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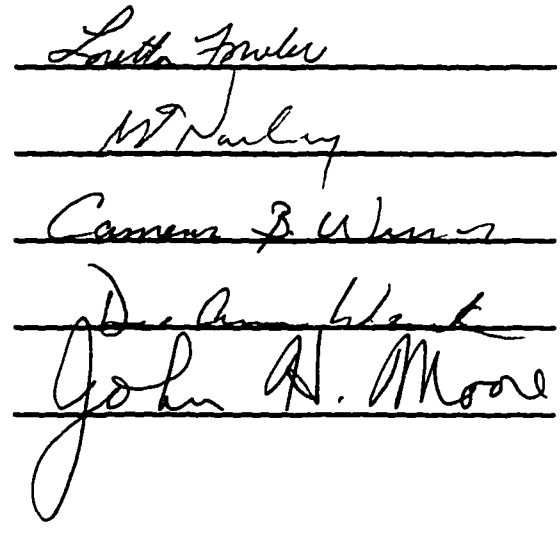
THE SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC EFFECTS OF CREEK REMOVAL
1832-1860

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY



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ABSTRACT

This analysis will show the social and political aftermath of Creek Indian removal in the early nineteenth century. To accomplish this, this study explains specific demographic characteristics both before and after removal. This analysis examines one specific area of Creek social organization -- names -- both before and after removal. Additionally, this analysis indicates that there was a decrease in Creek population. However, among the Upper Creeks, there was a less severe decrease and a significant increase in household size, suggesting increased fertility, from 1832 to 1857/58. Likewise, there was a larger increase in household size among Upper Creeks and Muskogee Creeks. This analysis uses Creek personal names to show social changes during this period. Initially, in both pre- and post-removal periods, Upper Creeks were the most Muskogean, at least using the criteria in this study. In this analysis Muskogean means a group had a higher percentage of Muskogee clan, town, or title names. Upper Creeks also had more English names. Not unexpectedly, Muskogee towns had a higher proportion of Muskogean personal names. Furthermore, both Upper and Lower Creeks increase in Muskogean names; by 1858-59 Muskogean names were more common than in 1832. Likewise, there was less variety in 1858-59 than in 1832. There was a significant increase in the percentage of English names between 1832 and 1858-59. All of this suggests that some Creeks adjusted to removal better and faster than others. This data suggests two strategies for adaptation to Creek resettlement. The first strategy was a return to and intensification of Muskogean social patterns as shown by an increase in Muskogean names, particularly political and social titles. The second strategy was to increase relations with Americans. Both strategies existed before removal, but after resettlement the patterns intensified. In short, both conservatism and, possibly, innovation, became more important. The latter route to adaptation among the Creek is well known, but the former has not been discussed in previous works.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Forced migration has been occurring for centuries. Perhaps 38 million people were forced to migrate in the 1980s (Cernea 1991). Researchers have recently suggested that economic development and land shortages together with population growth will only increase forced migrations in the future. Considerable recent research has focused on the social and demographic effects of modern resettlements (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993; Cernea 1991; Oliver-Smith and Hansen 1982; Clark 1989). However, very little of this research has focused on one of the largest and most important forced migrations in United States history. In the early nineteenth century, over 100,000 Native Americans were relocated from the Southeastern United States to what is now Eastern Oklahoma. The descendants of this population now represent over half a million people and constitute five of the ten largest tribes in the United States today (United States Bureau of the Census 1992). The demographic and social effects of forced migration on these groups is an important and often overlooked area of historical research.

This study is based on the idea that the larger problem of forced migration is best attacked by looking at a particular removal in depth. That is, this study provides part of the whole picture of Native North American removal, as well as of forced

migration in general. The following chapters comprise an analysis of the removal of Creek Indians from Alabama to Indian Territory, later Oklahoma, in the 1830s. In this chapter I will discuss demographic, migration, and resettlement theory and explain why I have chosen to emphasize resettlement theory over other competing bodies of theory.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to examine political, social, and demographic effects of the early nineteenth century Creek removal. This study revolves around questions related to changes that occurred after removal, focusing on several specific problems. Who did or did not die during removal? Who left the group before, during, and after removal? What were the consequences of these losses, both politically and socially?

This study is designed to accomplish three main objectives. First, it describes the process and nature of removal. It is not enough simply to show the number of people who died or deserted because of this trauma; these events must be understood in relation to the political and social structure. Second, it describes the pre- and post-removal demographic, social, and political situation. Third, it discusses the relationship between demographic changes and social or political change, using the most appropriate theoretical perspective available.

Besides these general objectives, this study shows specific demographic changes that occurred before, during, and after removal. Likewise, the social and

political situations that existed after removal will be analyzed. Specifically, these changes include personal name or title changes, clan and town growth and dissolution, changes in family size, and possible changes in fertility or mortality patterns.

Theory/Literature Review

To review the literature on the demographic changes of the Creeks and on forced migrations, a discussion of demographic theory is needed. Demographic regimes generally comprise three variables--fertility, mortality, and migration--reflecting, respectively, birth, death, and movement. All demographic studies revolve around one or more of these three areas. To set the stage for this analysis and to understand the demographic effects of forced migration, a discussion of each is necessary.

Fertility

Fertility is the number of live births in a population. It is different from fecundity, which is the ability to produce children. At first glance, it appears that fertility would be of little importance in this analysis, although it is generally accepted as the prime cause of demographic change. Fertility usually changes a population's age/sex structure and causes long-term population growth or non-growth. Thus, fertility should be responsible for any major population change. Mortality can and does change populations radically, but fertility rates shape the future of a population

even when death is held constant (Shryock, Siegal, and Associates 1976). In order to understand this premise and its importance in the Creek context, a short discussion of fertility theory is necessary.

Societies are generally categorized as based on high or low fertility. Further, societies are thought to maintain high fertility rates because of the need to replace the members of the society, clan, or kingroup (Nag 1962). Additionally, reproduction is considered a prestigious and virtuous thing to do. Children are a source of labor and social security in old age. In modern societies, with modern contraceptive methods, limitation of births is a simple matter, but even in pre-modern societies pregnancy prevention can occur. Women can and do control their fertility through a variety of methods in many traditional societies (Harpending and Draper 1990; Harpending and Wandsnider 1982; Blurton Jones and Sibley 1978; Caldwell and Caldwell 1983; Frank 1983; Benedict 1972; Howell 1979; 1986; Neel 1970; Moran 1979; Wirsing 1985). If Native American groups were controlling fertility through social or family decisions, it is an important point for the future growth of the society, as well as for the recovery from mortality. Unfortunately, little is known about early Creek contraceptive patterns.

One important and engaging theoretical discussion of fertility is Kingsley Davis and Judith Blake's classic work on the *intermediate* variables of fertility. These *intermediate* variables include: (1) factors affecting exposure to intercourse; (2) factors affecting exposure to conception, either impaired fecundity or contraception use; and (3) factors affecting gestation and successful parturition or

fetal mortality (Davis and Blake 1968). From this classic work comes an excellent analysis of the social and cultural factors that influence fertility. Specific fertility factors that are related to migration include forced separation, periodic abstinence, interruption of regular intercourse patterns, decreased fecundity, and increased contraceptive use, all of which tend to decrease fertility rates.

Anthropologists have historically studied small pre-industrial societies. Because they are small, these societies are difficult to analyze quantitatively. However, many cultural factors that affect fertility are known from anthropological studies. Among the important anthropological contributions to fertility theory are the importance of postpartum sexual taboos and of restrictions on sexual intercourse among divorcees and widows. For example, remarriage for widowed Creek women was not allowed for four years; Creek men could marry after two years (Swanton 1928b). Additionally, cultures often have rules concerning when, where, and with whom sexual intercourse is allowed (Harris and Ross 1987; McElroy and Townsend 1989). Cultures also can have circumcision rituals that can affect the future fertility of individuals (McElroy and Townsend 1989). Another area in which anthropologists have contributed to the understanding of fertility control is in the awareness of breastfeeding and its relationship to controlling fertility (Jellifee and Jelliffe 1972; Wilmsen 1986). Finally, anthropologists and others have recognized the serious effects of diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, pelvic inflammatory disease, and smallpox on the fertility of a population (McElroy and Townsend 1989).

The idea that populations change in an evolutionary and permanent manner is the basis for demographic transition theory. Simply, demographic transition theory states that populations pass through stages that vary through time (Notestein 1945; 1953; Caldwell 1976; 1982; Cleland and Wilson 1987). The earliest stage is one of high fertility/high mortality; the next, high fertility/low mortality, as mortality rates decrease; and the last is low fertility/low mortality. Most research into demographic transition theory has focused on the latter shift, between high fertility and low fertility, and on the drop in mortality (Freedman 1979; Mauldin 1978; Knodal 1977; Teitelbaum 1975; Van de Walle and Knodal 1980). Although not well studied, the idea that pre-modern, high fertility/high mortality societies varied in their fertility rates is not uncommon (Wrigley 1978; Crenshaw 1989; Mosk 1981; Davis 1986). Among those who have examined a high fertility/high mortality social system is Romaniuk (1981). This author proposes that fertility rates for Canadian Indians were low in 1800, then rose, and finally dropped again with "transition" to a low fertility society (Romaniuk 1981). The point is that populations may move from low-moderate fertility to high fertility before they move back to low fertility (Romaniuk 1981). The level of fertility in pre-modern populations is important not only in demographic transition theory, but in specific regions where the change occurred in a known historical context (Galloway 1988).

In fact, the assumption of high fertility in pre-modern Native American societies is as theoretically fundamental now as it ever has been (Ubelaker 1992a; Dobyns 1983). Demographic studies of Native North and Middle American

populations have tended to focus on one issue, the true size of the Pre-Columbian or contact population. This issue and the associated mortality change will be discussed in more detail later. A few authors have discussed decreased fertility as a potential factor in the decline, but most have ignored the issue entirely (Stannard 1990; 1991; Moore 1989; Swan and Campbell 1989; Ubelaker 1992a; Powell 1992; Stodder and Martin 1992; Walker and Johnson 1992; Boyd 1992). Stannard's unique study of the demographic impact of European contact in Hawaii, however, does develop the idea of the importance of low fertility in native population decline (Stanndard 1989; 1991; 1990). But, by his own admission, this population does not have the same history as North American populations because of its isolation from the continent (Stannard 1991).

The reasons that fertility theory is not exceptionally useful for this analysis are three-fold. First, fertility is only one part of the demographic regime, along with mortality and migration. Second, very little research has focused on the social and cultural issues affecting fertility, especially fertility changes. Third, very little work has focused on Native North American societies. Migration, because of the rich literature, provides a more promising avenue for research.

Mortality

While fertility influences the growth of a society, differential mortality can shape a society's present and its short-term future in radical ways. As an example, when mortality rates in all age groups decrease, both the young and the elderly

benefit. The result is increased fertility rates because of the presence of more young adults. In the long term, such a fertility increase can more directly reshape the overall social structure where mortality cannot, but increased mortality in the short term--especially differential mortality--can also reshape social structure.

Numerous causes of mortality are listed throughout the more than one thousand pages of the 1979 International Classification of Diseases (ICD-9 1978). These causes range from abactio to zymotic, including everything from degenerative diseases to accidents, suicide, and infectious diseases (ICD-9 1978). For this analysis, possible causes of both deaths and rates of deaths will be discussed where appropriate, but very little specific information is available.

Several working models and established theories have discussed shifts in mortality rates. The first, mortality transition theory, simply states that as societies "progress" and become "modern"--by developing modern vaccines, public health, medical practices, nutrition etc.--their mortality rates decrease. This decreased mortality occurs as a "natural" evolutionary progression, with accompanying modernization. Mortality transition theory consists of three stages: pre-transition, before 1850; transition, 1850 to 1950; and post-transition, 1950 to the present (Omran 1982).

World demographic estimates propose that before this transition mortality was both high and radically fluctuating because of numerous epidemics and pandemics. Modernization occurred during the mortality transition stage. During transition, mortality decreases, particularly as epidemics decrease, and life expectancies increase

from around 40 years to about 65 years of age--while death rates continue to decrease, although at a much slower pace.

The causes of death during different types of transitions vary. In all of these models the most common causes of pre-transition deaths were epidemics and pandemics--smallpox, cholera, yellow fever, typhoid--as well as famine. Transition, then, is a period of receding pandemics, which become less extreme and less common than before. In the post-transition phase, either degenerative or man-made diseases take over, with life expectancies attaining significantly more years.

Despite the general importance of these theories, the most important theories to explain the observations in this analysis are those that show the actual effects of mortality. Other than the clearly detrimental consequences of high mortality and the related issues of mortality changes on the age/sex structure, very few investigations have focused on the social, cultural, or political causes and effects of mortality. Most research has focused on the differences in, for example, age groups, rather than on the differences resulting from changes in and the aftermath of mortality.

As mentioned previously, anthropologists' contributions to demographic studies have been primarily with small pre-industrial societies. Among the important anthropological contributions to mortality studies is the recognition of the importance of infant mortality, including that from infanticide, in these small-scale societies (Harris and Ross 1987; McElroy and Townsend 1989). Furthermore, anthropologists have studied the diverse heath and disease patterns of hunting and gathering societies (Dunn 1968). Several patterns are noted by Dunn, including the following: (1)

patent, and perhaps even borderline, malnutrition is rare; (2) starvation occurs infrequently; (3) chronic diseases, especially those associated with old age, are relatively infrequent; (4) birth rates are high but life expectancy, especially for females, is short; (5) accidental and traumatic death rates vary greatly; (6) predation, excluding snakebite, is a minor cause of death in modern hunter-gatherers but it may have been more important in the past; (7) "social mortality" has been and is significant in the population equation--social mortality being infanticide, sacrifice, geronticide, warfare, homicide, suicide, and stress; (8) parasitic and infectious disease rates of prevalence and incidence are related to ecosystem diversity and complexity (Dunn 1968). This analysis, however, is on a horticultural or agricultural society.

Anthropologists studying agricultural societies have shown that both mortality and fertility are higher than in hunting and gathering societies (Harris and Ross 1987; McElroy and Townsend 1989). Settled life increases opportunities for disease through increased rats and mosquitoes but also through increases in herd diseases such as measles, rubella, mumps, chicken pox, and smallpox (McElroy and Townsend 1989). Settled life can also increase vulnerability to warfare. As discussed earlier, fertility increases in settled societies. Child spacing decreases because infants can now be fed grains and thus can be weaned earlier, allowing decreased infanticide. Simply, as mortality decreases and fertility increases, populations grow, although population growth may have set off the settlement itself (Boserup 1965).

The following may be concluded from previous mortality studies reviewed for this work. First, as social stratification increases, death rates become socially

specific, i.e., wealthy people attain increased life expectancies. This is a function not only of social class, but also of occupational prestige. That is, those with high occupational prestige have longer life-spans. In addition, life expectancies increase with corresponding increases in both income and education.

With the inclusion of race and ethnicity as factors, the situation becomes even more complicated. In general, the one group or "race" dominating a given population possesses the lowest mortality rate of that population. Although certain minority groups sometimes show increased life expectancies--i.e., Asians residing in the United States often achieve longer life expectancies than Whites--most minority populations have decreased life expectancies.

Published mortality research has not focused on the effects of the aforementioned differences. Very little research has been reported on the detrimental or the positive effects of the differential mortality of societies, classes, racial groups, etc. In fact, very few investigators have discussed the individual, social, demographic, and cultural effects of increased or decreased mortality.

The best work yet produced on the effects of decreased mortality are Wrigley and Scholfield's classic works on English population history (Wrigley 1969; Wrigley and Scholfield 1981). Wrigley and Scholfield's aim was simple and bold. They wanted to show the relationship between a pre-industrial country's populations and production--harvest, income, etc.--as well as secular changes--slow changes such as population growth and mortality decreases (Wrigley and Scholfield 1981). These authors point out that "short term alterations" between people and resources caused

by harvest instability are obvious to contemporaries and historians alike, but subtle secular trends are difficult for contemporaries to see and for historians to analyze because of the long time frame (Wrigley and Scholfield 1981:1). Wrigley and Scholfield developed some "novel analytic techniques for their effective exploitation" and showed how such changes have "profound effects both upon individual welfare and on the course of institutional attitudinal change" (Wrigley and Scholfield 1981:1).

Another important research area describing the general detrimental effects of mortality is the demographic studies conducted on Post-Columbian Native American societies. The primary goal of the early work on Native American demography was either to determine the total population history of one tribal group or to determine the total population of Native Americans at European contact. The latter goal of these studies remains a major point of controversy. Since the influential studies of Henry Dobyns, the size of pre-Columbian populations has been thoroughly analyzed (Dobyns 1966; 1976; 1983; Meister 1980). Dobyns stressed the importance of European diseases as the primary cause of large numbers of Native American deaths, even in the absence of direct and continual European contact (Dobyns 1966; 1976; 1983). The concept that populations need not remain in actual contact to spread disease, along with the increased recognition of the deadly efficiency of disease in a "virgin" population, are two of Dobyns's primary contributions in his attempt to determine the total number of pre-contact Native North Americans (Dobyns 1976; 1983).

