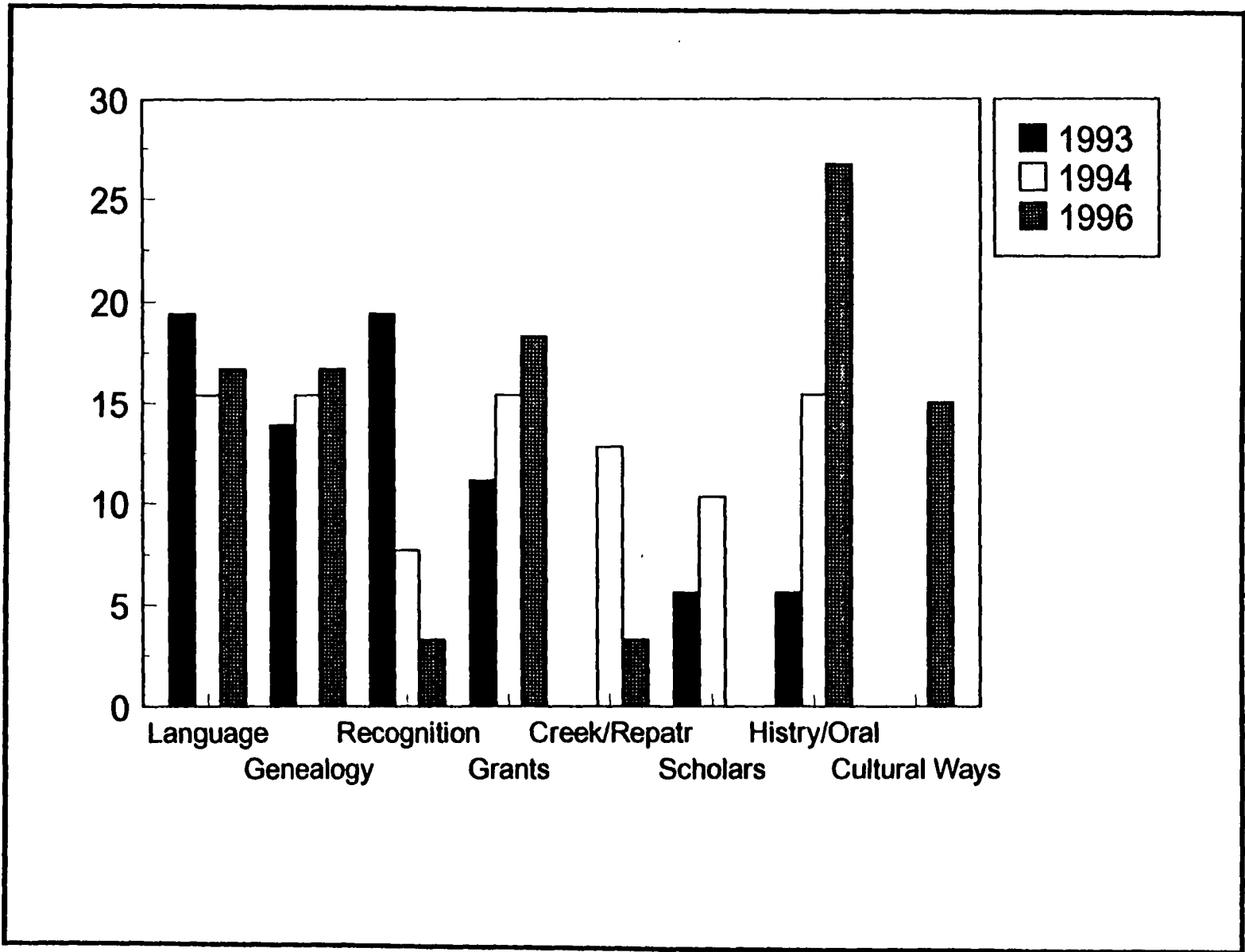
salutes and responses used in ceremonial dances; discussion of tobacco ceremony and face painting. The discussion of history included information supplied by scholars with questions and answers from those participating. Yuchi elders presented information on the other topics with discussion and input from community members. The Gilcrease exhibit, the upcoming festival, and the cultural meetings at the grounds point to the importance placed by the community on all Yuchi cultural ways. These customs have become a primary subject for the interest group effort in 1996. No matter the topic, the central interest revolved around ancestral customs or how Yuchi people performed rituals, how they dressed, and what they deemed important to carry on Yuchi lifestyle. Such an interest in cultural ways of ancestors strengthens the necessary condition of identity -- ancestral ties.

Within several 1996 interest group meetings, the core members discussed Yuchi history. The dates and historical topics included: on both February 21 and March 20, 1996 the one-act Timmie Jack (at Yuchi) play; on May 8, 1996 training young people to document oral histories from family members and preserve those stories to pass on to later generations; on August 1, 1996's language camp, We-u-ga-na related the beginning of fire, the historic importance of crane feathers, and how the stomp dancing began.³¹ When combined with the oral history project, the recording and attempts to retain Yuchi history count for a large percentage of the interest group organization's activities. In 1997, there have been several discussions of eventually having Yuchi people write their own history.

The issue of repatriation appears twice during the 1996 meetings. This subject has been approached several times since 1992 and remains an issue of discussion if not of direct action. The agenda for September 11, 1996 reflected three member attended a national repatriation meeting in Mississippi. On November 13, 1996, a member presented a possible solution to the Yuchi problem of repatriation that would partially circumvent Creek Nation. The Yuchi could join with Kialegee Tribal Town that has federal recognition under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. A National Park Service grant sought by Kialegee would allow such linkage in order to acquire an inventory of Yuchi items held in museums. Without some form of recognition the Yuchi community cannot politically act for itself within the NAGPRA guidelines. The issue of repatriation that was the stimulus for bringing together the core leaders of Y.T.O. remains a concern, but currently items pertaining more directly to Yuchi identity are the focus of the current interest group organization. By documenting this work on identity the interest group effort hopes to receive Congressional recognition at which time Yuchi artifacts can be repatriated directly.

Summary of Meeting Topics:

By graphically combining the years 1993, 1994 and 1996 patterns emerges that show the intensity and shift of the various topics discussed at the interest group organizational meetings. Since the 1992 meetings were mainly organizational they are not included nor are the 1995 meetings that are incomplete:



Both the necessary condition (ancestry) and the index (language) of identity remain consistently high as discussion and project topics. Once both E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. were firmly established the subject of recognition was not discussed as often. The interest group organization used its' other projects as documentation to support a future Congressional effort. Grants remain central to all meeting discussions. In 1993, grant possibilities were explored with only a few small ones actually acquired. This intensifies in 1994 and by 1996 several large and medium grants were acquired and discussion was underway for new proposals to continuing funding the ongoing programs. Repatriation dwindles as a topic, but does appear from time to time and reminds the Yuchi of their encapsulation and the difficulties in working as a political unit with the national NAGPRA effort. The subject of retaining scholars began in earnest in 1993 and continued into 1994. By 1996, discussion did not center on scholars themselves for several were working directly within the community on desired interest group projects. These included: Jason Jackson with his work on the Gilcrease project and assistance in grant writing for other proposals, Mary Linn's work on the language noted earlier, and my own work on the NIH grant that supplied oral histories and genealogies. The need to seek scholars was not a priority on the agenda, the community had perhaps more than enough to achieve its current goals.

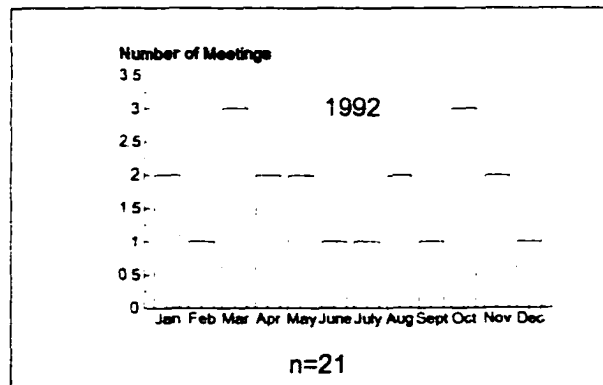
For the bar graph both general tribal history and oral history were combined. The dramatic increase in 1996 is reflective of the work on the NIH grant that collected oral histories along with genealogies. The cultural ways category in 1996 is not new. Cultural ways or customs were an intricate part of the annual calendar, but those

calendar meetings have no documentation for analysis. Customs appear within the context of other earlier discussions, but not until the advent of the Lila Wallace grant with Gilcrease did the interest group organization have a formalized venue to study, catalogue, and express Yuchi customs. Additionally, the holding of the first cultural meeting at Duck Creek and the meeting a year later at Polecat signaled an extended endeavor to retain many of the cultural ways and history of the Yuchi people. Cultural ways or styles of life further distinguishes a group from others and convinces the members of their own special identity. The Yuchi community views itself as distinct not only from Creek people but from the general Euroamerican population that surrounds it. Most Yuchi live and work within the Euroamerican world while at the same time their ritual patterns follow closely the same patterns among the neighboring Creeks. By drawing attention to and reintegrating the customs of their ancestors the community seeks to project its uniqueness both internally and to those outside the community.

Pattern Analysis of Business Meetings:

Both E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. organizational and business meetings brought community members together for discussions on specific topics related to identity and for socializing with each other that reinforced that identity perception. During initial organization, these meetings occurred at least once in every month during 1992:

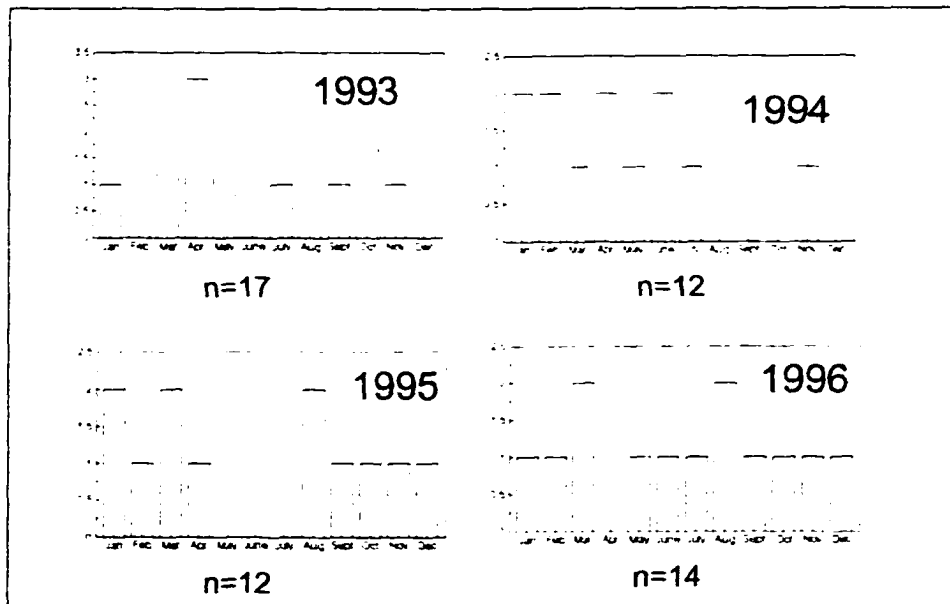
Figure 6.7
E.T.I. Meetings 1992



The total number of 1992 meetings documented were twenty-one with the intensity falling between January through May and August through November. As discussed earlier, this first year centered mainly on organizational structures and program development. The ceremonial summer months have fewer meetings so as not to interfere with ritual life. The June meeting lists show only five participants and July eight (see Figure 6.16). No minutes of these meetings currently exist outside of shorthand notes taken by the secretary.

The following graphs depict the meetings from 1993 through 1996. These are business meetings only and do not incorporate the program meetings that are also occurring by this time (see next section).

Figure 6.8
1993-1996 Number of E.T.I. Business Meetings per Month



The intensity of meetings for 1993 is similar to that of the founding year. The meetings included organizational strategies, develop programs and grant possibilities. A flurry of activity occurred in the early months of 1994 with some programming under way.

Genealogical sessions occurred along with the first year's language camp at Pickett Chapel. The work to actually present these initial programs and an injury to the Chair curtailed business meetings for much of the early fall. The later part of the year focused on a short-lived joint effort to assist Y.T.O. in addressing the deficiencies in its petition for acknowledgment. In November and December, two community meetings took place with this emphasis and no regular business meetings were held.

By the end of 1995 another pattern developed. Grant monies had come into the community and programs were in full swing. The summer months continued to be quiet as the community focused on the ceremonial season. Because of the intensity of these community ceremonial gatherings no other interaction is needed or wanted. By year's

end, business meetings became monthly routines and were used primarily to report the workings of the various projects organized and run by the interest group efforts and its core personnel. In essence, the interest group effort had reached its unspoken goal of offering numerous venues beyond ritual setting that brought the community together for interaction (see next section).

In 1996, the pattern solidifies and carries over into the first half of 1997.

Business meetings become routine affairs usually held on the second Wednesday of each month. They continued through-out the summer, but only during times where core interest group leaders were not directly involved with ceremonies. These meetings tended to be brief with only core personnel and the scholars working in the community attending. The interest group had organized to the point that meetings must continue during the summer, however briefly, to take care of matters that could wait two to three months. For instance, several of the grants had deadlines that had to be met in order to abide by the contract and thus be potential recipients for other grants.

The intensity of E.T.I. meetings decreases each year from 1992 to 1996. This reduction is in direct correlation with the increase in programs offered through the interest group effort for the community. Business meetings continue to be extremely important and draw in community members at specific times. However, it is the venues for larger interaction that produce the ability of the interest group effort to serve as a means to increase communication and community interaction among the members.

Community Interaction in the 1990s:

In the past, Yuchi people relied heavily on ritual participation and neighborhood interaction for routine communications that strengthen the concept of "being Yuchi." Both venues exist today but are much curtailed by wage labor's impact on family and community life. Until shortly after WWII many Yuchi met in downtown Sapulpa on weekends to attend movies, shop, and visit together:

I use to go down there to Pickett Church and mingle around there with different ones. That's how I got acquainted with all the Yuchis. And like downtown (Sapulpa), my grandma would stop and talk to the people on the street. They use to do that.

I know one time we was standin front of Mortons department store there, my grandma was talkin to Martha Dunn. They were standin there talkin Yuchi, that's when she had little Martha Ruth. Anyhow she just layed down there on the street and went sleep. Her momma was tryin to get her up. She was so sleepy I guess. I'll never forget that.

It seems like when they, I don't know why, but every time they'd go to town the Yuchis would see one another and they'd stop and talk. Well about like they do now but it was more so. They'd talk a long time askin how different ones were, how they were gettin along.³²

Sapulpa remains a central place, but other areas have encroached on the activities including shopping malls in Tulsa and various shopping centers in each neighboring area. Because Yuchi people do not do most of their business any longer in Sapulpa, stopping for long periods of time to talk and ask about others is not a common occurrence today.

Community members know the importance of communicating with each other. Personal communications remain extremely important for connecting with other Yuchi people. When asked how word might circulate if a family member were ill the following responses occurred:

Yaw-bos-se: I always like to share myself, call my relatives and friends. I like to do something for them.

Se-nee: I think its more or less everybody talk about it and let each other know that somebody's sick, not well or something has happened. That word gets around real real fast. So I believe the ones that can go, they go and them that can't go talk about it and let you know that they know about it. So I believe its more or less share their illness and whatever is wrong.

Aw-bay: I think in general most things go to the immediate family first and then it will spread from there. I think a lot has to do with like someone had a responsible position and that affects more people like Sen-chilah (Chief of Polecat) being in the hospital. He has a lot of responsibilities and so its needful as well as most people would like know about it and be aware of it so they can do some planning or go see him or just be aware. It works in most cases.³³

In the final ANA language grant report Linn notes this verbal one-on-one interaction and the quality of this style of communication:

Perhaps the most effective tool was by word of mouth (for communication on the grant). Once we began the interviews with the elders, information about the survey spread throughout the community. Although we had no control over this information, we did not find anyone who had grave misgivings or incorrect information from having heard about the survey from family or friends.³⁴

Participants in ritual settings and interest group events such as the language project discuss the details of such gatherings within their own personal networking system. This networking system includes family, friends, and co-workers. Within a short length of time, this process reliably informs most community members of a meeting's content.

Individual Networking
a form of Community Communication



Without question phone and personal meetings between Yuchi people furnish a rapid and effective means of passing on information as noted by Linn. In other cases, one-on-one interaction is not sufficient and the community sees a benefit in having interest group efforts be collecting places for pertinent information to be dispersed and acted upon.

The Speaker, We-u-ga-na explains:

One of the things that this organization (E.T.I.) has come to be, I see that there's been a lot of things about our people that come to mind and are brought to our minds. I guess brought on by the university sending you all to us and at first I think to most of us that attended meetings everything was new to us.

The whole organization you might say was new. It started completely new for my part. That has a lot of things about our people, the history of our people, the activities our people have involved with down through the years has come to our attention and it has caused us to realize the things that still exist among us such as our ceremonies.

It caused us to think more seriously. I know myself from what others have become aware of that also is my views that have been involved with this organization. Such as plannin, lots of things come to our attention that our other people are not aware of and probably don't understand even I don't understand all of it. But I try to understand. There seems like a number of things that we are involved in at this time that our people are not up to date about some of the things that we talk about in some of these meetings.³⁵

Our ways of life that have been goin on so long. But now adays we gather up and have meetings and discuss what we still have and find ways for us to continue on.³⁶

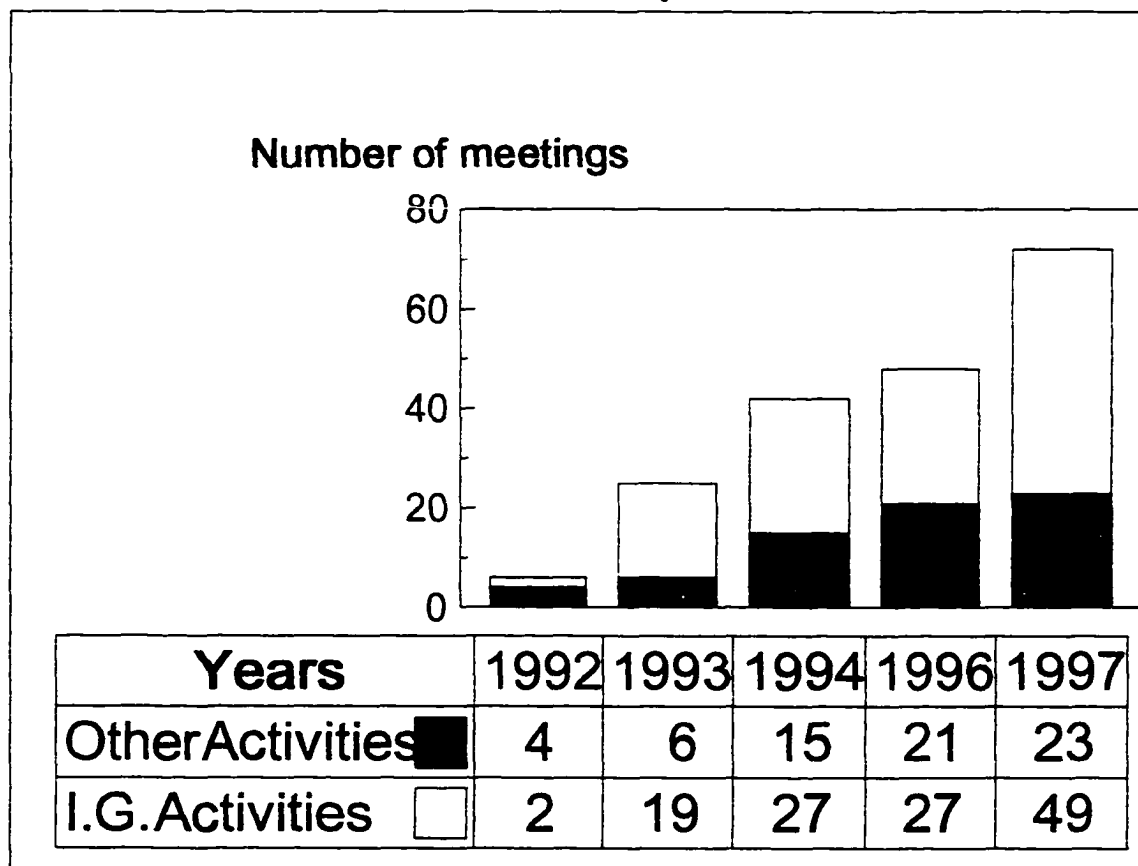
As an elder and Speaker, We-u-ga-na gives validation to the organization's work in the area of information collection. The interest group leaders know the benefit of collecting and discussing various issues. They also know the need to supply direct interaction between community members. As expressed by We-u-ga-na, a more formalized political entity became a necessary clearinghouse to dispense information on crucial issues pertaining to all Native Americans and specifically for Yuchi concerns with identity retention.

Without some form of political organization outside of the Creek polity, the community had no methodology to secure substantial grants that would support community projects that created venues for interaction and routine communication. For instance, E.U.C.H.E.E.'s working with the Gilcrease on the Wallace grant produced what the community desired: a chance to be together expressing their uniqueness and solidarity. During the planning for the Euchee Festival volunteers discussed numerous activities that could be included. A central ritual and interest group leader states the mission that takes priority over the actual activities: "We wanted actually to get the Yuchi people together. It doesn't matter the activity as long as the Yuchi participated in the gathering."³⁷

Yuchi people have always found ways to interact with each other. During fieldwork, I collected data on a portion of these activities each year and noted the increase with the birth of E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. The graph below shows documented

community activities for the years 1992 through June, 1997 exclusive of 1995 when little data was collected:

Figure 6.9
1992-1997 Community Activities



The categories of "I.G. (interest group) activities and "Other Activities" include only those opportunities to interact outside of the ritual venues. Ritual activities furnish an intense period of interaction in the summer and for analysis here, the interest was in other methods of communication and interaction outside of the traditional venues. For the ceremonial grounds, the area of largest ritual membership the activities begin with the first ball games usually in April with dances intermingled culminating with Green Corn ceremonies at the three grounds. This interaction is intense particularly from June

through August and few other activities occur. The church community has a somewhat more consistent venue for interaction with weekly services. However, like the grounds the extended ritual of the Fourth Sunday is now confined to a single day (See Chapter 1). The desire to meet with other Yuchi people was expressed clearly by an active grounds person: "Before we had these other events, I only saw these people in the summer at the grounds activities."³⁸

Items recorded in "other activities" category include involvement with the Creek Nation Oak Tree Festival; stomp dances with other Native Peoples such as the annual stomp dance in Norman and with the Shawnee at Little Axe; various symposiums and seminars; children's school activities; and numerous sports events. These activities are not Yuchi-specific but many Yuchi attend and mingled together. Those that are Yuchi specific include funerals; birthday celebration for leaders; and ground fund-raisers. Related to the grounds, the Duck Creek and Kellyville communities usually hold at least one event to raise money for the summer ceremonials. These fund-raisers include such things a Bingo and Green Onion dinners. Funerals are places of extended interaction, but are sporadic and inconsistent venues. Funerals usually include a wake the night before the service and furnish a way to reinforce family and community ties while expressing both church and ground ritual bonds. Yuchi people maintain the tradition of burial on the Fourth Day, but no longer hold the Funeral Feast that supplied a longer venue for community support and communication.

The data for Figure 6.9 in no way can include all community activities as many are passed mainly by word of mouth and I was not in the community at all times and not

always part of the communication circle. This graph does give strong indication of the additional avenues of interaction over the years and supports the previous discussion concerning extended opportunities created by the interest group organization. From personal experience, it was clear that intensity of community gatherings had increased and graphic analysis confirms that supposition.

E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. have been able over five and one-half years to expand the venues for community involvement and interaction. The intensity of these venues increased each year as programs were proposed, planned, financed and finally executed. The offerings between 1992 and 1996 increased nearly 700 percent and from 1992 to only half a year in 1997 by nearly 2,400 percent. The 1997 offerings by year-end could double this percentage. The actual "I.G. Activities" in Figure 6.9 created by the interest group organization brought community members together in every increasing opportunities for interaction and identity reinforcement. A brief description of the I.G. activities are noted below and exclude the business meetings themselves discussed previously.

Figure 6.9: 1992 I.G. Activities:

For most of 1992, the interest group organizations focused on creating the foundational structures for E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. with some programs beginning. The two noted venues for community interaction were the genealogy workshop held with scholars from the University of Oklahoma and a Benefit Dance to help support the calendar project. The genealogy meeting was discussed in Chapter 1 and was well

attended by community members. The Benefit Dance initially roused some concern among community members. In a community meeting on November 5, 1994 the new Chair of Y.T.O. and a leader of Polecat grounds voiced opposition: "I don't think these benefit dances are appropriate. I'm against them. This is my stand. Better to raise money some other way." The response by the previous secretary of Y.T.O. and current secretary of E.T.I. was: "Times have changed. If there is no medicine or ceremony involved it should be okay. Surely in the years past our ancestors danced year-round."

The new interest group organizations were using a new tool to bring Yuchi people together. The community members now support benefit dances with their attendance. The daughter of the past chief of Polecat explains her father's view on this venue:

The winter dances Dad and I see as a way for the community to get together as a social event.

We don't see some people very often. Before we had them it was just summer to summer before we saw some of the people . . .

He considered them a social event, a kind of get together like we had a big party or for everybody's entertainment. That's what people like to do and the only conditions he saw was they we couldn't have them after the first ball game.

We're not suppose to do it (after ceremonial season starts), but some do. After you light the fire everything (else) is over with and you go ahead and do the ceremonials.

These are social events not a ceremony or anything like that. These are not an exhibition because mostly Indians are there.³⁹

This dialogue presents several issues concerning the workings of the Yuchi community.

The community quickly sets to rest the controversy about dancing outside the grounds

by choosing to be involved in them on a regular basis. Because of that involvement these dances have continued each year and support E.U.C.H.E.E.'s calendar efforts and other cultural programs. The community views the calendar as a worthwhile project, one that enhances a sense of Yuchi identity. At the same time, benefit dances allow community members to come together for interaction. As Dah-bah noted, in the past it was not uncommon to see some Yuchi people only once a year at the ceremonial grounds. Additional venues to meet people were a priority and readily accepted by community members.

These dances mark again the separation between the interest group efforts and the ritual centers. Interest group community dances must end by the beginning of the ceremonial season and not start again until late summer. The interest group activities must not in any way encroach on the traditional ritual patterns of Yuchi interaction. These ritual ceremonies continue to be the stronghold of community symbolism related the distinctive identity and are merely broadened by the interest group organizations' offerings.

Figure 6.9: 1993 I.G. Activities:

The activities in 1993 centered on developing programs and seeking money to support community programming efforts. Benefit dances; a trip to Georgia; genealogy research meetings; and work on the calendar were the central extended venues for the community. Both the genealogy meetings and work on the calendar provided additional meetings, but more importantly this work became the focus of network discussion

among the community members. This year tended to focus on the development and methods of funding that would support the sudden burst of activity in the following years.

Figure 6.9: 1994 I.G. Activities:

The 1994 interaction venues increased dramatically with more benefit dances and fund-raisers; additional genealogical workshops, language classes and two language camps that drew old and young alike; and two community meetings to discuss the problems of Y.T.O.'s BIA petition and possible assistance from E.T.I. Additionally, a British filmmaking crew visited to record the community's decision making process concerning possible involvement with the Human Genome Diversity Project. The members present at this meeting numbered only thirty, but it was followed by a Green Onion dinner that drew in other Yuchi people who discussed informally the earlier activities with the filming crew and the proposed Genome project. In turn, those present at the filming and the dinner passed the information on through their networking channels of families, friends, and co-workers.

Figure 6.9: 1996 I.G. Activities:

Excluding 1995 where data are limited, the calendrical period of 1996 decreased the need for community fund-raisers as grant money was now available. The activities centered more on bringing the community together for genealogical, language, and history meetings. The number of venues did not increase from 1994 mainly because of

the extensive number of deaths in the community during the first half of the year. Two ceremonial chiefs died as did many fluent speakers of the Yuchi language including two of the oldest living Yuchi women. It is customary to curtail outside activities during the days before and immediately following a Yuchi funeral particularly among such esteemed persons. The funeral rituals themselves bring the community together where much intensive interaction and information is shared.

The interest group organizations in 1996 did furnish a number of avenues for the community to come to interact: cultural meetings at Duck Creek; language classes began for beginners and children; two language camps; language workshops at the E.T.I. office; fund-raisers for the language camp; benefit dances; monthly luncheons for the elders and others; and an all day open house for the new office. The greatest level of additional interaction occurred with interview and focus group meetings from the NIH grant.

Figure 6.9: 1997 January - June I.G. Activities

The dramatic increase in activities for 1997 reflects the programs that were begun in 1996 but intensified and solidified by the first part of 1997. They include additional language classes that met every Thursday; spring language camp; workshops in the office on linguistics; benefit dances; meetings and interviews for the ANA language grant; NIH genealogy and oral history interviews and focus group effort; cultural meetings for three nights at Polecat grounds; and the hiring of staff that allowed people

to come to the E.T.I. office to view video tapes of Yuchi activities, research in the library, and volunteer their time on behalf of the organizations' projects.

During the business meeting March 12, 1997, a new concern arose about the dramatic increase in the number of meetings. Discussion centered on a meeting date for the Gilcrease Museum project that was to include community members, particularly elders, to get their input on the exhibit. Meetings involving the community had become so prolific that the problem of non-attendance was a distinct possibility. The discussion occurs between the Chair of E.T.I., the scholar Jackson; and Dah-bah the Yuchi representative for the Gilcrease exhibition project:

Jackson: On the exhibit proper the next step is to hold another focus group meeting and March filled up pretty quick so we were hoping to do one in April. We had thought about putting forward the April 2nd date but now that is scheduled with a (NIH) focus group meeting with Pam and Morris. So perhaps we could select another day. I haven't had a chance to consult with Dah-bah but perhaps the Monday before? Dah-bah do you think the 31st would work on that Monday?

Dah-bah: Probably. We'd have to get the word out.

Jackson: Okay since the Wednesday is taken we will tentatively look at doing our next group meeting on the 31st. We'll talk to some of the elders about this.

Chair: One of the things and we need to be very careful, if you have more than one meeting a week you're going to run into some real problems here. So I would suggest that we not do more than one, at least from this group, more than one meeting a week on that.

Dah-bah: We have a NAGPRA meeting going on and others on the 1st and 31st.

Jackson: I didn't propose the week of Wednesday the 26th because of the Norman (NAGPRA) meetings and then the 2nd is taken and

the 9th is the regular business meeting. So it puts us into the middle of April. I'll be out of town the weekend of the 14th so . . .

Chair: Well you know we could probably do the 9th because of the time. We could work our business meeting around this because if there are some things that need to be covered we can figure that.

I just hate to see us do it back to back because you're only gonna get part of the people. If everybody comes out Monday they won't be there Wednesday. I think we would be trippin ourselves if we try to do that. I think the 9th would work . . . we could have an early business meeting and at 7:00 go into the other.⁴⁰

The increased intensity of meetings created a new problem that could undermine the programs and reasons for the interest group efforts. For the first time, too many activities were occurring for not only the core staff to participate, but also for the community members to sustain involvement. An overload was beginning to occur.

Interaction maybe necessary to maintain community cohesion, but excessive community commitments begin to hamper family and work lives.

Since the programs themselves are the key components and ultimate goals of both the interest group organization and the community, a solution presented itself. Rather than require an additional evening of work, the monthly business meeting would take a back seat at least temporarily. The leaders did not consider combining two program efforts on the same night. Rather they joined one business and one community program. Programs for the community were the key ingredient and the primary purpose of E.T.I.'s efforts. No matter how important the interest group, business meetings must take a back seat to community gatherings.

The efforts of the interest group organization caused a tremendous increase in community interaction as reflected Figure 6.9 and the subsequent discussion of the

various community centered activities. Previously with only the ritual venues to bring the community together, many Yuchi people were interacting with others only sporadically during summer ceremonials. The work of the interest group organizations greatly enhanced community interaction. Routine communications, frequent reinforcement of symbols of identity, and decision making venues are necessary for any interest group to sustain cohesion and maintain its concept of uniqueness. The various community events created by E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. centered on the symbols of identity: genealogical ties, language retention, and the importance of ritual practice. Yuchi symbols of identity are rooted in tradition. Traditions that have been articulated through time passing from one generation to the next usually within family groupings and ritual settings. Interest group efforts have added an additional cultural context to reinforce these symbols. As noted in the following ethnographic account, these symbols may shift in meaning over time, but those meanings are culturally established within the framework of community interaction. Symbols of Yuchi identity serve as reasons for the community to come together for interaction and communication so necessary to maintain a cohesive identity.

Interaction and discussions created by E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. show the validation process within the community. The community views its ritual leaders as the guardians of its way of life and the elders as the culture bearers. Many of these meetings have become venues where community members listen and absorb the teaching of their acknowledged leaders and elders. Through ritual leaders and elders' teachings Yuchi people pass on traditions and customs that create an ideology of uniqueness for all

community members. Indeed, gatherings created by the interest group effort have become places where Yuchi people gather to listen to their ritual leaders and culture bearers. The following dialogue is an ethnographic account of one such meeting where elders reinforce cohesion by articulating of the symbols of identity. This fieldwork example extends analysis possibilities by furnishing the actual dialogue between community members that reinforces the concepts of identity.