The issue of the number of pre-Columbian Native Americans is extremely important, as it not only allows comparison of North American population histories with the rest of the world, but also includes theories about the extent of such populations as well as explanations for their subsequent decline (Crosby 1986; Stannard 1990; Cook and Borah 1971; 1974; Denevan 1976; Ubelaker 1992a; 1992b; Moore 1989; Johansson 1982; Dunnell 1991). Extreme ranges in population estimates exist in the reported literature, accompanied by extremes in theorized declines. The time of the nadir of Native North American Indian populations has generally been agreed upon as the early 1900s with an estimated total population of 250,000 (Johansson 1982). The time of the nadir for specific regions, however, varies from 1800 in the Southeast to 1940 in California (Ubelaker 1988; 1992b). Possible explanations for the decline have focused on increased mortality due to either epidemics or pandemics, while often ignoring related factors such as lowered fertility rates (Johansson 1982; Ramenofsky 1987; Ubelaker 1992a; 1992b).

The impact of increased mortality on Native North Americans was extremely important for both political and social structure. Smith--to be discussed in Chapter 2--has focused on this for the Southeast, especially the Creeks (1987). According to Smith, the increased mortality caused decreased social organization. For example, the chronicles of the De Soto excursion in 1540 speaks clearly of the sophisticated and complex chief or even state level societies with *kings* (Smith 1987). The kings had hereditary authority over thousands with the power to own slaves and put others to death. One hundred years later, when the English and French arrived, these kings--of

whom there were many--had become non-hereditary leaders of one town, maybe two, with very little coercive power. This will be discussed more fully later, specifically regarding the Creeks.

In conclusion, several theories have been developed for the analysis of the social and demographic outcomes of mortality. These theories include discussions of demographic transition and decreased death rates. Additionally, theories have been proposed to account for increased mortality rates, especially those of Native North American societies. Very little work, however, has focused on differential mortality within a social group and the social and political effects of that difference.

Migration

Migration theory should be the most commonly used basis from which to begin any discussion of forced removal. A definition of both migration and migrants, however, is needed to begin this discussion. The best definition of migration is "a relatively permanent movement of a person or population across a political boundary to a new residential area or community" (Theodorson and Theodorson 1969). According to this definition, not all moves are necessarily migrations. As an example, a move within a designated town might not represent a migration if a change in geographic or political affiliation does not actually occur, regardless of the size of the town. A move across a street, however, if the street itself marks a geographic or political boundary, is considered a migration. Additional information concerning political and geographic affiliation may be necessary before a particular movement

can be determined to be a migration. Distance, then, is not a part of this definition, though it is of course an important part of a move. Another important aspect of migration is permanency. For example, a person can temporarily move to a foreign country and it is not considered migration, since a change in residential affiliation does not occur. Other non-migration moves include nomadic population movements, vacations, seasonal migrations, and commuting. In short, the concept of permanency means that moves meant to be temporary may not, in fact, be migrations.

Migration, according to Peterson, has evolved with time (1975). The first stage, that of primitive or early migration, is the push caused by a need for food, for example, the seasonal shifts in either hunting/gathering areas or patterned seasonal migration--although the latter may or may not be migration. The second stage is forced migration. These migrations include invasions, which in turn cause movements of displaced persons. Forced migrations also include slavery, indentured servitude, and modern refugee movements. The third stage is free migration, otherwise known as voluntary migration. These stages can and do coexist into the present; the earlier stages continue to develop dynamically (Peterson 1975).

Anthropologists have studied many of the early stages of migration. Several examples of works by anthropologists include studies of nomadic hunting and gathering groups. Although this movement is not considered migration, there are migrations when individuals move between and among various camps (Steward 1955; Lee and Devore 1968).

Explanations for migration have usually focused on two areas, why people move--the causes of migration--and the effects of migration on individuals and societies--the consequences of migration. Most models and theories, therefore, focus on these two areas.

Although it may seem that the reason for moving in forced migrations is obvious, even in forced migrations people do not move for exactly the same reasons nor in the same way. The simplest and best theory explaining why people move may still be Ravenstein's push/pull theory (Ravenstein 1889). This theory proposes that some people are pushed out of areas while others are pulled to particular areas. Generally people are pushed out of areas for negative reasons and pulled for positive ones. Lee has developed and extended Ravenstein's theory (1966). Lee's analysis tries to develop "a general schema into which a variety of spatial movements can be placed and, from a small number of what would seem to be self-evident propositions, to deduce a number of conclusions with regard to the volume of migration, the development of streams and counterstreams, and the characteristics of migrants" (1966). In short, Lee attempts to explain all migration, voluntary or involuntary, external or internal, short or long distance.

Lee separates migration into the three areas (1966). Included in these three areas are positive and negative factors at both the area of origin and the area of destination as well as along the route. These positive and negative factors influence subsequent migration rates and post-migration compositions. For example, economic slumps in the area of origin may push people away, while economic booms

may pull people to the areas of destination. Lee includes not only the positive and negative factors that push and pull people to an area, but the negative factors that push people home and the positive factors that keep people from leaving in the first place (Lee 1966). Lee also discusses the neutral factors that do not influence the decisions for certain individuals, but may for others (1966). In contrast, forced migrants are some of the few people who are pushed solely for negative reasons.

Lee proposes that some individuals may be more likely to move than others, i.e., those without children, those with small children, young people, those with more education, the recently widowed and divorced, or recent graduates. Despite this, "the decision to migrate is never completely rational, and for some people the rational component is much less than the irrational. We must expect . . . to find many exceptions to our generalizations . . ." (Lee 1966:51). In short, people who migrate fall into well-defined classes, but not without exceptions.

For the most part, the generalizations proposed by Ravenstein and Lee for migration are essential to the understanding of migration theory, but they are also broad. Consequently, they tend to neglect detailed explanations of the most important issues of this analysis, in particular the issue of post-migration adaptation.

More specific hypotheses on the causes of migration have focused on a number of areas. For example, there are economic motives involving market or labor conditions that either push or pull individuals and groups to or from various areas. These motives include characteristics such as race, ethnicity, distance, information,

relatives, differences in tastes or skills, social amenities, public assistance, and racial inequality (Ritchey 1976).

Several other important social-demographic studies of migration have been conducted. These studies use "structural" and "social-psychological" analysis (Ritchey 1976). Structural analyses included studies of "lifecycle, position, socioeconomic ranking, kinship and community ties, or minority group status [which] indicate differential constraints on behavior [i.e., migration] in relation to the general societal structure or the more local social structure" (Ritchey 1976:378). Although this analysis does not specifically discuss the structural determinants of migration, it nevertheless focuses on the structural effects of migration. Pre-migrational structural generalizations include, for example, "if relatives and friends are located in the individual's community of residence, migration is deterred, but if they reside elsewhere, migration is more probable and directed toward their location" (Ritchey 1976:389). The ensuing reasons for structural determinants, then, include: (1) the *affinity* hypothesis--people move to places like the ones they leave; (2) the *information* hypothesis--people move to places they have information about; and (3) the *facilitating* hypothesis--people move to places where relatives already are, relatives who can facilitate the migration (Ritchey 1976). The point of this particular analysis of Creeks, however, is not the structural causes of migrations, but rather the structural outcomes of migration, thus, as Ritchey proposes, necessitating an understanding of both pre- and post-migrational structures.

Ritchey's other type of analysis, social-psychological analysis, includes the "motives, aspirations, values, perceptions, and modes of orientations" of the migrants (Ritchey 1976:378). Again, the current analysis of Creeks uses these generalizations only for comprehending eventual migration effects, not the causes of this *forced* migration. One type of generalization includes cost benefit analysis; individuals weighing the cost and benefit of migrating. Additional analyses include individual "modes of orientations," such as studies discussing whether motives for migration are rational, traditional, or hedonistic (Ritchey 1976). Finally, one extension of socio-psychological analysis is the cognitive behavioral approach, which simply states that the migrational choice is based not only on evaluation but on the "perceived attractiveness . . . of alternative locations" by the migrant, whether accurate or not (Ritchey 1976:397).

To summarize, much of migration research attempts to explain why people move. Although this analysis does not focus on that issue, some of the theoretical explanations proposed to account for migration are helpful in explaining the effects of migration. In fact, many of the reasons people migrate are the same factors facilitating their adjustments to forced migration.

The consequences of migration are many and varied, but nonetheless tend to fall in to six major categories. In the first place, there is the obvious impact of migration on population size and growth (Yaukey 1985). Simply put, migration changes the population density of both the area of origin and the area of destination. The second category is the selective nature of migration--frequently young people and

families--which influences future growth rate of both the area of origin and destination change. In the third category, migrational population size, small areas show more of an effect than large areas. For example, small Creek towns may suffer more profound effects than larger towns. In general, growth rates also tend to produce growth at the areas of destination while simultaneously stifling areas of origin, owing to both population increase and age selectivity. In the fourth category, migration modifies the ethnic composition in a given area of origin and destination. In the fifth category, migration influences the work force. Migration is a selective process, with people possessing different skills showing different migration rates. This is a more serious issue in industrial societies, but it is also true in any social systems where different social roles are extant. Whether or not individuals in specific occupational roles, work groups, or guilds--i.e., medicine men, midwives, warriors--choose to migrate can drastically affect both the area of origin and destination. Again this trend benefits the area of destination due to the decrease in age dependency, but this trend is less distinct among non-industrial, non-western, and/or pre-modern societies. Unfortunately, very few analyses have been reported on migration among such societies.

Migration, whether voluntary or involuntary, has certain causes and consequences. Migration itself selects for sex, age, race, lifecycle stage, and economic status, as well as other features. In removal situations, migrants show different levels of combined stresses and desires to move. For example, the push is harder with some groups, leading to different outcomes. Nonetheless, even though

involuntary and voluntary migrations have certain differences, they exhibit similar patterns and features.

Anthropologists have studied the effects of forced migrations on the Bikini Islanders in Micronesia forced to migrate due to nuclear bomb testing and the forced resettlment of Navajos and Hopis beginning in 1974 (Kiste 1974; Ellis 1986; Aberle 1993). Research among Native Americans also includes Clifton's demographic, social, political, and economic history of the Pottawatomies and Chippewas (Clifton 1977; 1987).

Another example of post-migration, or post-removal, social and political adaptation is Lancaster's study of post-removal Seminoles in Oklahoma (1994). Like this report, Lancaster's focuses on the adaptations and survival techniques used by the Seminoles to adjust to removal. However, Lancaster's work is strictly historical. Included in Lancaster's analysis are discussions of Seminoles' life among the Creeks during the immediate post-removal period. Additionally, she discusses the Seminoles' problems with governmental neglect, including some of the same problem discussed in this report, such as corrupt officials and misuse of annuity funds, measles and smallpox epidemics, and droughts (Lancaster 1994).

Some of the more pertinent features of fertility, mortality, and migration can be summarized and compared as follows. First, fertility and mortality are physiological processes that are discrete and enduring, whereas migration is not physiological and involves various processes. Second, migration necessarily involves the leaving of one place to enter another, so that characteristics of two areas should be

considered with any migration analysis. Third, births and deaths are universal events. As expressed by Bouvier and Gardner, for societies to survive they "require reproduction and some control over the inevitability of death, migration is not universal, [nor] an inevitable event happening to everyone" (Bouvier and Gardner 1986). In short, the component parts of the demographic regime are so intertwined that they cannot be separately discussed. Finally, it is clear that simple demographic theory is insufficient to understand what actually happened to the Creek social and political structure as a result of the forced migrations of 1836-38; another perspective is, therefore, needed.

Resettlement theory

Perhaps the best theory to guide this analysis of Creek removal is from resettlement or refugee studies. Some general definitions will help clarify resettlement or refugee research. First, refugees are those who flee their home area at a time of stress--i.e., political upheaval, war, or famine. Resettlement may, thus, be voluntary or involuntary, permanent or temporary; it includes any movement of groups from a stressful homeland to another location. Removal is, then, the forced resettlement of groups by a dominant political group. The term itself is often used in reference to the forced resettlement of Native Americans in the nineteenth century.

Many anthropologists and sociologists have studied refugee and resettlement groups. Applying this perspective to better understand a historical society will, therefore, be helpful to put removal in perspective. Involuntary migration is not

inevitably similar to other forms of migration. It is not simply a "push" or "pull" process (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993). In forced migration, the entire population is affected; thus, the selective nature of voluntary migration is not operative in forced resettlement. Researchers have shown the stages of both involuntary and voluntary migration among populations that have been produced by politics, developments, or disasters; stages in involuntary migration specifically will be discussed in detail later. One unique aspect of this study of Creek removal is the analysis of societies many years after the event--an opportunity rarely offered in other studies. Another unique feature of the present study is the analysis of a Native American removal using the perspective of resettlement theory. This analysis will aid both historical and resettlement studies by showing the long-term political and social effects of a removal.

The place to begin any discussion of resettlement theory is Scudder and Colson's classical early work (Scudder and Colson 1982). They maintain that

> people and sociocultural systems respond to forced relocation in predictable ways, predictability being possible because the extremely stressful nature of relocation restricts the range of coping responses available to the majority during the period that immediately follows removal (Scudder and Colson 1982:267).

Additionally, they recognize that voluntary migrants will not display the same reactions as forced migrants (Scudder and Colson 1982:268). At a fairly high level of generality, these and other researchers have subsequently noticed forced migrants' patterns. For example, older people may find relocation more stressful than younger

people, while the poor may also find it more stressful than the wealthy. Moreover, groups and individuals may also react differently, whether they support relocation or not. In the post-removal period, generality becomes more problematic; people now behave in more innovative ways, with new leadership patterns and economic opportunities or limitations, along with new social groupings.

Concerning forced migration in general, Scudder and Colson have emphasized that those forced to move are usually the poorest (1982). More wealthy individuals, even those involved in forced removals, have more control over their migration processes (Scudder and Colson 1982:268). In fact, wealthy high-status Creeks, as in other groups, actually self-emigrated before major removals occurred. Their outcome was consequently better in general, because they possessed resources to aid their own readjustments, whereas the poor were forced to rely on government aid (Scudder and Colson 1982:268).

The above authors argue that three types of relocation stresses exist: physiological stress, psychological stress, and sociocultural stress (Scudder and Colson 1982:269). Physiological stress can be measured by increased morbidity and mortality rates in the immediate post-removal period (Scudder and Colson 1982:269). Psychological stress includes trauma, guilt over survival, grief for the loss of home or, perhaps, relatives, coupled with anxieties over an uncertain future (Scudder and Colson 1982:269-270).

Sociocultural stress, the most important kind of analysis in this study, is caused by "a major reduction in cultural inventory due to a temporary or permanent

loss of behavioral patterns, economic practices, institutions, and symbols" (Scudder and Colson 1982:270). Furthermore, it also "tends to be most serious when relocatees are moved as a community to a dissimilar habitat where they must coexist with unfamiliar hosts" (Scudder and Colson 1982:271). Sociocultural stress includes both a loss of material and a loss of economic resources, including production capabilities, thus often causing changes in both economic practices and production techniques (Scudder and Colson 1982:270). Cultural practices may be ridiculed out of existence, be forced to move underground, or, minimally, change. This is summarized by Scudder and Colson:

> [A]t a time when people are already involved in a serious crisis of cultural identity because of loss of confidence in their leaders and doubts about if their sociocultural system will cope, further reduction in cultural inventory after relocation inevitably increases stress, although paradoxically it may subsequently play an important roll in facilitating economic development (Scudder and Colson 1982:270).

Sociocultural stress also affects migrants through the loss of local leadership (Scudder and Colson 1982:271). Leaders often either die or are dispersed in flight. Furthermore, former leaders often have little continued influence in the new location for various reasons. Regardless of any specific reasons, in relocations brought about by development, leaders are often discredited because they are for or against removal; this is true of pro-removal leaders because of the poor consequences of removal, and anti-removal leaders because they could not stop the removal process. In any case, time is needed for new local leadership to emerge (Scudder and Colson 1982:270-271).

As mentioned in the above section, voluntary migration attracts either young people or families in their early stages who often have social and economic ties to the home village (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993). These groups generally have fail-safe or backup options for their social support systems. If the migration is involuntary, whole communities, along with their extended families, are forced to move as a group and thus face the same economic hardships simultaneously. This is most precisely stated by Guggenheim and Cernea: ". . . few indigenous coping strategies can manage the pressures which are placed on them when large groups of people suddenly find themselves all thrown into the same limited resources" (1993:3).