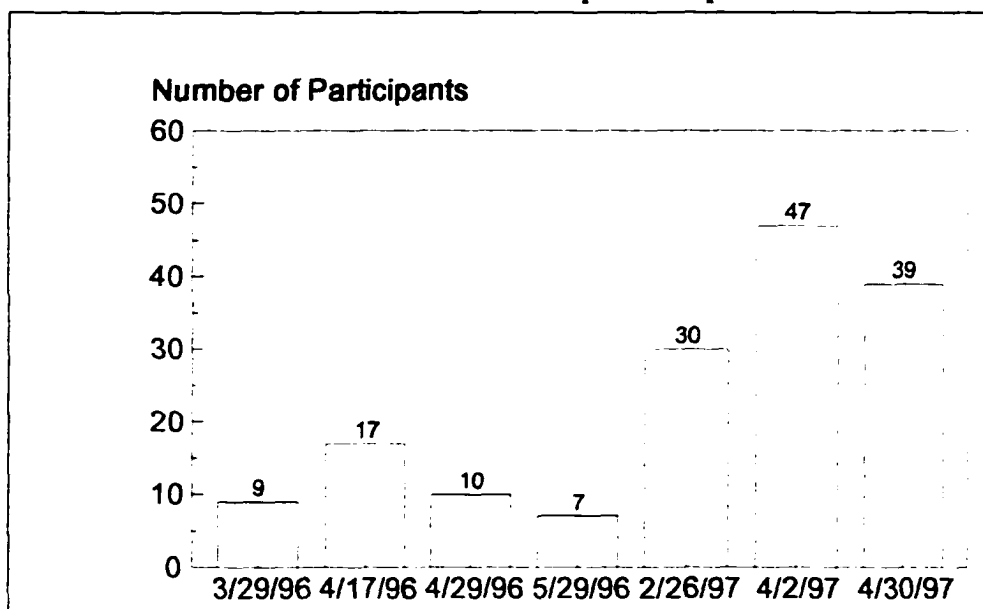
Focus Group as Intensive Interaction and Identity Reinforcement: An Ethnographic Account.:

E.T.I.'s participation in the NIH grant provided the community with genealogical charts, oral histories, and focus groups for community interaction. The community saw a clear need to collect genealogical data as well as record the oral accounts of elder Yuchi who are the culture bearers. The focus groups became an extension for discussing Yuchi identity and for expressing what it means "to be Yuchi."

Individual interviews and the number of participants in NIH focus groups increased as the project got underway. Word of the effort quickly circulated within the community through meetings and informal personal networkings between family and friends. It was not uncommon to have people come up to me and express a wish to be interviewed or more likely express the desire to interview a family elder. The person-to-person networking continues to be an excellent resource for exchanging information concerning the NIH grant.

During the first year of the grant, eighteen individuals were interviewed for genealogy charts and oral history recording. Four focus meetings were held with a total of forty-three persons attending. By the grant's second year the numbers had shifted. Individual interviews were only sixteen, a decrease of 11 percent. The test of community support and perceived value came from the dramatic 250 percent increase in the persons attending the focus groups. The following graph depicts the focus group participation for both years:

Figure 6.10
1996-97 NIH Focus Group Participation



Several factors led to the increase in participation from 1996 to 1997. The first focus group took place in March of 1996 and was considered a new venue for interaction. The community had yet to determine if these meetings were indeed an activity that was worthy of the time and effort of its members.

Perhaps the greatest reason for less participation lay in the deaths experience by the community during the spring of that year. The first meeting took place only a month after the death of the chief of Duck Creek ceremonial ground. The second meeting was during the critical illness of an active elder and fluent language speaker. The final meeting took place only a few days after this individual's death. Others in the community were seriously ill during this time and several subsequently died. Illness and death is not just a concern of the family but of the community who supports that family during these periods. Community interaction remained high through the social obligations related to death and dying within the community. Additional interaction during this difficult time was not wanted nor necessary.

By the spring of 1997, community members were aware of the previous year's focus groups. Even with one less meeting in 1997 the participation more than doubled. There were no other social obligations that drew members away. Word had circulated about these meetings, their content and the monetary stipend for attendees. In the Yuchi community it is difficult to determine how much that participation weighed on monetary rewards, but it was likely a factor. The participants varied for each meeting with some individuals attending all meetings and others only one or two. Part of this was because the meetings were held in three locations and drew differing people: Duck Creek, Sapulpa, and Kellyville. Most often the ritual leaders and core volunteers were present at all meetings. The participation by others is noted in the demographic section that follows.

Nearly all Yuchi meetings, regardless of their intent and agenda, tend to have some discussion that concerns Yuchi identity, traditions, and history, in essence what it is "to be Yuchi." Focus groups supplied the community with a forum to discuss these specific issues without the encroachment of other topics. These meetings were similar to others and according to a fairly standard ritual that included food and socializing; introductions; and speeches by elders and ritual leaders concerning Yuchi ways and customs. Focus groups allowed a forum for articulating identity concerns and possible solutions to such things as potential language loss and the possible loss of cultural ways through the death of elders. By 1997, focus groups found community members gathering to listen to their elders speak of what it is "to be Yuchi."

One of the largest in attendance, the focus group meeting on April 30, 1997 furnishes a glimpse into the community concept of identity, the interest group effort, and the ritual practice of being Yuchi. The meeting time was set for 7:00 P.M. and opened with a prayer by Yon-shen in the Yuchi language. This was followed by a meal and socializing. Food is an intricate part of any Yuchi gathering. It fosters time to interact with others and helps bond family and friends. As explained in a recent meeting organized by E.T.I.:

We have some food in the other room. This has always been a key thing to the best of my knowledge all our Indian people were that food is the thing that you share with your family and your friends. And whatever it takes, if you can do that, you know, you offer that.

Like my parents tell me when you go visit someone that they will provide you something to eat. And when you have visitors you provide them something to eat. That's the way you treat your family, your friends, your visitors.

In other societies its considered improper to stay while they're having meals and you're expected to leave. But the Indian way, that's how you show appreciation, that's how you show consideration.

Whatever you got you share to best that you can and it doesn't have to be anything fancy, whatever you got and people that come appreciate that . . . We try to do that in every situation that we can. That's why it's so important with our ancestors and it will be so I'm sure in the future.⁴¹

Food is a social event for most Yuchi people when they gather. The sharing of food with each other and with visitors is a tradition passed down from their ancestors. As observed over several years, meals are a time for interacting with those around you reinforcing relationships and concepts of identity. I have never attended a Yuchi gathering of any size that did not contain the element of food together with socializing. Food, its preparation, distribution, and its eating are ritualized within the community signifying the community norm of sharing with others. The interest group effort supplied an additional reason and place for the community to coalesce for socializing and sharing both food and information between members.

The NIH meeting in April was the second for 1997 with a focus on what it means to be Yuchi. The following are excerpts from that meeting. Several topics are evident: the necessary condition and two indices of identity: ancestry, language concern, and ritual practice; the importance of the ritual leaders from both grounds and churches; the importance of elders as culture bearers; the importance of education, the importance of reciprocity; and the importance of the interest group effort in passing on Yuchi identity.

Following the meal and visiting, the chair of E.T.I. explained the reason for this meeting: "The area we are working on this year is getting information on how people

think of themselves as being members of the Yuchi tribe, the Yuchi community and the different thoughts of theirs." He explained E.T.I. is hoping to offer a summer meeting to be held at Polecat to discuss similar issues with input from scholars, leaders, and the community:

While we haven't decided on it, we have done some discussion of maybe having some special things this summer at Polecat the week between Green Corn and Soup Dance. So we're still havin some discussion on that. We won't make that determination until later on. I'm mentioning it now for some of you to think about and see whether you think it might be a good idea and what kinda of things might be useful to do it. We're talkin about in the evenings about 5:00 or 6:00, two or three hours, something of that nature, the early part of the week toward the end of the week.

The Chair has explained E.T.I.'s proposed meeting at Polecat grounds. He remarks that nothing has been finalized. The reason for this is that such an activity is community based. It is up to the community to give its assent and willingness to participate. By announcing the intention in this and other community gatherings word circulates and a community consensus is reached to validate, or not, the activity being considered. This is an example of community consensus and the ultimate power held by community members, not the interest group effort or ritual leaders without community input. The focus group venue followed standard procedures to get information out into the community so decision making could occur: inform participants of a gathering who in turn pass that information through personal networking channels; followed by deliberation between members in other gatherings both small and large; and finally a decision made from community input coming back to those who have made the plans.⁴²

In this particular case, enough community members found the project worthwhile that the core of E.T.I. planned and carried out the summer program held July 15-18, 1997.

Following this explanation and the introduction of the scholars present, the Chair introduced We-u-ga-na a ceremonial ground Speaker who would lead the discussion.

Without further interruption the Speaker immediately touches on ancestry, the sole criterion for identity:

Aw-bay asked me to do this. (It) is somethin some folk, many of you people from time to time round and about mostly pertainin to our ceremonials but involved with community too also try to say a few things you know. I see lot of Yuchis here. Maybe some of you have got a percentage of Yuchi blood but nevertheless you might even be associated with a Yuchi but it doesn't make any difference to us. We consider any degree of Yuchi blood that gets involved with us.

We hope that some day we can look on the record and our young ones see how (much) blood of this and of that. In this day and time we're so ah mixed blood - - our grandchildren, great-grandchildren. Some of us probably couldn't figure out what degree of Yuchi blood or other tribes. But we're that way. But by keepin records of anything, we think it might be helpful to our (people). We are really mixed up and all tribes are. We're mixed up with other races, other tribes. But if you don't keep up with what you are, you don't know what you are.⁴³

The Speaker states that ancestry, for all intent and purposes only one ancestor, is enough to validate Yuchi identity: "We consider any degree of Yuchi blood . . ." Ancestral ties are symbolic of Yuchi identity. The issue of blood-quantum (ancestors) has been a difficult one for the volunteers of E.T.I. as they attempt to create a tribal roll. They determined that to increase blood-quantum percentages to 1/4 would eliminate important members of the community. In one case, the great-grandchildren of a chief

would be excluded even though those children are raised in Yuchi homes and participate in the community.

The second paragraph of the Speaker's text actually followed after his discussion of the two indices of identity (next section). By beginning and ending his oration with blood or ancestors, We-u-ga-na reinforced the necessary condition of ancestry and its importance in identifying oneself as Yuchi. Because the criterion is based on as little as a single ancestor it is imperative that records be kept so future generations will know that they are Yuchi no matter what intermarriages take place. Recording genealogical information is one of E.T.I.'s future endeavors related to the Congressional petition for recognition. We-u-ga-na sets the groundwork in his speech for this future interest group effort. In this way, the community is informed on the issue and discussions can begin on the potential benefit of such an effort. The community will then either validate the effort through participation or invalidate by its lack of involvement.

Without interruption for any other topic, We-u-ga-na speaks of the importance of the Yuchi language, an index of Yuchi identity:

And the question what is it, what does it mean to be a Yuchi? Some of us have talked about it and discussed it. It seems like a hard question in this modern time. And ah, the thought goes through my mind -- if that question would have been asked fifty years ago, imagine you could come up with lots of answers from the elders. And I think one of the main things that would probably been in their answer would have been the ability to speak the language. That's what I believe.

Although I've been around the Yuchi language all my life, and observin the ones that could speak the language, I think their fellowship, their joy in their conversations in everyday life. I think its so much greater to those people. It was a joy seems like to sit around and listen and watch them -- their reactions. And we think

of today, after all those years, those are history. I guess we could look around and see (various elders present at this meeting), and some of the young ones can maybe utter a few words of the Yuchi language. I think you know, they (elders of the past who spoke Yuchi) would have good answers to this question.

We-u-ga-na is relying of the culture bearing elders of the past to support the importance of the Yuchi language for today's community. We-u-ga-na himself is now an esteemed elder and his speaking to the language index reinforces its current importance to the community. Because the Yuchi language is like no other in North America, it symbolizes for Yuchi people their community's uniqueness. As a ceremonial Speaker, We-u-ga-na holds an additional role. He is one who can and does remind the community members of their obligations. He does this in explaining the importance of language. I have used Tedlock's method (see Appendix 1.a) to express this particular oratory where pauses are significant in reinforcing some statements:

But we hear the elders say when they talk about our language and we're almost that way.

...
We hear them say ah, not just the Yuchi people but other tribes,

...
they say when your language disappears that's like you won't be Yuchi no more. You can't be considered Yuchi. Some of us are that way now, I can't speak the language. But according to some of those elders, the way they think I wouldn't be Yuchi even though I be half. That's kinda the way they look at it,

...
the older Indians.

We-u-ga-na speaks once more of the importance of ancestor's and their concepts of identity. At the same time, he shifts the symbolism of language from a necessary condition of identity to an index. Symbols are arbitrary and change as the result of processes that form the whole cultural complex.⁴⁴ As a ritual leader versed in the

symbols of identity, We-u-ga-na can interpret and reinterpret symbols, shifting their meaning to accommodate current circumstances. We-u-ga-na feels that past elders would consider speaking the language a necessary condition for Yuchi identity. Today, such exclusion would result in only twenty or less community members. Therefore, he shifts the necessary condition of speaking the language to the index of concern with language retention. The important key to Yuchi identity remains blood-quantum or ancestry "even though I be half." We-u-ga-na is the epitome of a Yuchi leader, the community does not question his Yuchi identity even though he cannot speak the language. Instead, We-u-ga-na moves to the concern of language retention as being important when related to Yuchi identity:

So we're makin an effort through the language and we as a community we failed. We have opportunity to take our children, our grandchildren to classes to prolong this language we're talkin about. But we talk about it that's all. We don't make a move. But after this, this is the last effort any Yuchi people gonna try to preserve the language. We're in that stage right now. If you don't take it serious

...
its gonna be like they said. We're like the rest of the world. Maybe its the truth.

...
In the scripture they say one time one language over this whole world. Then some say its gonna get back like that, one language over this whole world. That's what they say.

...
So if we want our language to go on,
...
you have to make an effort
...
all of us.

Language retention is an important community issue today with so few speakers left.

We-u-ga-na challenges those present to support this community value and index of

identity. He notes that the interest group organization has language classes, but too few are attending. He states clearly this will be last chance to save their unique language. If language retention remains a central community concern, the members must support the effort. It takes more than a few to retain this critical index. It takes "all of us."

We-u-ga-na moves to the second identity index ritual participation and blends its importance with that of language:

And another thing is, you would have to kinda know the Yuchi people, be involved with what the Yuchis involved with in their lives and in their history.

And I think each would say we're proud to be a Yuchi and to be proud of knowin the history of our forefathers. And to ask our younger ones it seem to me, you have to be involved with like the language or whatever our people were involved with in our lives. That could be maybe an answer.

Whether it be a Christian life. We have heard the Christian Yuchis have stated, they talk about history when the language was strong in the house of worship, in their preachin, in their hymn. How it use to be and how it is now. They use say, they miss those times. So as Yuchi people we've saved a whole lot but it might seem like a little bit compared to back in history when it pertains to our ceremonial life.

We talk about it in our (ground) ceremonials. We try to get someone to speak in our ceremonials. When we do, who understands what that person says? What a person says out there, some of us ought to know what its sayin.

But we're not makin any effort in our ceremonials. We want them guys to get up there and learn how to make those speeches callin people in. When they do, some of them learns it, like Hootie he was learnin. Sen-chilah was teachin us what it means and he was teachin these young men

..
to call the people in, to alert the campers
..

to get ready, to think about the circle up there. And make four calls each one maybe a little different.

..
We want them guys to learn but we ain't tryin to learn what that boy's sayin. We ought to be tryin to learn that. What's the use of him talkin to us if we don't understand?

..
That's the way it is to me

..
But if that man ain't there send somebody else. I saw a time up at Polecat when we run out of them men or they wasn't available.

George Watashe go up there and he made the people understand. He talk English to them, he called them in.

Yeah, that was along time ago, there was a lot of Yuchis around.

It came to that, that's what they faced, but that brought the people. It got results, that's the main thing I guess. And we're gettin like that.

So, we're havin to use the English language for everyday.

But one thing we have, we have songs. Our young ones can learn them songs maybe that's different from their language. They can learn these stomp dance songs and ceremonial songs.

And them little fellows, they could learn their language if they really had the opportunity. But different races of people can learn our songs. It's that way when it comes to the songs. I saw several non-Indians get in these circles and be able to sing with em and lead em. And the women folks also use the shells.

This oration speaks to the importance of both language and ritual involvement by community members. To be Yuchi is to be involved in the workings of the community particularly in the retention of the language within the ritual settings. As Speaker for the grounds, his voicing both ritual centers of church and ceremonial grounds brings a added validity to both ritual expressions. Ritual conveys meaning that is essential for the existence and continuity of a group.⁴⁵ We-u-ga-na views these ritual venues as necessary

Yuchi places of involvement for community cohesion and expression. Again, he challenges the members to learn the language that for generations was used as the main expression in the ritual settings. However, by saying that Yuchi Christians miss the native language in that their rituals and the Chief of Polecat used the English language to call participants onto the ceremonial grounds, he is in essence stating that ritual life can and will continue beyond the Yuchi language itself. One is not fully dependent upon the other. Yuchi rituals continue beyond language loss. Ceremonials are crucial for informal interest groups to maintain cohesion:

The more elements of the political organization that the ideology articulates the greater the need for frequent ceremonials. This is the case in all political organisations. But it is particularly so when a group is informally organised, when, because of the absence of systematic use of organised physical coercion, increasing use is made of ritual and moral mechanisms. (Cohen 1974:82-3)

Ceremonial life is the central unit outside of families that reinforces Yuchi identity and uniqueness. Here, the social norms of behavior are reinforced among young and old alike. To lose distinctive ritual practices would be detrimental to community cohesion. Such a loss could possibly led to the loss of identity retention.

We-u-ga-na ends this section of oratory by reinforcing the necessary condition of ancestral ties. He states that outsiders are able to learn the language and ritual practices such as singing songs and shaking shells. Even with the mastery of the two indices of identity, outsiders do not become Yuchi. They remain "outsiders." Only ancestral ties symbolize Yuchi identity. Today, ancestral ties are the sole criterion for personal and community identity.

We-u-ga-na continues his opening oration by speaking briefly about E.T.I. and its work for the community:

But because of this little organization (E.T.I.) that came about, you might say just a handful with people tryin to help us like Pam and Jason and different ones have come and assisted us and maybe grant for the language, for what we're doin now (this meeting), and even to be able to set up our little office they got down there. It seems we don't have no record of our Yuchi people. We're not takin history, our history is not bein written even in this modern time it should be written. We think (now) maybe its happenin.

This statement accomplishes several things. As an elder, a ritual leader, and on the Board of Trustees for E.T.I., his public statement validates the organization. Inclusive in the oration is the work of scholars (Pam and Jason) and their assistance in working with and for the concerns of the Yuchi community. Several participants present that evening had not met Jason or myself. We-u-ga-na is aware that some anxiety and mistrust can and does exist within the community for scholars who are unknown. Since the community had worked with these two scholars for a number of years and the leadership trusted their work, We-u-ga-na gave assurances to those who were uncertain. We-u-ga-na and other leaders are fully aware of the problems caused by the dominant society for the Yuchi people throughout their history. He is aware also that much can be gained by joining forces with those in the dominant society who can supply a level of expertise and assistance for those projects that the community deems worthy.

Having opened the meeting forum as an elder and Speaker for the Yuchi people, We-u-ga-na invites Yon-shen, an elder, a respected church leader, speaker of the Yuchi language, and interest group leader under Title IV to speak to the people present.

Yon-shen reinforces much of what We-u-ga-na previously stated and added several points of importance concerning Yuchi identity:

Well, when we talk about Yuchis you could talk all day and all night and never say enough. So, I'll try to make it short, two hours anyway (laughter from all).

What We-u-ga-na here said, he said a lot of good things. I want to take you back, a few years back. I'll talk about our tribe.

To begin with - What does it mean to be a Yuchi? Well, I might say something in Yuchi because you can express your feelins more when you say something in Yuchi. It has a great meanin when you say things in Yuchi.

That's what the elders use to tell me.

And ah, now its just gone.

They use to express their feelins in Yuchi.

(speaks a single phrase in the Yuchi language)

That's what they use to tell us and that's what I say to you.

Yon-shen notes that he and others could talk for an extended time about the Yuchi people and indeed it is not uncommon for such discussions to occur in both large and small groups. As a church leader he quickly acknowledges and upholds the previous discussion by We-u-ga-na. Yon-shen's opening statement then moves to the importance of and the concern over the loss of the Yuchi language. As one of the few remaining speakers, his concern for language retention is central. He works closely with the children's language class and is involved with the creation of the CD-Rom program for language retention. He continues with how Yuchi ways are learned and the importance of elders in the process:

Now get back to ah my younger days. I stayed with my grandma quite a bit. All the things she had learned from her parents was handed down. There were days, wasn't a day went by without her tellin me something.

She said: "You are a Yuchi, you're gonna be a Yuchi, your gonna stay a Yuchi regardless of where you go. You'll always be a Yuchi."

So, she use to tell me that. One thing she say: "You always gonna be proud you are Yuchi. Because we have a belief," she says, "we have a belief that no other tribe has and its been given to us."

All these things she use to tell me.

Yon-shen expresses that it is within the family unit that a Yuchi child learns the ways of the community and in his case from his grandmother an elder in the community. He continues:

The elders (speaking specifically of his grandmother) use to say: "Don't forget you are Yuchi. Of course there are a lot of things that will follow you, a lot of things that you have to know as you grow up. Of course if you have a chance to learn all about your tribe all the ways. But one of these days its gonna die out its gonna fade out. What you learn, what I'm teachin you, someday somewhere you might be the one that's gonna teach."

And its really true what she had said. The word had passed, fade out. We're loosen our customs, our ways of a Yuchi life, belief. There's not very many of us left who know all about the Yuchi way back.

Yesterday, there were three of us met, my brother Go-thla-nee, Jah-t'yuh we met. All we talk was Yuchi. And I really felt good cause all three of use could talk Yuchi to one another. We talked about somethin way back that happened that we use to hear (from) growin up. All this time we talked about two hours and at the end we said: "What we have just done, I guess we should have been doin this all along." Now, what we talked about, what we know we are givin out -- let the people know what bein said, what needs to be done, what there is to do.

We talked about the ceremonial grounds. We talked about the church. We talked about the communities (areas of Yuchi residence). All that we talked about yesterday. We found out there's a lot of things like today compared to way back.

A lot of things elders way back, they think that they knew were real sacred to it and they didn't want to give it out. They didn't want to give out information so they kept it. So that's where we missed out on a lot.

We need to give out everything that we know. Of course there's only about five of us that can speak Yuchi probably, know the Yuchi ways -- way back. And I said we need to do something now because our teenagers, even our middle-age Yuchi do not know all about the Yuchi ways. So it is up to us. So we have a lot of things we talked about pertainin to the Yuchi tribe, our Yuchi ways.

Yon-shen explains the role of elders as culture bearers and challenges them to pass their information on to following generations. His grandmother forewarned him that one day he too might become an elder and should therefore make every effort to understand and retain all that he was taught in his youth. By stating such, Yon-shen challenges the youth present to listen closely for one day they too will be the culture bearers.

His statement on the meeting with two other Yuchi speakers reinforces both the fragility of language and the need for all elders to pass information on to others. He notes that some things have remained consistent through time including the ceremonial grounds, the churches, and the communities. His reference to communities are the three areas of Yuchi residence and ceremonial centers. These are the places and activities that symbolize Yuchi identity.

He feels that at times the elders have not always passed information along regarding the language and now the community is faced with its potential loss.

Concurrently, he explains a shift in thinking between the ancestral elders and those of

today. At one time, the elders did not feel it was necessary to give out information.

What Yon-shen is speaking of here, is not internally communicating information among Yuchi people, but sharing that information with outsiders like the scholar present at this meeting. The elders of the past held that outsiders did not need to know all the workings of the community. In many cases outsiders were distrusted. As We-u-ga-na had done previously, Yon-shen validates the work of the current scholars recruited by E.T.I. and thus validates the interest group organization itself.

In the past twenty years, Yon-shen has worked with several scholars who helped the community in its language effort, its historical documentation, and in acquiring grants for community programs. Like other leaders, he finds outsiders can provide benefits so that Yuchi culture is passed to the younger generation in ways that are more appropriate for today's youth. He includes such things as computer programs, audio tapes, and VCR tapes of important activities. The shift in paradigm between the elders of the past and those of the present addresses the same concern -- the passing on of Yuchi ways but with a different methodology. Symbolically elders signify the cultural ways of Yuchi ancestors, patterns that the community desires to retain. It is elders' knowledge of life-ways that is seen as imperative for the continuance of the Yuchi community. The Yuchi people consider their lifestyles, language, and ritual practices as unique and distinguishes them from other Creek and Indian peoples. The retention of these ways exists in the knowledge of the elders and Yon-shen challenges those elders to teach the younger generations at every opportunity.

Much as We-u-ga-na as ceremonial leader spoke of the churches, Yon-shen now speaks of the ceremonial grounds even though today he is considered one of the church leaders:

But like ah like my grandmother she use to like to camp. She looked forward to that day and move up there to camp. And when I go up there I recognize that place. Of course ah the ceremonial ground, we use to camp. Grandma use to tell me: "We're goin up there on sacred ground. You're goin up there to be clean. You're goin up there with nothin on your mind but that place there. And you walk on that ground up there and you have to respect the ground. And then when the dances performed," she said, "all these dances, different dances there's a meanin to it. The word that they sing has a meanin to it. Every day that they sing, every dance there's a meanin to it. And the same way with the arbor."

When grandma use to camp she say: "You not suppose to up there and play around and holler. That's sacred place, you keep it that way." So that's what she use to tell me all the time even out at the camp she use to tell me these things. We'd be sittin on the bench, different dances would be dancin on the ground. She tell what these different dances were for, what they represent. Even the words that they sing. Everything had a meaning -- the fireplace, the medicine.

When I go up there (today) I don't take part, I watch, I listen. I'm always glad to see people visit (the) ground. I'm always glad to see it carried on. I always had a feelin that ah like the elders use to say, its gonna fade out, its gonna die out.

Elders need to teach, so they can carry it on, the young ones. Anyway, everything they talk about ceremonial ground is very very important. I wish we had the time to go into detail. Talk about these things because people need to know way back so they can write it down or keep it in their minds so remember these things.

As with so many Yuchi people in their lifetime, Yon-shen has been involved in both grounds and churches. His knowledge of the grounds is important for the community as one of the oldest persons who participated in these activities in the past. Yon-shen has

an added advantage of being raised and taught by an elder. The community interprets his voice as he reiterates his experiences as coming from their ancestors. Through Yon-shen, they are able to learn and experience Yuchi cultural ways as they were practiced before the turn of the century. The participants of the focus group, both young and old listened to Yon-shen closely. His upstanding position in the church community and his cultural knowledge of Yuchi ceremonial traditions validate the expertise of the elders as culture bearers and also acknowledges the equal importance of both ritual settings in Yuchi life. Ritual participation is a index of identity and considered important by the community for retention of its identity. Through the efforts of E.T.I. with this focus group, the community was offered another place and time to hear an esteemed elder speak on critical issues relating to its identity. Yon-shen closes his oration by explaining his own involvement in finding ways to preserve and extend Yuchi identity:

Some places I go people ask: "What tribe are you?" I say "Yuchi" They say: "I never have heard of Yuchi." Well, that kinda bothered me. So I'd like to see the Yuchi known in places. That's why I like to get involved in things, programs and different things where Yuchi can be recognized.

I know I have talked too much now. Like I say you can never talk enough, say enough about the Yuchi ways. I want to thank you all for listenin.

Perhaps his last statement is the most indicative of community action. No matter the occasion, when Yuchi people gather they invariable discuss being Yuchi. As Yon-shen stated and the community has confirmed to this researcher over several years: "you can never talk enough, say enough about the Yuchi ways." The focus group brought about by the interest group organization supplied a forum once again to discuss the symbolic

representations of Yuchi identity by listening to those elders and ritual leaders who have knowledge. We-u-ga-na states as much following Yon-shen's oration:

I think all of us heard Yon-shen. I think ah its real interestin to hear a person amongst us who can still talk back in history, back in time. Perhaps like this maybe being recorded perhaps someday our children, like we say in the future, may turn that tape on hear what he had to say. And I think all of us can be proud of Yon-shen for what he had informed us about.

We-u-ga-na then addresses the participants as a Speaker bringing forward a concern and challenging the community members to live up to their ancestors expectations concerning rituals and beliefs:

What he (Yon-shen) said it ah still alive today, the words. Because our ground is still alive, our fire is still alive.

Perhaps we could say it has been neglected by our, by some of us older ones and the young generation. They lost respect for that.

By goin by what words we heard. We can see it I think maybe all around us, all our neighbors. It don't seem to be that serious to us. It don't have that great godly meaning to us like it did to them (elders).

Because we can observe how its been neglected by our own, our own people. You know what, they said ah "Its God's work."

God has a lot of works in there amongst the people.

The church people, the Christian people, God's work.

Perhaps I guess they're just like we are too. They look about and see its been neglected.

God's been neglected all over because we see the results that there is so much of. Misbehavin in these lands. The things that are happenin. Vicious things everyday, every hour somethin is happenin.

There use to be a time

when I was you might say a kid or a teenager. We hardly ever hear of our people, our young ones bein in trouble back in those times.

But now we look about us and see the behavior amongst our people.

its different, they're in trouble.

So many behind bars

involved with alcohol

drugs

whatever is out there, they're part of it

and you can't get away from it.

There's a sayin that you can't do nothin if you leave God out. If you leave God out you can't get nowhere.

He's got to be part of our lives and its always gonna be that way.

Long as our young generation its God and Satan they're battlin for us.

There's nobody but them two that you're gonna follow. You're gonna follow one or the other.

Remember that young people.

You're followin one of them and if your not doin God's will

its the other one.

There's no in between.

By focusing on the importance of ritual participation, We-u-ga-na notes that lack of such involvement causes great harm within the community. In order to instill Yuchi beliefs onto the young, they must be raised within the confines of Yuchi ritual life where the norms of behavior instill the values of the community.

With political encapsulation within the Creek polity, the Yuchi community's identity could have been seriously threatened. Ritual participation in both grounds and churches have furnished a means to express Yuchi identity for nearly two hundred years. These religious venues offer regular places to meet and interact with Yuchi people. The three ceremonial grounds and two churches as viewed by both Yuchi and Creek alike are places of Yuchi activity. Although known as a Creek town, the Yuchi ceremonial areas are known as Yuchi stompgrounds and symbolize their unique identity within the encapsulating polity. Religion and its symbolism become a venue for articulating that unique identity.

Religion provides frequent and regular meetings, where in the course of ritual activities, a great deal of informal interaction takes place, information is communicated and general problems are formulated and discussed and decisions taken. The system of myths and symbols which religion provides is given to interpretation and reinterpretation and can thus be accommodated to changing economic, political, and other social circumstances, serving as flexible ideology for the group. (Cohen 1974:106)

We-u-ga-na's stand is that ritual participation is important for the Yuchi people for without it their members are drawn away from the values instilled in such settings. Until the twentieth century, these ritual settings furnished a primary method for interaction between large numbers of community members. Today, that ritual interaction continues but within shortened time spans. E.T.I.'s efforts furnish additional venues for community interaction such as this focus group in 1997 that reinforced identity and community norms of behavior.

The meeting continued with other elders speaking. Lalo is an eighty-seven year old Yuchi woman who spoke of her life as a Yuchi. She explained her ancestral ties and

that her parents died when she was very young. She married early and spent much of her life in Texas away from the community. Her life had been difficult and she seemed to attribute much of that to being removed from the community and thus received very little assistance. She noted: "I don't ask nobody for no help, just do it myself." Her oration on the difficulties of her life reinforce for other community members present the need to be part of the community where sharing and helping others is a norm of behavior. She focused much of her discussion on the ceremonial grounds and the concern for rituals being shortened over time. She was followed by Naw-gah, the wife of the chief of Duck Creek.

A Yuchi elder, Naw-gah opens by explaining her ancestral heritage. Her father was Creek, orphaned very young, and had himself died when Naw-gah was very small. Of her Yuchi heritage she states: " . . . my mother was full-blood Yuchi and my grandma, her mother and her dad were all full-blood Yuchi." There is no question of Naw-gah's right to claim Yuchi identity with her ancestral ties. She explains that as a youngster her family attended church and describes the long weekends when they camped there with her mother and grandmother. Like so many others, Naw-gah's family shifted from one ritual setting to the other. While she was still a child, they began attending the ceremonial grounds rather than the church:

Well, then later on my grandmother and them they got starting thinking apart (from the church) and stay up on the hill at Polecat (ceremonial ground). Started takin part in that.

There was a lot of rules and stuff you had to go by. I can't remember everything she told us. I know she wouldn't let us drink water til those men up there took their medicine. Even (though) we were small at that time.

When they go, they'd just move everything the iron, the ironing board, you know those old time irons. They'd take them too. We'd stay up there for over a week and our stuff they'd just move there. Like I said I can't remember everything they told us we had to do, all the rules and stuff.

We were young too and didn't pay much attention what was going up there anyway as long as we were with somebody to play with.

As an elder Naw-gah vocalizes a past ritual practice that is not always followed today with children. She is reinforcing the ancestral practices for those present including the families with young children. Naw-gah continues by explaining that when her family camped they took many household possessions for their lengthy stay. She marks here the variance in today's pattern where the ceremonies take place on a weekend rather than the week long events of her own childhood. Even during the weekend practice of today, it is not uncommon for ceremonial members to leave the grounds frequently. They leave to purchase additional items or return home to sleep or clean up rather than staying for extended periods of time. Both the shortened rituals and the repeated coming and going from the grounds is indicative of the mobility of today's people and the shorter length of social interaction with other Yuchi in the ritual setting. It is the shortened time-frame for interaction that the interest group organizations address by adding additional places and reason to meet with other Yuchi people.

Naw-gah's last statement regarding the grounds points to the ceremonial area as a continuing place to socialize children. A place where they can and do interact with their own peers under the watchful eye of their elders. The ritual setting furnishes reinforcement of Yuchi identity by close interaction with others who bear that same

identity (see Chapter 1). Numerous children were present during this focus group where Naw-gah spoke and as such furnished another place for socialization and interaction for the young. Participation by Yuchi children varies from one interest group meeting to another. Their numbers have increased during the gatherings in 1997 and is indicative of the community's acceptance of interest group meetings being appropriate places for their young to learn their heritage.

Naw-gah continues by discussing the importance of education. She notes her own education and that of her children. She started in a public school, but because of the lack of financial resources in the family, she and her siblings attended boarding school:

Anyway we went to boarding school and we stayed there three years. But I enjoyed it cause I didn't have much at home. Momma wasn't able to send us to school. She didn't have the money. What little chance she did get, she had all of us. And I guess (her siblings) they were all in school too. I graduated from Eufaula it just went to the eighth grade and then I came back and went to Sapulpa (High School).

Then in the meantime I met Shaw-aw-nee. We been together quite a long time now. We've had six children. They all graduated from school. That's one thing I was glad of it, we got them all through school.

Naw-gah marks one of the important social norms and primary community concerns -- education. As noted in Chapter 4, Yuchi people see education of their young as extremely important for leading a productive life. Before her closing statement, Naw-gah expresses the central behavioral norm for all Yuchi people:

My mother always told us too, she always said that "Whenever you see somebody that needs help, it doesn't matter if they're church people, peyote people, ceremonial people you go help them. If you can help them, you help them because someday you'll get a blessing

for that. You don't know when that will come back to you, you're gonna need help that's why.

So that's what I try to do, I try to help them, people that I can. Sometimes I can. I try to do what I can. My mother's been an inspiration to me. She tried to do things right although she did have a hard time herself. There were nine of us all together, well there we eight and we had a half brother. So that's about all I can say. Thank you.

In her final statement Naw-gah draws the community assembled into the concept of reciprocity. Although perhaps not evident to the outsider, when she speaks of "church people, peyote people, ceremonial people" this has strong connotations for those present. Yuchi people are or have been involved in all three ritual areas (see Chapter 1). She is speaking specifically of Yuchi assisting Yuchi. In no way does she wish to exclude outsiders, but as an elder she is teaching her people that an acceptable life way for all Yuchi people is to share with one another. By including her own mother as her inspiration, Naw-gah has taken this traditional and cultural norm back to the early 1900s marking reciprocity as an ancestral teaching. As an elder taught by a member of the generation of one hundred years ago, she has brought this piece of Yuchi life-ways up through ancestors and into the present as a valid and expected norm of behavior. With her oration, Naw-gah has added two important pieces for the listeners: the importance of education and the need to share and help one another within the community.

Because of Naw-gah's status in the community as elder and leader her presence and oratory validate also the interest group effort both as an entity that shares with the community and one that seeks the benefit of the whole. E.T.I. marks these two important norms and incorporates them into its activities. The leadership has a wide

educational expertise that is used for the benefit of the entire community. As a stated and important norm of behavior reciprocity is necessary and to do otherwise would not be acceptable to community members. In turn, the interest group leaders are given a level of prestige that allows them to continue in their efforts.

In most community meetings of any size, ritual leaders and elders tend to be the persons who speak and express opinions or concerns. Usually younger members will ask specific questions of an elder or perhaps share some small piece of their own experience. As a rule, the younger generations have little input in such meetings outside of listening and learning. Like many other gatherings, this focus group is a forum for the discussion of identity with elders (culture bearers) the most important spokespersons. At this particular meeting, We-u-ga-na asks a younger man to speak to the community. Dah-to-ah is in his late forties and as yet is not considered an elder, but does have enough life experience that the community feels he can add to the discussion. Dah-to-ah speaks very briefly and reinforces again the importance of ancestry in identity:

Really I feel very proud to be a full-blood Indian. I know a lot of people think alike. Other people in their families are part Indian. Then you meet a lot of people who say: "I wish I was, I wish I had a drop of Indian blood in my bloodline." But they don't. But yet they feel a close association with a lot of different Indians.

But my family is Yuchi and Creek. And as far as, I carry my Indian Card and it shows 4/4. A lot of people can't do that.

I'm proud to be Yuchi. A lot of people never heard of us there's no place on our I.D. We're Yuchi. They thought only Creeks in the area. I try and explain this to them. We're our own different tribe.

Dah-to-ah's family ties are well known. His mother was a full-blood Yuchi and his father Yuchi and Creek. His father's sister was married to the last Yuchi language ground

speaker. His ancestral ties for identity are well grounded. He reminds those present of the inherent problem with being Yuchi: encapsulation within the Creek polity. The I.D. that he speaks of is the card he and other Yuchi carry that shows their percentage of Indian blood and their tribal affiliation. For Dah-to-ah and most other Yuchi, the card carries the designation of Creek and not Yuchi. This focus group served as another place to voice the concern of encapsulated identity that differs from the community's perceived perception of its own identity as Yuchi and not as Creek.

As a final speaker, We-u-ga-na asks an elder Tso-toe the widow of Chief George Watashe "to say somethin to all of us:"

I'm just proud that I am Yuchi cause they came from Georgia and they were on the Trail of Tears. Our grandma use to tell us about that, said it was a very sad thing. She didn't really want to talk about it. She really didn't because she said it was so terrible to talk about it.

And ah just like he said I'm proud to be Yuchi because we are Yuchi. Some people ask: "Where do they come from and what are the Yuchis." And we said that we are Yuchis because we have our own language.

And the reason from what I hear, the reason nobody knows Yuchi is because they didn't tell their history. I just hope everybody will try to keep their Yuchi language a goin. Its just about lost like everybody else was sayin but we can still try and see what we can do about it. That's about all I can say.

We-u-ga-na's request of Tso-toe balances this meeting in many ways. Two ritual male leaders and one middle-aged man expressed their concerns. Women are an important key to discussion and decision making and often voice their views in public forums. Only two women had spoken before Tso-toe, whose oration balanced the evenings speakers between men and women. Tso-toe in terms of both age and marriage is

considered one of the culture bearers and her opinions are therefore important. She reiterates the importance of the language and at the same time addresses one thing that is a common topic, but as yet had not been discussed in this meeting. This is the Yuchi community's ancestral ties to Georgia. By doing so, she reminds those present that Yuchi people have a long history. The tie with Yuchi ancestors of long ago continues in its importance for the community today. Ancestral linkages are the crux of Yuchi identity.

At the close of the meeting, We-u-ga-na offers the chair of E.T.I. the floor. Aw-bay reiterates several of his opening points as well as those discussed by others during the meeting. He briefly notes the importance of Yuchi history and scholars' recent work to assist the community in collecting historical information. He notes that having been involved in the various workings of the interest group efforts in the 1990s, he has learned "more that I had in all the years before." He reminds those present that the E.T.I. has language classes each week. To reinforce the validity of E.T.I. he explains again its origin:

Its been a struggle. We did start a few years ago, we had some difficulties. But some of our elders in particular, Sen-chilah, Shaw-tee, my dad Kyaw-gaw, We-u-ga-na, Shaw-aw-nee, our leaders have been there (they) got together and over a period of several months discussing the things that to be done and what should done (they) agreed we should go ahead and set up an organization for the tribe. So they incorporated the Euchee Tribe of Indians under Oklahoma state law.

With this statement, Aw-bay reinforces the validity of E.T.I.'s work in the community. It was initially endorsed by and continues to be supported by the ritual leaders who speak

on behalf of the community. He states that the work of E.T.I. is for the community as a whole and all are encouraged to participate in the activities:

We are really pleased that some things are really starting to happen and we're going to be having some other things, we are in the planning stage right now. Jason is working with the Gilcrease Museum of Tulsa and he's working on trying to bring some of the artifacts back . . . And we're hoping to pull together some kind of festival this fall. We-u-ga-na is one of the committee leaders who is trying to look at what can be done and how much can be pulled together over a two or three day period. And this is about the third weekend I think in September we've tentatively scheduled for it.

And I think many of you may be aware of this discussion but as you have an opportunity to think about it you might make some suggestion to the people as they do some planning for it in terms of things you would like to see. Most importantly as this things comes together to get involved, to participate, to volunteer to do some things as they come along. Because we are kind of on the verge of really started to grow and do things that are long needed.

So we're startin to do some things. We invite you to come by and participate and become more knowledgeable about those things.

So, anyway, I think we've had a really good session here. We'll probably have some more things in the future. This is the last session we have scheduled during this year, for this year the program year ended in July but we'll be doing some things next year. As I mentioned earlier, we hope to do something special this summer.

Aw-bay and the core leaders are aware that even with the validation of the ritual leaders it is the participation of the community at large that gives credence and support to the interest group effort. Should the community consensus hold that either the festival or special summer activities were not wanted, not matter how many leaders back the effort, the event would not take place. The community continues to hold the final decision making power and by the participation of its members an interest group effort is either

validated or rejected. One of the reasons for the success of both E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. is that their offerings have been accepted by the community. The leaders understand that the community holds the power and they acquiesce to community consensus.

The chair of E.T.I. is often the most visible member of the group and the one who formally speaks for the interest group effort on numerous occasions. The chair is currently active at the ceremonial grounds, but unlike us father, who was a Speaker, does not hold a central ritual roll. This pattern mirrors that of Yon-shen in the successful Title IV effort, whose father was minister while Yon-shen himself remained active as leader within the church, but not as a central ritual leader. The central or focal interest group leaders such as Aw-bay and Yon-shen are active participants in the ritual life of the community and as such carry forward the moral codes and norms.

Aw-bay is now in his mid-fifties and will soon enter into the status of an elder. As such, he is only now beginning to espouse publicly the norms of behavior. A successful interest group leader must at times function as a "moral leader" without taking on that role full time. Most often at meetings, the Chair's job is to welcome those present, introduce visitors, and speak to the business at hand. At the close of the April 1997 focus group, Aw-bay for the first time spoke of the importance of Yuchi ritual life and his role in that life:

The other thing I wanted to comment on is the spirituality of our people. That the older people you know understood more about the ceremonial grounds, how the things were done and the meaning of them. We've kinda lost some of that.

We've had a lot of people that have attended the church that's come in, the Christian churches, the Native American church, different things. And all of these in many ways are good . . .

I've had an opportunity first hand. I grew up on the grounds, around the peyote meetings I attended them as a young person, and attended the regular churches. I've been to some of the Catholic ceremonies. I had an opportunity to see a lot. What I see in all that is that no matter how you look at it, no matter what people's personal preferences are, I think all our Indian people strongly believe in that spiritual aspect -- our Creator -- guidance. . . . it all comes back to same thing our almighty Creator. The one that gave us life *Go de na* as we know it in the Yuchi language.

As a visual interest group leader, Aw-bay is taking on the persona of a moral leader within the community. As with Yon-shen in the 1970s, this is a necessary aspect for successful interest group leaders. They must be able to espouse the importance of ritual life and values of Yuchi people. Aw-bay's oratory touches on all the ritual aspects of Yuchi life from ceremonial grounds, Christian churches to the Native American Church (see Chapter 1 notes). In the process, he reminds the community of his role in each of these venues validating his standing within the community. Within the ritual venues he notes that all focus on the Creator. He implements the Yuchi language term *Go de na* that points one last time in this meeting of the importance of the Yuchi language. Before the Speaker's final prayer at the close of the meeting, Aw-bay calls for unity and in so doing reinforces the importance of working for the benefit of the whole community:

But its something we have to not let the secular things, belonging to the Baptist church, or the Methodist Church or the Catholic church or different things. We need not let those things be in the way of our being our own Indian people, our Yuchi people as we work together in the things that we do. Everybody has different preference for the way they do things. We don't all drive the same kind of car, we don't all live in the same place. There are some different things that people have. I think if we try to work together in the important things a lot of good things will continue to happen.

Aw-bay is quick to include those few Yuchi who attend other than Pickett or Mutteloke churches. Ritual participation in other venues does not make one any less Yuchi and should not cause division within the community. What is important according to Aw-bay, is that community members, no matter their differing lifestyles, work together for the benefit of the whole. By stating such publicly, he is holding not only the community to this norm, but himself and the interest group organizations he represents.

E.T.I. works to bring the community together for interaction whether through focus groups, cultural meetings, language classes, genealogical workshops, or numerous other venues. With shortened ceremonial activities, the Yuchi need other resources and reason to meet and be with other Yuchi people. It is not necessary for the entire community to be gathered in any one place at any one time. Members from various families are often present and then through personal networks other members learn of the discussion or activities. We-u-ga-na's closing prayer touches on this aspect of Yuchi communications:

Oh, dear Father we're so thankful for this evening. Even if you hadn't brought us together to bring things out and discuss. Discuss the history and the heavy times and conditions, the things that we had, the things that we still have, and the opportunities ahead.

We ask that you bless each and everyone, each and every individual here, the homes that they represent, their jobs, whatever it might be in their lives the obstacles that are before us, that are unseen Father.

Part of the ritual of any Yuchi gathering is a closing prayer. We-u-ga-na as a ritual Speaker often performs this role as does Yon-shen as a church leader. We-u-ga-na's second sentence indicates the importance of Yuchi gatherings as he offers thanks for being together. He notes the importance of Yuchi ways and the opportunities to share

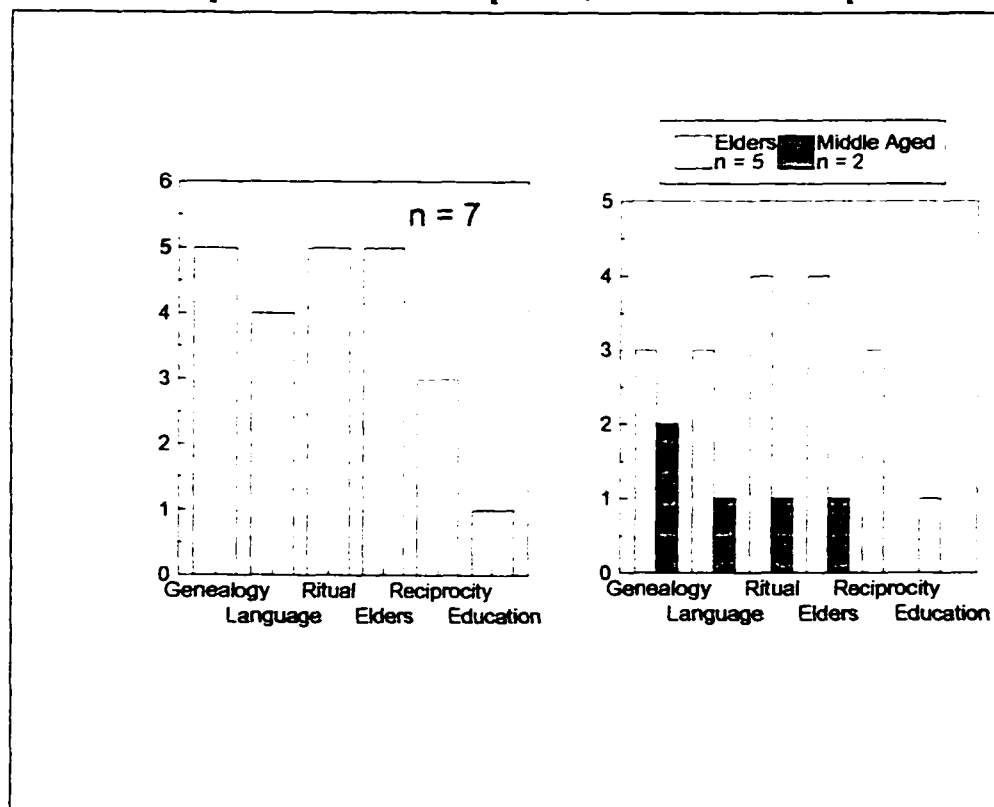
them. The second paragraph is important to understand the communication network within the community. "We ask that you bless each and everyone, each and every individual here, the homes that they represent . . ." Those present do not represent just themselves, but their own networking systems among family and friends. It is not necessary for either the ritual areas of church and ground nor for a interest group effort to bring together the entire community at any point in time. What is important is that enough of the community is present in one or more of the activities to reinforce Yuchi identity and pass that information to those not present.

The attendance at this focus group was large with thirty-nine adults present and over fifteen children. The participants came mainly from the Kellyville and Sapulpa areas. However, a similar meeting was held in the Duck Creek area three weeks before with forty-seven in attendance (See Figure 6.10). These two meetings drew Yuchi people together reinforcing their identity. These meetings are themselves symbolic of Yuchi identity. With the exception of a few scholars, the participants are all Yuchi people brought together for various purposes related to identity.

Focus groups are only one of several opportunities the joint efforts of E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. furnish as venues for communication and interaction between community members. Such gatherings are necessary for any interest group to exchange ideas, make decisions, and take action. E.T.I.'s formation is for the eventual petition for Congressional tribal recognition. As with other past interest group organizations this effort has a perceived goal. In actuality, the organization offers much more to the community: places to interact, agendas and forums for open discussion, and for

socializing with other community members to perpetuate identity. The focus group presented above illustrates the reinforcement of Yuchi identity in such gatherings. Community members discuss ancestry, language concerns, and ritual importance in a format that allows public interaction with the known authorities -- the elders both men and women. The community ideals of a good education and reciprocity between members are reinforced time and again in such meetings and discussions. The following graph displays the topics of discussion on April 30th by those who spoke during the meeting. The total number of speakers that night was seven: five elders and two middle aged adults:

Figure 6.11
Topics of Discussion April 30, 1997 Focus Group



The left graph notes the frequency of each topic discussed for all speakers and right graph notes the frequency by age.⁴⁶ Most speakers for the evening touched on at least four areas: ancestry, language, ritual, and elders. Although language is slightly less prominent, it was discussed for the greatest length of time. Ancestry, language retention, and ritual practice are the core components of Yuchi identity. Elders as culture bearers are the experts in relating such information to other Yuchi people. The right hand graph indicates the extreme importance of ancestry as the necessary condition for identity. Only two middle aged persons spoke, both touched on this criterion showing its importance to identity formation. Of the elders, three discussed ancestry while the two who did not focused strongly on retaining the language. One was Yon-shen who is one of the last speakers of the language and the other was the widow of a chief and although not a speaker is deeply concerned over the language loss. This meeting with its speakers and listeners focused on the necessary condition and two indices of identity while reinforcing the cultural norms of reciprocity and education. The importance of the elders is clear. They are the preferred spokespersons who community members view as the experts in Yuchi cultural ways and matters of importance. The focus group brought the community together for interaction and discussion that reinforced Yuchi identity to those present and to those who through networking would learn of its content. Interest group organization meetings, such as this one, are necessary because so few other venues exist for community interaction in the 1900s.

Demographic Analysis: The Community, The Core, The Leaders:

Personal networking alone could not maintain the Yuchi community as an active cohesive group with ability to interact as a political unit. Members must come together for discussions, decision making, and to reinforce identity upon which all else hinges. Prior to WWII, the Yuchi community members gathered for extended periods of ritual activity and in their daily lives where they lived and worked closely together. With wage labor jobs these extended ritual venues and daily face to face encounters dwindled. Interest group organizations rose to fill the need for interaction that brings community cohesion and reinforces identity.

The Community:

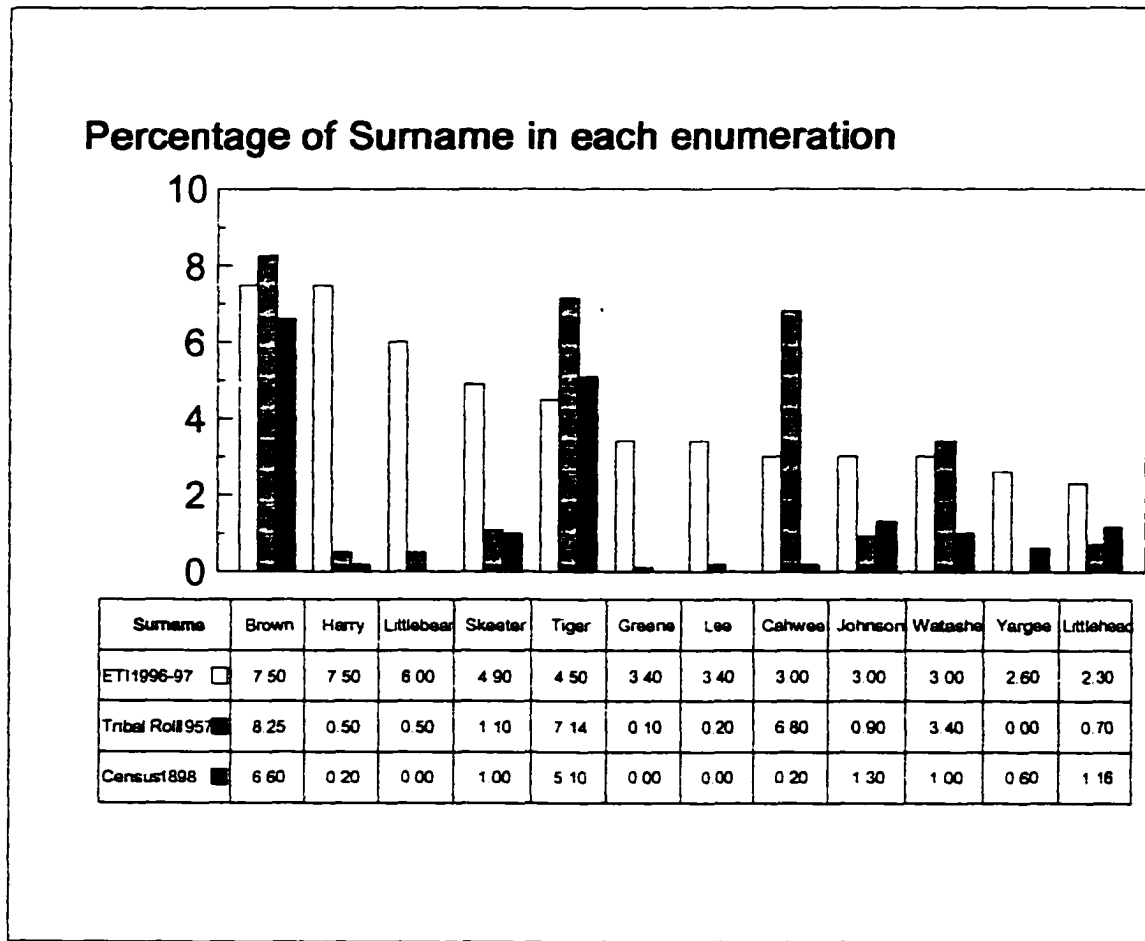
E.T.I. has set up meetings and various activities such as the 1996 cultural meetings was held at Duck Creek ceremonial center, and in 1997 similar meetings at Polecat ground. NIH focus groups have been frequent venues for the last two years. Other gatherings such as for language, genealogy meetings, or business meetings tend to be held in the central locale of Sapulpa where members from all geographic areas can interact together. In turn, the participants in these meetings pass information on to others through their personal networking system. This networking transcends ritual participation areas and family ties. As noted by the linguist Linn, information travels quickly through this networking process regardless of ritual affiliation and cross cuts family ties to include neighbors and co-workers. Information explained by elders in focus groups or other meetings furnish community members with topics of discussion

that enter into the personal networking. The talk of "being Yuchi" through ancestry, concern for language, and ritual participation are central discussion topics. It is the gathering of community members not lone networking that sets this process into motion. Where once the ritual venues furnished primarily meeting topics and places to gather, today the interest group organizations augment the process with nearly continuous reasons to coalesce and discuss Yuchi identity often under the guise of some other perceived goal or need.

Community Participation from descendants of past Yuchi People

The members of the community who gather for such meetings are representative of the community at large. There is no formalized process of who will participate. Those who have the time attend and then explain the meetings agenda within their personal networking system. To analysis community involvement and ties to the past a surnames analysis was performed on the seven NIH focus groups and the cultural meeting at Polecat. These were chosen as the most inclusive data available for analysis on the community of interaction during the tenure of E.T.I. No other lists of community gathers were available in any detail and from fieldwork the sense is that these meetings involve those people with their networking system that are most interactive in the efforts of E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E.

Figure 6.12
Community Participation 1996-97



The 1996-97 surnames were analyzed against the 1898 census and the 1957 Tribal Roll since all three are community based. The information from Title IV and Y.T.O. were not included here since those data participation lists reflect interest groups leadership more than community participation.

All the surnames for community members in 1996-97 appear in either the 1898 or the 1957 enumerations. Those that appear only on 1957 are linked by intermarriage and noted in Appendix Table 6.a. Surname analysis supplies a methodology to link community members through time and in this case show a consistency between 1898 and

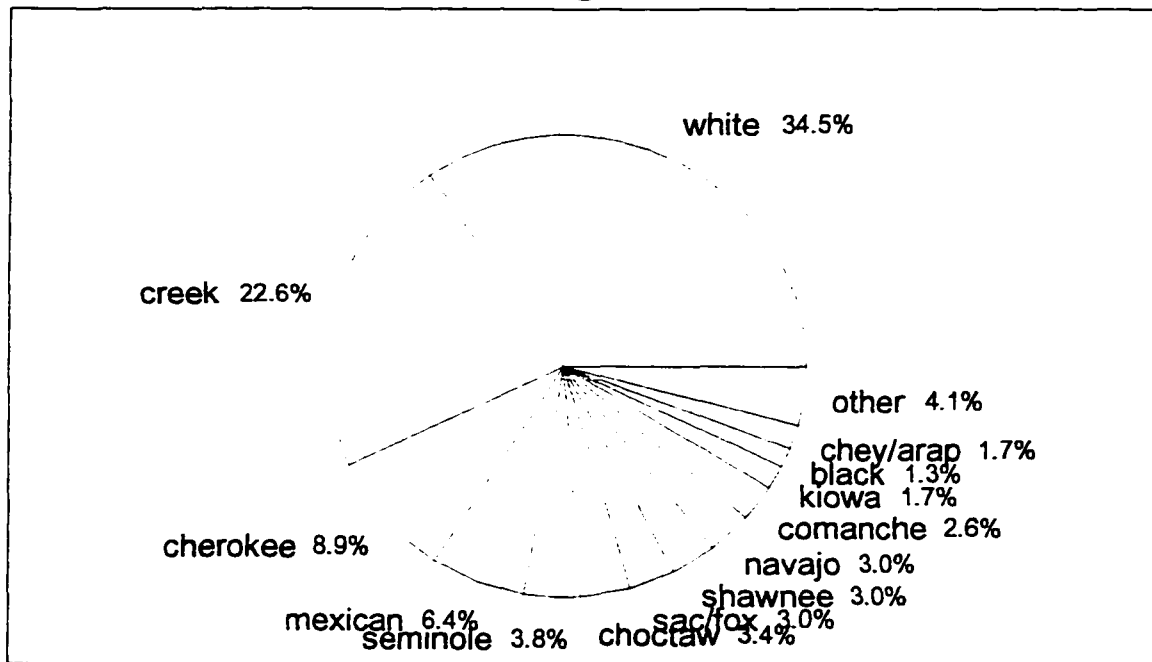
1996-97. Those who are actively expressing their Yuchi identity in 1996-97 are the descendants of those Yuchi enumerated in 1898 (See Chapter 1).

Intermarriage became a necessary part of surname methodology in order to include new surnames entering the community. Their inclusions helps draw conclusions as to whether new people are claiming Yuchi identity who are not connected with the community of past. Or, as shown in this case those with new intermarriage surnames have a continuous ancestral link with the past community. Appendix Table 6.b notes new surnames added between 1960 and 1997. The first section of the table shows intermarriage where surnames were unknown but tribal affiliation was known to the interviewee.⁴⁷ In many cases the person interviewed was not familiar with the surnames of their grandchildren or great grandchildren. Tribal affiliations was more often known. The children born of a union between a Yuchi person and one outside the community does not change their Yuchi identity. These young people still have at least one Yuchi ancestor and as such can claim Yuchi identity. These children may carry new community surnames and may be referred to by their given name followed by their ancestral ties (e.g., Tsa Pennington is my daughter's child, Chief Sen-chilah's granddaughter). The entrance of new surnames by intermarriage does not exclude the offspring of such a marriage from being Yuchi. The inclusion of intermarriage data furnishes a larger and more accurate data base to draw conclusions on the composition of the current community and linkages with past Yuchi people

Other Intermarriage Related to Community composition:

The genealogical information collected on intermarriage with other groups also supplies other pertinent community information concerning marriage and interaction patterns with outsiders. The following graph depicts intermarriage tendencies between 1960-1997:

Figure 6.13
Intermarriage 1960-1997:



Yuchi people continue to marry outside the community much as they have done since the turn of the century. The 1960-1997 intermarriage patterns show some variations from those of 1900-1960 (see Figure 3.5) and are reflected in the following table. Those with the greatest change are shown in ***bold italics***.

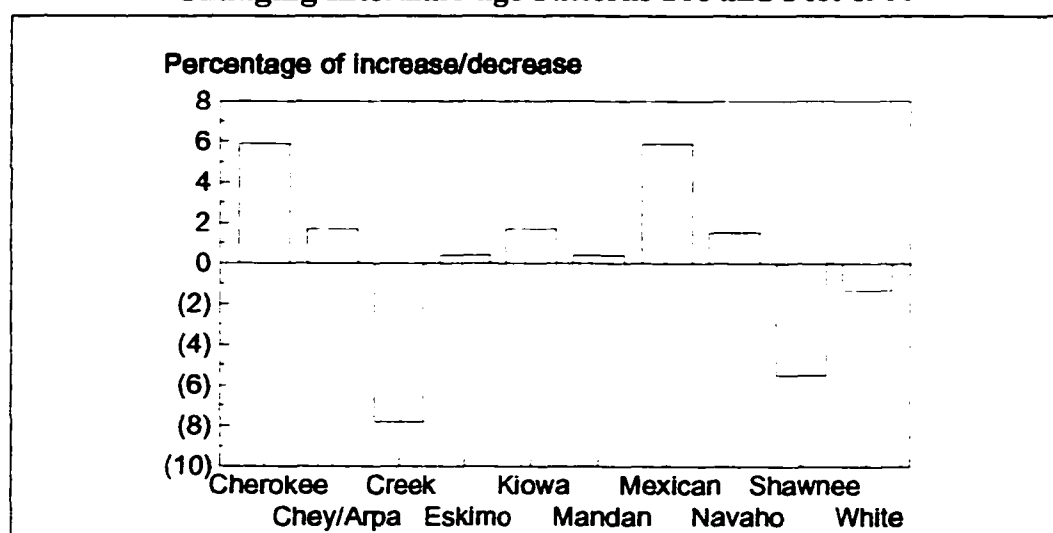
Table 6.2
Comparative Intermarriage Patterns 20th Century

Tribe	Pre-1960 Number of marriages	% to total inter - marriages	Post 1960 Number of marriages	% to total inter - marriages	Variance Pre-Post 1960	% Var. Pre-Post 1960
Apache	1	0.5	0	0	-1	-0.5
Black	7	3.5	3	1.3	-4	-2.2
Caddo	1	0.5	1	0.4	0	-0.1
Cherokee	6	3	21	8.9	15	5.9
Chey/Arap	0	0	4	1.7	4	1.7
Chippawa	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4
Choctaw	11	5.5	8	3.4	-3	-2.1
Comanche	1	0.5	6	2.6	5	2.1
Creek	61	30.4	53	22.6	-8	-7.8
Eskimo	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4
Kickapoo	2	1	0	0	-2	-1
Kiowa	0	0	4	1.7	4	1.7
Mandan	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4
Mexican	1	0.5	15	6.4	14	5.9
Navaho	3	1.5	7	3	4	1.5
Omaha	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4
Osage	2	1	1	0.4	-1	-0.6
Oto	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4
Papago	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4
Pawnee	2	1	1	0.4	-1	-0.6
Ponca	0	0	2	0.9	2	0.9
Pottowatami	1	0.5	0	0	-1	-0.5
Sac/Fox	4	2	7	3	3	1
Seminole	7	3.5	9	3.8	2	0.3
Shawnee	17	8.5	7	3	-10	-5.5
White	72	35.8	81	34.5	9	-1.3
Wichita	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4
unknown	2	1	0	0	-2	-1
	201	100.2	237	100.8	36	0.6

The changes in intermarriage include a substantial decline in Creek marriages, the pattern preferred for intermarriage at the turn of the century. Whites who were preferred

intermarriage partners in the first part of the twentieth century show a decrease that is considerably smaller than the decrease in Creek marriages. Shawnee marriages also decrease dramatically. New tribal affiliation appear for the first time: Cheyenne/Arapho, Chippawa, Eskimo, Kiowa, Mandan, Omaha, Oto, Papago, Ponca, and Wichita. Others marriage patterns increased in frequency after 1960 compared to the analysis of 1900-1960 including: Cherokee, Mexican, and Navaho.

Figure 6.14
Changing Intermarriage Patterns Pre and Post 1960



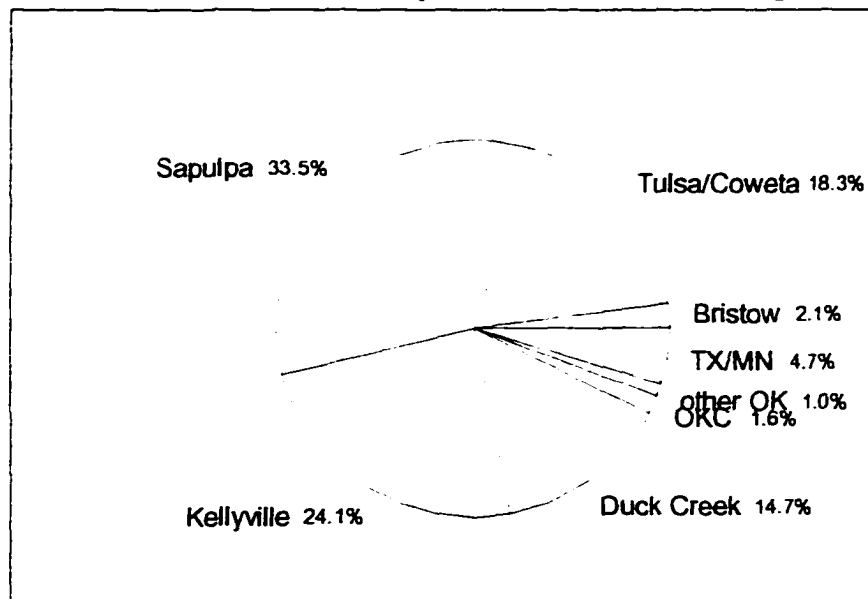
Marriage indicates social interaction. The Yuchi people continue to interact heavily with Creek, Shawnee, and White populations. However, the generations that married after 1960 are better educated and more widely traveled. Much as the chair of E.T.I. traveled and worked in various places so have other Yuchi people. This expansion is reflected in the marriage patterns that indicate an increased interaction with tribes in the West. Even those marrying into groups previously not selected for partners continue to be treated as Yuchi as do their children and grandchildren who all have Yuchi ancestors.