In light of the serious consequences of resettlement, the question remains, How does any group cope with resettlement? Several ways have been suggested to cope with the resettlement process. To begin with, groups cope in conservative ways using varied strategies. For example, a common coping strategy is denial, or the continuation of a group's living patterns from before the removal, no matter how inappropriate they may be in relation to the new environment. As a consequence, individuals may prepare for removal, but continue daily activities such as home building, cultivation, and even raids (Scudder and Colson 1982:271). De Wet summarizes this as follows:

> During the most stressful period, i.e. the period leading up to relocation, the move itself, and the first few years of adjustment thereafter, people tend to behave in conservative, risk-avoiding ways, clinging to familiar practice and groupings. As communities re-establish themselves economically and socially although it is not necessary that they will manage to do so, they leave this period of stress and insecurity (de Wet 1993:321).

In summary, resettled communities "cope with the stress of removal to an unfamiliar habitat by clinging to the familiar and changing no more than is necessary" (Scudder and Colson 1982:272). Examples include the transfer of farming practices to the new habitat as well as "attempts to relocate with kin, neighbor, and co-ethnics to recreate the security of an encapsulating community with familiar institutions and symbols" (Scudder and Colson 1982:272). In addition, migrants might also be conservative in economic activities. Simply put, the same economic activities, jobs, and neighbors are incorporated into daily living habits as usual (Scudder and Colson 1982:273). Scudder has referred to this cultural conservatism as cultural involution (Scudder 1973). Furthermore, when considering conservatism, Scudder notes the following:

> As a coping strategy, it appears analogous to strategies used for dealing with grief after the death of a loved family member. So long as this coping strategy dominated, the majority of those relocated will avoid both old and new activities that involve risks and hence might increase still further the level of stress (Scudder and Colson 1982:273-74).

For self-emigrants, however, this does not appear to be so (Scudder and Colson 1982:274). They tend to take more economic and social risks sooner than forced migrants. This will be discussed in more detail later.

The work of Scudder and Colson has shown that four periods are observable in the resettlement process: first, *planning, initial infrastructure development and settler recruitment*; second, *transition*; third, *economic and social development*; and fourth, *handing over and incorporation* (Scudder and Colson 1982; Scudder 1991).

The first period simply illustrates the decision-making process concerning how, when, and who will be removed. In this period, the decision makers may "influence the length and severity of the stressful transition stage and they may prevent the state of potential development from taking place" (Scudder and Colson 1982:274). Scudder and Colson (1982) offer several suggestions to aid forced resettlers which should be considered when discussing differing effects of migration. They include: (1) the inclusion of every necessary individual in the resettlement--for example, midwives, herbalists, spiritual leaders, religious leaders, political leaders, farmers, workers; (2) the involvement of the host populations; (3) the recruitment and/or development of a middle class or elite; the desirability of homogeneous settlers; (4) the nucleation of the settler community to allow employment and education; (5) the encouragement of new and varied production sources; (6) the increase in income for the second generation--a new rural elite should be created; (7) the encouragement of increased status of women along with exterior services.

Transition, the second stage, occurs in development relocations from the time rumors begin. Transitions begin in resettlements caused by natural disasters when the disaster itself occurs (Scudder and Colson 1982:274). Transitions can last many years, but generally no less than two. The transitional stage includes the main period of conservatism, when the societies "turn inward and behave as if their sociocultural system were a closed system. This is a necessary response to allow the majority to reconstitute their lives after a major insult to their physical, psychological and sociocultural well being" (Scudder and Colson 1982:274). Several characteristic

problems often occur during transition. These are: (1) dropout through illness, indebtedness, or migration; (2) potential problems with dependency; (3) the lack of political or social settler organizations to aid in the effective and/or efficient creation of a new community along with a new social system.

The third and fourth stages, economic/social development and incorporation, respectively, are difficult to analyze because they vary dramatically with different groups (Scudder 1991). In the third stage, "the majority are better off in their own eyes and in the eyes of the social analyst, this stage is also characterized by widening wealth differentials, increasing social stratification and the emergence of a class structure." (Scudder and Colson 1982:275). In some resettlements, however, this never occurs, where risk taking and either economic or social development never transpire.

Likewise, the fourth stage, referred to as either handing over or incorporation, may never occur. This stage has been compared to the consolidation of successful revitalization movements (Scudder and Colson 1982:275). The incorporation stage can be reached only after specific events have occurred: production systems must develop; local community leadership positions must mature; and all of this must be transferred to the second generation, which "identifies with the community"(Scudder and Colson 1982:275). The local organizations then take over both funding and control of the relocation aid agencies. Ultimately, the community must be "able to take its place within a larger territorial frame that includes host communities, neighboring towns and urban centers, regional marketing and commercial networks"

(Scudder and Colson 1982:275). In short, the final stages are complicated and varied, since they must rely on both new and innovative methods, and are difficult to predict.

As mentioned above, people often begin to take risks in the years after resettlement--financially, economically, productively, and socially--more than do people in non-resettled communities. As noted earlier by Scudder and Colson;

> People now begin to become increasingly flexible, individualistic and open-ended. . . .This is because the simplified cultural repertoire and the breakdown of patterns of community organization and leadership that occur during resettlement, make for less restraint on diversity and individual initiative as the relocation community re-establishes itself (Scudder and Colson 1982:274).

Scudder and Colson also have developed hypotheses regarding the necessary requirements for the third and fourth stages to occur. Some of these hypotheses are important for subsequent analysis in this study. First, a "viable community leadership that can deal effectively with the hosts and extract necessary services and other resources from government agencies" is necessary (Scudder and Colson 1982:281). How does this occur? In transition, organizations larger than either households or kinship groups often deal with life crises. These organizations later develop into groups with economic potential. Such organizations are generally conservative while being deeply nationalistic and attempting to keep others out. After this system of community leadership develops, both economic risk-taking and different methods of production emerge (Scudder and Colson 1982:281). Diversifications, such as new and different crops, then occur, along with new jobs or other investment activities such as education. The result of these changes is summarized by Guggenheim and

Cernea: "Contradictions in indigenous social structures that are held in check by social norms and practices are often released when displacement creates alternative courses of action" (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993). Finally, at the end of the transition stage, both economic and social development can proceed at accelerated rates. Scudder and Colson detail this end:

> Although the reduction of cultural inventory that follows relocation makes for stress during the transition stage, this same reduction may facilitate rapid change during the stage of potential development. Similarly, the absence of community structure and political leadership may facilitate individual and household initiative and upward mobility (Scudder and Colson 1982:283).

Scudder and Colson, of course, recognized refugee migration and development migration as different events (Scudder and Colson 1982:267). Moreover, refugee migrants comprise two types: those forced to move because of war or other serious political persecutions, and those forced to move because of natural disasters. Of these two types, the former usually cannot return, while the latter can and in fact often do return. Because of this, forced migrations caused by development are permanent, resulting in attachments necessarily made to the new areas such as new agricultural lands and techniques, rainfall patterns, social connections with host communities, and symbolic identifications with the new environment.

Besides the basic generalizations discussed above, Cernea, building on Scudder and Colson, shows other typical results of involuntary migration. To begin with, involuntary migration "tears apart the social fabric" (Cernea 1985). The movement itself is not so difficult, but the impact on the social structure of both

economic and cultural life is substantial. In Cernea's words, forced migration "causes a profound and sudden unraveling of existing patterns of social organization on several levels" (1991:195). This unraveling includes: (1) dismantling the systems of production; (2) disorganization of residents and settlements; (3) scattering of kinship groups and family systems; (4) loss of social networks; (5) interrupting trade links; (6) disrupting the local labor markets; (7) destruction of self organized groups; (8) loss of traditional authority and management systems; (9) loss of symbolic markers such as burial ground, trails, mountains, etc.

Second, involuntary migration causes impoverishment that "often deepens with time" (Cernea 1991:195). Impoverishment occurs specifically in seven areas: landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increases in both morbidity and mortality, and social disarticulation (Cernea 1991). For example, fourteen years after a forced migration in Brazil, the resultant economic situation of the emigrants had not yet improved (Cernea 1991). In short, even though a development-initiated forced relocation is often ostensibly implemented to help the relocatees, it is frequently the case that neither their economic, social, nor cultural situations are improved, and are generally severely worsened for up to two generations.

While this model describes why people tend to behave in more dynamic and diverse ways, it is limited in that it does not aid us in explaining the particular forms these diverse responses take (de Wet 1993). As Cernea states, "[T]he consequences vary enormously with local circumstance, with the extent of loss of income--

generating assists and with the degree of resilience or vulnerability of the affected population among other factors" (Cernea 1991:195). In fact, this is what happened in Creek society, in that some parts were more resilient, at least to this particular assault.

Unfortunately, except for the aforementioned hypotheses and studies, very little is currently understood about the social effects of removal. One interesting example of social changes is Behura and Nayak's study of how both kinship and marriage practices changed after the completion of the Rengali Dam resettlement project in India (Behura and Nayak 1993). The loss of the lowest caste--who took the money offered and moved to the cities rather than resettle with the upper castes--radically changed the ultimately resettled community. The absence of the lowest caste forced the upper castes to either look elsewhere or become polluted--having to cut their own nails, etc. This circumstance, then, made it extremely difficult for them not only to socialize but also trade with other upper-caste individuals. In fact, this circumstance finally threw the entire native social system into chaos.

The present analysis is a case study of Creek social, political, and demographic changes in an attempt to offer a plausible explanation of the relationships among these changes. The models discussed in this section offer some explanations of why people behave in the ways they do, but do not necessarily explain the particular forms these responses take (de Wet 1993). This study uses resettlement theory as a launching point or base from which to develop a middle-range theory for a better explanation of historical Native American forced migrations.

Personal Names

Research using personal names has been undertaken for many years (Darwin 1875). Personal names have been used for testing genetic frequency, inbreeding, migration rates, racial or ethnic distribution, segregation, and cultural change (Crown and Mange 1965; Yasuda and Morton 1967; Wijsman et al. 1984; Gottlieb 1983; Laskar 1983; 1985; Azenvedo et al 1983; Lavender 1989; London and Morgan 1994; Watkins and London 1994; Moore 1980). Understanding a cultural system, including personal names and where they fit into the system, is important before personal names can be used to understand cultural change. As will be discussed in detail later, personal names among the Creeks have been well studied (Toomey 1917; Swanton 1928b; Moore 1995). This research follows previous works in using personal names to understand a cultural system and changes in that cultural system.

Names, of course, have significant social meaning. The choices of personal names for children as well as the choices in use of personal names by adults or changes in names are important indicators of social interactions. The name distributions, as London and Morgan state, "are not orchestrated group responses. Instead, they are manifestations of emergent cultural responses to fundamental social change" (London and Morgan 1994). Although a bit extreme, previous name research has even suggested that "choice of personal names come closer to fulfilling the stated criteria for an ideal cultural measure than any other known item" (Zelinsky 1970). This study follows a group of recent works on personal names and cultural change with the ideas that "the collective aspect of naming patterns . . . . that group

differences in naming patterns are due, at least in part, to informal social interaction" (Lieberson and Bell 1992; Watkins and London 1994). As these same authors point out, names and naming systems are patterned (Watkins and London 1994). "Not all names are culturally available and the choice is made from a limited pool of names often associated with other markers of distinctive cultures such as language and ethnicity" (Watkins and London 1994). In any case, the rules of names and naming are cultural and must be understood within their cultural context. This has been accomplished among the Creeks, but changes in the proportion have been discussed by only one author and his analysis is very different from changes noted in this analysis.

Surnames have been used a great deal in the analysis of genetic inbreeding. Isonomy, for example, is an approach to estimating a population's inbreeding by using the frequency of mating between persons with identical surnames (Crown and Mange 1965; Morton 1955). The idea is that increases in same surname marriages show increased rates of consanguineous marriages. Some deficiencies have been noted in this approach, particularly in India, where same name marriage is prohibited but consanguineous or cross-cousin marriage is encouraged (Reid 1971). In the Pacific isonomy has been used to show clan relations (Crow and Mange 1965). Additionally, hundreds of analyses have been completed that use historical marriage lists to show marriage patterns (Wolf et al 1955).

Another purpose of surname studies in human biology is to show how the distribution of surnames either matches or does not match the distribution of known

gene frequencies. Surnames are used to explain the gene frequencies seen in specific populations (Laskar 1985). Surnames distribution, along with assumptions made from the study of surname distribution, can also be used to predict difference in gene frequency within a particular population. For example, as early as 1958 researchers had shown that controlling for surnames could discount the ethnic factor in the analysis of Leukemia by controlling for different blood types (Macmahon and Folusiak 1958).

Three important recent works have discussed the use of personal names to show cultural changes. In these cases personal names were used to describe groups and to show how names represent cultural patterns. The earliest study describe how modern African-American name choices reflect efforts to differentiate themselves from other groups in American society (Lieberson and Bell 1992). The second, a result of the first, describes racial differences in given names in Mississippi using the 1910 US census (London and Morgan 1994). This work suggests that Mississippi Whites distanced themselves from African-Americans by choosing names that were more common among Whites, thus not choosing names that were common among African-Americans (London and Morgan 1994). These authors maintain that these changes were not organized group responses, but reflect a cultural response to social change (London and Morgan 1994). The third discusses name changes among Jewish and Italian immigrants in the US in 1910 with the aid of elderly informants (Watkins and London 1994). The authors assert that both Jewish and Italian names were Americanized, most likely at school. The quantitative data suggest that the names of

those who emigrated before age 14 were more likely to be Americanized (Watkins and London 1994). All of these analyses use personal names to show changes in a larger cultural or social system.

In sum, personal names have been used in numerous scientific studies. Many of these studies indicate that personal names reflect social changes and situations. It is equally apparent that the social significance of these names must be understood and that a theory or supporting data must be used. Names are one of the most basic and reflective social characteristics available. Moreover, names are common in historic documents, especially censuses where lists of names, and often other demographic characteristics, are available. With the proper ethnographic and cultural understanding, names can show patterns, and these patterns can be interpreted to aid in understanding social and cultural change.

A Summary of Significant Issues

To begin with, migration studies concentrate on voluntary migration and migration studies rarely focus on the post-migration period. Mortality studies generally concentrate on who does and does not die, rather than the impact of mortality, particularly within social systems. Resettlement theory, which is clearly the most relevant theoretical perspective, rarely focuses on long-term, historical, forced migrations.

A new study of historical, long-term social and demographic effects of forced migration is needed for several reasons. To begin with, forced migrations have

occurred throughout history with many important historical events involving forced migrations. An understanding of forced migration and the effects of forced migrations is consequently important for historians. Extant conditions in many areas of the world can be explained by these historical resettlements. The combined scientific community of anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and health professionals must grasp the social, political, and demographic effects of forced migrations in order to perceive the social systems within which they work. For example, a social scientist who specializes in Native American history must understand the relationship between removal and social structure. Furthermore, since forced migrations--as well as other major demographic traumas--continue to occur and will always occur, both development researchers and policymakers must understand the implications of forced migrations. Moreover, social scientists in the field of development theory and those involved in policy development must understand the potential and real combinations of social, political, and demographic effects of removal before either advancing or implementing their policies.

Conclusion

Removals have occurred throughout history. An understanding of them is vital to comprehend both those groups involved in removals. This understanding includes the consequences of removal, as well as a realization of both the demographic and the political and social outcomes involved. This study focuses on the demographic, social, and political effects of forced migration, using the Creeks as

a model population. This study is also important for those researchers interested in Creek history and social system as well as those interested in a more complete understanding of American History. Finally, for those interested in resettlement theory, this study will assist the future progress of resettlement models.

"Of the many tawdry chapters covering the relations between our government and the Indians perhaps the sorriest was the removal of the eastern tribes to the territory now embraced in Oklahoma." (Foreman 1930:7)

CHAPTER 2

METHODS AND THEORY

Research Design

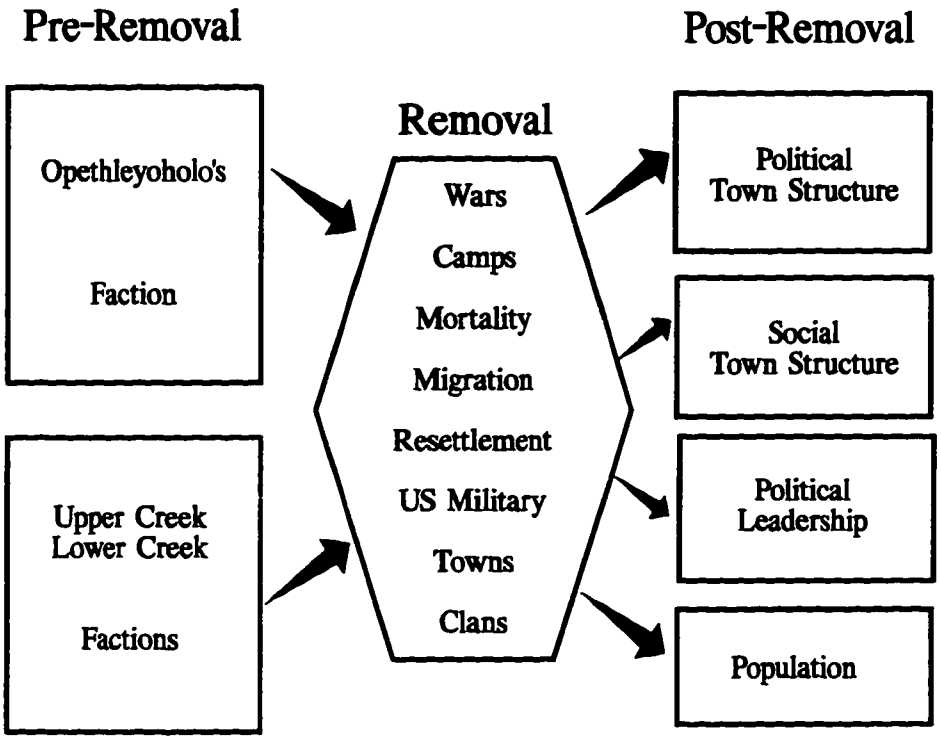
The research design for this work uses both quantitative and qualitative methods. The reasons for using both methods are simple. Most ethnohistorical research, with notable exceptions, has focused on qualitative research with limited quantitative aspects (Braudel 1979a; 1979b; Thornton 1987; Dobyns 1983; Cook 1971; Moore 1989). Studies that have used quantitative methods rarely look at larger theoretical issues, nor do they use the qualitative resources available (Wrigley and Scholfield 1981). In addition, many qualitative historic works have focused on political analysis, economic analysis, or social analysis without demography (Bloch 1961; Braudel 1979c; Wolf 1982; Mintz 1985; Sahlins 1985; Hickerson 1970).