Intermarriage regardless of with whom does not bar one from claiming a Yuchi identity. Analysis of changing surnames through intermarriage shows a continuing trend to marriage with other groups. Such intermarriage does not change one's identity or one's descendants as far as the community is concerned. These descendants continue to have at least one ancestor who is Yuchi.

Names are a vital link for Yuchi people to understand the genealogical background and history of community's members. When a surname is not readily recognized the person usually adds his known "Yuchi" surname. For instance Ysa Pennington would explain that her mother was a McCall and her maternal grandmother a Brown from the Kellyville area. This quickly places her within the Yuchi community both as to family and residential locale. By stating the linkage to a family surname, that person is identified for others and immediately is known to share all the rights and obligations of community membership.

Those present at the focus group and cultural meetings analyzed do not themselves personify the entire Yuchi community. However, the participants' personal networkings does tie the community together through family and friends many of whom reside in the same geographic locations. The Polecat cultural meetings recorded the addresses of the participants and are reflected in the following chart:

Figure 6.15
Residence Patterns of Participants in Cultural Meeting of 1997



The participation in E.T.I.'s cultural meeting show those who attended came from the same consistent areas of Yuchi residence mentioned throughout the other chapters. Although surnames have shifted through intermarriage, Yuchi people continue to draw together to reinforce community cohesion and identity.

The main areas of Yuchi residence remain the same as those recorded in the Title IV effort (Chapter 4). The heaviest populations are near the ritual centers: Kellyville, Sapulpa, Bristow, and Duck Creek. Those living in the Tulsa/Coweta area tend to frequent both Polecat and Duck Creek ceremonial grounds and both churches. Except for one Florida resident, the remaining 12.3 percent live in areas within driving distance and participate in summer rituals.

At times Yuchi people find these specific areas of residence important for identification. Residential patterns are part of Yuchi social life and indicate those persons with whom one has the most frequent and lengthy interaction. Although

residence is not a qualifier for identity, the central areas of Yuchi residence are methods to explain one's various family or ceremonial relationships. When explaining to an outsider where the Yuchi people live a Yuchi will often say: "Around the Sapulpa area." Internally, when Yuchi people are discussing an individual or family that is unfamiliar to the listener the name is followed by more explicit geographic information: The Bigponds of Bristow or the Watashe of Kellyville. It is not uncommon to hear an elder explain where he or she was raised such as: "I was raised on my grandmother's allotment around the Duck Creek area." If no longer living in that area, the person may further state: "My family moved later to Kellyville." These very specific places are symbolic of Yuchi tradition and history in Oklahoma. They have resided in these general vicinities since removal from the Southeast. These locations given some indication of a person's networking pattern among family and friends with whom they are in close contact. Even today, one is more likely to interact with those in the same geographic location on a more frequent basis than those in the other areas.

The Core and Leaders:

Within Yuchi interest group organization both past and present, a small core of individuals carry the brunt of the workload and do the majority of the planning. This pattern is known also in the Yuchi ceremonial setting. The ceremonial season with a series of four football games and four dances culminate with the Green Corn ceremony. A small fraction of ceremonial people attend the football games. In April 1997 for the first ball game at Polecat, approximately forty-five core persons attended including the

Chief and other leaders of the ground. In contrast, on Green Corn weekend, several hundred Yuchi people gather to celebrate.

On the square ground after the ball game, the Speaker publicly noted the small number of Yuchi present. He spoke to those assembled stating that these games were necessary for the continuance of the ceremonial cycle and remarked that not even all camp units were represented. He reinforced the ideal and necessity of community cohesion by stating that "it takes us all to carry on." The Speaker reiterated a common concern that too few participants in various activities will mean the loss those activities whether ritual or cultural. In actuality, what happens is that central core members facilitate the framework and supporting activities. This preparation then allows the larger community membership to come together for interaction. Interest group organizations follow this same established pattern as core members supply the planning and framework necessary to bring together the larger community for intense interaction.

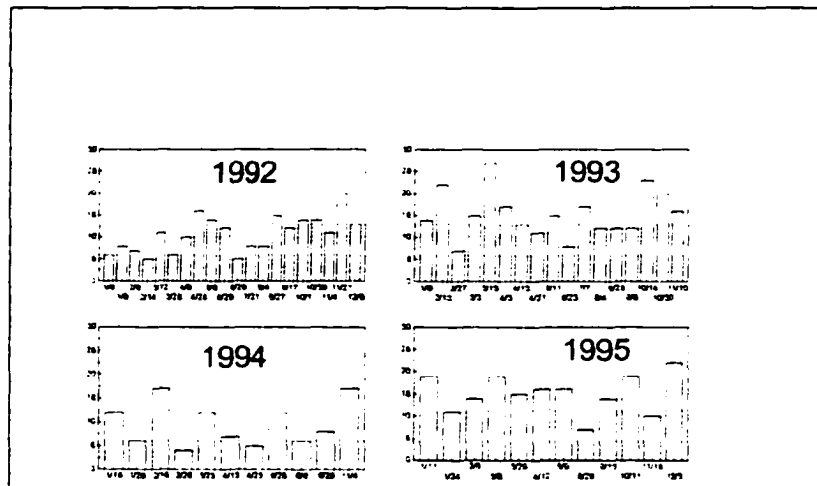
Number of Participants:

During that particular football game 13 percent of those in attendance were the leaders of E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. Of those present at the football game at least 75 percent had been or were involved in E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. created activities. Essentially, the same core participants in the ball game are those who work within or who attend interest group venues.

Core workers for both E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. comprise a small percentage of the Yuchi population. When both organizations were forming more community

members attended the meetings. As programs developed and became available, many of these community members moved from attending business meetings to participation in the various events of the interest group organization. The participation in business meetings for the first four years, 1992-1995 are noted below:

Figure 6.16
E.T.I. Meeting Participation 1992-1995

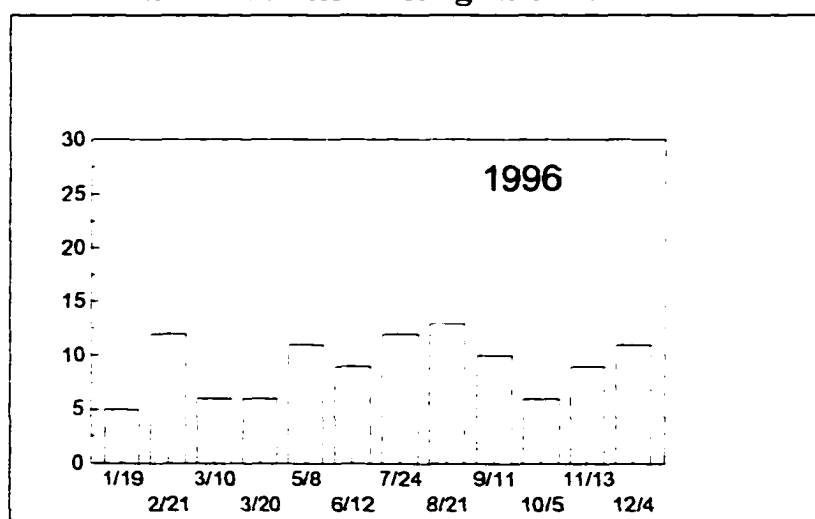


Average attendance for the first two years were: 1992 -- 10.5 persons and in 1993 -- 15.4 persons per meetings. By 1994, programs were beginning and community members attended fewer business meetings. They chose to spend their time in language classes and genealogical gatherings or attended the various benefit and fundraising events. The average business meeting attendance dropped to 9.5 persons consisting mainly of interest group leaders and core workers. The drop in attendance by community members at business meetings came partially from attending the new programs and from the community meeting held to discuss the problems with the deficiency letters from Y.T.O.'s petition for acknowledgment. These meetings along with the classes and offerings of E.T.I. brought the community together. By 1995, programs were in full

swing and business meetings averaged 15 persons. This increase for 1994 included scholars involved in various programs and language class instructors.

By 1996, language, genealogical, cultural, and oral history projects were well developed with much community involvement. The business meetings themselves became routine and were comprised mainly of core members: officers, key volunteers and the ritual leaders:

Figure 6.17
E.T.I. Business Meeting Attendance 1996



The average attendance at business meetings was 8.4 persons. The community members who had often attended business meetings chose instead to participate in language class, focus groups and other avenues presented by E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. The core essentially became the leaders who are necessary to carry out the routine business of the organization. The hiring of paid staff in 1996 furnished some relief from the workload of business meetings and routine procedures. This allowed core volunteers as well to integrate as participants in the programs being offered without feeling as great a sense of overload.

Participation by Men and Women:

To test for the percentage of participation by men and women in the core, 1996 business meetings were chosen. As shown consistently with Title IV and Y.T.O efforts (see Chapters 4 and 5) the ratio of men to women is 1:125 a normal range for human populations. Both men and women are regularly involved in the work of the interest group. Each carries specific roles as is the norm in the community. Both men and women work together to supply the community's needs (see Chapter 1). This interest group effort is no exception. Of the men, 45 percent are the ritual leaders who validate and watch over the workings of the organization serving on the Board of Trustees. These men do participate in other venues of the organization when needed, such as the current Euchee Festival the Speaker is serving as the coordinator. The other 55 percent of core men include the chair, a language instructor, and general supporters who assist in implementing the various programs. Of the women, two hold the offices of secretary and treasurer, one is a chief's wife, two are elders, another is a language class instructor, and one is a staff member under the language grant. This pattern is consistent with the Title IV and Y.T.O. efforts. Women do not hold the central leadership positions, but are the supporting group that implements many of the programs. For the genealogical meetings, the calendar effort and the pictorial journal women are the main workers. For the business, focus group meetings, language classes, and other gatherings the women work along side the men. This correlates closely with the ceremonial grounds where the men and ritual leaders carry on specific work on ceremonial square while the women ready the camps and meals. Both join and participate together in the overall central

ritual or meeting taking place (see Chapter 1). Within both interest group meetings and focus groups, men and women are both active participants in central issues. Interest group organizations from Title IV, Y.T.O, and E.T.I. all show this same normative pattern of men and women working together for the benefit of the entire community.

Participation by Age:

An analysis of the core members by age proves consistent with the previous patterns noted in Chapters 4 and 5. During the 1970s the average age of leaders was 53.01 years (see Table 4.2 and 4.3). The average age for Y.T.O.'s effort was 50.15 (Chapter 5). The average for E.T.I.'s leaders is 53.38.

Both the Title IV and E.T.I. average ages are higher than for Y.T.O. and reflects the involvement of the ritual leaders who tend to be older as well as additional participation from other elders. This could prove at least a partial reason for E.T.I.'s success compared to Y.T.O. with a lower average core age. Involvement by ritual leaders and elders may signify the success or failing of interest groups efforts.

In both Title IV and E.T.I., the majority of the leaders involved are middle aged (ages 40-59) and several elders over age sixty. It is not the young who are the initiators or the planners, it is those who have lived long enough to acquire special skills and who have obtained the wisdom of passing years. The average age of interest group leaders supports the community's espoused preference for knowledge acquired through long lives. The middle-aged leaders have acquired a portion of that knowledge and have the skills to act within the dominant society. Several are college educated with the Chair

having a professional degree. These middle-aged leaders are on the verge of but not yet considered elders. To temper their actions, elders are involved in this interest group process much like they were in the Title IV effort. Elders hold the wisdom of the ages and pass cultural knowledge through the generations. The middle-aged leaders listen attentively to these elders. In most meeting, several elders who hold no specific interest group titles are usually present and speak to the issues at hand.

Ritual Leadership Participation:

The combined leadership in E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. remain consistent except where members were lost through death. As with the Title IV effort of the 1970s, the leadership consists of people whose ritual background and ancestral ties unite them through time with the community of the past:

Table 6.3
E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. Leadership 1996-97

Surname	E.T.I. and/or E.U.C.H.E.E. role	Ritual Affiliation	Apx Age	Ancestral ties to Yuchi ritual leaders
Skeeter	Chairperson	Duck Creek Ground	55	Son of last language ground Speaker
Powell	Treasurer	Polecat Ground	55	Daughter of past Chief of Polecat
Harjo	first Treasurer, language teacher & office staff	Polecat Ground	50	Daughter of current ground Speaker
Freeman	Secretary	Duck Creek Ground	50	Daughter of church & Title IV leaders
Brown	Board of Trustees - 2nd Vice Chair	Chief of Polecat Ground	49	Son of past Chief of Polecat
Brown	Board of Trustees - 1st Vice Chair	Second Chief Duck Creek Ground	43	Son of past Chief of Duck Creek
Harry	Board of Trustees	Chief of Duck Creek Ground	75	Grandson of Yuchi medicine man
Bucktrot	Board of Trustees and past Vice Chair	Chief of Sand Creek Ground	50	Grandson of past Chief of Sand Creek

All of these individuals have family members listed on the 1898, Dawes, and 1957 census tracts. The surnames can easily be traced through census data. The Skeeter surname appears as Big Mosquito changing to Skeeter in 1957 (See Figure 6. Community

Surnames). The Brown and Harry surnames have been recorded since 1898. The Bucktrot surname appears as Concharchar in 1898 and Bucktrot in 1957. The three new surnames listed occur through intermarriage after 1960: Freeman/Barnett, Harjo/Littlebear, and Powell/Brown. All these individuals can easily trace their genealogical ties back through Yuchi ancestors. They are known in the Yuchi community by their family ties that date to 1900 and their strong familial ritual participation. Outside of the Board of Trustees, who are ritual leaders, the officers and key volunteers have no direct power. Their ancestral and ritual ties link them centrally to the community and its elders and leaders of the past. Each person is expected to uphold community values both in their interest group work and in their personal lives.

The 1990s interest group organizations with their ritual leaders and elders at their head are accountable to the community. They must offer and work toward programs that the community perceives as valuable to the majority of Yuchi people. No interest group leader or worker must consider their work as a benefit to themselves over and above the needs of the community. As long as the organizations continue to offer community centered programs, they can and do prosper. The leaders and workers are in essence carrying out the decisions of the community at large. The workers develop the programs and concepts, but under the auspices of the community consensus. In no way do interest group organizations with their small core of workers and leaders hold any real decision making power within the community. As the demographics support, interest group leaders are individuals who have clear ancestral ties and ritual linkages. Their moral character has been established prior to their commitments and in the case of

E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. are held in check by the ritual leader's participation as the Board of Trustees. As community centered concerns, interest group organizations offer additional community accepted venues for interaction, community cohesion, and identity retention.

Conclusions:

This chapter documented at length the joint E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. effort to show the increased intensity and the form of interest group interaction venues. Through such community interaction the symbols of identity are continually reinforced among today's Yuchi people. E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. have differing but complimentary goals, one cultural and unifying and the other political and pragmatic. E.U.C.H.E.E. works to preserve Yuchi language, history, and customs that bond community members. One example is the perceived need to save the language. Community bonds stem from the fear of losing Yuchi identity. Language, that was once considered a necessary condition of identity, has become an index and in so doing marks for many community members the potential loss of other Yuchi ways and perhaps the loss of identity itself. This fear is not ungrounded as other unique groups, who once joined the Creek Confederacy, today have no distinct or separate identity outside of being Creek people.

E.T.I. is the political entity whose purpose is more pragmatic. Working with E.U.C.H.E.E., it supports the cultural retention effort and seeks grant money and scholars to assist those efforts. Concurrently, E.T.I. is documenting this process in order to show that Yuchi people act outside the confines of Creek Nation. E.T.I. plans to use

this documentation as part of a Congressional petition for separate federal recognition of the Yuchi community. As reflected in the E.T.I. statement of support, community consensus is that recognition can insure the retention of Yuchi identity for the generations to come.

E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. have continued longer than any other post-WWII interest group effort. They have circumvented Creek Nation oversight that thwarted the ICC and Title IV efforts. Much of this is because of the core leaderships' expertise and understanding of both the Creek polity and that of the federal government. The ICC and Title IV efforts were not able to extricate themselves sufficiently from their encapsulated status and eventually ceased to exist when Creek Nation exerted its power. In addition, E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. have community consensus behind their efforts and understand the importance of following the guidelines of ritual leaders and community elders. The leaders know their primary efforts must always be for the welfare of the community at large. If they do not follow this mandate, the community will withdraw its participation and the organizations will cease to exist.

Symbols of Identity:

The strongest venues for identity formation and retention occur in places of ritual practice whether church or grounds. Interest group organizations in no way replace ritual venues but augment the process by bringing Yuchi people together in a wide variety of activities during which interactions occur both on personal levels and in group discussions. These gatherings reinforce time and again the symbols of identity. Rare

indeed is a meeting with Yuchi people without some discussion of ancestry, language, and/or ritual practice. Less often but not the less evident is the discussion of Creek bias whether past or present that symbolized Yuchi encapsulation that threatens the identity and cohesion of the community. Since the change in life style and the decrease in the length of ritual participation following WWII, the interest group efforts integrate these same symbols by creating frequent venues for their expression.

As a unit with the same leadership, E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. assist the Yuchi people in forming a political entity with some limited degree of formality. Because of the power and mandates of the federal polity, the Yuchi remain encapsulated under the Creek polity and as such are forced into interest group status. As an interest group, ritual and symbols become increasingly important to sustain a cohesive community. E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. furnish additional venues for Yuchi people to express their symbols of identity and community norms. By the summer of 1996 and 1997 with cultural meetings at Duck Creek and Polecat grounds, the interest group effort succeeded in extending further community interaction even during the ceremonial season.

Ceremonial ground leaders who serve as E.T.I.'s Board of Trustees reflect the importance of ritual leaders as guardians of the community's welfare and who act as preservers Yuchi tradition and symbols of identity. The core leaders and volunteers have clear ancestral and ritual ties necessary to validate them as interest group leaders. E.U.C.H.E.E. and E.T.I. bringing together ritual leaders and elders with explicit views on creating and recreating the concept of being Yuchi and who express those views in

numerous gatherings. These two organizations furnish not only specific goal oriented tasks, but occasions for the larger community to come together to discuss various issues centering around Yuchi history and the reconstruction of community identity. These gatherings never include the entire community, but those present disseminate the information into the community through personal networks that reinforce a common Yuchi identity among members who are now separated from one another in everyday social interaction.

Interest group organizational structures vary along a continuum from large hierarchical bureaucratic groups to small informal groups organized by ritual and symbols. No matter the organizational form, interest group structures furnishes the mechanisms necessary for community action and include methods to define: distinctiveness, communication, decision-making, authority and leadership, ideology, process of socialization (Cohen 1974:65). These items and their expression in the Yuchi community can be seen within the gathering on April 30, 1997 that was structured and organized by the interest group leaders:

Distinctiveness:

Distinctiveness of identity can include all or a portion of the following: mythologies of descent, ritual beliefs and practices, moral exclusiveness, and style of life.⁴⁸ The April 1997 meeting focused on several of these. The focus group supplied a venue to discuss distinctiveness through descent that is the necessary condition to claim Yuchi identity. "Any degree of Yuchi blood" is symbolic of community defined Yuchi

identity. Without this condition no one can legitimately claim "to be Yuchi."

Blood-quantum, no matter how large or small the percentage, symbolizes inclusiveness and creates a unique community condition for identity. It is ancestral ties that form community cohesion and that are the "charter for action."⁴⁹

Second, the meeting shows that the Yuchi hold strongly to the index of ritual practice and are concerned with maintaining traditions passed down by their elders and those who came before. Although similar in form to Creek ceremonial grounds and churches, Yuchi ritual places and practices incorporate Yuchi traditions and the Yuchi language that provide another sense of community exclusiveness. As noted in the focus meeting, outsiders can and do participate within these ritual settings, but never as Yuchi people. Ritual practice is not central to identity, but the community strongly supports its practice in order to interact with other Yuchi people and to pass on traditions and customs that socialize their young.

Third, the focus group gathering shows that the index of language bears on distinctiveness. Cohen would perhaps consider this as part of unique styles of life where he includes "speech accents." Life styles "... distinguish the group further from other groups and convince the members of the group of their own special identity" (Cohen 1974:74). The Yuchi language is nearly gone with only a few speakers remaining. Today, within the community there is an ardent desire to try everything possible to retain that language. Elders of the past considered a person Yuchi by their ancestry and ability to speak the language. Today, language is no longer a necessary condition of identity but concern for retention of the language is an identity index. The April, 1997 focus

group shows how the community gathers to reinforce its own concepts of identity that include the necessary condition of ancestry and the two indices of language and ritual participation.

Communication, Decision Makings, and Authority:

Symbols of distinctiveness can serve as channels for communication. These symbols of distinctiveness were the central topics of the conversation during the April focus group. Discussion of what it is "to be Yuchi" in such meetings continually reinforces identity. The interest group organizations offer many such opportunities for gatherings and community interaction. Within the discussion, social organization is reinforced as well as the lines of authority. The community is willing to gather to listen and learn from its elders who hold the knowledge of Yuchi traditions and customs. Elders, particularly ritual elders, are the authority figures concerning Yuchi identity. Elder men and women are sought as speakers to relate that knowledge. Middle-aged persons are beginning to obtain status as culture keepers and are listened to particularly in relation to the various interest group efforts available, but not yet as full cultural experts.

Those in attendance, both as speakers and as listeners, interact within the meeting setting both in informal socializing during the meal and formally within the context of the meeting. These participants are always a small percentage of the total community. The content of the meeting is passed from the participants to other members of the community through their family and friendship networks. In this way, the meeting

agenda reaches most tribal members in a very short length of time, and the community can come to a consensus over various issues such as the proposed summer cultural sessions at Polecat. Community members felt these sessions would be beneficial and gave their approval by attending all three nights. All important decisions within the Yuchi community are made in this fashion. The ultimate authority is the consensus of the community. The community's decision on the Euchee Festival to be held in the fall of 1997 continues to be a focus of on-going discussion. Recently, a larger number of community members have become involved in the planning process and the date for festival has been set. This is indicative that the community through its communication network is willing to support such an effort and the festival will likely take place.

The participants in E.T.I.'s meetings such as the focus group analyzed discuss the details within their own networking and within a short length of time most Yuchi people are aware of the gatherings and their agendas. Using this communication process, participation in both ritual and interest group venues combined with personal networks, the community is informed on issues and can come to consensus for decision making. More importantly, the intense interaction reinforces identity and community cohesion. The interest group organizations simply provide additional opportunities for interaction and community discussion as ritual interaction decreased following WWII.

Leadership:

The April focus group provides a view of the various leaders within the community. The ritual leaders as the upholders of Yuchi ways are the most prevalent

spokespersons in the meeting. Both a ceremonial ground leader and a church leader spoke for the majority of the time. The interaction between these two men and the community signifies the importance of ritual leaders whether church or grounds. These men are elders, who as ritual leaders, spoke directly to the central symbols of Yuchi identity. Neither is an officer in the interest group structure. The ground leader has been very active in E.T.I., but never from a leadership roll within the organization. The church leader has not entered the interest group organization until just recently. He was the central Title IV leader, is a well-known church leader, and an elder. As such, the community respects and listens to his views.

Outside of the chair who opened and closed the meeting, the interest group leaders themselves remain in the background during the meeting. Their work was to create this venue for the community. This particular focus group and its counterparts were the result of several years of preparatory work that including bringing in scholars and grant money. In the meeting itself these leaders were not vocal, but sat with their family members and participated as listeners. Their role as interest group leaders is to furnish the necessary venues for the community to listen to their elders and ritual leaders who are the culture bearers and the authorities of Yuchi symbols that unite community members.

Socialization:

Interest group organization meetings, such as the April 1997 focus group, continually socialize community members into the traditions and customs of Yuchi life.

Today, social behavior manifests itself in an extensive series of interest group gatherings that have come to pervade much of Yuchi social life. These gatherings repeatedly state the necessary condition and indices of Yuchi identity, strengthening those concepts and reinforcing the cultural norms of behavior including the importance of reciprocity, education, and ritual participation to maintain social order. The roll of the interest group organizations has been to contribute more frequent venues outside of the ritual areas to conduct such vitally important gatherings.

According to Action Theorists, the answer to studying interest group action lies in key performances pertaining to interaction between power (economic and political) and symbolism (community kinship and ritual).⁵⁰ This and proceeding chapters have presented several such cases. These included the ICC effort to exert political power while drawing the community together and formalizing a tribal roll that continues to be used as a symbol of Yuchi identity. Title IV brought resources into the community for education and in turn was a mechanism to coalesce the various areas of Yuchi residence for interaction that reinforced identity. For the E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. efforts the goals are several and the organizations rely heavily on the ritual leaders who espouse the norms of community life and continually reinforce the symbols of identity. Within the Action theorists' power/symbolism dialectic, Yuchi interest group organizations have become central stages exhibiting power and symbolic action that assist in maintaining community cohesiveness and distinct identity during the second half of the twentieth century. The ability to bring the community together through political organization

allows Yuchi people to express their identity outside the confines of their encapsulation and reinforces the concept "I am Yuchi, not Creek."

Chapter VII
Conclusion - Encapsulation and Identity: "I am Just Proud to be Yuchi."
(Tso-toe 1997)

The Yuchi have maintained their identity under considerable limitations imposed by the large polities of Creek Nation and the U.S. federal government. Following WWII, when ritual venues for identity expression became less frequent and face-to-face daily encounters decreased dramatically, the Yuchi devised new methods to reinforce identity and community cohesion. The community formed political interest groups that brought the community together to discuss what it is "to be Yuchi." These new venues have specific community-defined goals. More importantly, these organizations offer opportunities for community members to come together for interaction and decision making that reinforced Yuchi identity outside the confines of Creek Nation.

Community gatherings, based on episodic political actions with Creek Nation and the federal polity, perpetuate Yuchi identity in the late twentieth century. The Yuchi can be considered typical of a general category of peoples that find themselves dominated by two different social/political formations. Answering the question of how, under considerable constraints, the Yuchi have perpetuated their distinctiveness in the twentieth century resulted in a number of conclusions.

1. Concepts of "the other"

Communities, encapsulated within one polity that is dominated by a third, create concepts of difference between their community members and those of the encapsulating

polity (Yuchi/Creek). Historic differentiation is likely to exist between the encapsulating polity and the dominant polity (Creek/U.S.). What must be accomplished is the clear distinction between community members and those people of the encapsulating government (Yuchi/Creek). This act of defining the "other" reinforces community identity.

Today, most scholars consider Creek people, inclusive of the Yuchi, as a homogeneous social and political unit (Green 1982, Hudson 1976, Knight 1994). The Creek polity itself recognizes the Yuchi as one of the many tribal towns that formed the original confederacy. Creek Nation enrolls Yuchi people as Creek citizens and until the 1970s Yuchi Town representatives held positions in the Creek legislative body. Repeatedly, the U.S. government has refused to acknowledge the Yuchi as anything other than Creek citizens. No matter the Yuchi's own claim to uniqueness, the federal view is that the Yuchi may at some time in the distant past have been a separate group, but for two hundred years have been nothing other than Creek people.

Chapters two and five gave detailed accounts by Yuchi people of long-standing bias by the Creek polity against Yuchi people. Community members articulated examples of this discrimination through time. The accounts include being treated as "step-children" and not receiving full entitled benefits under Creek jurisdiction. Some accounts included: Creek Nation's fight and eventual success against the Yuchi ICC petition for monetary recompense, the sale of Euchee Mission for which the Yuchi received no direct benefit, the removal of Title IV money from Yuchi oversight, and the continuing absence of a community center in Sapulpa. The Creek government itself has

acknowledged that the Yuchi are different and some discrimination occurs: "they are regarded in some respects as a different people . . . they have been more or less neglected."¹ A Creek councilman noted Creek services "sometimes pass the Yuchi people."²

In community gatherings, members tell and retell these instances of bias that contribute to the differentiation between Yuchi and Creek people. These public expressions of Creek bias act as a boundary marker between themselves and "the other." The refusal by the federal government to recognize Yuchi identity and the perceived bias toward Yuchi people by Creek Nation have serve as a means to reinforce community identity through time. One of the most powerful expressions of identity in the Yuchi community is the utterance "We are not Creek, we are Yuchi." Through the generations, this statement of uniqueness has united the Yuchi people for political action in the twentieth century. Those very actions create increasing opportunities to express Yuchi identity and to reinforce community cohesion.

Three tiered political situations necessitate the need for the least power polity to define themselves in terms of "the other." The process of defining "the other" creates boundary markers that separate the group from both the polity of encapsulation and the dominant polity.

2. Political Strategies Reinforce Identity:

Political strategies are opportunities to reinforce community identity. During the last fifty years, the Yuchi community created a series of episodic political strategies that

put them in direct contact with the federal government. Using various federal offerings and working through potential loopholes in federal mandates, the Yuchi have successfully engaged the dominant polity. These new avenues of interaction became necessary following WWII when wage-labor jobs disrupted daily face-to-face encounters and shortened the periods of ritual participation that historically brought the community together for identity retention. The first interest group organization formed following the war and set a pattern for future efforts. The Yuchi learned from each episodic encounter and over time found some measure of success. No matter their political success or failure, the various Yuchi interest group organizations created opportunities to express and reinforce Yuchi identity.

In the process, these organizations created new symbolic forms to express the necessary condition of ancestry, and the indices of language and ritual practice for Yuchi identity reinforcement. One new symbolic representation of ancestry came from the ICC effort in the 1940s and 1950s. The interest group leaders created a list of Yuchi people connected by descent to Yuchi living at the turn of the century. This list is the largest recorded census of Yuchi people and the only one that exists in the twentieth century. To create this new representation, the leaders chose a Euroamerican form that symbolized Native American identity, a Tribal Roll. Internally, the roll symbolized the community's ties through descent, the necessary condition for identity. Members continue to use this roll today in various genealogy meetings and workshops to validate community membership.

The Title IV effort reinforced again the criterion of ancestry. Yuchi people linked back to the allotment census through the 1957 roll were the exclusive attendees at the satellite and central business meetings. The organization name *Yuchi Community Educational Program* further symbolized the distinct identity of these people technically working within the confines of Creek Nation. Most important, the by-laws explicitly uphold the necessary condition of ancestry by stating that voting members must be 1/4 Yuchi blood-quantum.

The short lived efforts of Y.T.O. gathered genealogical data for a new tribal roll that would include only direct descendants of Yuchi people. Y.T.O.'s Petition for Acknowledgment symbolizes the community's desire to be recognized by its own definition of identity. Ancestral ties remain central in the current efforts of E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. The focus group recorded in chapter six brought to light again and again the importance of ancestry for Yuchi identity. In such meetings, elders relate stories from their parents and grandparents. This method has become a way to connect more fully with those ancestors.

Interest group workings have reinforced the language index. During the ICC effort the Yuchi language was still spoken in most homes. The leaders of the effort visited in Yuchi households often explaining through their own language the ICC effort and enumerating tribal members. At that time, the language itself remained a strong expression of Yuchi uniqueness. During the Title IV meetings some concern over language loss was beginning to appear. Part of the adult education program established Yuchi language classes that brought together speakers and those wishing to learn. These

classes reinforced once again a critical index of Yuchi identity. In the 1990s, a prominent leader of Y.T.O. held language classes when the community was beginning to be concerned about the possible extinction of this index. The efforts of E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. have greatly expanded the effort to save the language through classes, tapes, a computer program, education on methods of language preservation, and continuing work with linguists. The potential loss of this index remains a prominent discussion topic within the community as noted in chapter six.

The index of ritual participation during the ICC effort remained strong with leaders using ceremonial ground and church venues to discuss the ICC process. Wage-labor was just beginning and had not yet disrupted the lengthy rituals. The importance of ritual life can be viewed in the Title IV efforts by the clear inclusion of all ritual venues among the central leaders and those in the satellite centers. The importance of strong ritual leadership participation added validity to the organization and supplied a foundation to insure that community norms were upheld. E.T.I.'s efforts include ritual leaders as a necessary part of its leadership structure to validate and guide the organization. The organization's transactional leaders participate in ritual venues and their ancestry ties them back to ritual leaders of the past.

Identity symbols serve as unifying factors for the community. During the last fifty years these symbols have remained but with added forms: 1957 Tribal Roll, participation of both church and grounds people in the organizations; the ICC Petition; and the Petition for Acknowledgment. The various interest group organizations themselves have come to symbolize Yuchi people working for the betterment of their

community with each political encounter serving to augment the age old ritual venues for identity reinforcement.

Participation with more dominant polities reinforces a community's concept of its own identity. The odds of achieving any measure of success require that the conditions for identity be continually reinforced both internally and externally. Each political encounter builds upon past knowledge of intra-community norms of behavior as well as an increased understanding of the more powerful polities. These powerful polities may not accept the community's internal criterion for identity, but the community must maintain its' own identity concept for political and social cohesion.

3. Communication Expansion:

Political action by encapsulated communities expands the opportunities for routine communication between members that reinforces identity. Necessary to maintain a community, routine communications need some standard structure to insure cohesion whether ritual, social, or political. Within that communication system, identity is continually reinforced. For political groups without formal recognition, communication and identity rely strongly on ritual practice and public expressions of identity. When traditional ritual venues have been disrupted or no longer exist, political maneuvers can offer opportunities for extended communication between members that reinforces the group's identity.