Using both qualitative and quantitative methods offers advantages not apparent when using only one (Creswell 1994). First, it allows checking of data sources. Second, it allows for an understanding of different facets of the same condition. Third, one method can explain the other. For example, patterns may emerge in the quantitative study of censuses that can be explained by the qualitative analyses of journals or letters. Fourth, one method can aid in the conception of questions about and contradictions in findings from the other method, thus posing

new and different questions. Finally, "scope and breadth is added to the study" (Creswell 1994:175).

This study will also use both inductive and deductive paradigms. Although the dominant methodology is quantitative, I will aim at connecting the qualitative analysis as well. The inductive paradigm will be used to build middle-range theories that will be tested quantitatively. Two basic methods will be employed. The first involves a qualitative look at relocation through a case study of Creek removal, together with the general question, What were the social, political, and demographic effects of removal? while attempting to develop a theoretical position in migration and resettlement studies, removal's effects on the social, political, and economic adaptations of forced migrants will be analyzed. In short, a general hypothesis will be offered suggesting that different groups--Pro-American or not--reacted or adapted differently--socially, politically, and economically--to Creek removal. The second method is to answer questions quantitatively--question such as, Was there differential mortality? What was the result of this differential mortality politically, on town size, on social structure, and on the political structure? These quantitative methods include counts of political groups before and after removal, as well as during emigration itself, through rolls and censuses. Pre- and post-census information will also be used to test social and political changes through naming differences, clan differences, leadership differences, and numbers and sizes of towns. The dominant method is quantitative, but the qualitative method is, nonetheless, extremely important.

Figure 1: Research Goals



Definition of Terms

Because demography, anthropology, and the Creek social system are very different areas of study, definition of the major terms not already covered will be provided. These terms are used consistently throughout this work.

Creek(s)

The question of who are the Creeks is complicated by the differences in names given to and used by the group. The Creek Confederacy, the Creek Nation, Muskogee Creeks, or one of the several town names such as Coweta or Cusseta are all names used for this population. According to Swanton, *Creek* is a shortened form of Ochesee

Creek Indians, one of the tribes in the Creek Confederacy (1915:2). Others have suggested that the name originated from the fact that Creeks generally lived next to streams. Whatever the source of the name Creek, there was no single word, Creek or Muskogee, that represented the group that became the Creek Confederacy (Swanton 1915:2). The term *Muskogee* is used for a cultural group--including Creeks and Seminoles--and a language family. The language family includes those spoken by the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles (Crawford 1975). The term Muskogee, used by Creeks who spoke the Muskogee language, as opposed to Hitchiti, Shawnee, or any other language, did not become important in the Creek Confederacy until late (Swanton 1915).

"Their own friendly compact continues the union . . ." was how English trader James Adair described the type of confederacy the Creeks had in the mid to late 1700s (Adair 1775:460). The confederacy, or *Etelaketa*, according to Swanton, was already in existence in de Soto's time among some of the Muskogee-speaking groups west of the present states of Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee (Swanton 1915:331). Recent ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence, however, refutes this by suggesting that depopulation among the chiefdoms of the Southeast resulted in different, more egalitarian social relations (Smith 1987). Depopulation by disease, slave raiders, native invaders from the north, and English traders forced the small egalitarian groups to band together into what was later known as the Creek Confederacy (Smith 1987).

The Creek Confederacy was a loose coalition of towns with rules and a legal system (Moore 1988). The confederacy consisted of Muskogee-speaking towns;

"foreign" or non-Muskogee towns; African-American towns--escaped slave, Indian slave, maroon, and freedmen groups; and towns of escaped indentured servants or European towns (Moore 1988). Included in the early confederacy were those who were to become Seminoles.

The Creek Confederacy began among the Lower Creeks when the towns of Coweta, Cusseta, and Tuckabatchee, three very large and powerful tribes or towns, were forced to learn to deal with each other and with the new towns (Swanton 1915). Swanton states that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the confederation met to deal with issue in which they all had an interest, but points out that they often worked at cross purposes (Swanton 1915). For example, some groups, either towns or tribes, could be at war while others were not. In fact, towns were not required to follow the leadership of the confederacy (Swanton 1915). Regardless, the Confederacy met periodically or when necessary and "was attended by a varying number of Chiefs, Second men, Beloved men, and Warriors, the towns being by no means evenly represented" (Swanton 1915:333). In short, the confederacy was a loose affiliation of tribes or towns who met occasionally for the general good, or, as may have often been the case, for the good of the larger towns of Coweta, Cusseta, and Tuckabatchee. But, as mentioned above, they definitely had rules and a legal system.

A recent analysis of what created the Creek Confederacy is important for understanding its nature. Marvin Smith analyzed what may have happened to the societies later known as the Creeks after the dramatic depopulation that Dobyns and

others suggest occurred in the sixteenth century (Smith 1987; Crosby 1976; Cook and Borah 1971; 1974; Denevan 1976; Ubelaker 1992a; 1992b; Johansson 1982). Smith's assertion is that in the interior Southeast--where actual long-term interaction between Europeans and Native Americans did not occur--depopulation, resulting from epidemics of disease, created a more egalitarian society (Smith 1987). However, because Smith ignores the deerskin trade with other tribes and Europeans, his discussion of the formation of the Creek Confederacy is weakened; nevertheless, his analysis is firmly based in archaeological data, showing the fall of the chiefdoms and the resurgence of the remnants into a political alliance.

Smith's analysis is important not only for his archaeological contribution to the Creek past, but also because he provides some useful terms used in this study. Smith shows that even though the Creek Confederacy was a descendant of these sixteenth century chiefdoms, dramatic social differences between the two groups existed (Smith 1987). The terms used in this study apply to the later historical period only. In fact, most terms are the ones used at the time to describe social and political structures, or those used by Swanton. When these words, such as Creek or even tribe or chief, are used here, they do not imply any theoretical position, but only reflect the language of the day.

The term Creek Nation refers to the political group that negotiated with European and American powers. They came into existence, perhaps, in the late 1700s with the political savvy and manipulations of Benjamin Hawkins, US Indian Agent, and Alexander McGillivray, Creek political leader (Moore 1988). After removal, the

factions that favored the term and the political structure of the Creek Nation became more powerful. After the Civil War the term "Creek Nation" became used for the Creeks as a group, but it was never used for other Muskogee-speaking groups such as the Seminoles.

In short, these terms--Creek, Creek Confederacy, and Creek Nation--are often synonymous, but represent different political structures and meanings. These terms nonetheless often refer to the same groups. The term used often explains as much about the political and social savvy of the speakers, and the period when it occurred, as about the groups to which they refer.

Upper/Lower Creeks

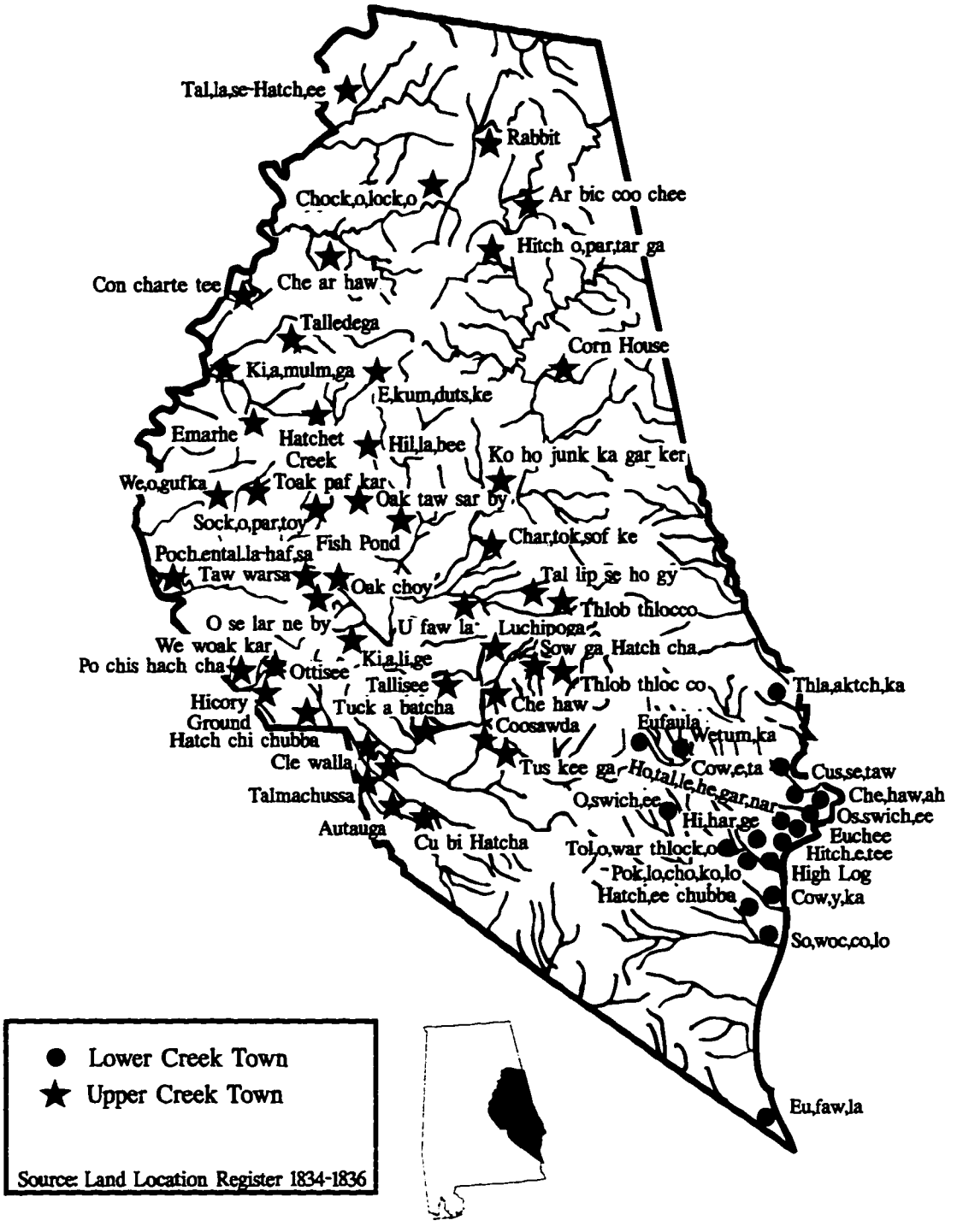
The distinction between Upper and Lower Creek was very important. Map 1 shows the general locations of Upper and Lower Creeks just before removal. Swanton has stated that the split did not occur until "late in time," but the actual date is unclear (Swanton 1922:215). The split appears to have occurred after the Yamasee War of 1715 and before the Creek War of 1816-1819. The original Lower Creeks were located along the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers in what is now Georgia, while the Upper Creeks were located on the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Alabama rivers (See Map; Swanton 1922; 1915). As early as 1712 a distinction was made between Western Creeks on the Coosa and Eastern Creeks on the Chattahoochee, which later became the distinction between Upper and Lower Creeks (Crane 1918:342). In these early references the distinction was more geographic than cultural.

As time went on, the Upper/Lower distinction began to take on political and social significance. There were even periods when the Upper and Lower political organizations worked at "cross purposes [by] holding independent councils and deciding their policy independently of each other" and of the Confederacy (Swanton 1915:333-334). Over time the distinction seems to have begun to mean "Pro-American" Lower Creeks and "Pro-British" Upper Creeks, or more precisely "Anti-American" Upper Creeks. This distinction between pro- and anti-American factions was important during the Creek War of 1816-1819 (Hassig 1974). For example, it was during the Creek War of 1816-1819 that about one-half of the Upper Creeks rebelled, while all the Lower Creeks remained neutral or supported the American cause (Debo 1941; Hassig 1974).

An important conclusion made by Abert, a white observer of the Creeks just before the 1836-38 removal to Indian Territory, was the difference between the more wealthy Upper Creeks, less corrupted by Whites, and the poor, unhealthy condition extant among the Lower Creeks because of their location close to the exploitative white traders (Abert 1959a:0067-0089). Abert suggests that the difference, at that time, was still geographic in the sense that Euro-Americans were more prominent among the Lower Creeks, but that social and economic differences existed as well. The political, social, economic, and geographic differences persisted among the Creeks after removal in Indian Territory (Swanton 1922; Debo 1941; Moore 1988).

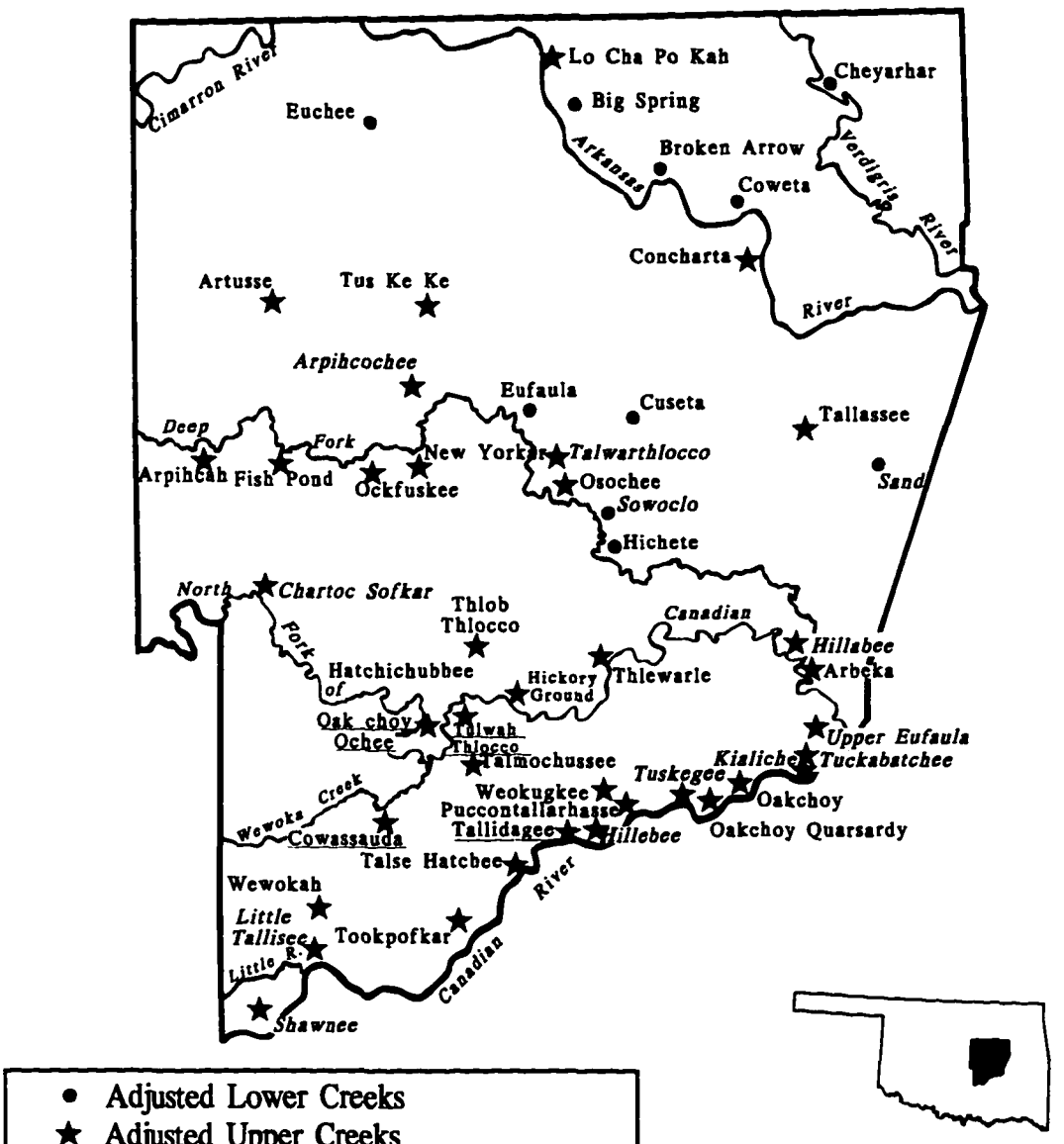
Map 1

Pre-Removal Creek Town Locations (ca 1834-36)



Map 2

Creek Town Locations (ca 1857-58)



- Adjusted Lower Creeks
- ★ Adjusted Upper Creeks

Sources

Location from Creek Nation Map (n.d.).