With traditional Yuchi ritual activities shortened in length, post WWII interest group organizations brought community members together for various goals. More importantly, interest group efforts served to reinforce identity. Between the ICC effort

and the workings of the 1990s interest groups a subtle shift occurred in communication techniques. Leader conducted the ICC effort mainly by speaking at ceremonial grounds and churches and most of all by visiting in the homes of Yuchi members. By the 1990s, the community no longer used ritual venues to discuss most political issues. Now, interest group gatherings serve that purpose as members gather, socialize, and discuss matters pertaining to the community. Meeting participants then relay information through their own personal networking systems. As noted by the scholar Linn, this communication process is an amazingly quick and accurate source of information for the entire community. Identity is continually reinforced through this communication system that has shifted in form but remains instrumental for community cohesion.

4. Two Distinct Leadership Types:

An encapsulated interest group in the twentieth century must have both moral and transactional leaders involved in the political process. Informal interest groups with virtually no power rely more fully on shared values and informal processes in the absence of external validation. Within this framework, leaders who support the norms and values of the community are necessary for the interest group organization to function effectively. Two distinctly different types of leaders are necessary. As watch-guards of community norms and values, traditional ritual leaders are needed to articulate the symbols of identity that unite the community. These ritual leaders must either be active within the organization or give clear support of the interest group's effort. The community knows these moral leaders will act with the benefit of the community at large

as their primary concern. The more involved these ritual specialists the greater chance of success for the interest group organization. As the longest functioning interest group to date, E.T.I. learned this lesson from past experience and made every attempt to involve ritual leaders in primary positions.

The second necessary set of leaders are those who have the expertise to transact business with larger, more power polities. These leaders must espouse the community's values, be active in (but not ascend to) central leadership roles in the ritual venues, and must at all times be seen to serve the community over and above any self-serving interest. Transactional leaders have added expertise to establish communications between the community and the dominant polities. During the ICC effort, S. W. Brown, Sr. had worked for years within the Creek polity and had interacted often with federal officials to obtain information about U.S./Indian policies that might affect the Yuchi people. In the 1970s, Yon-shen (who served overseas in WWII and experienced much of the workings of the federal bureaucracy) applied that knowledge to the highly successful Title IV effort. By the 1990s, more than one central leader was necessary to supply the multifaceted expertise needed to sustain an effort in a highly complex and technical environment.

Ritual and transactional leaders add an additional factor when working together. Combined, they represent the wisdom of the community. Most ritual leaders are men in their sixties or older. The core interest group leaders are middle-aged men and women with the beginnings of the wisdom that will, in the next decade or two, make them the community's culture bearers. These people have enough history in the community that

other members have some trust in their judgments and are willing to listen to the various approaches they propose. By combining the known wisdom keepers and the next generation of elders, the internal structure of an interest group is strengthened.

Today, for interest groups interacting with larger, more powerful, polities leadership must include both moral and transactional leaders. Moral leadership insures that interest group organizations conduct themselves within the acceptable norms of community behavior and that the goals remain based in community needs, not individual desires. Moral leaders are likely to be ritual leaders who are known to devote their time and energy for the benefit of the entire community. Transactional leaders must be able to function within the intricate political settings of one or more political entities that are considerably more powerful than their own. In so doing, they must be able to express the community's goals and needs on several levels. They will likely have special expertise in education or life experiences that make them particularly strong in these roles. It is unlikely that one person can act as both a moral and a transactional leader in the twentieth century as each role requires an extensive commitment.

By investigating the community's moral leaders, we find the community at work rather than just the highly visible transactional leadership that interacts directly with the larger polities. Fowler (1994) includes the importance of ritual and moral leadership to understand the motivations and community cohesion for the Gros Ventre, the Northern and Southern Arapahos during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By including both leadership types in the form of business councils and headmen or priest combined with the symbols of identity, Fowler provides an analysis of these communities in

transition. Studies of other groups could benefit from expanding the leadership focus to include those moral leaders who define and redefine the symbols of identity necessary for community cohesion as well as transactional leaders who use those symbols for political purposes, often creating new symbolic forms in the process.

5. Community Consensus is the Ultimate Authority:

For encapsulated interest groups that must rely on community consensus, the community itself holds the ultimate authority. Community members' acceptance or rejection of an interest group's offerings has the power to sustain or disband the interest group organization. Community members may choose to be involved or not. In doing so, they signify their acceptance or rejection of the organization's proposals. If the community views the interest group and its leaders as seeking goals that are self-centered rather than community-centered they may choose to ostracize those leaders by holding them accountable to the community's norms of behavior. If we re-focus our studies to include community authority along with the political venues, goals, and leadership we are more likely to understand how small, politically powerless communities have managed to survive with their identity intact.

Although ritual leaders uphold community norms and make decisions accordingly, they rely heavily on community consensus. Neither ritual leaders nor interest group leaders can make arbitrary decisions. Repeatedly, I have heard ritual and interest group leaders say "we must get the word out" concerning a new project or endeavor. Until the community discusses the new project within its networks and

members come to a decision, there is little reason for the interest group leaders to pursue their ideas. If no community support is forthcoming, the endeavor will ultimately fail in its primary objective of bringing the community together for interaction. A recent case in point was the series of cultural meetings held this year at Polecat ceremonial ground. Community members discussed the proposal in numerous meetings and within personal networking systems. Only when the membership responded affirmatively did the organization complete the planning and carry out a successful project.

6. Fragility:

With virtually no power, the political structures of encapsulated communities are extremely fragile. These organizations can neither coerce community members, nor can they do more than occasionally manipulate larger political powers. Both internal and external factors cause organizational fragility.

Externally, the tremendous power differential between themselves as the weakest player and the other polities causes organizational fragility. In Yuchi example, Creek Nation essentially eliminated the ICC and Title IV efforts. The two Yuchi interest groups were able to manipulate the federal system to gain direct interaction. The tremendous power differential between the informal interest groups of the Yuchi and the larger polities of Creek Nation and the U.S. government eventually denied the goals sought by the former organizations. Even so, during those periods of interaction with the federal polity, Yuchi community members gathered frequently to discuss their goals and more importantly to reinforce concepts of identity. Once the larger polities

destroyed these interest group efforts, the groups ceased to exist. Even though suffering political defeat, the organizations continue to be topics for discussing Yuchi identity. The failure or demise of an interest group organization does not end the community's discussion of its existence and work. Such discussions continually reinforce the Yuchi community's concept of its distinctiveness with regard to both Creek Nation and the Euroamerican world.

Fragility of interest group organizations also is due to internal factors. At any time, should the community feel that the interest group leadership has become motivated by self-interest, it withdraws its support forcing the organization to disband. The clearest example of this community action was the complete withdrawal from the ICC effort and the ostracism of some leaders who were seen as seeking personal awards at the expense of the community. The community perceived them as taking more from Yuchi people than they returned in benefits. Interest group leaders walk a fine line and must be sure the community understands their proposals and that no misunderstanding occurs that could be taken as self-interest rather than community-centered.

Politically powerless interest groups are fragile for both external and internal reasons. Larger polities in which they interact can and do deny them both recognition and acceptance of their goals. The dominant polities will allow interest groups to pursue their own agendas as long as the interest groups do not try to obtain any direct power that would be detrimental to the larger political players. Quick defeat is dealt to those interest groups that overstep the political boundaries or who threaten to upset the status quo. Internally, interest group organizations themselves must carefully juggle the task of

working with larger polities while following the norms and decisions of their internal community. Holding the ultimate authority through its ability to censure interest group leaders, the community can disband an organization that it feels does not follow acceptable norms of behavior. Once some form of political recognition is established with economic backing, interest groups become less fragile. No longer must the leadership rely solely on community authority. With their own power base, interest group leaders can use economic coercion rather than persuasion alone to move community members. The Yuchi and many others have yet to attain this level of power.

Other Potential Studies:

Applying the research approach used in the Yuchi study should enlighten scholars concerning how other interest group efforts with little power have managed to create venues that reinforce identity even under the most difficult conditions. Using the conclusions drawn here, a review of current literature highlights five potential group types that could furnish a better understanding for the persistence of identity: 1) other Native American groups claiming separate identity while encapsulated within larger Native polities (Keetoowah, Delaware, Seminoles, San Juan Paiutes); 2) groups within larger polities that do not seek political separation but that do have their own political maneuverings (Creek Tribal Towns and the Snowbird Cherokee), 3) remnant Native groups still living in the Southeast (Tunica and Houma), 4) large Native groups never recognized by the U. S. government as Native People but who persist in their internal concepts of identity (Lumbee), 5) three tiered communities that reside outside of the

U.S./Native American structure (Northern Ireland). Much of current day literature on political and ethnic structures focus heavily on the pluralistic paradigm and do not extend to possible triadic levels of identity and political action. Once recognizing the potential existence of three tiered structures, new works such as the one presented here should become more accessible for analysis. Examples of these five groups both three tiered and pluralistic are discussed below.

1. Encapsulated groups within Native American Tribes claiming separate identity:

It is at times difficult readily to recognize these encapsulated groups as authors have too often overlooked the potential heterogeneity within the larger Native American tribal structures such as the Southeastern Confederacies. Hints of heterogeneity within these polities can be found in the various petitions for separate recognition and more importantly by extensive fieldwork.

Although little has been written about the Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma, they claim separation from the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma through unique identity, lineage, political stance, and ritual participation. A paper and film session during the 1996 American Society for Ethnohistory conference gave hints as to the struggle for identity retention during the twentieth century (Meisch 1996, Raley 1996; Scheide 1996). The Keetoowah have been politically active since the 1900 Dawes allotments with their refusal to participate in land allocations. During the nineteenth century, they lived in isolation dispersed areas among the hollows and hills within the Cherokee areas where they reinstituted many of the ritual practices and symbols of identity used by their ancestors (Kehoe 1992:204-6). Ritual participation became

important to community cohesion and assisted in maintaining their separate identity through time. Like the Yuchi effort, in the twentieth century the Keetoowah sought federal recognition as a separate tribe distinct from the overarching Cherokee Nation. Studies of how the Keetoowah band organized politically for the acknowledge effort should lead to a better understanding of how they distinguish themselves from the larger Cherokee Nation ("the other"). Such a study would show how political efforts enhances community communication and participation that reinforces a separate identity in the latter half of the twentieth century. In-depth oral history, genealogical, and demographic analysis would lead to a better understanding of the symbols of identity, leadership composition, and community cohesion during this recognition process and may uncover past political maneuvers that reinforced Keetoowah identity.

Encapsulated within with the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma but with a very different background, the western Delaware offer a potential case study (Kehoe 1992:270-72). After many decades of forced migration, the Delaware (Lenape) Tribe of Oklahoma was removed in the 1800s to Indian Territory eventually settling on lands within the Cherokee Nation. By the 1930s, they had lost much of their ancestral rituals centering the Big House ceremony (Kehoe 1992:271). Other changes included the fact that post WWII youth ceased to speak the Delaware language and the office of chief was eliminated. By the early 1950s, intermarriage became a community norm with only three married couples being Delaware. Community cohesion partially continued through other venues including the Native American Church and Pow Wows.

Since their arrival in Indian Territory, the U.S. government has considered them merely an ethnic division of Cherokee Nation receiving benefits through that polity. The Delaware do not consider themselves Cherokee in any form. In 1979, the BIA attempted to terminate the Delaware as a separate tribal entity and according to the Delaware themselves:

At the crux of the debate was a 1979 BIA decision to "administratively terminate" the tribe (Delaware), a decision undertaken solely at the request of the CNO (Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma).³

This one statement shows the lines of demarcation between the Delaware and "the other," both Native American (Cherokee) and Euroamerican (BIA). The political struggle for recognition and other governmental programs necessitates the concept of one's group in relation to "the other." In turn, this distinction reinforces community identity and cohesion. The Delaware's fight for federal recognition should provide another strong investigative study of identity persistence through political action.⁴

In a similar vein, upon removal, the U.S. government attempted to encapsulate the Seminoles of Oklahoma into the Creek polity. Various scholars have included the Seminoles in their discussion of Creek peoples while a few authors in the late twentieth century have focused on them as a separate group but with little interpretation on their ability to maintain a separate identity from Creek people (see Schultz 1995: 23-25). In 1715 bands of Creeks emigrated into northern Florida where the term Seminole came into usage as a way to distinguish them from their northern Creek relatives (Schultz 1995:37). During the 1830's removal of Southeastern people into Indian Territory, many Seminole managed to escape while others were forcibly removed to the Creek

designated areas of Indian Territory. Within twenty years the U.S. government granted the Seminoles their own Oklahoma lands and tribal government. A comprehensive study of early Seminole political and symbolic action during their initial migration into Florida may establish how and why they maintained a unique identity separate from their Creek counterparts. Was it merely geographic separation or political and symbolic action that formed and perpetuated this unique identity that survived removal and that continues into the twentieth century?

Outside of the Southern Confederacies, other Native American groups have been encapsulated within larger polities. In the 1800s, the emigration of Euroamerican people into Oregon and California forced the San Juan Paiutes (a band of the Southern Paiutes) onto Navajo reservations where they began to appear on the Navajo Tribal Rolls.⁵ In 1954 the U. S. government decreed termination status for other Southern Paiutes (Kehoe 1992:377-78). In the 1970s, many Southern Paiute groups fought for and achieved favorable land claim settlements, but the federal government did not grant money to the San Juan Paiutes since the U.S. polity considered them Navajo.

In 1990, the U.S. government granted San Juan Paiutes federal recognition outside the confines of the Navaho polity. The Navaho fought strongly against this separation claiming such a move encourages other secessionist movements, offends tribal sovereignty regarding the right of each tribe to determine its own members, and casts doubt on the fairness of the acknowledgment process.⁶ The San Juan Paiutes offer another potential research topic that could lead to a clearer understanding of identity retention in a triadic political structure through time.

2. Intra-group political activities/Formalized organizations:

Intra-group political activities and formalized political organizations within Southeastern polities are additional sources to investigate concepts of identity retention. Although not claiming identities other than Creek, three tribal towns (Thloplocco, Alabama-Koasti, and Kialegee) within Creek Nation sought and achieved recognition under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936. Of the forty-four tribal towns originally removed to Indian Territory, only these three sought political recognition while choosing to remain encapsulated within the larger Creek structure. What led to their desire for such recognition? Was it for economic advantage or the fear of losing their identity as a Creek town? A recent meeting at Kialegee Tribal Town provided a clue:

We are Creek people. Kialegee is not interested in breaking up Creek Nation. We are all Creeks. We do not claim to be anything else, but the federal government does not seem to understand that Creek Nation is not the real authority for Creek people. The authority rests with the chiefs of each tribal town, not down at Okmulgee (Creek Nation headquarters).⁷

The meeting was the second gathering called to discuss NAGPRA and the potential repatriation of artifacts to Creek Nation. Some Kialegee members were concerned that these objects would be classified under the general umbrella of Creek "while lacking a more precise identification linking them with one or several tribal towns by name."⁸ Possibly an in-depth study of the three federally recognized Creek tribal towns would furnish a better understanding of the original diversity within the Creek polity and the claims of town identity that remain today. Such a study may reinforce the concept present here, that Creek Nation is not necessarily a body of homogeneous peoples.

The Snowbird Cherokee offer another opportunity to study heterogeneity and identity retention within a recognized Native American polity. Neely (1991) presents a detailed look at this community in the 1970s. The Snowbird Cherokee are part of the Eastern Band of Cherokees that reside in an isolated region approximately fifty miles from the central Cherokee government offices in North Carolina. They differ from their counterparts in several ways: their membership includes a high percentage of full-bloods, they speak a different Cherokee dialect, they have a large number of native craftsman, many have knowledge of medicinal plants, and they lack a tourist economy prevalent among their Cherokee neighbors.

The Snowbird clearly mark themselves in terms of "the other" by stating that most other Cherokees are "white-Indians." In this way they designate the high percentage of intermarriage among their fellow tribal members, a marriage pattern they prefer not to practice considering themselves "real Indians." The Snowbird "feel neglected and omitted from mainstream Band activities" (Neely 1991:52). They openly discuss the perceived discrimination and rough treatment experienced by their young high school football and basketball players when teamed against Eastern Cherokee from other schools. They feel much of this discrimination stems from their "full-blood" status. This feeling of discrimination further delineates them from the remaining members of the Cherokee tribe

Neely argues that the Snowbird have managed to survive intact through political action that includes both Cherokee Nation and county government involvement. The "Harmony Ethic" that incorporates non-aggressiveness and non-competiveness is the

bases for Snowbird political action (Neely 1991:36). This community norm roughly translates into the Yuchi concept of working for communal welfare. Using this ethic, the Snowbird have managed to work within tribal politics and local government structures to enhance educational efforts, provide local health care, and build adequate housing for their people.

The advent of the post WWII wage-labor market shifted the Snowbird from an isolated farming community to a market economy with community members working outside the immediate area. Such shifts are likely to have changed routine communication channels and did shifted tribal political roles. In 1973, the Snowbird lost their seats on the Tribal Council to the neighboring Tomotla group. The Council eventually combined the Snowbird and Tomotla into one township for election purposes. Without direct voice on Council the Snowbird felt threatened and perceived they could not overcome discrimination within the Eastern Cherokee Nation. Neely takes us no further than the 1970s. A new study focusing on identity retention through time including additional political venues would add to our understanding of the heterogeneity within the Eastern Cherokees and lead to a better understanding of identity retention in current day Native American groups. The addition of surname analysis, demographics, and genealogical history would further substantiate Neely's argument and provide a basis for quantitative comparison between similar groups.

3. Remnant groups in the Southeast:

Several Southeastern remnant groups have survived without other Native tribes bring their power to bear while others have had to fight larger Native groups as they

seek recognition and political participation (Roth 1992). Investigations into identity retention through political and symbolic action should add to our understanding of their persistence through time.

The Tunica of Louisiana have a long and varied history in that region, but today remain unrecognized and "neglected" by the U.S. government (Roth 1992). Until the mid-twentieth century, the Tunica retained their own language while adopting Euroamerican lifestyles. By observing the community's criteria for internal identity and by following the process of various political encounters, groups such as the Tunica (who seem to have lost their "traditional" culture) may show that their traditions and norms of behavior continue to exist in new formats centering on political interaction with dominant polities. From the early twentieth century, they have sought federal recognition, educational opportunities, and financial assistance. During these efforts the Tunica solicited the assistance of lawyers, courthouse authorities, government official and scholars. They established their own administrative organization that included a tribal chief and subchief. According to Downs (1979:85) in the Tunica's political struggles, they "have played a significant role in the movement for recognition of the East's 'lost' tribes." A closer look at these political actions may answer the question of identity retention of such "lost" remnant groups in the Southeast.

Numerous other remnant Southeastern groups offer opportunities to understand identity retention under adverse political conditions. Stanton (1979) provides enticing possibilities with the Houma. As with the Yuchi, the Houma of Louisiana have adopted Euroamerican surnames and have been heavily involved in the post war wage-labor

market. They have been politically active. In the 1970s they organized to overcome unfair buying and selling practices by merchants and suppliers in their area of residence. Shortly thereafter to support their fishing industry, they formed a shrimping cooperative. Stanton claims the Houma do not have any informal or formal governing authority and there has been little effort to organize for collective action. I would argue that as the Houma seek federal recognition, the criteria of identity is likely to be clearly stated within intra-community meetings and will show how the Houma maintained identity and cohesion through time. With extended ethnographic work other political venues that reinforced identity are likely to come to light.

Other Southeastern remnant groups have focused on specific political enticements in the twentieth century. The Pamunkey, Mattaponi, and Chickahominy of Virginia and the Catawba of South Carolina have sought educational efforts for their children under Title IV (DuRant et al 1992; Hudson 1979; Rountree 1992). As shown in the Yuchi example, such endeavors require strong community bonds that continually espouse community specific benefits. Very likely, these groups have had other encounters with federal policies that reinforce identity between their members. The remnant Southeast groups must have mechanisms in place to retain identity. Analysis of political and symbolic action may hold the key to understanding how their identities have persisted through time.

4. Large unrecognized Native groups:

There are large groups, as well as small remnant ones, that identify as Native Peoples and who the federal government has never recognized. The Lumbee are one

such case who have persisted for nearly two hundred years under the most strenuous conditions of non-acceptance from both Euroamerican and Indian communities.

Although not encapsulated within another Native American polity, the Lumbee have battled other organized native groups in their search for recognition, benefits, and potential survival (i.e., in 1975 the National Congress of American Indians barred them from renewing their membership of long standing [Blu 1980:72]). The Lumbee have had ongoing battles with the Tuscarora over the control of educational matters and the seeking of federal recognition. The Lumbee's varied and frequent political activities have pitted them against other Indian groups while attempting to interact with the dominant U.S. polity for recognition and rights as Native People creating a three tiered political environment.

Blu's work on the Lumbee is more in line with the Yuchi study presented here than Sider's (1993) account noted in Chapter 1. The summary concepts drawn from the Yuchi study could enhance the Lumbee identity question. The Lumbee do define themselves in terms of "the other" particularly in with regard those native groups (Tuscarora and Cherokee) into which the federal government has from time to time placed the Lumbee. Blu and Sider provide glimpses of the political action from the 1800s forward that may well be a central factor in the reinforcement of Lumbee identity. A demographic analysis of the actual leadership and community members involved in the various political maneuverings would provide a stronger basis for analyzing community cohesion and identity retention. Blu does give some indication of political leadership through time, noting leaders change frequently and factions often form. Additional work

in this area would likely highlight both moral and transactional leadership involvement in the varied political activities. The fragility of political organizations within the Lumbee interest group can be noted by Blu's concept of constructive factionalism and changes in political structure. For instance as with the Yuchi, the names of the Lumbee interest group organizations change over time: Board of Trustees in 1887 that addressed educational issues, Siouan Lodge of the National Council of American Indians, Inc. in the 1930s that sought federal recognition, and Lumbee Regional Development Association in 1968 that sought federal grant money for employment opportunities.

Blu (1980:1) notes the Lumbee maintained identity in three ways: the fostering of creativity by the inclusion of outsiders, constructive factionalism, and economic exploitation. She uses historical data, ethnographic observation, and a brief notation of surnames (Blu 1980:29). Had Blu included additional work on surnames through time that included genealogy data from current day Lumbee, she may have strengthened her argument of continuous community. Blu (1980:142-43) states that the Lumbee adhere to three behavioral norms: pride, "meanness" or sensitivity to insult, and cohesiveness. If one studied the Lumbee situation overtime through political and symbolic action these three community norms of behavior would likely manifest themselves through direct actions further supporting Blu's conclusions.

The Lumbee case is an ideal situation to apply the summary arguments presented in this study to show persistence and identity retention among a group of people who are denied federal recognition and who are often thwarted by other more powerful Native groups.

5. Outside of Native Peoples:

The study presented here need not be restricted to Native Americans or the Western hemisphere. If we are interested in the questions of identity retention through three tiered political situations, Northern Ireland presents a possible area of study. The persistence of Catholic interest groups in Northern Ireland offers an intriguing opportunity to test the summations formed from the Yuchi study. Catholics in the north are encapsulated within a Protestant government that is loyal to and dominated by the British polity. The Irish situation is complex, but by focusing on the political and symbolic actions of the smallest polity a more complete analysis would be possible to explain the motivations behind the current day hostilities.

The struggle between Ireland and England began in the 1154 when Henry II conquered Ireland and established series of baronies that provoked the Irish to armed rebellion (Fallon 1995). In 1534, Henry the VIII broke with the Catholic Church. Fearing Catholic Spain or France might launch attacks against Protestant England from Ireland, England further exerted its power and began a systematic repression of Catholics. For the next three centuries, the Catholic Church played a leading role in armed insurrections against Protestants in Northern Ireland.

In 1922 in an attempt to solve the struggle, England passed the Act of Union that created two separate Irish states: The Free Irish Republic in the South and the Irish Republic in the North. The Free Irish Republic's population has a Catholic majority and has some measure of independence from England. Northern Ireland is predominantly Protestant and remains in union with England. Northern Ireland has been in continuous

upheaval as the Catholic minority seeks to remove English influences from their land and to reunite all of Ireland. According to Fallon (1995), from this struggle in Northern Ireland a three-tier hierarchy gradually evolved: 1) Minority Catholics who were politically oppressed, religiously persecuted and economically exploited, 2) Presbyterian tenants who were barred from political offices and taxed by the Anglican Church, and 3) English Protestant landowners who formed the top layer within this colonial system. This hierarchy continues to a large degree in Northern Ireland today with ongoing tensions among the three groups.

The struggle remained peaceful through the 1930s into the 1960s when Northern Ireland's Protestant government willingly negotiated with Catholic interest group organizations. Negotiations did not result in reforms the Catholic interest group felt necessary and armed conflict erupted in the late 1960s. To ease hostilities in 1972, the English assumed control over the local government in Northern Ireland signaling the longest unbroken period of armed conflict in the region.

The tension in Northern Ireland is often viewed as a Catholic/Protestant division rather than a complex political and social struggle that is not longer based on religious affiliation alone (Aughey and Morrow 1996; Duffy and Evans 1996; Fallon 1995; Kearney 1997; Ruane and Todd 1996). These studies tend to focus on the religious and political divisions without an in-depth look at the communities involved and with no ethnographic work that would show the reasons for Catholic community cohesion and identity persistence.

Religious affiliation is no longer central. In fact, most members of both the Catholic and Protestant communities do not practice their religion that has become nearly irrelevant to their self-identification in religious terms (Kearney 1997:71). Both communities have opposing national interests and cultural identities (Irish/Catholic and British/Protestant) deep rooted in their joint history. In the past, Catholic and Protestant religious venues gave voice and reinforced each group's identity. I would argue that in recent years, political activity has become the central venue to express and reinforce identity particularly among the minority Catholic interest group. Catholic political action occurred through both peaceful negotiations with the British and Protestant governments and in the last three decades through armed conflict.

If Northern Ireland's Catholic minority were studied through the dichotomy of political and symbolic action, a clearer picture should form of how this community has maintained its existence and identity through time. Encapsulated within the Protestant political system that is in turn dominated by British rule, the Catholic interest group has defined itself in terms of "the other." Members voice the political, economic, and religious discriminatory practices of the Irish Republic government (Fallon 1995). Their political acts have reinforced Catholic identity through time that has been translated to mythological proportions (Kearney 1997:117-21). Investigation of the communications networking among the Catholic interest group organizations should provide an answer to how this group has remained cohesive and able to make decisions throughout their political maneuverings.

An in-depth ethnographic study would supply the answers to the leadership types needed for the interest group to survive both during negotiation eras and times of armed conflict. It is likely the Catholic interest group has used both moral and transactional leaders to pursue their goals. As with the Yuchi, community consensus is likely to hold the ultimate authority. For example in the 1920s and 1930s when England first divided Ireland and hopes for peace and equality ran high, the Catholic community did not support interest group organizations and these organizations diminished greatly in number nearly vanishing altogether (O'Brien 1995).

The many divisions and changes in Catholic interest group organizations hint at the fragility of these organizations. These organizations include: United Irishmen, Young Irelanders, Irish Republic Brotherhood (Fenians), Irish Republican Army, the Provisional Irish Republican Army, and Sinn Fein. The Irish Catholic interest group has been able to secure outside assistance from France and the United States and as such is not as politically powerless as the Yuchi. However, the frequent rise and fall of these various organizations mark their instability as political units. The overarching power of the British government has essentially thwarted any political success for Northern Catholics. Within this process of political maneuvering, the Catholic interest group has been able to sustain an identity and community cohesion under extremely harsh circumstances. By combining their political stands with symbolic action, we may better ascertain the persistence of this community and its identity retention through time.

The Yuchi political situation is similar in some ways to the remnant Native peoples left in the Southeast (Tunica, Houma), the large and small groups who must

fight off the advances of more powerful Native polities (Delaware, Lumbee), and of those encapsulated within other polities (San Juan Paiute). It also has strong similarities to the international struggle between Catholic and Protestants in Northern Ireland. The methods such groups use to maintain identity can supply a clearer understanding of community cohesion through time. The political organizational structures used are likely to be fragile and each episodic encounter is likely to have new leadership, new organizational names, and new goals. They must fight to maintain identity and to find direct access to resources like their more powerful neighbors. It is within this interaction with other polities that identity is reinforced.

Other Interest Group Approaches:

In general the current literature on interest groups addresses three topics: formation; power and support; and growth and membership. These are briefly described below in comparison to the Yuchi account.

Formation:

The pluralist paradigm maintains that interest groups form in response to stressors such as economic distress, new technologies, or unfavorable legislation (Sabatier 1992; Truman 1971). Pluralist theory challenges the earlier exchange paradigm argument that individuals create interest group organizations for a profitable exchange between leaders and individual members (Olson 1965; Salisbury 1969). Recently, a study of the origins of religious interest groups in the United States tested both theories,

resulting in confirmation of the pluralist paradigm (Hofrenning 1995). Graziano (1996) also supports the pluralistic approach by arguing that interest group movements tend to create extensive networks of people who are underrepresented because of their diversity and disadvantage.

The pluralist paradigm speaks of stressors that affect interest group formation. The Yuchi case could be viewed through this window with the stressors being the perceived discrimination by Creek Nation and the federal government. However in the Yuchi case, these stressors had persisted for generations. To understand why interest group formation did not occur until after WWII, one must look more closely at the internal social mechanisms that maintain identity. It was the disruption of social organization as a result of greater participation in the wage-labor economy, not the stressors, that became the critical point in which the Yuchi sought other avenues for direct and frequent community interaction through interest group formation.

In his study of the caste system on the island of Mauritius, Hollup (1994) offers a more holistic approach to the birth of interest groups. He argues that the Hindu caste system on Mauritius shifted from a social construct to a mechanism for political mobilization. He argues that the caste system did not work on Mauritius where the Indian people were merely another ethnic group within a larger population. The old concepts of caste no longer governed social behavior, but did give people an identity to use in collectively entering the political scene.

In recent years, Hollup's work is one that uses the concepts of action theory. Like the Yuchi study, Hollup unites power and symbolic action to provide the dialectic

necessary to analyze an entire community. He shows how old symbols become new strategies and, as such, act as the impetus for community action. In his conclusions, he notes that caste members organized themselves into interest group units important to bargaining for their share of resources within a state society.

Power and Support

Several recent studies examine interest groups with some, if not substantial, power behind them in the form of patrons or entrepreneurs (Nownes and Cigler 1995; Nownes and Neeley 1996; Walker 1983). One study analyzes patrons as critical for the initial phases of interest group mobilization while long term survival is based on a large membership that supplies the monetary resources through financial contributions (Nownes and Cigler 1995). A study in India indicates a move away from patrons to more powerful interest groups backed by the business community (Kochanek 1995, 1996). Kochanek's study compares India to the U.S. political scene where both governments have become facilitators with business becoming critical components of the governmental process.

Much of the scholarly work centers on interest group organizations with considerable power that change political policy in the United States (Davis 1996; Deyo et al 1997; Kollman 1997; Steel et al 1996). Deyo et al. note that groups such as the National Rifle Association are so powerful they attack research findings and intimidate researchers who challenge their particular interest by using the media and the court systems to discredit the scientists and their analysis.

The Yuchi study challenges the patron and entrepreneur theories since the Yuchi concept of interest group organizations is supported without patrons or other powerful backing. To see how other powerless groups initially mobilize and create a cohesive community, Action Theory takes these movements back to their roots. From these roots, investigations can supply a clearer understanding of the interlocking factors that create and maintain group action.

With particular interest in cultural interest groups, Kateb (1994) argues that the growth of American special interest groups involves blind obedience to the group, building in potentials for factionalism and mysticism that undermine the intellectual autonomy of the individual. The Yuchi example supports Kateb's claim that interest groups subvert the autonomy of the individual. However, this need not be analyzed as detrimental. For such groups as the Yuchi, value is not in the autonomy of individuals but in the communal concept of group cohesion, a stated norm. To know and understand the value system of a community, one must study it closely from the inside and not with the researcher's own values closely interwoven into the analysis.

Growth and Membership

Concerned with western democracies during the 1960s and 1970s, Richardson (1995) argues that interest group participation grew enormously because of the increased levels of education and improved understanding of the workings of political processes. Richardson's point concerning the increased levels of education and political understanding supports the Yuchi case, but does not offer a real explanation for why Yuchi organizations have grown in the later part of the twentieth century. Education

offered a way to seek specific goals, but did not in and of itself create the actual mobilization.

Humphreys and Hamilton (1995) explore the expansion of African-American interest groups since the 1960s and argue that in the future they will seek mutual-self help strategies rather than outside resources. Having gained some measure of economic and political power, African-American groups now mobilize for mutual assistance. In contrast, the Yuchi example points to an interest group that as yet does not have a substantial measure of political or economic power. Even so, the Yuchi rely strongly on their internal resources for communal assistance. Yuchi interest groups work for the benefit of the whole community and hope in the future to have an increased measure of power to provide more extensive services for their membership. A group does not have to be large to exercise mutual assistance.

New methods have been employed to flesh out the construct of interest groups. Recently, Gray and Lowery (1995) demographically analyzed U.S. interest groups in six states. They argue that once organized interest groups tend to stop lobbying activities resulting in a change in membership composition. Through random sample interviews the ethnographic work of Gray and Lowery shows how the addition of quantitative methodology can supply added information on the internal community. Their work notes that membership in interest group organizations changed as the tactics of the groups shifted to new venues. Demographics for the Yuchi though show a consistency through time but with a change in the type of leaders used in the most successful interest group organizations.

Through random sample interviews Leighley (1996) determined that both political and nonpolitical interest group formation tended to mobilize unintentionally by people discussing issues of concern that gradually developed into organized methods to address their concerns. Leighley's study shows that the use of random interviews can supply information on the intent of organizations. He demonstrates the importance of working within the organization, not merely examining external manifestations of mobilization and action. The Yuchi case adds not only ethnographic interviews but shows the benefit of long term field research to give a sense of how and why the community acts in the fashion that it does through its interest groups.