Location from Swanton (1922).

Location from Creek Nation Map Modified with Swanton.

Tribal Towns

The Creek town or Etvlwa--spelled variously Tvlwv, Tålwa, Italwa, or Etalva --is the basic social, political, and economic body of the Creeks. Etvlwa were first met by de Soto in 1540, but the earliest description of a Creek town is by Bartram in 1773 (Swanton 1915, 1928b; Smith 1987; Bartram 1791:438-464). Even though there is not a great deal of evidence for the social structure of the town in those early days, there is some important information from the later nineteenth century to the present (Swanton 1928b, 1915; Speck 1907; Opler 1952; Moore 1988).

Small towns were called Tolofa or settlements. Tolofa were like towns but did not have a formal political organization and, particularly, did not have the ceremonies of an Etvlwa (Speck 1907; Swanton 1915). Apparently some of the towns discussed in this and previous works were Tolofa, while others were Etvlwa (Campbell 1989). Tolofa were associated with particular towns, and it was the Etvlwa's organization and independence that were important, not the Tolofa's. Swanton, in an early work on Creek social structure, suggests that Tolofa were a collection of houses, while Etvlwa were the inhabitants or the tribe (Swanton 1915). Though these definitions seem to be contradictory, Tolofa are settlements in this analysis and, for all practical purposes, are not discussed.

Towns, as autonomous political institutions, had to maintain their independence in the face of the larger native political struggles--the Creek Confederacy, the Creek Nation--and external forces--Euro-American powers. An early observer noted that: "every town is independent of another" (Adair 1775:460).

Creek towns have maintained their independence even into this century because of certain basic characteristics. These characteristics can be summarized as follows: (1) each town had its own officers and advisors; (2) each town had its own land, public building, and town square; (3) each town had its own traditions and ceremonies; (4) each town's membership was not a matter of choice but was ascribed matrilineally; and (5) the towns could act alone on military affairs (Opler 1952; Speck 1907; Swanton 1928b, 1915). Since all other social organizations were subordinate to the town, the importance of the town among the Creeks cannot be underestimated.

As mentioned above, the towns were the chief political institutions of the Creeks. The town maintained a civil leader, Micco; a war leader, Tustanuggi; and many lower officials. These officials were the authorities of the town. These officials had titles, shown in the censuses and enumerations; they will be discussed in more detail later.

Towns are often linked or associated with other towns through a mother-daughter relationship or through simple amicable relations. Although incomplete, Swanton's discussion of these relationships shows their complex nature (1928b). However, the true nature and patterns of these relationships remains unexplored. In fact, the censuses and enumerations used here will be very helpful for this work in the future.

The self-sufficient nature of the town allowed groups who did not speak the Muskogee language and who were not necessarily similar in their culture to join the larger Creek Confederacy while maintaining their own political independence. These

specific towns will be discussed in detail later. In short, even though the language of the confederacy was Muskogee, some households spoke Hitchiti, Euchee, Alabama, or Natchez (Nunez 1958; Swanton 1915). Despite differences, by the early nineteenth century through "close association over an extended period of time . . . some of the most sharply distinctive cultural features . . ." of foreign groups began to merge (Green 1973:2). "[T]he tongue of the dominate Muscogees had become the national language and the most noticeable differences were the prominence of different clans in different towns" (Green 1973:2).

Red and White moieties

Although not classic moieties, there was a dual division among both Creek towns and clans that Swanton has termed moieties (1928a). This term will be used for consistency with the realization that they do not fit this term. The divisions were *Tcilokogalgi* or red and *Hathagalgi* or white. The former means foreigners or people of a different speech and is usually associated with war, while the latter denotes peace or civil authority. Among the clans the distinction between red and white is most important in political structure. White clans tend to dominate the civil power structure and red clans tend to focus on war relationships. These associations, however, are slightly different in each town. Swanton described them best, carefully explaining which clans are white and which are red as well as how they differ from town to town (Swanton 1928b). However, these patterns are not stable and cannot necessarily be used for analyses of earlier documents. In general, white clan members were

advocates of peace, while red clan members were advocated for war. This is true, perhaps, because the former maintain their power during peace while the latter gain control of the town during war. Finally, Swanton states that members of white clans do not marry members of other white clans, but this taboo is inconclusive, and red-red marriages do not seem to be a problem (Swanton 1928b).

As mentioned above, there are also white and red towns, again discussed by Swanton (1928b). Again, white is associated with peace and civil authority. White towns, primarily one particular white town, were sanctuaries. Individuals accused of crimes could go there and gain asylum until the next Green Corn, when transgressions were then forgiven (Swanton 1928a). Finally, towns occasionally changed affiliations. Usually this was the result of a predetermined number of losses at stickball--the Southeastern ball game similar to modern lacrosse (Haas 1940). Other reasons for changing affiliation are unclear (Haas 1940). Unfortunately for this analysis, it is difficult to know which clans and towns were red or white; therefore, moiety differences will be discussed only collaterally in this analysis.

Clans

Clans are one of the most difficult groups to describe, because of the complicated nature of these groups. Stiggins, a native of Autauga town, described some of the features among the Creeks in the early nineteenth century as follows:

> The strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families. By their observance of it they are so united that there is not part of the nation detached from another but they are all linked,

> harmonized, and consolidated as one large connected family, for by their family prescribed rules there is not part of the nation in which a man can not find his clansmen or their connection.. All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother, being of the same family as the mother, and can only take part with that family. The father and his clan or family are only the father family to the children and he and his clan or family have no legal say or interest in the children's family concerns (Nunez 1958:28).

Evidently, nineteenth century Creeks were matrilineal, gaining descent--particularly clan membership--from the mother. One researcher, however, has indicated that the father had more power than Stiggins and, later, Swanton have stated, especially in political affairs (Willis 1963). Nonetheless, individuals are members of their mother's clan. Patrilineal relationships are typically used for political or social betterment.

Clans ordinarily have animal names, with particular exceptions, namely Wind, the most powerful clan--see appendix for a list of some clans in this period (Swanton 1928a). Some generalizations concerning clans can be made. Marriage or sex was not permitted between members of the same clan. Splitting of clans or incorporation of foreign elements created new clans. For example, a new clan may form because of a desired marriage between members of the same clan: one individual forms a new clan, thus allowing them to marry (Swanton 1915:329). Interestingly, clans, like towns, often formed alliances and links but, as with towns, these links are often difficult to demonstrate and could change radically through time. Swanton calls these linked groups phratries, but the lack of permanency in these relationships makes the use of this term doubtful (Swanton 1928a). Swanton's classic work on clans is invaluable for understanding these relationships (1928a).

One of the most important functions of clans was to provide specific civil, war, and religious officers (Swanton 1928b). For example, the Wind clan in many towns provide the Micco or town king, Deer clan members the Tustanuggi, and so forth (Swanton 1928b). Thus, the clan and town of birth, acquired from one's mother, determine or at least influence an individual's potential political path. For example, a member of the Wind clan is not very likely to be a head warrior, nor is a member of a red town likely to be a high civil authority in the confederacy.

Personal Names or Appellations

Muskogee Creek and Seminole personal names are of five types--see appendix for a detailed description of some names in this analysis. There are three major works describing Creek and Seminole personal names. Noxon Toomey (1917) and John Swanton (1928b) did their field work in 1915, and John Moore (1995) worked in the 1980s. The latter work, using the earlier research as well as personal field work, is the most consistent and comprehensive analysis yet available. The following discussion is based on Moore's analysis of Creek names.

As mentioned above, there are, in essence, five types of Muskogee names. The first and second are formal names or appellations. The most important formal appellations are *Micco*, translated as king; *Henniha,* Micco's assistant or speaker; *Tustanuggi*, head warrior; and *Fixico*, assistant warrior. These titles or formal appellations were actually civil or military jobs. Different clans in specific towns supplied these officials. These titles represent the town's religious designation as well

as civil designations within the town. Thus, as Moore points out, town kings--the top official leaders--may be known by the name of their town--i.e., Talsa, Cusseta, etc.--or by their clan name--i.e., Wind, Deer, etc. In short, they are called both *Talsa Micco* and *Hatcke*--Wind--*Micco* at different times for different reasons. Furthermore, each clan has officials with similar titles besides the town officials. Thus, there is a *Hatcke Micco* and *Hatcke Henniha*; one is the town Micco and the other is not. Interestingly, very few men have the name of the town they live in as part of their appellations (Moore 1995). This will be discussed in more detail later, but as Moore suggests, only those who are officials of a town have that town within their own name if they live within the town (Moore 1995:14).

The third type of name is rare, given only at the time of major meetings of the Confederacy. This type of name was a Confederacy title used to designate different officials within the Confederacy. These officials include such titles as *Micco Chupke*, tall king, used to denote a high confederacy civil leader.

The fourth type of name is a busk or ceremonial name. Busk names are given to young men during the busk, or Green Corn Ceremony, at adolescence. The appellation is often from a patrilineal ancestor. That is, they are often civil or military titles earned by a patrilineal ancestor. These names are often identical to formal names or appellations, but those named do not have any formal responsibility or duties in their own towns (Moore 1995). Interestingly, this type of name supports the importance of patrilineal kinship (Willis 1963).

The fifth type of name is a nickname. These names are recognizable by their composition. To begin with, these names often have only one part, unlike the appellations mentioned above, which include two distinctive aspects. For example, nicknames may refer to a personal affectation, something out of one's childhood, or an animal association--though not if there is a clan by that name in the town. For Muskogee women, nicknames were ordinarily the only name used, but Swanton has stated that wives occasionally used their husbands' official name (Swanton 1928b).

Finally, red towns were generally different from white towns (Moore 1995:12). More precisely, when white towns became red towns, the appellations usually changed. Since white leaders could not be the highest leader in a red town, when a white town became red, whether temporarily or permanently, the former red or war leader became the Micco. This individual would often add a third part to his name, or he would take the former leader's name, both the town name and Micco title. However, to complicates things even more, the former leader might remain as clan leader or religious leader, thus keeping at least one of his appellations. Additionally, when towns merged there were often two or more titles--one from each town--though only one official position, consequently requiring a differentiation of the current leader from the former leader.

> Thus, a Mvskoke Creek man in the nineteenth century might reasonably be expected to have at least two names: his nickname, carried from childhood, and his busk name, given at puberty. In addition he might have a clan title, a town title and/or a permuted titles as well. Of these, only the town title is truly useful in determining a political role on the early documents, since it was the town which was the polity. Unfortunately, and for whatever reasons, a review of the

> documents shows that Creek political leaders frequently signed treaties and other documents with one of their other names (Moore 1995:17).

Besides these generalizations, the way Creek names changed through time is also important (Moore 1995). There are four ways Muskogee names became English-style names. First, English-style names--English, Scottish, German, or French--were brought in through intermarriage. Second, formal appellations became English-style surnames. For example, Harjo and Fixico are presently common Creek and Seminole names. Third, Muskogee terms were translated. For example, Deer, Tiger, and Wind are also common Creek and Seminole names. Finally, terms can be homophonized. Moore asserts that many familiar English names, such as Mitchell and Larney, were adopted because they sound like conventional Creek names. Although this is certainly accurate for the post-Civil War period, in the earlier period between removal and the first post-removal census, very little homophonization occurred. Most European names from that period represent European intermarriage. However, there are a few clear examples of this homophonization in the pre-Civil War, post-removal period.

Delimitation of the Study

Because this research is both qualitative and quantitative, a clear delimitation of what this study encompasses is necessary along with these explicit definitions. Primarily this study deals only with Creeks, except where explicitly stated otherwise. Occasionally, the Seminoles may be discussed in this study. The Seminoles are a coalescent group of Muskogee, Mikasuke, Hitchiti, Euchee, and other small Florida

populations. In the early to mid 1700s the first groups of Creeks moved to Florida and joined the people already there to form the Seminoles. After the Creek War in 1813-1814 and the First Seminole War of 1817-1819, as well as during the early threats of removal, many Creeks joined the Seminoles. Because of the close relationship between Creeks and Seminoles, the United States intended to locate the Creeks and Seminoles together after removal. This, however, was a foolish decision, considering that during the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, a large number of Creeks actively supported the United States against the Seminoles. After removal, the Seminoles were forced to locate among those who had helped to capture them. They were generally located in the western area and set up their own towns. When, after years of discord, it became obvious this was a mistake, the Treaty of August 7, 1856, gave the small western portion of land to the Seminoles.

References will occasionally be made to the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. Finally, sporadic allusions have been made to non-Creeks who live among the Creeks, particularly traders, agents, and missionaries. With these specific exceptions, this study will investigate only Creeks as listed in various censuses and documents.

Data Sources

Published collateral sources that can assist in analyzing of the accuracy of historic censuses are few. Since Native American groups have different histories as well as different social characteristics, it is difficult to create a standard methodology

for criticizing and correcting all censuses. There are, however, analyses and historic critiques for other Native groups that suggest certain inaccuracies in census-taking which may be present in the Creek case as well. Additionally, several sources exist for the analysis of European historical data, and some provide ways to correct and analyze this present data (Willigan and Lynch 1982; Wrigley 1969; Wrigley and Schofield 1981; Meister 1980; Laslett 1969; Dobyns 1966). However, Creeks have some unique characteristics. To begin with, language differences can cause confusion. Since English speakers enumerated mostly Creek speakers, obvious problems with translation exist. Translators were used in these censuses, but of course, any time translation is required, there will be mistakes. These mistakes include spelling and transcription, but most of the transcription errors seem to be alleviated when a native translator is used to analyze the names.

Most of the censuses used in this research are one-time enumerations. Several special problems exist with one-time enumerations. First, a one-time enumeration is only a snapshot in time from which to calculate such demographic tendencies as fertility, mortality, and migration (Willigan and Lynch 1982:83). That is, one-time enumerations do not show the normal demographic profile of the group. This research, however, is not directed at discovery of what is normal, but of what was happening at a particular time in Creek history. Consequently, pre-census social stresses in the population are useful for the current analysis. However, the problem of social stresses before the census must be understood so that this data can be understood. The fact that these enumerations may have been "taken in times of

impending or recently past social stresses," and would consequently not show normal distributions is actually a bonus for understanding Creek removal (Willigan and Lynch 1982:83). Creek reactions to such stresses at the time of the census allow for a study of the unique situation--removal--at that point in time.

Another potential area of limitation is the assumption of underenumeration (Meister 1980:155). On this point, Meister asks the questions "Why should Indians want to be counted?" and "Why should the enumerator find all Indians?" (Meister 1980:156-157). The former question is crucial to any study because the Creeks may or may not have had reasons to be counted. This varied with different censuses and will be discussed with each separate census or list. In answer to the second of Meister's questions, about locating Indians, there is evidence that the enumerator did not find all the Creeks (Abert 1959a; 1959b; Creek Chiefs 1959a; 1959b). This will also be discussed in detail later.

Finally, censuses of any minority group--sect, ethnicity, or tribe--are usually taken by a dominant society to control or at least understand a subordinate group of people. Censuses are often not precise, since the dominant society is unaware of social distinctions within the subordinate group. However true this may be, it was apparently not a serious problem for some of these Creek censuses, insofar as the Creeks often actively cooperated. Also, according to ethnographic sources, the Creeks were always aware of their own town numbers (Hewitt 1939). Because each Creek town allocated land based on population, with the birth of a child land had to be redistributed to each family (Hewitt 1939:127-128). During the annual busk festival,

then, a census was taken to determine any increase or decrease of the population, thus adjusting the amount of land under cultivation by each family (Hewitt 1939:127-128). Therefore, if the Americans had the cooperation of the town leaders, the census would be accurate, since censuses were not an unusual occurrence for the Creeks. However, certain towns, as will be seen, were very large and politically fractured. That is, there were at least two factions in some towns. Political factions may have distorted town size and distribution for their own political gain.

Specific Data Sources

This section will explain each particular document used in this analysis and the data derived from each document. All of these documents are useful for a variety of reasons. Each one adds something to this study that clarifies the demographic and social situation of the Creeks. These documents also have specific problems, as each one was taken under unique and special historic situations. Furthermore, different individuals, with dissimilar knowledge and desires, enumerated each census or data source. Finally and most importantly, they all have something special they give the research. Each census was used for a specific reason and has some qualities that make it useful for present research.

Quantitative Sources

1832 Abbott and Parson's Census

The census of 1832 is a handwritten document located in the National Archives in Washington, DC (Parsons and Abbott 1963; Campbell 1989). Article II of the Treaty of March 24, 1832, "between Lewis Cass, thereto specially authorized by the President of the United States, and the Creek tribe of Indians" required an enumeration of Creeks. Interestingly, this document is not specifically a removal treaty. The treaty suggests removal only if the Creeks desire it. Nonetheless, the removal aspects of this treaty exist and have been discussed by many authors (Young 1961; Green 1973; 1982; Perdue 1988; Foreman 1932; 1933; Jack 1916).

The census has two parts. First, Benjamin S. Parsons censused the Upper Creeks. Second, Thomas J. Abbott censused the Lower Creeks. Each of the two census parts has three sections. The first section in both is a list of Chiefs and Headmen called the "Chiefs list." These are the "ninety principle Chiefs" referred to in Article II of the treaty. These individuals received larger parcels of land--640 acres or one section as opposed to 320 acres allotted to "ordinary" heads of household. Each Chiefs' list is divided into towns and each chief is enumerated with an individual serial number as a head of household.

To the right of the names there are four columns. The first and second columns show the number of males and females in the household respectively. The third column shows the number of slaves owned by that household. The final column shows the total number in the household including slaves. In most cases the Chief's

town name matched other towns listed in the general enumeration. Chiefs' names are not duplicated in the body of the census; therefore, they are only counted once and must be added to the population figures from the body of the census.

The second section of each of the two parts of the census is the general enumeration of each group, Upper and Lower Creeks. The sections are divided by towns and the individuals are enumerated serially within the towns. There are some large towns divided into settlements based, apparently, on geographic locations. The enumerator noted these towns by the stream name on which they lived, for example "Cow,e,ta on War,koo,che, Hatch,ee." The satellite communities--Tolofa--were called settlements and were clearly not towns. This section of the census also has four columns: the numbers of males, females, and slaves as well as the total in the family are shown in the same manner as the Chiefs' section. Occasionally additional information discussing the status of an individual, such as "a free black" or "A Cherokee Missionary," is noted in the text.

The third and final section in each part of the census is a page-by-page summary of the entire census. This summary includes the number of households on a page and the sums of each column. There is also a note concerning non-Creeks given land. There are concluding remarks by the census taker as well as a formal testament to the accuracy of the lists.

Even though relations with the United States were not without problems, the extreme exploitation of Indians following enumerations in the latter nineteenth century had not yet occurred. Logically, both sides, the Creeks and the Americans,

had reasons to be accurate. But there were also reasons for inaccuracy in the counting. The Creeks, on the one hand, received land for every household counted and, therefore, may have inflated figures to create more households and receive more land. The Americans, on the other hand, may have wanted to award less land to the Creeks, to keep more land for white settlers. To protect themselves from the other group, then, each wanted a certain amount of honesty and accuracy. And it is possible that there was a little cheating on each side, each offsetting the other.

Among contemporary bureaucrats and tribal leaders, there are complaints in collateral documents about undercounting. The complaints are in two letters from Creek Chiefs and one from a white observer. Certain Creek Chiefs claim that the census was too low because of the Creek habit of spending weeks away from home hunting (Creek Chiefs 1959a; 1959b; Abert 1959b). Their collective opinion was that hunters who were away from camp were not censused. In support of one of the Chief's claims, a list of 35 missing individuals was provided (Creek Chiefs 1959b).

If these are the only individuals excluded from the figures, then this is an extremely accurate census. This evidence suggests, however, that some undercounting and perhaps even sex-specific undercounting occurred, which may have resulted in a low overall population figure as well as an incorrect sex ratio and inaccurate household size figures. Since the specific extent of the undercounting is unclear, it will be assumed as insignificant unless specific examples are revealed that suggest more serious undercounting.

1834 Land Location Register

In 1834, after two years of squatting by settlers and harassment of Natives by frontiersmen and investors, the allotment of land as required by Article II of the Treaty of March 24, 1832, began. Green and Young have covered this difficult area of Creek history in detail (Green 1982; Young 1961). In short, the registration for land in Alabama required by the Treaty of March 24, 1832, that began in 1834 was instituted as a result of years of political manipulation by the US, exploitation by the state governments, abuse by frontiersmen, and violations by the Creeks' own political leaders (Green 1982; Young 1961).

This document lists those Creeks allotted land as required in Article III in the Treaty of March 24, 1832. The list is almost identical to the Abbott and Parson's Census of 1832 discussed above, with a few corrections added to the end of individual towns. Interestingly, this document lists rejected family heads. Only two major differences between the Land Location Register and the 1832 Census exist. First, on the Chief's lists, individuals were added to the end of each town rather than in a special list of their own. This list, therefore, has only two sections, Upper and Lower Creeks. The second is a supplementary group of orphans. The orphans on the Land Location Register includes only the land's legal location, with no names or other information. Finally there were, of course, corrections where numbers were not seriated properly or notation of families counted twice--both very rare events.

The Land Location Register reproduces the 1832 list in arrangement while adding specific information on allotment. Each household's allotted township, range,

and section location are provided. The Land Location Register provides tangible information on the geographic location as well as land choices made by individuals. The Land Location Register adds important information to this research. But first, one serious problem exists with this document. Although every person was to choose a parcel of land, there is evidence that some individuals did not choose, but were dispensed land (Young 1961; Green 1982). Creek families were often dispensed particular land so collaborators could buy the best land cheap (Young 1961). This particular problem, serious for some issues, is minor for geographic understanding of most towns. Much of this occurred among Lower Creek towns, so most town locations are fairly accurate.

The Land Location Register adds both demographic and social information to this research. This list mentions those who died before being allotted, thus providing some information on mortality. Additionally, the Land Location Register lists female-headed households, thus providing information on household structure. Of course, the accuracy of this information is suspect, but nonetheless, if accurate, the information is very useful.

The Land Location Register also lists groups of people tied politically or socially to other lists. These notations are extremely useful for understanding the Creek political situation immediately before removal. These notations include individuals who supported or worked for the United States during the Creek War of 1836 and perhaps the Second Seminole War. This group is customarily referred to as "friendlies" or "friendly Creeks" in letters and other qualitative sources. The House of

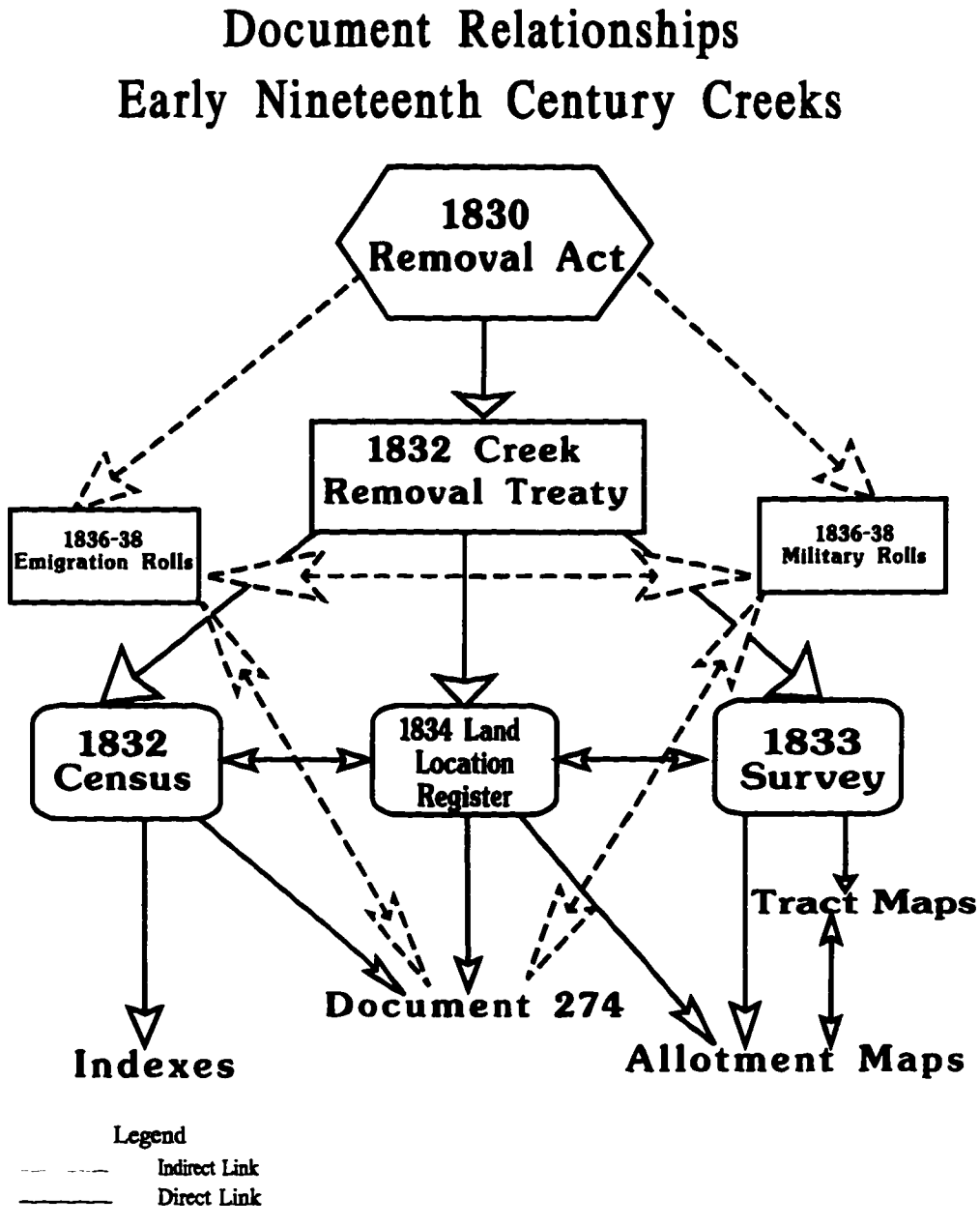
Representatives Document 274 and the US Military Muster Rolls of 1836-1842 list some of these individuals (House of Representatives 1840a; National Archives 1836-1838). The Land Location Register allows these documents to be linked easily, as the numbers generally match.

This document's other problems are those of all censuses and enumerations from this period. The potential and substantial frauds occurring in this period compound the problems of accidental mistakes. No doubt the Land Location Register caught some of the mistakes in the Census of 1832--mistakes such as those rejected or listed as "No such Indian existed" or "Chief knows no such Indian." But the number of Creeks who should have been given land but were not, for political or personal reasons, or who were given land and should not have been, is unknown. To summarize, not only were individuals who may have died given land, a problem that there is evidence for, but some individuals who were excluded perhaps should not have been.

The potential use of this document is tremendous, especially when linked to other documents--see Figure 2. For example, when the Census of 1832 and the Land Location Register are linked, the population, sex ratio, and other data are placed in their geographic position. Further, mortality estimates can be made and family structure in the pre-removal period can be understood. Moreover, these lists provide information on the political situation of the Creek Confederacy, particularly when linked with Document 274 and the Military Muster Rolls. Finally, the Census and Land Location Register are very informative of the social organization of the Creeks.

The uses of these censuses are numerous, and this discussion only scratches the surface of potential uses.

Figure 2



1836 Military Muster Roll

The Military Muster Roll of 1836 is a list of Creek men who volunteered to fight in the Creek War of 1836 and, perhaps, the Second Seminole War in 1837 and 1838. In fact, most of this list is from the latter period rather than the Creek War. This muster roll is actually a series of lists. There was originally one mustering-in list, two muster lists--presumably taken during service--and one mustering-out list. Not all of these lists are available for the fifteen companies who fought in these wars, but generally one or two muster rolls along with a muster-out roll is available for each company.

At their beginning, these rolls list the company commander--usually a captain --and the dates of service. The rolls list serially each soldier by name followed by several pieces of information, more or less complete depending on the roll. The additional information includes the following: "rank"; "when" mustered into service; "where" mustered; "by whom" mustered; "period" mustered; "last payment"; "traveling"--presumably traveling expenses; "rations" with sub-categories of "subsistence" and "forage" in American dollars; "Value of clothing, Arms etc. received from the US" in American dollars; and "remarks." Most of these groups are self-explanatory and can be used to understand the relationships between and among these men; however, the "remarks" column is of enormous importance. The remarks column provides valuable information on promotions and whether "mounted" or with a "public horse" as well as if the individual was used as an "interpreter" or, sometimes, died. Unfortunately the lists are not consistently complete. Those deaths

listed on the mustering-out rolls include the date and place of death. "Rank" is American military rank such as Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, Major, Captain, First Lieutenant, Second Lieutenant, First Sergeant, Second Sergeant, Sergeant, Corporal, or Private.

The Military Muster Roll is nominally linked to the list below--House of Representatives Document No. 274--as well as the two above--the 1834 Land Location Register and the 1832 Abbott and Parson's Census. This list must be name linked to the others; thus, this information is only partially understood. This list, however, is not similar to Document 274, and includes mostly those who fought in the Second Seminole War rather than those listed in Document 274 as fighting in the Creek War of 1836 and on the Land Location Register.

These men were mustered in around 1836, and their families were kept in "camps" located in southern Alabama while the men were in service. This fact is important to the demographic history of the Creeks and will be discussed in more detail later.

House of Representative Document No. 274

This document is located in the House of Representatives Report of the Twenty-fifth Congress, Second Session. The heading of this document is as follows:

> Statement of the reserves under the Creek Treaty of 24th March, 1832, who have given their assent to the contract, for the reserves herein described, entered into the 28th day of August, 1836, between J.C. Watson and others, certain Creek Chiefs, and Gen. Thomas S. Jesup

This document lists the supplementary sections of land given those individuals who supported and fought under US General Thomas Jesup in the Creek War of 1836. This list is not exactly the same as the military muster list, but is very similar because most of those men are on this list. This list, however, also includes some female-headed households as well as non-combatant political supporters. Importantly, this group includes those forced to spend considerable time in the removal camps mentioned above. The written contract mentioned in the report, which was not located in any historical archive, seems to be the contract of friendly Creeks during the 1836 war.

The House of Representatives Report, Document 274, is a list of individuals by town. It includes the "Number," the 1832 individual number; "Indian names"; "County" of new land; and "Location," which is partitioned into "Section or part," "No. of section," "Township," and "Range." This document explicitly links with the 1832 Census and, therefore, to the other documents in Figure 2. This document is very helpful in confirming and understanding the "Jesup" notations on the Land Location Register. Thus, this document, along with the others, clarifies the political situation of the pre-removal Creeks.

1835-37 Emigration Muster Roll

The emigration muster roll is the list used to count and specify who had emigrated. There were nine separate lists made between December 1835--when only

73 emigrated--to December 1837. The Emigration muster rolls seem to have been taken early in the actual removal process. In fact, they were generally taken before removal began, but after the individuals were grouped together and possibly moved into camps. Sometimes the lists were updated with notes that include deaths, desertions, births, or enumeration mistakes made during the removal, but this occurred only occasionally.

The Emigration Muster Rolls are handwritten documents that list the names of heads of households and the number of males and females in specific age groups. These age groups include number of males and females "Under 10," "Of 10 and Under 25," "Of 25 and Under 50," and "Over 50." Additionally there are two columns that include "number of male slaves" and "number of female slaves." Finally, there is a "total number" column. Also included is the date of the muster roll and, occasionally, the date the emigrants arrived at Fort Gibson; however, this is not always legible.

This data source is one of the more useful for several reasons. First, it provides some sense of the age and sex structure of the population, though it does have some very large age groups. Second, it provides some information of known deaths, desertions, and births during removal. It also presents additional names for analysis. Third, it addresses family and household structure in a different way. Fourth, it provides additional information on who emigrated and who did not. Finally, these rolls offer some evidence of which groups or factions a family or household emigrated with.

1857 and 1858-59 Payroll Lists

According to Article VI of the Treaty of August 7, 1856, the Creeks were to be given $400,000, paid per capita "to the individuals and members of said nation, except such portion as they shall, by order of said national council, direct to be paid to the treasurer of said nation for any specified nation objects . . ." for payment of land transferred to the Seminoles in 1859 (Kappler 1904). At removal the Seminoles were required to live among and under the Creek political authority, even though they had lived separately for well over 30 years. As mentioned above, the Seminoles were a coalescent group of Muskogee or Creek, Mikasuke, Hitchiti, Euchee, and other small Florida tribes. Because of their shared history, the United States opted to locate the Creeks and Seminoles together after removal despite some recent enmity between them. The Treaty of August 7, 1856, shows how serious this conflict was by its declaration of amnesty between the two groups in article XXII:

> That this convention may conduce, as far as possible, to the restoration and preservation of kind and friendly feelings among the Creeks and Seminoles; a general amnesty of all past offenses committed within their county, either west or east of the Mississippi, is hereby declared (Kappler 1904:575).