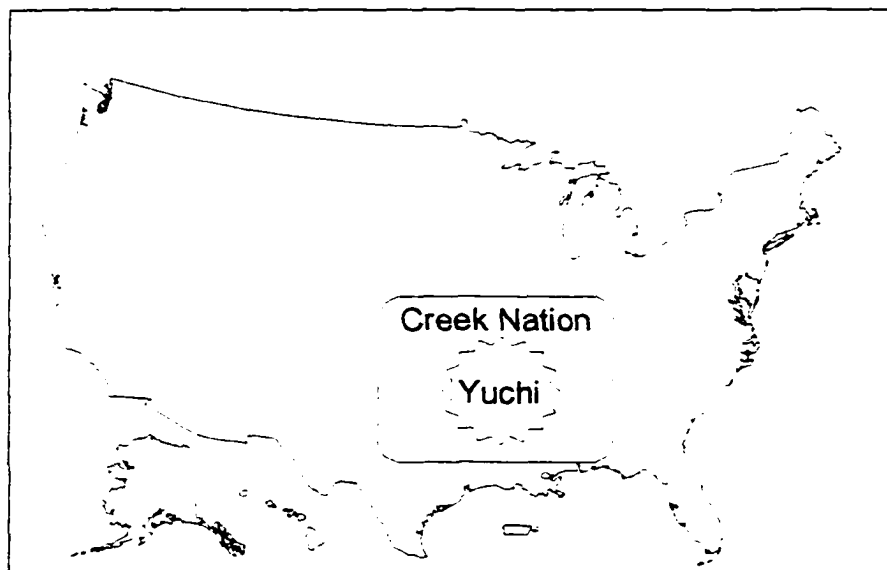
Each of these approaches have merit, but all fall short for an analysis of the political organizations of the Yuchi people. For this reason, I chose to apply an older theoretical framework that better suited the problem.

Why Action Theory:

The use of Action Theory and a multifaceted methodology led to a more inclusive study than any of the other recent works noted above, with perhaps the exception of Hollup's Mauritius work. Political action cannot be understood in isolation from the social context in which it is formed. It is through the dialectic between power (economic/political) and symbol (ritual/kinship) that a more inclusive picture forms for analysis. To focus only on one variable becomes mere description making analysis cursory. By using the interdependence of power and symbol the analysis becomes more significant for understanding human motivations and actions.

Action theorists created their paradigm by studying groups within emerging state systems. As such, they offer concepts and methods to understand interaction on multiple social and political levels. In the case of some groups like the Yuchi, the system is politically three-tiered. The Yuchi are not merely players acting with one dominant political entity. Their encapsulation forces them to interact with two political units, whose power so far exceed theirs, that the Yuchi must use complex interwoven tactics for any measure of success.

Figure 7.2
Multi-Level Political Field



All three entities must be analyzed within the political context. The actions of Creek Nation continually reinforce Yuchi identity by supplying a concept for "the other." The continual exertion of power by both Creek Nation and the U.S. government has forced the Yuchi to be forever refining and learning from their successes and mistakes. In so doing, they continue to create interest group organizations that are able to interact with the dominant federal polity while reinforcing their own identity outside of Creek Nation.

Other Native American groups have found themselves on this three-tiered playing field. Using Action Theory, studies could supply a better analysis of how and why these groups continue to maintain separate identities over time. Several have been successful in breaking away from larger encapsulating Native polities including the Delaware and San Juan Paiutes. Forced governmental political arrangements do not necessarily mean that identity is lost or substantially changed in the process. It is to the economic advantage of the dominant federal polity to support and interact with a limited number of recognized tribal entities. This does not mean that other Native peoples do not exist.

More holistic studies on the remnant Southeast groups and encapsulated groups who seek separate recognition could be analyzed in greater detail by choosing to return to a theoretical perspective that includes the power/symbol dialectic. There must be some mechanisms at work within these small communities that maintain and reinforce identity even under local and federal oppression. For some Native groups, traditional ritual and social venues that tend to maintain identity have been lost. Political actions, whether formalized or not, may be a method these people use to retain their own identity and community cohesion. The search for such political involvement requires extensive research and many methodologies. If followed, a better understanding can occur concerning these groups perceived as politically powerless.

Added Insights to Action Theory:

In some small measure this Yuchi study has added to the original concepts of Action Theory. It has shown that the theory is particularly useful for investigating

political relations that are more than a dialectic between two polities. No matter the multiple levels of interaction, Action Theory can and does supply a sound theoretical base from which to begin. The use of this theoretical perspective allows room for analyzing several levels of political action within multiple political scenes.

Leadership is one area that the Yuchi study expands in relation to Action Theory. Cohen (1974:80) states that leadership is a group activity and must be studied in the context of solving an organization's problems. Cohen notes that as organizations change over time various leadership types may be necessary at different junctures. Founding leaders may be needed early in the life of the organization and later a leader-indoctrinator may be more useful to solve problems. What Cohen and others seem to lack is the concept that different but concurrent leadership types may be necessary for the organizations to survive. This phenomenon may well be the product of a technologically sophisticated age that does not allow one individual to obtain all the skills simultaneously necessary for interest group leadership in the late twentieth century. Transactional leadership can require long years of learning the intricacies of current political and economic scenes. These people cannot also hold the position of moral leadership that requires a life-long commitment to ritual venues.

Bailey (Bailey 1969) argues that interest group leadership is a give-and-take between leaders and their followers with the leaders increasing their power through time. According to Bailey as leaders obtain more personal resources through their work, they can offer more incentives for others to follow them. Eventually, leaders develop a power base that can become coercive by withdrawing resources from those who do not follow

their lead. In the Yuchi example, the leaders must always place the majority of those acquired resources into the hands of the community, not their own pockets. If they do not follow this community mandate (based on the cultural norm of reciprocity) the leaders and the interest group organizations lose community backing.

Second, Bailey makes a clear demarcation between transactional leaders and moral leaders. The Yuchi have found that both must be involved in the workings of interest group but the lines of demarcation blur between these two types. Through various episodic encounters, the interest group organizations have learned that transactional leaders who interact within the larger political field must be those who hold close ties to and who participate in the ritual venues of community life. In this way, the community is more assured that the organization will uphold the norm of reciprocity. Likewise, the community finds that moral or ritual leaders are a necessary part of interest group efforts. They are the guardians of community values and as such are ever vigilant concerning the actions of transactional leaders. By inclusion within interest groups, moral leaders keep the political interests of the community on track. If these ritual leaders refuse involvement based on the interest group's action, the organization loses its validation in the eyes of the community and its efforts are no longer viewed as important to the community at large.

Differences in leadership may be explained by the extreme fragility of Yuchi interest group organizations. There is little or no chance for Yuchi interest group leaders to gain control of resources that would out-match the political and economic power of Creek Nation. Where larger polities do not allow interest group recognition, the interest

group must exercise other methods to open political doors that could eventually bring economic and political power directly into the community while not jeopardizing the current flow of resources based on their encapsulated status.

In Sum:

The Yuchi community continues to maintain that it is a separate and unique Native American group that the U.S. government forced into encapsulation within the Creek polity. Its members identify themselves as Yuchi, not Creek Indians. This presents a dilemma for much of the scholarly literature that assumes all Creek people, no matter their origin and past affiliation, have become one social unit known as Creek.

Following WWII, the Yuchi community became more mobile and dispersed. Daily interaction between members became less frequent. Beginning in the late 1940s, the Yuchi created a series of interest group organizations that brought together leaders with explicit views on creating and recreating the concept of "being Yuchi." These organizations furnished occasions for the larger community to come together for discussions on various issues centering around native history and the reconstruction of identity. These gatherings never included the entire community, but those present disseminated the information into the community through personal networking that reinforced a common Yuchi identity.

Action Theory provided an analytical framework and useful terminology for analysis. It supplied theoretical concepts to analyze the actions and processes of informal interest groups that are politically encapsulated within a larger Native American

polity that in turn is dominated by the U.S. federal government. Action theory contributed a concise methodology to study and analyze informal organizations within complex state societies offering a dialectic between two variables, power and symbolic action.

The answer to studying informal group action lies in key performances or social dramas such as the April, 1997 focus group. In such gatherings, the interaction between power (economic and political) and symbolism (community kinship and ritual) becomes evident. Within the power/symbol dialectic, Yuchi interest group organizations become central actors exhibiting power and symbolic action that assist in maintaining community cohesiveness and distinct identity in the twentieth century. In the end, these interest group organizations become themselves symbols of Yuchi identity.

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¹ (WH-MF 42-7 Vol 3:507-08 Indian Claims Commission --Yuchi Claim Decisions: 506-525). In their denial of the Yuchi petition the Indian Claims Commission state: "By their incorporation into the Creek Nation they became know as a Lower Creek town . . . (known by the U.S. government as such) . . . In other words, they became a constituent part of the Creek Nation, and became for all intents and purposes Creek Indians losing the independence which they formerly enjoyed . . .

² I do not want to mislead the reader. The Yuchi reside in three central locations even today. However, the ceremonial grounds "have a history of alternating periods of activity with periods of inactivity" (Jackson 1995). Both the Duck Creek and Sand Creek grounds have been "down" for a time but were never allowed to completely lapse and "brought back up" at a later time.

³ For Creek and Yuchi people their ceremonial season begins in early spring with a series of ball games and culminates in the Green Corn or Busk during the summer months. Each of the three Yuchi ceremonial grounds holds its own Green Corn ceremony. According to Pamela Innes' work with Creek ground interaction, the Creek do coordinate their timing of ceremonies but not inclusive of the Yuchi. For detailed analysis see Innes forthcoming dissertation 1997 from the University of Oklahoma. Also see Innes 1995a.

⁴ I have spoken with a number of elders in the community who verified that their parents and grandparents followed this pattern of ceremonial participation between Yuchi grounds.

⁵ For discussion in interaction see Innes 1997. Yuchi do interact with some Creek grounds but not in planning of Green Corn dates. The participation is among a few people from the Yuchi grounds who represent the three Yuchi ceremonial centers at Creek dances. Reciprocal ties are maintained by a core so that Creek grounds participate in Yuchi Green Corn dances.

⁶ A number of older Yuchi people have told me that the grounds ceremonies were a month long in duration for their parents and grandparents. In 1992 Kyaw-gaw, the speaker of Duck Creek ceremonial grounds first explained the change. He said that for his parent, Albert Big Mosquito and Polly Brown attended Green Corn as a month long celebration. He explained that he had seen a shift in his life-time to week-long ceremonies and later shortened to a series of week-end encounters.

⁷ (See WH MF 1201 Roll 406, 409, 408, 410, 411) As late as the 1906 when hearings were held to add newborns to the allotment roles, Yuchi interpreters were needed for testimony. Several witnesses testified to understanding or speaking some English. An interview with Yah-nee (1/11/96) revealed that at the turn of the century her parents spoke only Yuchi and did not understand English "All they talk is Yuchi." Yon-shen, age 77 (12/14/95) was raised by his grandparent who only spoke Yuchi. Yon-shen did not learn English until he began school. Other interviews with older Yuchi

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people confirm that the Yuchi language was spoken primarily at home when these people were young (i.e. 1910-1930).

⁸ (See Wallace 1993:15; also, AP). One store was owned by S. W. Brown, Sr. near the Wealaka Mission in the Duck Creek (Snake Creek) area. Brown was a Yuchi who acted as an interpreter for the Yuchi people. His store ledgers currently are archived at the Oklahoma Historical Society and record numerous purchases by Yuchi people. In his diary, Jesse Allan discussed his uncle William F. Brown's store that was established on Brown Creek following the Civil War. He states, "Eucheas and Creeks for miles around traded with Brown because his clerks could speak the languages."

⁹ A number of Yuchi attended various boarding schools, Wealaka, Euchee Mission, Chilocco, and others. The enrollment for these schools included Indian children from various tribes i.e. Chilocco 1910-1968 the children enrolled include, Creek, Euchee, Sac & Fox, Cherokee, Shawnee, Seminole, and others (see OHS computerized list of Chillico students). The 1911 Euchee school enrollment notes all students as Creek, but many were Yuchi children as well as Creek. By 1947 Euchee Mission included Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Seminole children (FCT, Box 1, Folder 2 "Annual Report 1947 Euchee School). Euchee Mission and Wealaka records reflect that most teachers were mainly Euroamerican during the first years (for Euchee Mission see FCT, Boxes 1, 2 and 3 "Instructors and non teaching personnel -- for Wealaka see PCGA General Assembly Minutes 1882 and Minutes of Women's Executive Committee 1887:113).

¹⁰ Yon-shen (1/16/96) while visiting the site of the old Euchee Mission, discussed the severe punishments received by Yuchi children who spoke their own language at school. The students had to speak English at all times, even when in personal conversations with other children. Numerous other people relate the same story of punishments for speaking in the Yuchi language. In various meetings I have attended over the years when language loss is discussed by the Yuchi, boarding schools are given primary blame.

¹¹ Interview with Aw-bay 11/13/96 discussing the reasons he and his siblings did not learn the Yuchi language. Aw-bay felt this was a decision made by his parents for his own welfare and that of his siblings.

¹² This information comes from a meeting of the Euchee (Yuchi) Tribe of Indians on November 13, 1996. The members present were identifying speakers for an ANA Language Grant Project.

¹³ This information comes from various interviews such as Yon-shen 12/13/95; Go-thla-nee 11/8/95; Shaw-aw-nee 1/24/96; Seyn 5/9/96; Boshe-gaw-ne 9/20/96; Naw-wahn 11/5/96; and others. The items most of purchased with oil money were: an automobile or truck, household goods, home repairs or remodeling, and entertainment.

¹⁴ This information comes from a number of interviews conducted over the past five years among members of the Yuchi community.

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¹⁵ The roll of both grounds and church is discussed in Chapter 2.

¹⁶ Interview with Shaw-aw-nee (1/24/96) who notes that older men and the young men of Duck Creek were able with assistance from the Polecat ground to keep the ceremonies going, but with some difficulty. According to Aw-gah (10/24/96), "WWII was a disaster for the Indians . . . too many people gone, hard on ceremonial grounds . . . they couldn't get the men to do the dancin and go through all that, the ceremonies."

¹⁷ Interview with Aw-bay 11/13/96.

¹⁸ From fieldwork, I have noted the following post-graduate degrees: CPA, *juris doctor* from Harvard Law School, several Master degrees or work towards that end, and a Ph.D.

¹⁹ Through interviews, it was determined that prior to WWII most Yuchi people farmed their own land supplemented, if needed, with hiring themselves out to larger farmers during the harvest season.

²⁰ WH and LLOU NAMF Reports and findings of the Indian Claims Commission. The ICC decision on the Yuchi petition appears under Docket 172, the transcript of the case before the commission appears under Docket 21, The Creek Nation with notation of Docket 172.

²¹ Most of this documentation was received from Yon-shen of the Yuchi tribe. Yo-shen shared the minutes of community meetings and provided an oral history of that era.

²² This information comes from oral histories concerning the reasons for filing the petition and from my own fieldwork during this era.

²³ (See Easton 1965). Actually the term parapolitical Bailey borrowed from Easton who Bailey claims "hung himself on a hook" by insisting that only supreme authority is political. None the less, Easton provided a term that Bailey expanded and made useful for encapsulated polities.

²⁴ The Short Grass is a pseudo-ethnonym to protect the people Baroe studied.

²⁵ This estimate is a conservative figure that would include those who have some Yuchi ancestry but who are not involved in the community today. It is possible that this figures could exceed this estimate.

²⁶ This estimate is based on Polecat and Duck Creek Green ceremonies where I have observed interaction for six years.

²⁷ I want to thank my colleague, Jason Jackson who also works in the Yuchi community, for providing me with the tool of ethnopoetics. After expressing my problem with the written texts of exceptional Yuchi orators, he pointed out Tedlock's article. The method does assist in overcoming the problem and potential bias for the reader, but even so the written text is seldom as powerful as the spoken. The symbols used by Tedlock are: dividing words into lines according to alternation of sound and silences, the pauses between lines average three-quarters of a second with two dots

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indicating two-second pause; a hyphen (-) is used to indicate tense moment in the narration; capital letters indicate a loud voice; and italics to indicate precise enunciation.

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Identity Today: "I am not Creek, I am Yuchi."

¹ I often hear this statement voiced in the community today. It is a rare occasion if this is not spoken in a dialogue pertaining to Creeks or the Creek Nation. From my first encounter in the community, I have heard this phrase repeated when speaking to individuals and when involved in various group encounters.

² Interview with Yon-shen 12/14/95. Yon-shen was raised by his grandmother, Takonne, who was his mother's step-mother. She did not speak English, only Yuchi. She did not want Yon-shen to go to school for fear of forgetting the Yuchi ways she had taught him. (See Appendix Table 1.a for symbols of discourse).

³ Interview with Dah-bah 12/5/96. Dah-bah is fifty-four and is active in all three tribal grounds, an officer in two interest group organizations, a tireless worker for the Yuchi tribe, and the daughter of a past chief of Polecat grounds. She is highly respected in the community as a traditional Yuchi woman who is striving, as her father did, to preserve the Yuchi culture and who hopes to see her people recognized by the federal government one day.

⁴ Interview with Jah-t'yah 10/31/96. Jah-t'yah is seventy-two years old and is retired living in the Tulsa area. He is a fluent speaker of the Yuchi language that he learned from his mother as a child. He spends many hours with the language classes hoping to pass on his knowledge.

⁵ Interview with Aw-bay 11/13/96. Aw-bay is fifty-five years old, is a college graduate, and lives in Tulsa. He is the past chairman of Y.T.O. and the current chairman of E.T.I. Aw-bay spent much of his adult life working in Indian communities both in Oklahoma and elsewhere. At the present most of his energy and expertise, he is using to assist his own people.

⁶ Interview with Dah-bah 12/5/96.

⁷ Interview with Aw-bay 11/13/96.

⁸ Interview with Boshe-gaw-ne 9/20/96. Boshe-gaw-ne is a forty-five year old firefighters in the Tulsa area. He is attempting to pass on the Yuchi heritage to his young daughter, Boshe-nee. Since Boshe-nee does not have the large Yuchi family that Boshe-gaw-ne knew as a child, Boshe-gaw-ne, his wife and daughter have become involved in such community activities at Pickett Chapel, language classes, and volunteering at the Euchee Tribe of Indians office.

⁹ Conversation taped at Euchee (Yuchi) Tribe of Indians meeting in Sapulpa, Oklahoma January 22, 1997.

¹⁰ This meeting took place January 24, 1994 at the Security Bank Building in Sapulpa, Oklahoma.

¹¹ My introduction into the community was at the request of an interest group organization seeking to make genealogical links to census tracts. In 1992, the community asked me to conduct a genealogical workshop to assist them in tracing their ancestors. I took numerous handouts and spoke to a group of fifty or so people. What I learn, is what all new scholars quickly realize, how little we know. The community was

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very cognizant of its own ancestry. I learned more from them than they learned from me. The genealogical effort continues on my part supplying the community with census tracts, court documents, etc. that relate to their genealogical study. I have attended various genealogical meetings, visited with individuals to trace their genealogy, and visited cemeteries to make linkages. But it is the work of the community members that keeps this effort on going. The money to do more in-depth research was not forthcoming until Morris Foster of the University of Oklahoma received an NIH grant that allow direct collection of genealogical data from community interview.

¹² The Yuchi Chapter of the Native American Church also exists and is used among a few Yuchi people. Never large in number, the Yuchi involvement today has dwindled to the participation of only a few individuals mainly from one Yuchi family. However, there is a distinction here, the Yuchi are the only Southeastern tribal group to adopt the Native American Church and "points to Yuchi affinities with the Northeastern groups which are now their neighbors in Oklahoma" (see Jackson 1996a, note 3). One consultant recently offered another explanation for its introduction into the Yuchi community. The consultant noted that shortly after he was born around 1920, his mother left him in the care of his grandmother and went into Cheyenne country. Upon her return, she brought back the practice of the Native American Church. She held peyote meetings at her home. "I use to go there with my mother when I was small, grandma use to say that's not one of our ways . . . The old folks say that (Native American Church) didn't really belong to the Yuchis." Peyote as a medicinal remedy has been discussed by a few consultants in the past years. However, this particular religious practice is not instrumental in forming a Yuchi identity whereas the the stomp grounds and the churches are an index of their internal identity.

¹³ Information from Jason Jackson, April 12, 1996. The thirteen Creek towns exclusive of the three Yuchi are: Okfuskee, Fish Pond, Green Leaf, Alabama, New Tulsa, Nuyaka, Hickory, Muddy Waters, Arbika, Peach, Hillabi, Tallahassee (2- grounds, the original split last year). Robbins (1976) makes an interesting point that the Yuchi are the only Lower Creek town to maintain their ceremonial grounds, all others are what was once known as Upper Creek ceremonial grounds.

¹⁴ No census or tribal roll exists today to give the actual number of Yuchi people. The low number of 1,300 is taken from the 1947 tribal roll and the highest number of 3,000 is a fairly consistent community's consensus of the current day population without an actual tribal roll in existence.

¹⁵ At the death of Sen-chilah, the chief of Polecat, a non-Yuchi friend gave a eulogy that presented the characteristics of these leaders. On June 6, 1996 he said:

A traditional Chief leads through example. It is better to show people what to do than to tell them.

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A traditional Chief is quiet. His job is complex and requires contemplation. Listening more than talking leads to understanding.

A traditional Chief is calm and patient. We know that leaders are pulled in many directions and that controversy will come looking for them. The patient Chief remains steadfast and trouble always resolves itself in time.

A traditional Chief looks after the well being of his community by avoiding conflict.

A Euchee Chief knows that he must be a student of the customs and beliefs of his people. The people expect him to know and this means he has to have always been curious, interested and respectful of what the Older people knew, believed and did.

A Euchee Chief is also a teacher. He knows that passing on those things which matter most will insure the future of his people.

A Chief who has succeeded on these accounts is respected by his people, but isn't vain or boastful. He carries himself with modesty and dignity.

Family members, tribal members, and those outside the community felt this eulogy indeed captured the essence of Yuchi chiefs.

¹⁶ Much of the following discussion comes from my own field observations at the ceremonial grounds from 1992 to 1996. The summer ceremonials begin with a series of football games and stomp dances that precede the actual Green Corn ceremonies. The weekend before Green Corn is spent preparing the ceremonial center whereupon a meal and Arbor Dance are performed. That next week campers begin cleaning the family camps. A dance is held Friday night. On Saturday the men perform various rituals on the square while the women prepare the meals intended to feed not only their own campers but many visitors as well. Special dances (Ribbon, Buffalo, Lizard) are held followed by an all night stomp dance. The Soup Dance or closing ceremony follows later, the date depending on the ground. Since the Yuchi community holds Green Corn ceremonies at three grounds, this is a time of nearly continuous interaction through the summer months.

¹⁷ A few of the comments: *Our Yuchi women are really tough. The women win as often as the men. The men don't just let the women win. There are no holds bared in this game, anything goes. Yuchi women are strong.*

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¹⁸ Today, Yuchi women and girls perform the Ribbon Dance each year at all three grounds. The women wear special dresses and long ribbons attached at their head that cascade down their backs. The dance takes place on the square ground while men in the arbors sing.

¹⁹ We-u-ga-na, speaker of Duck Creek ground 6/28/97.

²⁰ The Lizard Dance is based on a Yuchi myth concerning a large lizard that was killed with medicine made by a Yuchi medicine man. According to one of the Yuchi leaders this reenactment of the story by the annual dance reinforces the concept of the power of Yuchi medicine (see Jackson 1996b:56-79).

²¹ Although family members may dance in close proximity, community rules bind those families to the larger membership. For instance, when shaking shells, those who wear turtle shells may at times be placed ahead of the dancers who wear cans. Since both types often exist within families these women will be separated. In the Ribbon Dance, the order of females in the circle varies according to the number of years one has shaken shells, this naturally separates most family members. I have asked directly about the dances on the grounds. The most common response is that one is dancing with ones people, meaning the larger Yuchi community. One of the speakers once said to me *This is how I worship my Creator. I dance with the Yuchi people all night around the sacred fire*. No longer are families segregated by camps but dance as a community in a communal form of worship.

²² This information was recorded at two focus group meetings for the NIH grant on 3/29/96 and 4/29/96. The Creek influence at Duck Ground occurred because a past chief married into a Creek family and therefore more Creek influences began to emerge there.

²³ The Yuchi people refer to themselves as *Tsoyaha* or children of the sun. This related back to their origin myth (see Speck 1909:143).

²⁴ Unlike the grounds, I have been only marginally involved with the actual activities of the two churches. I have attended funerals and a remembrance service for the victims of the Oklahoma City bombing. However, I have interviewed a number of church people concerning the past and present practices of these institutions.

²⁵ This information came from two interviews with Go-thla-nee on 6/27/94 and 1/18/95. Go-thla-nee has been a church member most of his life. His father, who lived to be over 100, was one of the first Yuchi ministers at Pickett Chapel.

²⁶ Schultz (1995) discusses a Seminole Baptist church that clearly shows a native church community that teaches traditional lifestyles. Bell (1984:17) states "I soon discovered that Creek churches were as traditional as stomp grounds; therefore I expanded my focus of Creek ritual to include Creek church services."

²⁷ This information comes from Shay-ah who has been married to Go-thla-nee for nearly fifty years. She and her husband regularly attended Pickett Chapel during their years together.

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²⁸ According to Yon-shen in an interview in December of 1995, the banner was originally made to take to Indian-Methodist church-wide conferences. He explained the wording on the banner as follows: "When a farmer plants a field, he doesn't look back to see how his row is made, you know. And that's the way they had it, they say. When you go to church, why don't ever look back to see what you've done, you always want to look forward to see what you can do. So that's why they made that banner that way."

²⁹ According to Yon-shen, interview 6/29/74 the church services began to change to English in the later part of the 1950s. This may well have been the influence of the larger Methodist Church that began appointing ministers, few of whom were Yuchi. The old method was for the congregation to select its own. In most cases these were Yuchi men. By the 1990s, there are so few Yuchi speakers that the pastor of Mutteloke noted the congregation prefers to use English.

³⁰ Interview with Go-thla-nee 1/18/95.

³¹ Interview with Go-thla-nee 1/18/95. "They have practically the same thing now, only thing is they don't spend the night on Friday and Saturday night. They just come in on one day and do it all in one day."

³² There are a number of individuals who participate on a regular basis in other denominations such as Creek Baptist, Church of Christ, and Southern Baptist. Many of these people do participate fully in the ceremonial grounds. I would argue that the differentiation is between being a member of a Yuchi centered church and one that is not. If one is a member of a Yuchi church, they rarely will participate fully in the grounds, however, if they are members of some other non-Yuchi center churches they may well be active members in the grounds.

³³ A marked change from this pattern occurred in June 1996 at the funeral of Sen-chilah, the chief of Polecat ground. At Chief Sen-chilah's request, the family planned a funeral that was more in line with traditional Yuchi funerals. Re-reading my notes of that day, I wrote at the top of the page "He taught in death as he taught in life." According to Chief Sen-chilah's family, he hoped other Yuchi people would choose this form of burial and not have to rely on the churches so much for assistance.

³⁴ Euchee Tribe of Indians meeting 1/22/97.

³⁵ This is a common explanation among the Yuchi for this speech variance. From the scholars point of view this difference was confirmed verbally in a December 1996 meeting with Mary Linn, a graduate student in linguistics from the University of Kansas and who has been working on the language for several years.

³⁶ From E.U.C.H.E.E. booklet created for language class 1995.

³⁷ Kaw-thlo has worked unceasingly for several year on the language project, particularly teaching young children to speak the language. Kaw-thlo is a tutor in the public school system at Sapulpa working with ease and dedication among various age children.

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³⁸ Shu, Ph.D. is a Yuchi who has dedicated the last several years to learning and teaching the Yuchi language. In 1996, he attended an extensive seminar in the use of CD-Rom for the preservation of Indian languages. He is currently working on the first of these computer disks that incorporated visual images and the actual voices of fluent speakers.

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Indian Claims Commission: "This is Yuchi Land, not Creek."

¹ This statement is a paraphrase of the petition, hearing, and many briefs filed by the Yuchi during the 1950s for land claims in Georgia. Their lawyer Lewis Dabney in a hearing on April 13, 14, 1954 states: "The Yuchis held their land independently of the Creek Confederacy." (See LLOU Indian Claims Commission microfiche "Expert Testimony, S.W. Brown." Creek Nation Docket 21, cards 5-7: 442).

² This information came from interviews with several Yuchi people who lived in the community pre-WWII. They include: Yah-nee, Zen-see-see, Shaw-aw-nee, Naw-wahn, We-u-ga-na, Bo-dah-senh, and Yon-shen.

³ Interview with Go-thla-nee 11/8/95.

⁴ As pointed out by colleague Jason Jackson after reviewing this chapter in early 1997, "certain jobs got colonized by Yuchi people, often men. One person would get the job and then others were led in."

⁵ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Legislative History of the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946." Card 1 of 12.

⁶ (See <http://catalog.upapubs.com:70/0/upa/317>). "Records of the U.S. Indian Claims Commission." University Publications of America.

⁷ (See Rosenthal 1990:266-7). The awards include some cases that were combined and only twenty appear not to have been resolved by 1978.

⁸ NAFTA Series 327 Box 23 F "Creek Dkt 21 - Miscellaneous Correspondence and Newspaper Clippings." Clipping reportedly for *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* September 12, 1967 "Congress Due Creek Claim of \$4 Million."

⁹ Two towns recognized under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act filed petitions. They were Kialegee and Thlophlocco.

¹⁰ These briefs as discussed at length in the following section see LLOU ICC Microfiche.

¹¹ See Bailey 1968:283-84 and 1969:6. Bailey explains that political confrontation is a process much like a game with explicit rules known, understood and followed by the players. Pragmatic rules are not concerned with political actions being just or unjust but how to play the game (i.e. how to cheat and win without being disqualified).

¹² LLOU ICC Microfiche "Briefs, Yuchi Tribe" Card 1 of 4.

¹³ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Briefs, Yuchi Tribe" Card 1 of 4.

¹⁴ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Expert Testimony --S.W. Brown, Creek Nation. Cards 5-7. This document was difficult to locate. It was not filed under docket 172 (Yuchi) but under docket 21 of the Creek Nation.

¹⁵ The actual publication information is not noted in the ICC transcript.

¹⁶ Tribes filing claims tended to use "expert testimony" to substantiate their claims. These experts were often historians and anthropologists inclusive of such people as Swanton and Fried. Had the Yuchi used such expert testimony, if available, they would have strengthened their case. Instead they used one of the organizers of the interest

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Indian Claims Commission: "This is Yuchi Land, not Creek."

group who had difficulty articulating to the Commission the Yuchi's understanding of involvement in the Creek polity and their own separate identity.

¹⁷ Oral tradition remains the most common form of passing on cultural heritage in the Yuchi community. It has not been until very recently that the community is making an effort to collect oral histories on tape, and planning projects to write their own history.

¹⁸ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Expert Testimony -- S.W. Brown." Creek Nation. Cards 5-7 page 519.

¹⁹ In a personal communication with ethnographer, Jason Jackson, the Yuchi songs and dances are indeed unique and differ from all other Creek ceremonials that tend to be more homogeneous.

²⁰ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Expert Testimony -- S.W. Brown." Creek Nation. Cards 5-7 page 525.

²¹ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi Tribe -- Briefs" Card 1 of 4. Brief is dated July 1, 1954.

²² LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi Tribe -- Briefs" Card 1 of 4. Brief is dated November 1, 1954.

²³ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi Tribe -- Briefs" Card 1 of 4. Brief is dated November 1, 1954, pages: 1, 3, 7, 9, 11.

²⁴ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi Tribe -- Briefs" Card 1 of 4. Brief is dated November 1, 1954, page: 56

²⁵ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi Tribe -- Briefs" Card 1 of 4. Brief is dated November 1, 1954, page: 47.

²⁶ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi Tribe -- Briefs" Card 1 of 4. Brief is dated November 1, 1954, page: 119.

²⁷ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi Tribe -- Briefs" Card 1 of 4. Brief is dated November 1, 1954, pages: 124.

²⁸ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi (Euchee) Tribe -- Briefs" Card 1 of . Brief is dated December 23, 1954, page 41.

²⁹ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi Tribe -- Briefs" Card 3 of 4. Brief is dated March 1, 1955, page 124. By this time the Creek Nation East was to share in the funds received by the the Creek Nation of Oklahoma.

³⁰ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi Tribe -- Briefs" Card 2 of 4. Brief is dated March 1, 1955.

³¹ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi Tribe -- Briefs" Card 2 of 4. Brief is dated March 1, 1955, page: 79-80. This is in regard to the Yuchi problems with attorney explained later in this chapter. At one time, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs considered assigning Niebell as one of the Yuchi lawyers. Since Niebell represented both the Creek Nation of Oklahoma and the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi, the Yuchi considered this a direct conflict of interest.

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- ³² WH - ICC Microfiche 42 7 "Decisions" Docket 172 page 506-525. Dated May 16, 1955.
- ³³ WH - ICC Microfiche 42 7 "Decisions" Docket 172 page 506-525. Dated May 16, 1955, page 508.
- ³⁴ WH - ICC Microfiche 42 7 "Decisions" Docket 172 page 506-525. Dated May 16, 1955, page 518.
- ³⁵ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi (Euchee) Tribe -- Briefs." Card 1 and 2 of 6. Filed December 21, 1955, page 63.
- ³⁶ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi (Euchee) Tribe -- Briefs." Card 1 and 4,5 of 6. Creek Nation filing dated February 9, 1956 and Creek Nation East on March 5, 1956.
- ³⁷ LLOU ICC Microfiche "Yuchi (Euchee) Tribe -- Briefs." Card 6 of 6, page 25.
- ³⁸ This will be discussed more fully in Chapter five.
- ³⁹ This information can be found in the original Petition for Acknowledgment in the appendix item titled "In the United States Court of Claims Appeal Docket No. 5-55, pages 7-9. The text is the same as the decision rendered by Justice Littleton in the above footnote.
- ⁴⁰ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims."
- ⁴¹ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs from W. N. Maben, dated October 10, 1948.
- ⁴² NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to Hon. W. O. Roberts, Commissioner of Indian Affairs (this is an error, Roberts was the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes) from W. N. Maben, dated October 27, 1948.
- ⁴³ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to W. O. Roberts from Zeb Lowe dated January 25, 1949.
- ⁴⁴ See Cohen's (1974:75-7) discussion of the necessary communication channels for an interest groups to function and dispense information to and from the community.
- ⁴⁵ See Bailey's (1969:5) discussion of normative rules as a general guide to conduct that can be used publicly to determine whether a course of action is right or wrong.
- ⁴⁶ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to Hon. Roly Canard from W. O. Roberts dated March 13, 1950.
- ⁴⁷ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to W. O. Roberts from Roly Canard dated March 13, 1950.
- ⁴⁸ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to W. O. Roberts from S. W. Brown dated March 23, 1950.
- ⁴⁹ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letters to S.W. Brown dated February 8, 1951 and to D. S. Myer dated April 1, 1951. Myer's control of Indian attorneys left many tribes without council for extended

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periods. During this same time, Brown became very ill and spent time with his daughter in Texas.