The first payroll census was certified August 10, 1857, and the second on August 8, 1859. The two censuses are not identical, but they are very similar. These payrolls are handwritten documents located in the Fort Worth, Texas, Branch of the National Archives. These payroll censuses include a sequential family identification number, number in each town, names of all family members, number of individuals in each family, amount due each individual, total amount received, signatures of

recipients, marks for those unable to sign, marks of witnesses, and remarks concerning the families.

1857 and 1858-59 Self-Emigrant Lists or Old Settlers Roll

Some Creeks emigrated in the mid 1820s, after the Treaty of Indian Spring and the nullification of the Treaty of Washington (Kappler 1904). Green has discussed this episode in detail (1982). These emigrants moved themselves to Indian Territory, for whatever reason--self-preservation, future political gain, or any number of other potential reasons--and they used their own resources to make the move. The majority of these individuals, estimated at between 2,000 and 3,000, set up a political organization in the west, and they were a force to be reckoned with by the remainder of the population. However, the only census of these Self-Emigrants was not taken until long after the migration.

This emigration list is a roll of "citizens who emigrated to the country west of the Mississippi prior to 1833 who are eligible for funds under the treaty of August 7, 1856." The treaty refers to

> one hundred and twenty thousand dollars to be equally and justly distributed and paid, under the direction of the general council, to those Creeks, or their descendants, who emigrated west of the Mississippi River prior to said treaty of eighteen hundred and thirty-two, and to be in lieu of and in full compensation for the claims of such Creeks to an allowance equivalent to the reservations granted to the eastern Creeks by that treaty . . . (Kappler 1904:572).

Because this faction self-emigrated, they were entitled to different compensation from the forced migrants. They were, thus, enumerated in a different payroll list. The self-emigrant list was certified on December 30, 1857. Somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000 people migrated before 1832. The first payroll list is almost illegible, so most of this analysis will cover the second list, the 1,343 emigrants and their descendants listed in the "Self-Emigrant's List" of 1858. A letter attached to the document, held in the Fort Worth Branch of the National Archives, as well as the front cover of the original document, states that it is a census of the "Old Settler Party of Creeks" as taken in 1857 by order of the Creek General Council and that it was certified November 11-12, 1858. As stated earlier, no original list of the self-emigrants is known, only a list for compensation over 30 years later.

The self-emigrant list is similar to the 1857 and 1858-59 payroll censuses mentioned above, but the list comprises only those individuals who self-emigrated and their descendants. It lists family number, the names of heads of families and children within family groups, and the number of individuals in the family, all by town. The "Principal Chiefs of the Creek Nation in the General Council Assembled" certified this enumeration. This same census was repeated, as with the payroll lists above except for the witness, in 1858 for a second payment certified August 8, 1859.

The problems with both of these payroll lists are obvious. There is virtually no demographic information. No age or sex is provided, only lists of individual names by town. Because the two lists are not linked explicitly and cannot be linked

nominally by hand, very little demographic information is available. The useful demographic information from this study is limited.

1860 Census

Attempts were not made to count all Indians in the decennial US Census before 1890, when a special act was passed to accomplish this (Thornton 1987:213). Nevertheless, in the 1860 tabulation of the US Census Bureau, "Whites," "Free Blacks," and "Slaves in Indian Territory" were censused. Indians were not censused since they were not citizens of the US nor taxed by the US, but the census counted slaves of both citizens and non-citizens. The 1860 census and slave census are published as "The Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States 1860" Rolls 52 and 54 respectively, Arkansas, Volume 8, Washington, White and Yell Counties and Indian Lands (United States Bureau of the Census 1860). The Indian Lands information was collected for the Creek Nation, Chickasaw "District," Seminole "Country," Cherokee Nation including the districts, and Choctaw Nation including areas.

Two different instruments were used for the different groups, Slaves and Whites/Free Blacks. For Whites and Free Blacks the instrument includes the following: *dwellings* or houses numbered in the order of visit; *families* numbered in the order of visitation; *names* of all persons in their usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1860; *descriptions* such as *Age, Sex, Color*--White, Black, or Mulatto; *profession, occupation or trade* of each person, male or female, over 15 years of age;

Value of Real Estate; Value of Personal Estate; Place of Birth, naming the state, territory, or county; *Married within the Year; Attended School within the year; Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict*. For the Creeks, there is a hand-drawn asterisk by individuals who were *"married to native, but not admitted to citizenship,"* as explained on the first page. There is summary information for each page and the name of the Post Office--only Micco Post Office and Creek Post Office were listed for the Creeks; the date of the enumeration, including which household completed on each day; and the name of the enumerator, Israeil G. Vore, Asst. Marshal. There are fifteen pages of free inhabitants in the Creek Nation.

As for the slave enumeration, the instrument includes the *names of slave owners; number of slaves;* and *descriptions*, including age, sex, color, and whether fugitive from which State; *number manumitted, deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic;* and the *number of slave houses.* It is important to note that slaves' names were not included in this enumeration.

Michael F. Doran has provided the only analysis of the 1860 Indian Lands Census (Doran 1975). Doran's analysis, however, has one major flaw: Doran assumes that all of those listed in the free census have the same ethnic background. The implication is that all US citizens in the Indian Lands were White. In fact, almost one-third of free citizens censused were Free Black or Mulatto. Further, Doran does only a cursory analysis of this very important document. This enumeration provides some of the most complete information about pre-Civil War, non-Creek citizens in Indian Territory, not to mention the slave population. Moreover, this census is one of the

most informative documents concerning mid-nineteenth century Creek intermarriage and the immigration of non-Indians to Indian Territory. An in-depth analysis of this document is desperately needed given its time period and the groups enumerated.

Except for the slave enumeration, this census will not be discussed in detail, since this study is not interested in the Euro-American population. There are 1,399 Black and 252 Mulatto slaves enumerated, and among the 596 Free inhabitants there were 60 Mulattos, 118 Free Blacks, and 318 Whites.

Qualitative Sources

Qualitative sources are as important as quantitative sources, but as with quantitative sources, there are problems. Nevertheless, qualitative sources provide information that is not available in censuses. For example, causes of death, such as famine or disease, are not available in most enumerations. Furthermore, qualitative analyses provide data on political alliances, social systems, economic systems, and even religions. Moreover, important information from historical narratives and perceptions becomes available. In short, qualitative sources can often explain the "why" and the "how" of the quantitative information, for example, why people died and how people formed alliances. Qualitative information includes books, reminiscences, diaries, political records, mission reports, and historical remembrances. Only a few of the more important of these resources will be discussed here.

House of Representatives Reports and Other US Documents

One report to the House of Representatives is extremely important for the period under analysis in this study. Several other reports will contribute to this analysis, but House of Representatives Document Number 276, *Letter from the Secretary of War Transmitting Documents in Relation to Hostilities of Creek Indians, June 6 1836*, is invaluable (House of Representatives 1840). These are US government letters sent and received during the Creek War of 1836. The letters include extremely valuable information from the US government perspective on the Creek War of 1836 and on emigration, including political information on this war.

Other US documents include letters and reports surrounding the Creek and Seminole Emigration, the Second Seminole War, and the Treaty of 1856 with the Seminole (Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824-81 Microcopy 234). These hundreds of microfilm rolls, 30 of which refer to the Creeks, cover most of the letters concerning forced removal that occurred in the US between 1824 and 1881. These letters explain some of the more important factors of the actual removal processes. The documents are very important for understanding exactly what occurred to each particular group during removal, as well as the attitudes and behaviors of those responsible for migration. These documents require time and patience, but they can provide important evidence for this analysis.

Ethan Allen Hitchcock

E. A. Hitchcock is the central figure in one of the most interesting mysteries in the history of Southeastern removal. On September 29, 1841, Major General Ethan Allen Hitchcock was assigned to investigate charges of profiteering and fraud committed against Indians during and after removal. Grant Foreman's summary in the introduction to the publication of Hitchcock's diary explains the situation well.

> Bribery, perjury and forgery were the chief instruments employed in the infamous transactions investigated by Hitchcock. Due bills were issued by contractors to the Indians, and then bought back at a fraction of their value. Short weights, issues of spoiled meat and grain, every conceivable subterfuge was employed by designing white men on ignorant Indians. After the investigation was made, Colonel Hitchcock prepared a report with one hundred exhibits attached, which he filed with the Secretary of War; committees of Congress tried vainly to have it submitted to them, so that appropriate action could be taken; but it was stated that too many friends of the administrations were involved to permit the report to become public. It disappeared from the files and no trace of it is to be found in the voluminous correspondences on this subject now in the files of the Office of Indian Affairs (Foreman 1930).

Simply, Hitchcock's report, apparently blisteringly honest, mysteriously disappeared, and all that remained was the journal that Hitchcock wrote while in Indian Territory. This journal is the only good source of information concerning Creeks and other Southeastern Indians during this period. As with other qualitative resources, this report has weaknesses. The major weakness of Hitchcock's journal is the short time the author spent with each group. Hitchcock did not have time to understand social or political systems. Nonetheless, it is perhaps the best, most informative resource on near post-removal Indians available.

John R. Swanton

Of course, the best source of information on Creek social structure is Swanton's *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy* and its companion book *Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians* (1928a; 1928b). These books, originally published by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1922, discussed field work conducted mostly between 1911 and 1912. Although the information was collected many years after removal and after two other serious demographic disruptions, the Civil War and Allotment in Severalty, the books are the most complete and scientific collections of Creek social organization available. Thus, even though modern informants were used in this analysis, the historical work of Swanton is, because it is closer to the events, a better source where it elaborates on a topic.

Limitations of the Study

There are several potential problems of this investigation of Creek removal. First, as suggested above and as will become obvious later, there is only a limited amount of data available. The bulk of this study relies on three major enumerations--1832 Census, 1836-38 Emigration Muster Rolls, and 1857, 1858-59 payroll lists. Twenty years elapsed between removal and the first post-removal census. This leads directly to a second problem, the long period between removal and the post-removal period. Because of a lack of immediate post-removal censuses, there is an unknown period where many unexplored circumstances and events occurred to change Creek

political or social systems. In short, because of the long period between removal and the payroll lists, many events could have occurred that led to situations thought to be a result of removal. Although this is a problem in this analysis, it also allows this hypothesis to be tested in other removal episodes to determine what is historical particularism and what can be generalized about removal. In addition, there is no assumption that removal "causes" these factors, there are only correlation and association.

A third potential problem is a weakness in the censuses themselves. These censuses were not taken for demographic purposes, but were only counts of the populations and include very little except basic information. The specifics were as mentioned above: basic information, such as name and town, is available on most censuses and little else. However, this information, when studied with an understanding of surrounding social conditions, can be more revealing than some more detailed information.

A fourth possible problem is out-migration. Migration is always the most difficult aspect of demography to measure and is especially difficult in pre-modern populations who do not speak the dominant language. Furthermore, the fact that members of this tribal population often migrated to other towns and groups--namely the Seminoles--makes the Creeks even more difficult to measure. Briefly, out-migration is always difficult to count and even more so in a population known to migrate frequently.

A fifth potential problem is Creek names. For example, different names existed for the same individuals, varied spellings existed for the same name, and different interpretations of both Muskogee and English names existed (Moore 1995). Problems in the interpretation of names are serious. In this study, however, names were translated by native Muskogee speakers with the aid of a dictionary based on the work of missionary Reverend R. M. Loughridge, who began his work with the Creeks in 1842 (Loughridge and Hodge 1890). Since modern translators were used, and, of course, words and languages change--particularly unwritten languages--these translations are not ideal. Nevertheless, the use of the older dictionary should have compensated somewhat for this problem.

A final inherent problem is that perhaps this information cannot be generalized to modern populations in development situations. Modern medical techniques, development policies, and the press and mass media can all be moved around the world almost immediately. This ease of transportation was unheard of in the nineteenth century. Since the ultimate goal of resettlement studies is to help prevent some of the problems associated with removal, these generalizations are necessary, but must be made with extreme caution and only after extensive testing with other removals. This study does not attempt the latter.

As discussed above, this analysis is a mixed qualitative and quantitative study. So, despite the problems listed above, this research hopes to accomplish several objectives. While it adds to mortality and migration theory by showing how they can

and do correlate with each other, it will add to resettlement theory by explaining some particular results of forced migration.

". . . the number of people is itself as much cause as consequence . . . In any case number is a first-class pointer, it provides an index of success and failure." (Braudel 1979a:31)

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

The Creeks, because they are one of the "Five Civilized Tribes," have had numerous histories written about them. Some of the more important include Benjamin Hawkins's 1848 *A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799*, John Swanton's 1922 *Early History of the Creek Indians,* Angie Debo's 1940 *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes,* and Michael Green's 1982 *The Politics of Indian Removal.* Because the Creeks are well studied, this analysis will not discuss their general history, but will only discuss specific historical events and background information.

Linguistic and Cultural Diversity

Linguistically, most of the Creeks were Muskogean; however, as is clear from Table 3.1, a wide variety of languages and cultures existed among them (Crawford 1975:37-39; Haas 1976:577-578). Of the Muskogean languages, Hitchiti was probably spoken in Appalachicola, So,woc,co,lo, and the Chiaha towns listed on the 1832 census (Swanton 1922:11; 178; Crawford 1975:40-41). Other towns spoke Alabama, Apalachee, Koasati, and even Chickasaw--all Muskogean languages (Crawford 1975:5-6; Haas 1976:574-575). Three language isolates were spoken by

members of the Creek Confederacy--Chitimacha, Natchez, and Yuchi--although Yuchi may be related to the larger Siouan-Yuchi stock (Crawford 1975; Haas 1976:586). Finally, several languages whose names can be recognized as towns are thought to be of the Muskogean family but became extinct before they could be recorded; these include Abihka, Tuckabachee, Tuskegee, and Yamasee (Crawford 1975:25). Linguistically and culturally, the Creeks were not a homogenous group, but comprised many towns and ethnic groups, some of which had linguistic differences.

Table 3.1. Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations among Pre-removal Creeks

Muskogee Towns/Tribes	**1832 Town**	**Foreign Towns/Tribes**	**1832 Town**
Cusseta	Cus,se,taw	Tuskeegee	Tus kee ga
Coweta	Cow,e,ta Wetum,ka (Thla,katch,ka's Ko,te,o,far)[1]	Chiaha	Che,haw,ah Hot,tal,le, he,gar,nar
Coosa	Tallisee Sow ga Hatch cha Lu chi poga	Chiaha	Che haw Che ar haw
Abihka	Talladega Ar bic coo chee Con charte tee	Alabama	Taw warsa Autauga
Hotiwahali	Clewalla Thlob thlocco (2nd)	Euchee	Euchee High Log
Eufaula	Eufaula Eu,faw,la U,faw,la	Sawokli	So,woc,co,lo Hatch,ee chubba Cow,y,ka
Hilibi	Hil,la,bee Oak taw sar by	Osochi	O,swich,ee O,switch,ee
Wakokai	We,o,gufka Toak paf kar Sock,o,par,toy	Hichitit	Hitch,e,tee Hi,har,gee
Atasi	Ottisee	Koasati	Coosawda
Tuckabahchee	Tuck a batcha Hatch chi chubba Ki,a,li,ge	Okmulgee	O,switch,ee or O,swich,ee
Pakana	Poch,en,tal,la haff,se	Cherokee/Shawnee	Kiamulga
Okchai	Po chis hach cha Fish Pond Oak choy Thlob thloc co (1st)	Aplalchicola	Pak,lo,cho,ko,lo Tol,o,war thlock,o
Muskogee	E,mar,he Rabbit E,kun,duts,ke? Tal lip se ho gy Thla,katch,ka	From Other Towns	We woak kar
Okefuskee	Talmachussa Hicory Ground Ko ho junt ka garts kar Corn House Char,tok,sof ke	Unknown	Cu bi Hatcha O se lar ne by Hatchet Creek Chock,o,lock,o Tal,la,se Hatch,ee

[1] Some Okfuskee according to Swanton 1922:430

Removal Act of 1830

The Removal Act of 1830 was a pivotal event both in US history--particularly in its relations with Native American groups--and in Creek history. The Removal Act of 1830 stated simply:

> Be it enacted . . . , That it shall and may be lawful for the President of the United States to cause so much of any territory belonging to the United States, west of the river Mississippi, not included in any state or organized territory, and to which the Indian title has been extinguished, as he may judge necessary, to be divided into a suitable number of districts, for the reception of such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose to exchange the lands where they now reside, and remove there . . . That it shall and may be lawful for the President to exchange any or all of such districts, so to be laid off and described, with any tribe or nation of Indians now residing within the limits of any of the states or territories, and with which the United States have existing treaties, for the whole or any part or portion of the territory claimed and occupied by such tribe or nation, within the bounds of any one or more of the states or territories, where the land claimed and occupied by the Indians, is owned by the United States, or the United States are bound to the state within which it lies to extinguish the Indian claim thereto.