⁵⁰ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to the BIA from W. O. Roberts dated May 1, 1950; Also, signatures of Yuchi Committee from the legal contract show changes. Those who signed were: Willie Tiger, Legus Brown, John James, Jacob Rowland, Jesse P. James, Fred Skeeter and S. W. Brown.

⁵¹ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to W. E. Green from Jesse P. James, Tribal Secretary dated June 11, 1952.

⁵² See Bailey's (1969:6) discussion of pragmatic rules that "fill the spaces" left by normative rules and concern successful tactics and maneuvers. Pragmatic rules concern the effectiveness of the conduct not whether that conduct was morally right or wrong.

⁵³ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Resolution dated October 7, 1952 signed by S. W. Brown, Chief; J. P. James, Secretary; Willie Tiger, Council Member; Odie Tiger, Council Member; Jacob Rolland, Council Member; Legus Brown, Town King; Fred Skeeter (no signature above name), Council Member; Waxin Tiger, Treasurer.

⁵⁴ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to BIA from W. E. Green dated October 30, 1952.

⁵⁵ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to W. Barton Greenwood from W. O. Roberts June 18, 1953 and letter to William Roberts from Commission of Indian Affairs dated December 2, 1953..

⁵⁶ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to Area Director Muskogee Area from J. T. Smith dated January 3, 1956 (1957) and Yuchi resolution dated December 1, 1956 signed by James P. James, Secretary; Willie Tiger, Council Member; S. W. Brown, Chief; Legus Brown, Town King; N. P. Maxey, Council Member; Wilson Clark, Council Member.

⁵⁷ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson from Lean V. Langan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated July 9, 1958.

⁵⁸ See Cohen's (1974:80) discussion of leadership by individuals who can mobilize symbols. For the Yuchi it is the ritual leaderships that holds that particular ability while interest group leaders move towards solution of the various problems being addressed.

⁵⁹ NAFW Five Civilized Tribes Collection Series 327 Box 20, Folder F "Creek Council Miscellaneous Correspondence 1935-1953." This collection includes minutes of Creek Council meetings with a listing of the representatives present.

⁶⁰ The Wheeler Howard Act is another name for the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (Public No. 383--73d Congress Senate Bill 3645). Opler 1972 Appendix A outlines this act.

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⁶¹ CA - Elmer Thomas Collection, Subject Series A, Box 9, Folder 77, pages 79-80.

⁶² See Mach's (1993:9) discussion that all identity is contextual and it is necessary to know for whom or in opposition to whom is identity being constructed. The Yuchi were attempting to establish an identity that would be recognized as valid by the Euroamerican polity and not one that corresponded with the intra-community's self-identity.

⁶³ This manipulation of symbols is problematic within the Yuchi society today. There is considerable confusion over "Chief" Brown and his role. Leaders of both E.T.I. and E.U.C.H.E.E. feel that the title of Principal or Hereditary Chief that Brown assumed was a "self-appointed" title with no real meaning.

⁶⁴ Interview with Yon-shen 2/13/97. (Slightly edited for understanding).

⁶⁵ Interview with Se-nee and Yaw-bos-se 2/13/97.

⁶⁶ Community Meeting November 4, 1994.

⁶⁷ Genealogy Meeting 1/29/94; Interview with Yon-shen 6/29/94; and Community Meeting 11/5/94.

⁶⁸ These sales can be in the form of single member efforts or joint efforts. The sales are common including such things as Indian Tacos, Garage Sales, and the like. Recently an individual was selling home made fried pies to assist Yuchi youth in attending Disney on Ice in Tulsa.

⁶⁹ This roll was provided by the Yuchi community in two forms. One typed and submitted with their BIA petition for acknowledgment in 1990 and one that is the original typed record maintained by Legus Brown until October 1, 1957. Both were used for the analysis.

⁷⁰ The 1898 Creek Census Cards were the original field records for the Dawes Commission (see Wallace 1993). The Yuchi were designated by their tribal town affiliation (Euchee Town). The definitive roll begun with the 1898 Cards and completed in 1907 was the Final Roll of Citizens and Freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory (a.k.a. as the Dawes Roll) was the final roll of all Creek Citizens used to allot tribal lands (National Archives 1907).

⁷¹ Creek population from Wright 1951:129 and the Yuchi from Wallace 1993.

⁷² Creek population from Wright 1951:129 and the Yuchi from the 1957 Tribal Roll discussed here..

⁷³ Population Growth Rate was calculated between 1898 and 1957 using the following formula:

$$P_{T2} = P_{T1} e^{rt} \text{ (Pollard 1990:21)}$$

P_{T2} = end population

P_{T1} = beginning population

e = logarithm to base e (2.718)

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r = rate of increase

n = number of years between enumerations

⁷⁴ This information was not noted on the roll, but from the Dawes records, genealogies and personal knowledge I was able to identify all but nine persons by sex.

⁷⁵ These genealogies were collected between 1992 and 1997 from thirty-four Yuchi persons. The surname Brown increased by 280+ percent nearly tripling the occurrence of that name from 1898. On the 1957 roll, the Browns are among the few listed with either specific age or birth date. The availability of age data provides direct linkage of Brown individuals and families from the 1898 to the 1957 enumeration. Analysis of current genealogical information provides an additional reason for the increase in this name. The family of Conpethloney later changed their name to Brown. Further genealogical analysis indicates the name Brown entered the community through two instances of intermarriage with white Browns.

⁷⁶ The surname Tiger increases by over 330 percent during this time, partially due to the changes between 1898 and the Dawes Roll (See Appendix Table 3.a). Names on the 1898 that become Tiger include: Bow family of five, two surname George changed by marriage to Tiger, the entire Jack family becomes Tiger (on 1898 listed as Tiger Jack family), and the surname Aney becomes Tiger. The reasoning behind these changes varies. Such reasons include marriage in one case and the reversal of first and last name in another, with other shifts providing no indication of the reason for change. One causal factor for the extremely high percentage of increase for Tigers includes surname changes within the Yuchi community between 1898 and 1907.

The linkage between 1898 and 1957 community becomes stronger with an analysis of similar name frequencies known to change between 1898 and the Dawes Roll with many remaining as enumerated surnames in 1957 (see Appendix Table 3b). The frequency of some of these surnames in 1957 is greater than those already noted in Appendix Table 3.a. These names changed from 1898 to Dawes continue to appear in 1957 providing some additional linkages noting a contiguous population for the Yuchi community in the first half of the twentieth century.

⁷⁷ From the comparison between the 1898 and Dawes record we know that the name Painkiller in 1898 later became Watashe/Watoshe for the Dawes census. Wo-to-che Painkiller was the Yuchi name for the head of a large household near Kellyville in 1898. The family bore the surname Painkiller in 1898. By the Dawes final roll, the name changed to a single name Wa-ta-she for the head of household with the remaining members bearing the surname Wa-ta-she. According to genealogical information and the Dawes census, Wa-ta-she had five sons who bore that last name and two daughters. The next generation continued with large families and by 1957 the original six members had increased to between forty and fifty accounting for the dramatic increase.

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⁷⁸ The disappearance of the surname Washington may be accounted for by the fact that the only offspring for one family of Washingtons listed on 1898 were two daughter and no sons. More than likely, if married these daughters would not retain their surname. The only other enumerated Washingtons changed their surname to Sharp, a name that appears on the 1957 roll. As for the disappearance of the surname Jack, the name changing to Tiger for the Dawes census. A similar name change occurred also for the surname Jackson. In 1898 the head of household was enumerated as Techaran Jackson, by the Dawes completion the name had been reversed to Jackson Techaran

⁷⁹ The genealogies collected do not include the entire Yuchi community. It is representative of the most active members of the three ceremonial grounds, but only partially representative of the church community. Until the community completes a new tribal roll, this information provides at least a base-line for analysis.

⁸⁰ The 6.3 percent other intermarriages include: Apache, Caddo, Comanche, Kickapoo, Mexican, Osage, Pawnee, and Pottowatamie all at 1 percent or less.

⁸¹ Out of 113 surnames 57 did not appear on the 1957. These names such as Aten, McNac, Madewell, Nutt, Seber, Wheeler, Wittingham and others are now common names in the community. This large number is a result of intermarriage post-WWII but pre-1960 that were not recorded on the 1957. Between the 1951 and 1957 the tribal roll was updated but only partially which accounts for much of the exclusion. (See next section of this chapter),

⁸² In some cases the genealogical ages are approximate within a three to five year span. Therefore, I recorded those who were likely born in a ten year span from 1947-1957.

⁸³ Discussion in a genealogy meeting 4/23/94.

⁸⁴ Interview with Yon-shen 2/12/97.

⁸⁵ NIH Focus Groups Meeting 4/29/96.

⁸⁶ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder "Euchee Tribal Claims." Letter to BIA in Washington from Paul L. Fickinger, Area Director dated July 22, 1959.

⁸⁷ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Papers, Series 327, Box 20 Folder. Letter from Lyndon B. Johnson to Dept. of Interior dated June 27, 1959. The Commissioner of the BIA answered Johnson July 9, 1959 stating that the ICC denied the Yuchi petition and that the decision was final.

⁸⁸ CA - Elmer Thomas Collection, Subject Series - General, Box 13 Folder Euchee-Creek Claim. Letter from Perry W. Morton, Assistant Attorney General, Lands Division to Tom Steed dated March 19, 1958.

⁸⁹ CA- Robert S. Kerr Collection, Series - Departmental, Box 4, Folder 52. Letter from J. T. Smith to Senator Robert S. Kerr dated August 25, 1959.

⁹⁰ NAFT - BIA Muskogee Paper, Series 327, Box 20. Letter from Glenn L. Emmons, Commissioner to Hon. Lindley Beckworth, House of Representative, DC.

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⁹¹ OHS - S. W. Brown Collection, Box 1, Folder 1-9. Letter from Dorothy J. Brown to Jesse, dated May 6, 1958.

⁹² NAFT - BIA Muskogee Paper, Series 327, Box 20. "A Resolution" signed by the Yuchi Council November 29, 1958. It is interesting to note that on two of the original interest group organization members appear on this resolution. The others have been replaced. The signers were: Jesse P. James, Secretary; Elba Tiger, Council Member; Wilson Clark, Council Member; Odie Tiger, Council Member (no signature); Samuel H. Brown, Chief (son of S. W. Brown, Jr.'s brother Madison); N. P. Maxey, Chairman; Neosho O'Brien, Council Member; Joe Allen, Council Member.

Also see "Minutes of Yuchi Council Meeting" dated July 6, 1959 and letter from J. P. James to Roy L. Smith dated December 10, 1958.

⁹³ Interview 2/13/97 with Se-nee and Yaw-bos-se.

⁹⁴ According to Jason Jackson in 1998, this fortune teller was likely a Creek prophet, a social role of considerable importance to traditional people. One would go to such a person for a witchcraft diagnosis before going to a doctor. Today, some Yuchi people still consult such person regularly.

⁹⁵ To accept the donated land the Yuchi needed a chief to accept the honor. With the self-appointed chief S. W. Brown, Jr. dead, the community hoped that John Brown, the traditional chief of Duck Creek, would accept the land for the Yuchi people. However, John Brown, along with several others chose not to go. For the occasion, the interest group organization appointed S. W. Brown, Jr.'s nephew, Samuel H. Brown to fill the position.

⁹⁶ (See WH - Samuel H. Brown Collection). The program for the two day event, June 7 and 8, 1958 reads as follows: "Program of the celebration on the return of the Yuchi Tribe of Indians to the Chattahoochee Valley." On June 7th it notes dignitaries attending: Leonard Coulter, Mayor of Phenix City; Otis Taff, Chairman, Russell County Commission; B. G. Register, Mayor of Columbus; Ralph King, Chairman, Muscogee County Commission; Roy L. Smith, President, Coweta Memorial Association; Dr. Peter Brannon, Director of State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Yuchi member participated in the ceremony: J. P. James gave the benediction and Samuel H. Brown made an acceptance speech. The Yuchi group performed an apparent dance ceremony at the end of the day.

⁹⁷ Interview with Se-nee and Yaw-bos-se 1/13/97.

⁹⁸ Interview with Zoe-dee October 1, 1992. Zoe-dee a female in her eighties and is an active member of the community and attends Polecat Ceremonial ground. She has worked with various scholars and linguists on the Yuchi language. She teaches the Yuchi language to others in the community.

⁹⁹ These are the last group of fluent speakers today.

¹⁰⁰ See Cohen's (1974:80) discussion that normative obligations bind community members and leaders together. In this way the leader is given his power by the group

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and there is no fear among community members to either follow or not follow a specific leader whose authority is mainly symbolic and not coercive. For the Yuchi without direct access to economic and political power, no one leader can gain direct power on his/her own and therefore has no coercive methods to force others to follow.

¹⁰¹ These three topics are clearly outlines in the NIH focus group held in Sapulpa, Oklahoma in early 1997 and presented in Chapter 6.

¹⁰² Article 7 of the original Euchee Brief filed with the ICC.

¹⁰³ Article 10 of the original Euchee Brief filed with the ICC.

¹⁰⁴ April 13, 1954 hearing before the ICC.

Endnotes Chapter IV
Title IV - Indian Education Act:

"You have to work together to accomplish anything. So that's what we must do

¹ WH - *The Indian Education Act of 1972: Report of Progress for the Second Year of the Program*. Pamphlet released by the Office of Indian Education April 14, 1975, page 1.

² The federal government never acknowledged the council or the constitution because of the Creek's refusal to grant citizenship to their freedman descendants (O'Brien 1989:132).

³ The BIA never ratified this constitution because it excluded the Freedman descendants.

⁴ From Yon-shen's personal papers.

⁵ Interview with Yon-shen 2/13/97.

⁶ Samuel W. Brown, Sr. traveled to D.C. in the 1930s and 1940s to acquire information directly for the Yuchi people. S. W. Brown, Jr. did likewise for the ICC petition as did Yon-shen and Fred Skeeter for the 1970s effort.

⁷ (See NAFT Creek Council Miscellaneous Correspondence 1935-1953, Series 327 Box 20). The control of the BIA in school programs is evident. In 1953, a Yuchi man, Jacob Rolland, protested to the State Department of Public Instruction that children who lived in the Sapulpa city limits were not afforded the free school lunches. In response to Rolland's complaint a letter was sent from the state office to the BIA area office in Muskogee for action.

⁸ Interview with Boshe 1/11/96.

⁹ These statistics are based on interviews and fieldwork during 1993-96 with a sample of thirty-two individuals, eighteen born prior to WWII and fourteen after.

¹⁰ These statistics are based on interviews and fieldwork during 1993-96 with a sample of thirty-two individuals, eighteen born prior to WWII and fourteen after.

¹¹ Interview with Zoe-deeg 10/1/92.

¹² Interview with Aw-bay 11/13/96.

¹³ WH - *The Indian Education Act of 1972: Report of Progress for the Third Year of the Program*. Pamphlet released by the Office of Indian Education March 1976.

¹⁴ WH - *The Indian Education Act of 1972: Report of Progress for the Third Year of the Program*. Pamphlet released by the Office of Indian Education March 1976.

¹⁵ This act is often referred to in the Yuchi community as Title IV, rather than as the Indian Education Act and is used as the preferred term in this presentation.

¹⁶ WH - *The Indian Education Act of 1972*. Pamphlet released by the National Advisory Council on Indian Education.

¹⁷ WH - *The Indian Education Act of 1972*. Pamphlet released by the National Advisory Council on Indian Education. The other two parts (D and E) of the act include the provision for establishing the bureaucratic entities and for miscellaneous provisions.

¹⁸ WH - *The Indian Education Act of 1972: Report of Progress for the Third Year of the Program*. Pamphlet released by the Office of Indian Education March 1976, page III-9.

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Title IV - Indian Education Act:

"You have to work together to accomplish anything. So that's what we must do

¹⁹ The information in this section comes primarily from several interviews with Yon-shen in 1994, 1996, and 1997.

²⁰ Yon-shen is careful to note that his efforts were not exclusively for Yuchi children, but for all Indian children in the schools system. The initial meetings were held in Yuchi homes and the composition of the subsequent Parent's Committees were all Yuchi people. By organizing in the three areas of Yuchi residence, four school systems were affected: Liberty Mounds/Mounds (Duck Creek area), Kellyville, Bristow, and Sapulpa.

²¹ This map furnished from Yon-shen's copy of the Sapulpa Schools grant proposal for 1976-77.

²² Interview with Yon-shen.

²³ The area name places that correspond in 1898 to 1970 are: Wealaka = Duck Creek; Kellyville = same; Phillipsburg = Bristow; Sapulpa = same. see Wallace 1993:65.

²⁴ Participant lists for each meeting was used to determine areas of resident for the Title IV data. The 1898 data came from Wallace 1993:65.

²⁵ Noted in an open letter from Kermit Tilford when Yon-shen was honored as Elder of the Year in 1988, from Yon-shen's personal papers.

²⁶ Yon-shen retains in his personal archives a copy of that first Lease Agreement in which the Creek Nation would lease to Part A, Indian Education Program, Title IV the north room of the Nation's facility in Sapulpa, Oklahoma. Title IV was to cover all the material costs of remodeling and the Nation would supply the labor. Title IV was to pay the utilities, transportation for the remodeling crew, and provide janitorial and maintenance services.

²⁷ Interview with Yon-shen 12/95.

²⁸ Interview with Yon-shen 12/95.

²⁹ Letter to NIEA of October 12, 1988 from Charles B. Dodson, Superintendent of Sapulpa Public Schools who had known Yon-shen for over forty years.

³⁰ Letter to NIEA of October 3, 1988 from Dr. John L. Martin, Superintendent of Indian Capital Area Vocational-Technical School.

³¹ Letter to NIEA of September 21, 1988 from Kermit Tilford who Yon-shen worked closely with in the beginnings of Title IV.

³² Letter to NIEA from Joe Stick, Bristow Schools.

³³ Letter to NIEA of September 27, 1988 from Earl W. Wheeler, Chairman JOM. Wheeler is also a Yuchi who currently serves as Creek District representative on the Creek National Council.

³⁴ Letter to Sapulpa High School for NIEA nomination dated October 10, 1988 from Dick White, Sapulpa Tag Agent.

³⁵ Letter to NIEA dated October 12, 1988 from Ann Holder, Chairman of Sapulpa Indian Community. Holder is a Yuchi who worked on the Title IV efforts.

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Title IV - Indian Education Act:

"You have to work together to accomplish anything. So that's what we must do

³⁶ Yah-nee's class notes provided by her daughter Naw-gah..

³⁷ These minutes were provided by Yon-shen and include the handwritten sign-in sheets of those present at the various meetings. Through extensive work in the community, I was able to determine that those present were Yuchi people and through genealogies collected to determine age. Through oral histories and church records, I was able to determine whether these individuals were active in church or grounds at the time.

³⁸ Yon-shen made these minutes accessible from his own extensive private collection. The minutes analyzed here are those of: 9/28/75, 10/11/75, 11/22/75, 12/20/75, 1/3/76, 1/10/76, 1/17/76, 1/31/76, 2/28/76, 5/22/76, 6/8/76, 8/21/76, 9/25/76, 10/23/76, 11/27/76, 1/22/77, 2/26/77, 3/16/77, 4/22/77, 11/19/77, 12/21/77, 3/25/78, 2/24/79, 3/24/79, 6/16/79, 10/31/81.

³⁹ *Sapulpa Herald* September 23, 1975 Euchees Plan Sunday Meeting. The meeting was called the chief of the mother ceremonial ground as well as Yon-shen, a central church leader provided validation for the original meeting.

⁴⁰ The name of the interest group is not always consistent. Other meeting minutes are headed as: Euchee Creek Meeting, Creek--Euchee Meeting, Yuchi-Creek Tribal Meeting, Yuchi Tribal Meeting, Sapulpa Indian Community Meeting, Yuchi Community Organization, Community Indian Meeting, Yuchi Community Adult Education Program, Monthly Meeting--Yuchi Center, Indian Community Meeting. Some of the discrepancy appear to be because there were a number of recording secretaries.

⁴¹ All meetings had a sign in sheet that recorded names and often addresses of the participants. This procedure, begun in the 1970s continues for the interest group organizations of the 1990s.

⁴² This information was matched between genealogical information and oral histories taken in the community in the last five years with the sign-in meeting lists. For church affiliation, I often relied on the church records of Picket Chapel.

⁴³ Minutes of January 31, 1976 Yuchi-Creek Tribal Meeting.

⁴⁴ See Bailey's (1969:44-9) discussion of core, follower, and supporter roles within an organization. All three are necessary for an organization to function, each relies on the other.

⁴⁵ Interview Yon-shen.

⁴⁶ Only the sign-in sheet survived for this meeting. No actual minutes have been located for the September 25, 1976 meeting with Senator Risenhoover.

⁴⁷ This person is considered a prominent figure by the leaders of Duck Creek ceremonial grounds today. He was instrumental in bringing Duck Creek grounds back up in the 1940s.

⁴⁸ As witnessed through fieldwork, the pattern of females recording secretaries continues today in the interest group organizations of the 1990s.

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Title IV - Indian Education Act:

"You have to work together to accomplish anything. So that's what we must do

⁴⁹ The minutes of August 21, 1976 note James King and Myron Taylor from the Creek Nation were present and explained the procedures for operation. The Creek Nation supplied detailed information on the logistics of the grant and the necessary procedures to adhere to the law.

⁵⁰ This issue will be addressed in the next chapter. Briefly, Euchee Mission was built near the turn of the century for the education of Yuchi children in the area. The Mission was closed and sold by Creek Nation. The Yuchi community felt the funds should have been directly applied to Yuchi interests. This item remains a thorn in the side of many Yuchi people.

⁵¹ Cox notes the three Creek District representatives: Warren Allen, Jimmy Cahwee, and Rev. Jonas Partridge. The minutes are unclear as to whether a position was actually open on the council. One member recommended that "Partridge be replaced." Allen and Cahwee were both Yuchi, Partridge was not. The Yuchi in attendance were insistent that the "open position" be awarded to their designated candidate.

⁵² Such a group "is less able to make a rational adaptation to environmental changes, especially when they are brought into contact with more specialized political structure" (Bailey 1969:49).

⁵³ The lines of authority during the Creek Nation's restructuring became problematic for Title IV funding. Money was funneled through the polity, but the local organizations had oversight until the polity's restructuring process was complete.

⁵⁴ For additional information on the health clinic see *Muscogee Nation News* Community New Section July, 1981 9(7):1 Grand Opening: Sapulpa Indian Health Center to State Dedication Aug. 21. Also see front page of article -- Sapulpa Clinic Opening Scheduled for August 3. Also, see *Muscogee Nation News* August 1981 9(8):1 Sapulpa Clinic Officially Opens.

⁵⁵ Interview with Yon-shen.

⁵⁶ *Sapulpa Daily Herald* December 1, 1976, 82(67):1. Creek Community Center Stalls with Area Planning Commission. From listening to several members of the Yuchi community, they feel the city's lack of cooperation is nothing more than another form of discrimination against Indian people in the area.

⁵⁷ Only three meeting minutes were found for 1979, none in 1980 and one in 1981.

⁵⁸ According to a Yuchi source, this person was a Creek man who worked on government and historical issues for the Creek Nation during the 1980s.

⁵⁹ With the passage of the Native American Grave Repatriation Act of 1990, Yuchi burials become a central focal point for the rise of another interest group organization discussed in the next chapter. The goal was not to re-bury ancestors as noted in 1981, but related more closely to being Yuchi within the discriminatory practices of the Creek Nation.

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Title IV - Indian Education Act:

"You have to work together to accomplish anything. So that's what we must do

⁶⁰ After reorganization, the Creek Nation established community centers throughout the areas of Creek residence. According to several consultants in the Yuchi community, the Creek Nation effort formulated the plans along the lines of three communities organized by the Yuchi under Title IV. Yon-shen states that some in the Creek Nation readily give credit to the Title IV efforts for providing the pattern. "After they seen what we was doin here, boy they (Creek Nation) latched right on to that. They started up (community centers). From what some of the people say down there (Creek Nation) they said all that pull and work that they got the idea from us, it originated here (Yuchi Title IV efforts). Interview Yon-shen 3/20/96.

⁶¹ My first year in the field quickly brought home this point. In late April 1991, I presented a genealogical workshop to a large group of Yuchi people. Subsequent plans were made with interest group leaders for me to attend their genealogical meetings. The chief of Polecat noted that it the original workshop was not a problem, but later meetings would have to put off until after the ceremonial season.

⁶² These figures are based on the approximated population of 1,000 persons.

⁶³ This ratio is not exact, for not in every case is the person noted who made the motion. The majority of the early minutes did include such.

⁶⁴ Genealogical data and the 1957 Tribal Roll furnished the age data. The method supplied ages for half of the individual participants.

⁶⁵ Phone interview with Jah-t'yah 6/24/97.

⁶⁶ See Cohen 1974:60-84 discussed in Chapter 1.

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Petition for Acknowledgment: "We are nothing more than step-children."

¹ In 1997, at the third football game of the season at Polecat, the Chief of Polecat and the Speaker of Duck Creek examined a calendar to set the dates for Green Corn. They discussed the issue at length in order not to conflict with the rituals of Duck Creek. The Speaker had been in contact with the Chief's committee at Duck Creek to confirm the dance schedule and Green Corn weekend. The dates were set and announced by the Speaker following the conclusion of the football game. He asked that those members present pass the information on to the rest of the ground's members. He reminded them that it took them all to insure a good ceremonial season, especially the young who would one day pass on the traditions. (Traditionally, Sand Creek's ceremonials begin later in season and do no conflict with timing of Polecat and Duck Creek)

² (See *Congressional Record* Vol. 136, 1990). The act is Public Law 101-601. The full nomenclature is: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. Hawaiian Natives Historic preservation. H. R. 5237 was considered and passed by the House on October 22, 1990, considered and passed the Senate, passage vitiated by the Senate on October 25, 1990, reconsidered and passed by the Senate as amended on October 26, 1990 with the House concurring on October 27, 1990.

³ Other pertinent literature on the subject include: Ames 1987, 1988; Davies 1979; Echo-Hawk 1986; Ehrlich 1989; Green et al 1994; Nason 1973; Owsley 1984; Reeder 1985; Selig 1989; Trigger 1980; Tymchuk 1984, 1985;

⁴ Discussion with Chee-toh, Spring 1992.

⁵ This comes from the article: AAM Policy Regarding the Repatriation of Native American Ceremonial Objects and Human Remains, *Aviso* March 1988:4-5

⁶ See Section 2(7) *Definitions* of the Act. This definition was the crux of the Review Committee's meeting in Norman, Oklahoma March 25-27, 1997. On the second day numerous tribal representatives (e.g. Caddo, Delaware, Potawatomi, Quapaw) spoke to the concern that the NAGPRA procedures include only federally recognized tribes. The committee had recently repatriated back to an unrecognized group in the Southeast and there seemed to be concern for this potential precedent among many Oklahoma tribes.

⁷ At the NAGPRA Review Committee hearing on March 26, 1997, a BIA representative from Anadarko spoke to Yuchi repatriation through the Creek polity. He spoke in favor of repatriation exclusively to federally recognized tribes, and that the Yuchi held no separate recognition, but would be afforded repatriation opportunity through the Creek government.

⁸ A number of Yuchi leaders have expressed this sentiment over the years starting with early fieldwork in 1991 and 1992.

⁹ Interview with Yon-shen 6/29/94.

¹⁰ OHS - Microfilm CRN 44 "Creek Schools - Euchee" document 36232.

¹¹ NAMF - M1011 Roll 34 "Euchee Mission - Narrative Report 1931, Section III."

¹² National Archives Series 745 "Quarterly School Reports - Euchee 1911-1939."

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¹³ Title IV Euchee Meeting minutes of October 11, 1975.

¹⁴ The consultant later learned that the Yuchi man who addressed the school issue was later to become the first Vice-chair of Y.T.O. a 1990s interest group effort.

¹⁵ Interview with Yah-bo, 50 year old female spring of 1997.

¹⁶ "We were to be seen and not heard, boy, you knew if you weren't quiet enough, they'd let you know real quick." Yon-shen March, 1997 at ETI meeting.

¹⁷ See Mach's (1993:5) discussion of identity being formed interaction with others where messages are received and interpreted to form a coherent image of one's self and one's group. "Identity is thus a dynamic, processual, and contextual phenomenon."

¹⁸ Interview with Yah-bo, 50 year old female spring of 1997.

¹⁹ Yon-shen April 29, 1996. This problem has been solved in a more subtle way. Centered on the main wall of the dilapidated Sapulpa Indian Community Center hangs a poster of "Yuchi Town." It is a poster created by the U.S. Army Infantry Center at Ft. Benning Georgia, the site of Yuchi Town. This same poster hangs in the Duck Creek Community Center.

²⁰ Interview Yon-shen June 29, 1994.

²¹ Statement made by a female in her fifties during a Special Community meeting October 5, 1994 at the Security National Bank Conference room in Sapulpa, OK and during a fall 1996 ETI meeting..

²² Statement made by a Yuchi male his late sixties during a Special Community meeting October 5, 1994 at the Security National Bank Conference room in Sapulpa, OK.

²³ Statement made by a male in his fifties during a Special Community meeting October 5, 1994 at the Security National Bank Conference room in Sapulpa, OK.

²⁴ Statement made by a seventy year old female at a "Euchee Town Meeting" held at the Sapulpa Library on December 10, 1994.

²⁵ Personal interview with a Yuchi male in his fifties in the fall of 1996.

²⁶ Personal interview with a fifty year old Yuchi female April 12, 1997.

²⁷ Recorded during a Sapulpa Focus Group meeting 3/29/96. Speaker was a middle aged Yuchi male.

²⁸ Recorded during a Sapulpa Focus Group meeting 4/29/96. Speaker was a elder female who had recently had financial and health problems in her family.

²⁹ Statement made by a male leader in one of the interest group organizations at a "Euchee Town Meeting" held at the Sapulpa Library on December 10, 1994.

³⁰ Recorded during a Sapulpa Focus Group meeting 4/29/96. Speaker was a senior male who has been active in the ceremonials all his life.

³¹ Creek man running for the Creek District councilman position. Presented himself to an ETI meeting October 11, 1995.

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³² This was a phone conversation with an office holder within Creek Nation in 1994. His speaking of the factionalism is directed at the two major interest group organizations of the 1990s that did not always see eye to eye.

³³ Statement made by an eighty year old Creek woman during a Creek language class at the University of Oklahoma.

³⁴ From a middle aged Creek man in Henrietta, Oklahoma, summer, 1993.

³⁵ Kialegee Tribal Town is able to have items repatriated to them as an organized town under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

³⁶ Floor conversation at the ETI monthly meeting November 13, 1996.

³⁷ Interview with Aw-bay 11/13/96.

³⁸ Conversation with three middle aged Yuchi women in June, 1993.

³⁹ From taped Creek Tribal Towns meeting September 8, 1990.

⁴⁰ Interview Go-thla-nee 6/29/94.

⁴¹ Information from interviews with Go-thla-nee, Yah-bo, and Aw-bay between 1994 and 1996.

⁴² Interview April 1994 with four Yuchi women. Two had been Board members and another an officer in that corporation.

⁴³ This meeting was announced in the *Tulsa World* newspaper on Friday, April 20, 1990. The small notice heading was: Tribal Organization to Meet Saturday.

⁴⁴ According to the *Muscogee Nation News* October 1990:15 that grant was received in December 1989.

⁴⁵ Interview with Vice-chairman 6/29/97.

⁴⁶ Interview with Chairman 11/13/96.

⁴⁷ The Constitution of the Yuchi Tribe of Indians/Tribal Towns, filed as part of the Petition for Acknowledgment with the BIA. No dates indicate the actual time of its creation.

⁴⁸ The Constitution of the Yuchi Tribe of Indians/Tribal Towns Article II, Section I.

⁴⁹ The Constitution of the Yuchi Tribe of Indians/Tribal Towns.

⁵⁰ Interview with Go-thla-nee 6/27/94.

⁵¹ Filed as part of the Yuchi's petition for acknowledgment.

⁵² Interview Go-thla-nee 6/29/94.

⁵³ This explanation was offered by Dr. Morris Foster who was in the Creek Community at that time. Subsequent articles in the *Muscogee News* July 1990:1 and November 1990:1 support his analysis concerning the replacement of Chief Cox.

⁵⁴ *Muscogee Nation News* July 1990:1,21.

⁵⁵ *Muscogee Nation News* May 1990:1.

⁵⁶ See Innes 1997 for the many interactions between Yuchi and Creek people.

⁵⁷ Dr. Morris Foster attended that meeting and graciously made the tape of that meeting available to me.

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⁵⁸ Interview with the past Chair 11/13/96.

⁵⁹ From copy of petition draft "Introduction" section received from the Director of Y.T.O. in 1991.

⁶⁰ Interview with Chairman of Y.T.O. 11/13/96.

⁶¹ The first meeting between Dr. Morris Foster, graduate students and Y.T.O's Director was held at Sapulpa, Oklahoma on January 29, 1991. This was the beginning of my long and fruitful association with the Yuchi people.

⁶² This was the beginning of an extensive review of Yuchi families and intermarriage that continues to be pursued in the current community. These early efforts involved one or two individuals meetings with family members or elders from other families in order to complete the enrollment form. A volunteer groups of women, spent much time interviewing elders and recording their memories of family genealogies.

⁶³ Interview 1/11/96 with female Yuchi age 72.

⁶⁴ Interview with ninety-nine year old Yuchi woman March 19, 1991. The Director and Vice-chair of Y.T.O were also present.

⁶⁵ Interview with Go-thla-nee 6/29/94.

⁶⁶ This newsletter was presented to me by Marvin Brown during my visit to Ebenezer in 1995.

⁶⁷ Undocumented newspaper article received from the Vice-chair. The article appears to be either a Savannah or Effingham newspaper. The article contains a picture of the Vice-chair in a traditional Yuchi ceremonial regalia.

⁶⁸ This was a subject of discussion between Marvin Brown and myself during a trip to Ebenezer in 1994.

⁶⁹ *Getting To Know Your Neighbors: "Go-thla-nee" teaches ancient language to young people.* This article was received from Go-thla-nee and bears no citation. A similar article appeared in the *Sapulpa Herald* Sunday 1992 vol. 77:(239):2 entitled *(Vice-chair) helps keep language alive.* Both articles are identical in wording and may have come from a press release from Y.T.O. that figures prominently in the article.

⁷⁰ Language class meeting September, 1992.

⁷¹ Interview with Chairman 11/13/96.

⁷² Interview April 1994 with four Yuchi women. Two had been a Board member and another an officer in that corporation.

⁷³ Interview April 1994 with four Yuchi women. Two had been a Board member and another an officer in that corporation.

⁷⁴ OD letter from the BIA dated September 14, 1992.

⁷⁵ NAFT Five Civilized Tribes Papers Series 327, Box 20 Folder: "Creek Council Miscellaneous Correspondence 1935-1953. Minutes of Creek Tribal Council dated January 27, 1944 and August 27, 1953.

⁷⁶ *Muscogee Nation News* various editions 1980-1997.

⁷⁷ Interview with Go-thla-nee 6/29/94.

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⁷⁸ Interview April 1994 with four Yuchi women. Two had been a Board member and another an officer in that corporation.

⁷⁹ See discussion in Chapter 2.

⁸⁰ Statement made by Yon-shen in a Focus Group meeting 4//30/97.

⁸¹ Interview with Aw-bay 11/13/96.

Chapter VI

Cultural Retention: "I've heard the elders say: 'If the Yuchi language is no longer spoken, there will be no more Yuchi.'"

¹ From minutes of E.U.C.H.E.E. 12/14/91, 5/6/92, and 5/30/92.

² See Cohen 1974:23. Genealogical ties, ancestral traditions, and the Yuchi language are all issues that symbolize Yuchi identity and that form the bases for political action in the later half of the twentieth century.

³ From *The Euchee Sun* a newsletter dated November, 1992.

⁴ Taken from back of 1992 calendar.

⁵ Duck Creek Ceremonial ground plans its Green Corn on the week-end of the full moon.

⁶ Taken from back page of 1994 calendar.

⁷ From the back pages of the 1995 calendar.

⁸ *The Euchee Sun* November 1991.

⁹ Interview Aw-bay 11/13/96

¹⁰ Interview Aw-bay 11/13/96

¹¹ *The Euchee Sun* November, 1992 1(1):1.

¹² Interview Aw-bay 11/13/96

¹³ *The Euchee Sun* November 1991.

¹⁴ Interviews with Aw-bay 7/12/94 and 11/13/96.

¹⁵ Interview Aw-bay 11/13/96

I feel like tribal entities, tribes have so far to go in understanding how business really works and understanding the risk side of it that its going to be a continuing slow politically difficult thing.

If you have a real strong lead, a good example is Roberts down there at the Choctaw, he's been there for a number of years. They have been able to put a number of things together. They have done it for the tribe as a whole, the tobacco, the filing station, they made a lot of money.

Philip Martin, Mississippi Choctaw he's been in there twenty-five or thirty years straight through as the Chairperson with one two year term he didn't get reelected with the first ten years. He has been able to put things together and build an economy there.

With the Chickasaws, their leader has been there a long time. They're building things because they have the foresight and they have the political suave and the capacity to learn and develop these things.

Claude Cox did a lot for the Creek Nation. All these people create some difficulties. They create some hard feelings over time the

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things that they've done but overall they've done some very positive things.

¹⁶ Interview Aw-bay 11/13/96.

¹⁷ Document supplied by Yah-bo dated 1992 and 1993 listing persons by name, address and degree of Euchee blood.

¹⁸ This declaration was furnished by the secretary of E.T.I.

¹⁹ See Cohen 1974: 78-80 discussion on leadership.

²⁰ Minutes of E.U.C.H.E.E. April 8, 1992.

²¹ Duck Creek focus group 4/17/97.

²² These were supplied by E.T.I.'s Secretary.

²³ These meetings were discussed at monthly E.T.I. meetings and documented to some small degree as having occurred in fieldnotes of phone conversations with participants.

²⁴ From phone conversations with participants, meetings did take place during the months that are devoid of data.

²⁵ This genealogical chart display has yet to be completed in the E.T.I. office.

²⁶ From a copy of ANA grant proposal received by this researcher 10/15/96.

²⁷ *Euchee Language Planning Project Language Status and Resource Survey Final Report* received from E.T.I.'s meeting of 5/14/97.

²⁸ Gilcrease Focus group meeting 4/9/97.

²⁹ E.T.I. meeting 2/12/97.

³⁰ Yon-shen Gilcrease Focus group meeting 4/9/97.

³¹ The Yuchi prefer to use crane feathers rather the eagle feathers used by many other Native American tribes.

³² Interview with Tso-toe 4/12/97.

³³ Duck Creek focus group 4/22/96.

³⁴ From the final report to ANA on the language grant prepared by Mary S. Linn, Project Linguist.

³⁵ From ground's speaker at NIH focus group 4/22/96.

³⁶ From opening speech before the Ribbon Dance at Duck Creek in June 1996.

³⁷ Dah-bah in Gilcrease planning meeting 4/9/97.

³⁸ Duck Creek Focus Group 4/17/96.

³⁹ Duck Creek Focus Group 4/17/96.

⁴⁰ E.T.I. business meeting 3/12/97.

⁴¹ Spoken by the Chair of E.T.I. during a focus group meeting 2/26/97.

⁴² See Cohen 1974:75-77 on Decision making. "The group must have some kind of procedure for the regular collection of political messages, for discussing them, and for deciding on appropriate action on them . . . The first (stage) is the stage at which common problems are identified in the light of information supplied through channels of communication. This is followed by a stage of deliberation, when attempts are made to

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find solutions. In the final stage a decision is made on behalf of the whole group" (76). Cohen further notes that decision making may be made by consensus, majority, or it may be taken by a leader on behalf of the group.

⁴³ This second paragraph follows a few moments later after the Speaker discusses language and ritual participation.

⁴⁴ See Mach's 1993:32 discussion of symbols being arbitrary not because of decisions but as part of the cultural complex that forms the whole cultural construct wherein that symbols are involved. According to Mach and shown in the Yuchi example, language shifted from a necessary condition to a index because of the changing cultural context and a new meaning was necessary to address the current condition of language loss.

⁴⁵ See Mach's (1993:72) discussion of ritual as repetitive and thus suitable for carrying on traditions that convey continuity and permanence no matter the specific symbolism invoked. Such ritual in the Yuchi case passes traditions and concepts of identity from one generation to the next.

⁴⁶ Elders are age sixty and up with middle aged falling from age forty to fifty-nine. From working in the community it appears that one does not achieve elder status until around sixty years of age. It is rare to hear anyone speak at meetings who are not at least middle aged.

⁴⁷ This information was collected through genealogical work from 1991 to 1997. Most people interviewed ranged from 40s to 80s.

⁴⁸ See Cohen 1974: 60-75.

⁴⁹ See Cohen 1974:69 discussion of descent.

⁵⁰ This is the common theme throughout Cohen's (1974) work on interest groups. He maintains that power and symbols are a method to investigate interest groups. Power signifies both economic and political with symbols incorporate both ritual and kinship networks. For the Yuchi this dialectic between power and symbols became a holistic study of the community and through such I was able to investigate the methods used to maintain a distinct identity outside of Creek Nation in the late twentieth century.

Chapter VII

Conclusion - Encapsulation and Identity: "I am Just Proud to be Yuchi."

¹ Chapter 5 - Resolution from the House of Warriors concerning the building of Euchee Mission

² Chapter 5 visit by Creek man running for Creek Council.

³ From Delaware Home Page Web site on October 24, 1997.
www.cowboy.net/native/lenape/index.html.

⁴ Kehoe (1992: 272) notes that during the petition effort, the 1980 census noted nearly 5,500 people identifying themselves as Delaware.

⁵ Final Decision by the United States Department of the Interior regarding Federal Acknowledgment of the San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe IBIA 90-53-A decided on March 24, 1990.

⁶ Final Decision by the United States Department of the Interior regarding Federal Acknowledgment of the San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe IBIA 90-53-A decided on March 24, 1990.

⁷ Kialegee Town meeting 3/15/97.

⁸ Press Release by Kialegee Etlwv February, 1997.

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- AP - Allen papers. Private reminiscence of Jesse Allen, a Yuchi, born in Indian Territory, survived as child in the Civil War, worked cattle for his uncle William F. Brown and later built his own cattle ranch in the northern area of Yuchi settlement and served as a U.S. Marshall. These papers are privately owned by Allen's daughter, Ella Allen Burgess and her family. The information was written down by Ella and her daughter as Jesse related his memories and experiences.
- ASP - American State Papers
- CA - Carl Albert Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.
- CCHA - Creek Council House Archives, Muskogee, Oklahoma.
- FCT - Five Civilized Tribes, National Archives, Ft. Worth, TX
- GLA - Gilcrease Museum Archives, Tulsa, OK.
- ICC - Indian Claims Commission
- IPP - Indian Pioneer Papers, WPA project 1937.
- LB - Letter Book of the Creek Trading House 1795-1866, National Archives Microfilm M-4.
- LLOU - Law Library at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK
- MF - Microfilm
- MFf - Microfiche
- NAFT - National Archives, Ft. Worth, Texas.

NAMF - National Archives Microfilm.
OHS - Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, OK
PCGA - Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Office of the General Assembly, Philadelphia, PA
SBC - Samuel W. Brown Collection 92.01, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, OK.
ULTB - Georgia Historical Unpublished letters of Timothy Barnard 1784-1820. J. E. Hays, ed. Georgia Microfilm 1-515.
WH - Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.

Appendix

Table 1.a
Ethnopoetic Symbols
(Tedlock 1992)

Symbol	Significance
dividing lines	pauses of 3/4 of a second (or slightly more
2 dots (. .)	2 second pause
dash (-)	tense moment
CAPS	loud voice
<i>Italics</i>	precise enunciation

Table 3.a
Surname Frequency 1898 and 1957

Frequency	Surname Census 1898	% 1898	Surname Census 1957	% 1957
1	89	51	63	26
2	18	10	32	13
3	15	9	33	13
4	13	7	23	9
5	9	5	17	7
6	9	5	20	8
7	2	1	12	5
8	5	3	13	5
9	2	1	6	2
10	1	1	3	1
11	3	2	2	1
12	1	1	2	1
13	0	0	2	1
14	1	1	4	2
15	0	0	1	0
16	0	0	1	0
17	0	0	1	0
18	1	1	4	2
21	0	0	1	0
24	0	0	1	0
28	1	1		0
31	1	1	0	0
39	1	1	0	0
40	0	0	1	0
41	0	0	1	0
45	0	0	1	0
105	0	0	1	0
109	0	0	1	0
Totals	173	100	248	100

Table 3.b
Surname changes between 1898 and Dawes Roll 1907

1898 Name	M/F	Dawes Roll Name	Known reasons for change
Agim, Jim	M	Agent, Jim	unknown, on 1890 as James Agent
Aney	M	Tiger, Aney	unknown adds surname Tiger as does wife
Ar-ka-way-thea--nay, Charlie	M	Marshall, Charles	on 1890 as Charlie Peter
Ar-ka-way-thea--nay, Addie	F	Robinson, Addie	took father's surname instead of grandfather's
Ar-lo-co-hay-nie	M	Barnett, Joe	unknown
Barnard, William	M	Barnett, William	6 family members change surname
Bigpond, Jones	M	Billie, Jonas	unknown
Bigpond, Lena	F	Billie, Lina	unknown
Bow, John	M	Tiger, John	family of 5 changed surname, on 1890 as Bigponds
Buck, Lizzie	F	Agent, Lizzie	married Jim Agent
Buckhorn, -	M	Bucktrot	family of 6 change surname
Ca-pon-nay	M	Snow, Ca-pah-ny	family of 8 changed name to Snow - unknown reason
Caryarthay	M	Short, Frank	3 family members change surname to Short
Charwe, Willie	M	Campbell, Willie	unknown - on 1890 payroll as Chawee
George, Long	M	Long, Sakquanny	given name becomes surname
George, Mully	F	Tiger, Mollie	married David Tiger whose child also takes surname Tiger
Hagie, Wannie	F	Barnett, Wannie	married to Joe Barnett
Harris, Charles	M	Harrison, Charles	could be extension, or change is noted as orphan on 1898, father's name Harris
Harris, Harvey	M	Harrison, Harvey	see Charles Harris/Harrison
Harvison, Ella	F	Wilcox, Ella	unknown
Ingham, Susanna	F	England, Susannah	1890 surname was Micco, appears name was mis-spelled in 1898 or Dawes is married to Cherokee England
Jack, Tiger	M	Tiger, Jack	given name becomes surname - 6 family members change to Tiger
Jackson, Euchee	M	Techarna, Jackson	5 family members changed surname - Techaran was Euchee Jackson's father's name

Kar-co-ke-thon, Kahwee	M	Jones, Kawee	unknown, he and sister in one Dawes household her surname does not change
Kar-co-te-thon, Waitie	F	Ahgokela, Waittie	Ahgokela was father's name, appears Kar-co-te-thon was Yuchi name
Maggie -	F	Cahtahwon, Maggie	Cahtahwon was father's Yuchi name
McCallie -	M	McCully, John	noted as orphan 1898, on 1890 as Cooley
Mullen, Dixie	M	Wiley, Dickson	unknown
Painkiller -	M	Watashe	unknown
Sar-ko-qui-nay	M	Goodman, Sah-con-cah-ney	family of 3 changed name to Goodman
Squash, Willis	M	Clinton, Willis	unknown
Stan-nay-mar-da	M	Bighead, Stanwaite	5 family members plus a newborn change surname - unknown but one daughter noted as Bighead 1895 payroll
Tiger, Goody	M	Goody, Jim	son of Goody Tiger but uses Goody as surname for Dawes
Washington, Frances	F	Sharp, Frances	unknown - on 1890 as Francis Chief
Washington, Culberson	M	Sharp, Culberson	unknown - on 1890 payroll as Culberson Chief
Whiteman, Littlehead	M	Littlehead, Whiteman	given and surnames reversed
William -	M	Cahtahwon, Willie	Cahtahwon was father's Yuchi name

Table 3.c
Surname Frequency 1898/Dawes changes and 1957
(Those listed below do not include names already accounted for such as Tiger and Brown).

Name changed 1898 to Dawes	Frequency of Surname 1957	Remarks
Agent	0	
Ahgokela	0	
Bighead	7	
Billie	0	
Bucktrot	7	
Cahtahwon	0	
Campbell	8	Names later becomes Cahwee per genealogical information
Clinton	18	
England	10	Becomes English
Goodman	0	
Goody	0	
Harrison	1	
Jones	14	
Littlehead	11	
Long	18	
Marshall	11	
McCully	0	
Robinson	0	
Sharp	3	
Short	0	
Snow	10	
Techarna	1	
Wilcox	2	
Wiley	0	

Table 3.d
Genealogical Surnames added from Intermarriage 1900-1960

Surname	'1957	'1898	Surname	'1957	'1898
Anderson	6	1	Johnson	14	4
Barnett	24	18	Jones	14	4
Bell	1	0	Kascka	3	0
Berryhill	4	1	Lee	3	0
Bevenue	8	0	Littlebear	7	0
Bible	5	0	Marsey	1	0
Booth	1	0	McIntosh	2	0
Brown	109	39	Neafus	4	0
Bruner	1	1	Sago	3	0
Butler	16	0	Seber	9	0
Carpenter	1	0	Selzer	7	0
Clark	8	0	Sewl	2	0
Cloud	4	0	Stafford	2	0
Deer	3	5	Taylor	1	0
Dunn	4	0	Thomas	1	2
Esmond	5	0	Thompson	2	0
Evans	15	0	Tiger	105	31
Foreman	4	0	Tom	1	0
Foster	6	0	Vaden	1	0
Fox	13	8	Walker	6	0
Frank	8	0	Wapemskineh	5	0
Freeman	1	0	Warrior	7	0
Gibson	30	0	Washburn	10	0
Grayson	6	0	Welch	2	0
Green	4	0	Williams	5	1
Hardridge	12	0	Wilson	5	0
Harjo	6	0	Wolf	2	3
Harry	7	1			
Holloway	1	0			

229 persons recorded 1957 with new surnames from intermarriage

Table 3.e
Ritual Leader Census Linkages
(Innes 1995b, Wallace 1995a)

Name	Position	Ground/Church	Approx. dates	Census listing
Barnett, Jackson	Chief	Kellyville/Polecat	1964-68	1895 Creek Pysl 1898 Creek Cards 1957 Tribal Roll
Behen, Mikko	Singer	Kellyville/Polecat	1933+	1895 Yuchi Pysl 1898 Creek Cards
Bible, Georgia Brown	Land owner - grounds location	Sand Creek	1938-39	1957 Tribal Roll
Bigpond, Roy	preacher preacher	Pickett Chapel Mutteloke	1963-64 1950s	1957 Tribal Roll
Brown, Legus	Land owner - grounds location	Duck Creek	1928-35	1890 Creek Cns 1895 Creek Pysl 1898 Creek Cards 1900 US Census 1957 Tribal Roll
Brown, John	Chief, Land Owner	Duck Creek	1942-76	1910 US Census 1957 Tribal Roll
Brown, Jim	Chief	Kellyville/Polecat	1968-present	1957 Tribal Roll
Brown, Felix	Chief	Duck Creek	1984-present	1957 Tribal Roll
Brown, Clarence	Chief Medicine Man	Sand Creek Duck Creek	1938-39 1976-84	1900 US Census 1910 US Census 1957 Tribal Roll.
Brown, Jim Jr.	Chief's Asst.	Kellyville/Polecat	1968-present	1957 Tribal Roll.
Bucktrot family	charter members	Mutteloke	1950s	1957 Tribal Roll
Bucktrot, Wade Jr	Chief	Sand Creek	present	1957 Tribal Roll
Bucktrot, Madison	Chief Committee	Sand Creek Duck Creek	1961+ 1942-84	1895 Creek Pysl 1957 Tribal Roll
Bucktrot, Wade Sr	Chief	Sand Creek	1984+	1957 Tribal Roll
Cahwee, Ekalarney	exhorter charter member charter member	Pickett Chapel Pickett Chapel Mutteloke	pre-1952 1901- 1950s	1898 Creek Census
Cahwee, David	charter member	Mutteloke	1950s	1957 Tribal Roll
Cahwee, Jim	exhorter charter member preacher	Pickett Chapel Mutteloke Mutteloke	pre-1952 1950s 1950s	1957 Tribal Roll
Cahwee, William	teacher	Pickett Chapel	1952-1990s	1957 Tribal Roll
Cooper, John	charter member	Pickett Chapel	1901-	1957 Tribal Roll
Dunn, Delbert	Chief's Asst.	Kellyville/Polecat	1968-present	1957 Tribal Roll
Fox, Willie	Chief	Duck Creek	1928-35	1895 Creek Pysl 1898 Creek Cards

Fox, Luke	Medicine Man	Duck Creek	1942-76	1895 Creek Pysl 1898 Creek Cards 1900 US Census 1910 US Census 1957 Tribal Roll
George, Melvin	Committee	Kellyville/Polecat	present	1957 Tribal Roll
Gibson, Leroy	2nd Chief, Speaker	Duck Creek	1942-84	1957 Tribal Roll
Gibson, Bobby	Chief	Duck Creek	1976-84	1957 Tribal Roll
Harry, Frank	Secretary	Duck Creek	1976-84	1957 Tribal Roll
Harry, Simon	2nd Chief	Duck Creek	1984-present	1957 Tribal Roll
Harry, Virgil	Committee	Duck Creek	1984-present	1957 Tribal Roll
Littlebear, Sonny	Speaker	Kellyville/Polecat	1968-present	1957 Tribal Roll
Mutteloke, Lalo (Hardridge)	charter member	Mutteloke	1950s	1957 Tribal Roll
Skeeter, Jimmie	Speaker	Duck Creek	1984-1993	1957 Tribal Roll.
Skeeter, Fred	exhorter	Pickett Chapel	pre-1952	1957 Tribal Roll
Skeeter, Jack (Big Mosquito, Mosquito, Skeeter)	Medicine Man	Duck Creek	1976-84	1898 Creek Card 1900 US Census 1957 Tribal Roll
Snow, Kepponey	charter member	Pickett Chapel	1901-	1898 Creek Census
Tiger, Konzie	charter member	Pickett Chapel	1901	1898 Creek Census
Tiger, Willie	Singer	Kellyville/Polecat	1933+	1895 Creek Pysl 1900 US Census 1957 Tribal Roll
Washburn family	charter members	Mutteloke	1950s	1957 Tribal Roll
Washburn, Liza Brown	Land owner - grounds location	Sand Creek	1900-1938	1900 US Census 1957 Tribal Roll
Watashe, Barney	Chief	Kellyville/Polecat	1933+	1895 Yuchi Pysl 1898 Creek Cards 1957 Tribal Roll
Wildcat, Joe	preacher preacher	Pickett Chapel Mutteloke	1961-63 ?	1957 Tribal Roll
Wolf, John	Chief	Sand Creek	1900+	1895 Yuchi Pysl 1898 Creek Cards 1900 US Census 1957 Tribal Roll

Table 3.f
ICC Voluntary Leaders' Ritual Affiliations
(Innes 1995b, Wallace 1995a)

Name	Participation	Ground/Church	Approx. dates	Census
Allen, Lizzie	deceased member	Pickett Chapel		1898 Creek Cards Dawes Roll 1957 Tribal Roll
Brown, Esther	camped	Duck Creek		1898 Creek Cards Dawes Roll 1957 Tribal Roll
Brown, Legus	Land owner - grounds location deceased member	Duck Creek Pickett Chapel	1928-35	1890 Creek Cns 1895 Creek Pyl 1898 Creek Cards 1900 US Census 1957 Tribal Roll
Brown, S. W., Jr.	took medicine	Duck Creek	1945	1898 Creek Cards Dawes Roll 1957 Tribal Roll
Brown, S. W., Sr	none deceasedmember	Duck Creek Pickett Chapel	1890s- 1930s	1898 Creek Cards Dawes Roll
Clark, [Clinton]	featherman	Polecat		1898 Creek Cards Dawes Roll 1957 Tribal Roll
James, Jesse P.	featherman whooper poleboy	Polecat		1947 Tribal Roll
James, John	not recorded	unknown		1957 Tribal Roll
Maxie, Neosho P.		unknown		1898 Creek Cards Dawes Roll 1957 Tribal Roll
Rolland, Jacob	took medicine	Duck Creek	1944-45	1898 Creek Cards Dawes Roll 1957 Tribal Roll
Skeeter (Big Mosquito, Fred	exhorter minister	Pickett Chapel Mutteloke	pre-1952	1957 Tribal R.
Tiger, Odie [He-con-con-the]	deceased member	Pickett Chapel		1898 Creek Cards Dawes Roll 1957 Tribal Roll
Tiger, Waxin [Char ko char ney]]	took medicine children baptized	Duck Creek Pickett Chapel	1945 1927-28	1898 Creek Cards Dawes Roll 1957 Tribal Roll
Tiger, Willie [Co-ka-thenny, Tah per scay ka]	Singer deceased member	Kellyville/Polecat Pickett Chapel	1933+	1895 Creek Pyl 1898 Creek Cards Dawes Roll 1957 Tribal Roll

Table 4.a
Title IV Core Participation

DATE	TOTAL	M	W	DC/T	SAP	KLYV	BRSW	COMMENTS
sept 28 75	28	14	14					
oct 11 75	25	13	12	5	9	3	3	
nov 22 75	23			11	11	0	0	
dec 20 75	9	7	2	5	2	2	0	no minutes
jan 3 76	19	9	10	6	8	1	0	
jan 10 76	8	4	4	4	4	0	0	
jan 17 76	17	9	8					
jan 31 76	20	8	12					
feb 28 76	15	8	7	8	5			
may 22 76	28	11	17	11	12	0	5	
aug 21 76	17	7	10	1	8	1	5	
sept 25 76	24	9	15	5	10	2	2	
oct 23 76	22	10	12	3	10	6	2	
nov 27 76	16	6	10	0	13	0	0	
jan 22 77	19	10	9	2	5	4	3	
mar 16 77	5	3	2					
apr 22 77	18	9	9	2	10	2	4	
dec 3 77	37	23	14	0	29	5	3	
nov 19 77	29	15	14	7	13	3	4	
mar 25 78	15	8	7	5	3	6	0	
feb 24 79								1/2 are not Yuchi
june 16 79	35	20	15	7	19	3	4	all Yuchi but chief Cox
oct 3 81	19	11	8	1	10	3	4	
Totals	447	214	211	83	181	41	39	
avg per mts	20.32	10.19	10.05	4.61	10.06	2.41	2.29	
count	22	21	21	18	18	17	17	
HIGHEST	37	23	17	11	29	6	5	
STD	7.81	4.66	4.09	3.27	6.11	1.94	1.87	
sex Ratio	1.01							

Table 6.a
Surname Voluntary Focus Group Meetings

ETI Focus Groups	Census 1898	Tribal Roll 1957	Title IV Meetings	Intermarriage
Anderson	x	x		
Antelope				Harry
Aten				Bear
Ausmus		x		
Bear	x		x	
Bearpaw				Watashe
Berryhill	x	x	x	
Bigler				Wildcat
Brown	x	x	x	
Bucktrot	x	x	x	
Cahwe	x	x	x	
Dunn		x	x	
Evans		x		
Fox	x	x	x	
Freeman		x	x	
Fulsom	x	x		
Gibson		x	x	
Greene		x		
Grounds		x		
Hardridge		x	x	
Harjo		x	x	
Harrington				Brown
Harrison	x	x		
Harry	x	x	x	
Jefferson				Roland
Johnson	x	x	x	
Kelly		x		
Lee		x	x	
Littlebear		x	x	
Littlehead	x	x		
Long	x	x	x	
Love				
Lowe		x		
Marshall	x	x		
McCall			x	

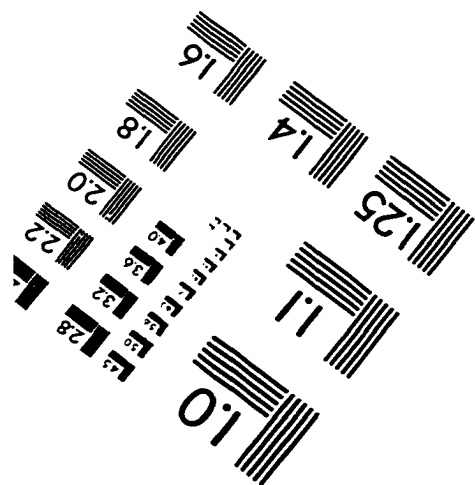
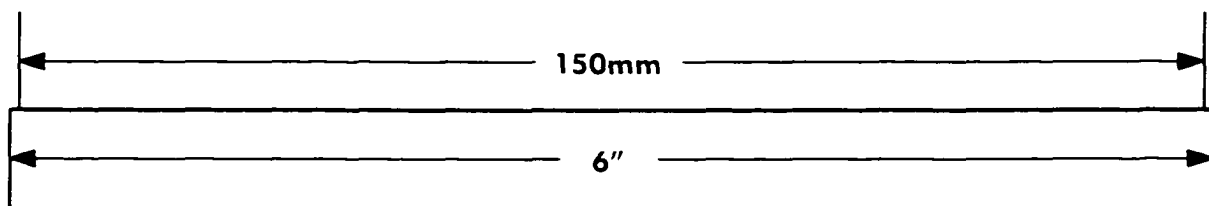
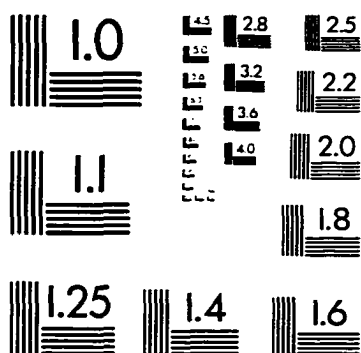
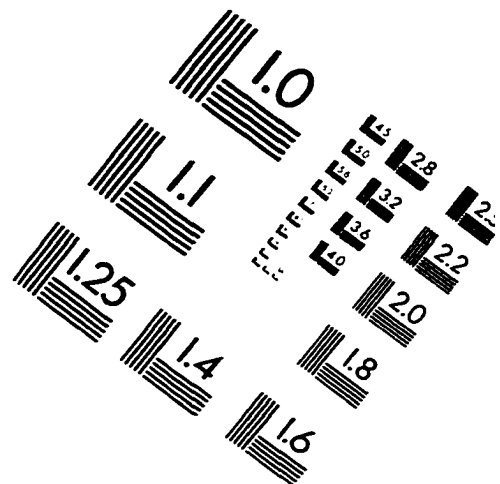
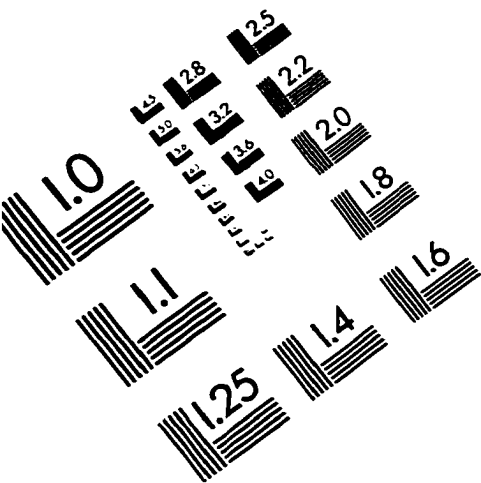
McNac			x	
Miller			x	
Moore				
Neafus		x		
Pennington				McCall/Brown
Pierce				
Powell	x			
Rolland	x	x	x	
Rowe			x	
Selzer		x		
Skeeter	x	x	x	
Slinker			x	
Spencer				Watashe
Switch				
Taylor			x	
Thepp			x	
Thomas	x	x	x	
Tiger	x	x	x	
Washburn		x	x	
Watashe	x	x	x	
White		x		
Williams	x	x	x	
Winningham				Jones
Wright				
Yargee	x			

**Table 6.b
Intermarriage Post 1960**

Surname	Tribe	Surname	Tribe
unknown 3	black	Johnson	creek
unknown 1	caddo	Johnson	creek
unknown 7	cherokee	Johnson	creek
unknown 6	choctaw	Johnson	seminole
unknown 5	comanche	Jones	white
unknown 20	creek	Kenneth	navaho
unknown 1	kiowa	Killingsworth	creek
unknown 6	mexican	LaSarge	crk/osage
unknown 5	navajo	Leek	white
unknown 1	oto	Leffler	white
unknown 1	pawnee	Little	creek
unknown 1	ponca	Long	creek
unknown 5	sac/fox	Lowe	creek
unknown 2	seminole	Manley	creek
unknown 5	shawnee	Maxfield	papago
unknown 56	white	McCosar	seminole
unknown 1	wichita	McHenry	creek
Albert	chippawa	McIntosh	creek
Angel	spanish	McKosher	creek
Anthony	eskimo	McLamour	white
Back	cherokee	Mills	white
Baker	creek	Naylor	creek
Baker	white	Oaks	white
Ball	white	Olquin	mexican
Barnett	creek	Olquin	mexican
Barrett	white	Pappan	ponca
Beardlaw	cheyenne	Perry	cherok/cr
Bearpaw	cherokee	Perry	mexican
Benally	navaho	Pickering	creek
Bevenue	creek	Polk	white
Binham	white	Powell	creek
Breece	white	Proctor	creek
Brown	cherokee	Rangel	mexican

Bruner	creek	Rivera	mexican
Buckley	white	Robertson	shawnee
Campbell	cherokee	Roothame	white
Carbitcher	seminole	Rosen	cherokee
Cechote	creek	Rowe	sac/fox
Cheater	cherokee	Saul	creek
Cheater	cherokee	Shade	cherokee
Cheater	cherokee	Snyder	white
Clayton	white	Spence	seminole
Cloud	creek	Spoon	shawnee
Cloud	creek	Summers	seminole
Costello	mexican	Sweet	white
Deer	seminole	Swimmer	cherokee
Edge	caddo	Tarpalechee	creek
Factor	creek	Taylour	mandan
Faub	white	Tecumseh	creek
Fox	white	Thompson	choctaw
Freeman	creek	Tiger	creek
Geralds	white	Tindell	cheyenne
Gibbs	sac/fox	Toppah	kiowa
Gibson	creek	Torres	mexican
Grant	white	Turk	white
Grimes	cheyn/arp	Wakeford	white
Hagy	cherokee	Walker	cherokee
Harjo	creek	Ware	kiowa
Harjo	seminole	Wargee	creek
Hooper	cherokee	Watson	creek
Hoover	white	Wheeler	white
Houx	white	White	omaha
Hummingbird	kiowa	Wright	choctaw
Jake	osage		

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