The Removal Act allowed the President, then Andrew Jackson, to exchange tribal land west of the Mississippi for other land and for the tribes or nations to remove there. The Removal Act itself sparked heated debate both in the Senate and the House of Representatives (Remini 1988). The debates centered on several issues, including the constitutionality, legality, and ethics of forced removal; states' rights to control the people in their borders--Indian or White; and the respective rights of Congress and the President (Remini 1988). The issue of states' rights was and continues to be one of the most hotly debated controversies in the United States. In

1839, the question of state authority revolved around Georgia's attempting to extend jurisdiction over Indian land, thus superseding the treaty obligations of the federal government (Remini 1988; Young 1961). Simply, did the federal government have the authority to stop Georgia from extending its authority over the Cherokee Nation? Additionally, issues involving the authority of Congress and the President were debated, namely the movement of treaty making from the Senate and President to the President by himself (Remini 1988).

The hotly debated ethical and legal issues included three important features. First was the legality of revocation of treaty rights granted by the US government. Second, this act would allow the removal of all Indians within US territory, not just southern tribes. And third, this bill might be used to force removal instead of allowing removal only if desired by the tribes themselves. The debates over the Removal Act lasted for 20 days in the Senate, ending in a 28-19 approval, and 2 weeks in the House, ending in a 102-97 approval (Remini 1988). The Removal Act of 1830 was clearly not overwhelmingly supported by Congress because of the issues discussed above. However, the bill was passed in May of 1830.

Perhaps the most important justification for the act was simply that removal was "the only means we have in preserving them as nations, and protecting them." (Remini 1988). Simply put, "the fate of the Mohegan, Narragansett, Delaware, and other 'dead tribes' was fast overtaking the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw. 'Humanity and national honor demand that every effort should be made to avert so great a calamity'" (Remini 1988:60-61). A component of this justification was the idea that

Indians were not *civilized* enough to use the land or appreciate state laws (Young 1961). Thus, removal for their own good was a typical justification for resettlement.

A second justification was the threat which Indian nations presented to the United States. Jackson wanted to do away with all enemies near the US (Remini 1988). To do this, he had not only to eliminate foreign powers, such as the Spanish in Florida, but any group that could align with a foreign power, particularly Indians, who had a history of playing European powers off one another. Thus, eliminating Indians in the Southeast lessened the threat of foreign powers to US territory.

Jackson wasted no time in implementing the Removal Act by signing removal treaties with the Chickasaws and the Choctaws in 1830. Table 3.2 shows each group, their removal treaty, and dates of emigration. The earliest treaty was an agreement by the Choctaws in 1830 to give up their land in the east and remove west within the next three years (DeRosier 1970). The first removal was delayed and was a precursor of what was to occur in the future. Choctaw removal began in the autumn of 1831. As Remini summarizes it, "the entire operation was marred by inefficiency, confusion, stupidity, and criminal disregard of the rights of the Indian. It typified all too accurately the agony of Indian removal during the entire Jackson era." (Remini 1988:67).

Table 3.2. Southeastern Removal Treaties

Tribe	Removal Treaty	Date	Major Emigration Dates	Number at Removal[1]	
				East	West
Choctaw	Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek	9/1830	1831-1834	17,963	1,000
Creek	Treaty of March 24, 1832	3/1832	1836-1838	21,762	2,400[2]
Chickasaw	Treaty of October 20, 1832 Treaty of September 1, 1830, Treaty of May 24, 1834	10/1832	1837-1839	5,224	-
Cherokee	Treaty of New Echota	5/1836 (12/1835)	1835 1838-1839	16,542	3,500[3]
Seminole	Treaty of Payne's Landing, Treaty of Camp Dade (March 6, 1837)	5/1832	1836-1842	4,883	-

[1] Doran 1975. [2] Approximate. [3] Probably more.

The most infamous removal, of the Cherokees, was so because of its disastrous results, leading the participants and descendants to call it the "Trail of Tears," or the "Trail Where We Cried." The Cherokees refused to sign a removal treaty and refused to submit to the will of Georgia. Instead they filed suit in the Supreme Court to protect their national rights. The ensuing court battle, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, involved two interrelated issues. First, the treaties between the US and the Cherokees presumed that the Cherokees were a self-governing nation, and second, because of this, Indians were not subject to state law. The Supreme Court decision, written by John Marshall on March 18, 1831, stated that Indian nations were "domestic, dependent nations," thus, indeed, not subject to state laws (Prucha 1984). On March 1, 1831, the state of Georgia began requiring licenses for any White living in Cherokee country (Prucha 1984). Two Cherokee missionaries refused to leave or be licensed, thus leading to another Supreme Court battle in *Worcester v. Georgia.* This court case ended with a similar decision--the law was ruled unconstitutional.

President Andrew Jackson, however, did nothing to support either of these decisions. Horace Greeley's accusation that Jackson stated, "Well, John Marshall has made his decision: now let him enforce it!" was probably inaccurate, but Jackson's inaction in the face of a clear Supreme Court decision against removal shows his dedication to the cause of removal.

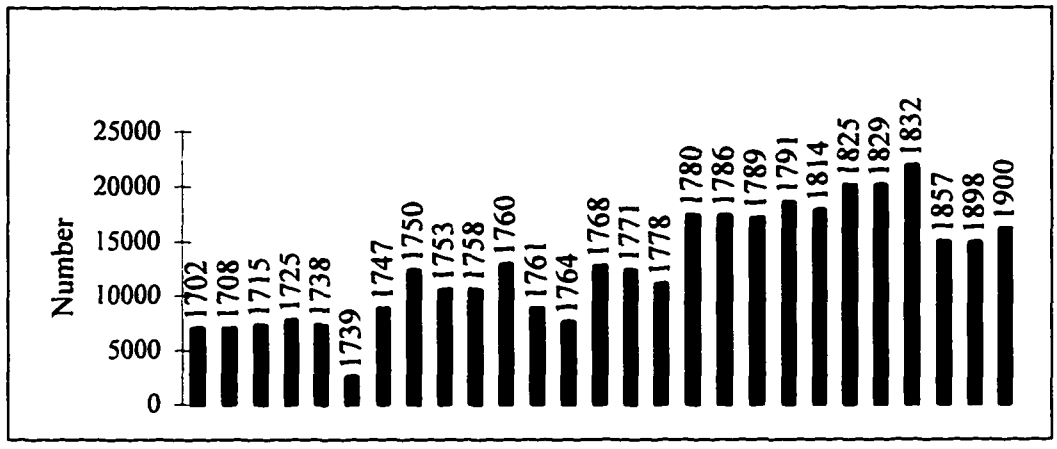
Clearly the Cherokees were determined not to move. After the fight in court, most of the tribal leaders were still determined not to move, but a small portion of the tribe had either realized or decided--depending on your historical perspective--that removal was inevitable. This faction, headed by John Ridge, included Major Ridge, Elias Boundinot, and Stand Watie. Those in the anti-removal faction, mainly Principal Chief John Ross, refused to sign the Treaty of New Echota in December of 1835, but those in the removal faction did sign. Despite the fact that only a portion of the tribe supported the treaty, and despite the fact the Principal Chief John Ross did not support the treaty, it was approved by US authorities. The treaty party self-emigrated, but the Ross faction were literally rounded up and forced to remove (Foreman 1932; Prucha 1984; Thornton 1984, 1987). This removal has been discussed and described in great detail, but Francis Prucha states it best when he says "This Trail of Tears reaped a heavy harvest of misery and death" (Prucha 1984:87; Foreman 1932; Thornton 1984).

Creek Population

It is important to understand not only the larger historical context of removal, but also the demographic context of the Creek population. Population studies done exclusively on the Creeks are rare, but there are a few important works. The first of these is by Mooney, who provides Creek estimates for the years 1650 and 1907 (Mooney 1928:8; Schoolcraft 1851-57). Mooney suggests 18,000 for the 1650 Creek Confederacy and 11,000 for the Creek Nation in 1907 (Mooney 1928:8). The total population of the Creeks in 1832 is higher than either of Mooney's figures, suggesting either a fluctuating pattern or incorrect estimates by Mooney. This inconsistency should have been apparent because, as early as 1922, population figures for the Creeks had been published.

Swanton in 1922 published population figures for the Creeks (Swanton 1922:421-456). Swanton's study includes a good compilation of censuses and enumerations of Creeks, Seminoles, and Euchees, but provides no analysis of the data. Swanton does not explain population changes nor even discuss the changes, but he does provide miscellaneous population estimates from 1702 to 1902--see Chart 1. Most of these are based on estimates of warriors from various dates. Despite some mistakes, his figures were used by Paredes and Plante for the only recent in-depth analysis of Creek population (Paredes and Plante 1983).

Chart 1. Creek Population Estimates



Paredes and Plante, after revising Swanton's figures slightly, claim that the nadir of Creek population was 4,421 in 1750 (Paredes and Plante 1983: 10). After this low point there was a rise in numbers until 1832 (Paredes and Plante 1983). They suggest the following reasons for the increase in Creek population from 1750 to 1832: (1) greater immunity to Old World diseases among the descendants of the survivors of the 1750 smallpox epidemic; (2) expansion of Creek subsistence base brought about through the introduction of firearms, metal tools, exotic cultigens, and livestock; (3) the hide trade with Euro-Americans, resulting in the growing strength of the Creek Confederacy as a peace-keeping body; and (4) immigration of the Alabama, Euchee, and other groups (Paredes and Plante 1983:20 Swanton 1946:86-88, 214; Mason 1963). Continued exposure to diseases, resulting in a switch from the more deadly adult disease to a childhood disease which is less deadly, may also have been a factor in Creek population growth (Dobyns 1983). Also, it must be remembered that the addition from in-migration was offset by out-emigration to the Seminoles to what

is now Florida and by the flight of certain Creeks to the west before 1832 (Swanton 1946:86-88; 1922:398-414; Paredes and Plante 1983:20).

Paredes and Plante also suggest that this increase in population placed the social organization of the Creeks under stress, which was one of the factors causing the Creek War of 1813-14 (Paredes and Plante 1983:21). In addition, environmental pressures and disruption from the aboriginal subsistence pattern to commercial hunting were factors in the beginnings of this war (Paredes and Plante 1983:21-24). These factors placed stress on the social organization, which can lead to nativistic or even militaristic movements such as the Tecumseh movement and the Creek War of 1813-14 (Thornton 1984). This war, also described as a civil war and as a part of the War of 1812, resulted in over 1,600 Creeks killed and even more death from starvation and exposure (Mooney 1928:7-8; Debo 1941; Hall 1934; Nunez 1958). However, from a nadir in 1750 of around 4,000, and even with the turmoil of war and White encroachment, there were still over 20,000 Creeks in 1832 (Paredes and Plante 1983:9-10; Swanton 1922:442-3).

One weakness in Paredes and Plante's position is that many of the towns they studied may not have existed continually from 1700-1832 (Paredes and Plante 1983). Paredes and Plante assume that if a town existed at two separate points in time, it must have existed at all times in between (Paredes and Plante 1983). This might seem a logical conclusion, but towns were known historically to move, merge, and split, so that to assume a town always "grew" at a known and set rate is simplistic (Haas 1940; Gatschet 1884-88).

As mentioned earlier, the Creeks took a census every year, and they knew the number of people it took for a town to survive (Hewitt 1939:127-128). Dobyns, in his discussion of settlement size during times of demographic stress, concludes that depopulation or population growth can be a cause for the amalgamation or dissolution of settlements and hence for culture change (Dobyns 1983:298-344). Smith's work on the sixteenth century interior Southeast is an example of the implementation of this theory (Smith 1987). At any period in history, the Creeks might have had a different number of towns based on the necessary size of a settlement, the productivity of land, and possibly even necessary social factors such as the availability of appropriate marriage partners. Paredes and Plante, although creating an excellent beginning, ignore some of the cultural variables that were important for the Creeks, as for any other group. While Paredes and Plante have looked at Creek population in general and through time, the purpose of the present work is different--to understand the changes that occurred after Creek removal.

One important population-related factor during this period was a smallpox epidemic in 1831. The assistant surgeon at Fort Mitchell vaccinated 7,126 Indians from July 21 to December 5, 1831, from more than 20 towns and at the fort Wharton 1831; 1832; Crowell 1831). Although this was clearly before the census, it shows that epidemics occurred among the Creeks.

Although very little is know about fertility and mortality of the Creeks, a bit can be gleaned from the census and land location register as well as the muster rolls and previous research. Previous research suggests that Muskogees--Creeks and

Seminoles--had low fertility. Creek age and sex structure, see Chapter 4, shows that they are "typical" for a pre-industrial society; their population had a high percentage of young and few older members (Yaukey 1985). Creek and Seminole age and sex structure are similar (Campbell manuscript). Analysis of Seminole fertility suggests that it was quite low (Campbell manuscript). Their child-woman ratio was 460 for Seminoles as compared to 742 for White Americans in 1840; they typically spaced their births at about 3-4 years, and 33-22% were childless (Campbell manuscript). As for post-removal demographic data, other than what was discussed in Chapter 3 nothing is published.

As for total population and general population structure, there is very little information available. Qualitative sources suggests a substantial population decline from 1832 to 1842 (Hitchcock 1930). "Mr. H.[J] S. Alexander: {Micco of the Upper Creek} Does not think the whole Creek Nation exceeds 16,000" in 1842 (Hitchcock 1930:119). This same source, Micco of the Upper Creek, states that there were between 21,000 and 22,000 in 1836 (Hitchcock 1930:119). The best post-removal source, Colonel E. A. Hitchcock, discussed in detail in Chapter 2, states that the Micco claims:

> In the first twelve months after the emigration of 1836 at the lowest calculation there were thirty-five hundred deaths of the emigrants of 1836. I am sure of this because I took the census of the emigrants of 1836 in 1838. The first three years after Opothleyaholo came to the country there was a decrease, but since then there has been an increase, I took the census again, last summer, of Opothleyaholo's people and from this I know there had been an increase (Hitchcock 1930:120).

This same author states that another informant says:

> the chiefs and half breed were provided for to prevent their making a disturbance, but the ignorant common Indians and the women-widows, ignorant, helpless, and dependent, were left to starve or beg their way as they could, to dig for roots &c. That for eighteen months or two years scarce any children were seen in the nation, i.e., infants; that the suffering and broken health of the women reduced the women past conception (Hitchcock 1930:157).

Modern scholars have suggested that 50% of the Creek population died because of removal (Doran 1975). Doran (1975) states that 300 died in transit and another 3,500 died in the year after removal. Hitchcock's contemporary investigation of the immediate post-removal period corroborates this statement (Doran 1975; Hitchcock 1930). There is, however, a lack of information on the pre-removal population, and the exact number of deaths from removal itself is uncertain. This analysis is not designed to show the exact number of deaths. There is virtually no other work on the immediate post-removal period, though John Swanton does discuss some social changes that occurred in town membership (Swanton 1928a). There is no in-depth analysis of the changes.

The only analysis currently available on pre-civil war, post-removal Creeks is a short analysis of the 1860 Census of Indian lands--Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Chickasaw, and Choctaw lands (Doran 1975). The census was discussed in Chapter 2, but, simply, is a census of non-Creek citizens and slaves in the Indian Lands. This analysis, as it refers to Creeks, however, is inaccurate and incomplete. For example, Doran reports the number and origins of the "Whites" in the Indian Lands without

clarifying that these "Whites" from the census were actually free inhabitants of any racial or ethnic origin. Thus, "Whites" includes individuals called Black, Mulatto, and White. These three groups also have very different characteristics (Campbell manuscript). The child/woman ratio of Whites was 423 as compared to 897 for Blacks and 769 for Mulattos. Additionally, they were different in their location of birth origin; 59% of Free Blacks were born in Indian Territory as compared to only 10% of Whites, while only 1 Black was born in the northern states as compared to a full 80 Whites--25%. Moreover, there were clear differences in occupation. Although both Blacks and Whites had a high percentage of laborers, many Blacks were farmers and cooks, whereas Whites were often merchants as well as missionaries, carpenters, clerks, and teachers. Finally, this difference is also shown in the reading ability of the three groups; 95% of Black and 83% of Mulatto free inhabitants over the age of 20 could not read, as compared to only 5% of Whites. Finally, this document states that only 43 US citizens were married to citizens of the Creek Nation.

Creek Geography

It is essential to understand the geographic sphere of the Creeks to understand their social and political history. According to legend, the Muskogee-speaking Creeks originally came from the west, although their exact origin is unknown, eventually moving into the area later known as Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina (Gatschet 1884-88). Before the Yamasee War in 1715, they lived as far east as South Carolina, but after the Yamasee War they moved west to the Flint and Chattahoochee river

valleys in what is now Georgia (Swanton 1922). Benjamin Hawkins located most towns geographically in 1796 (Hawkins 1848; 1916). After the Creek War of 1813-1814, the towns on the Flint River and some towns on the Chattahoochee River were forced to settle in a small section of what is now eastern Alabama. They settled on the Chattahoochee, Coosa, and Tallapoosa rivers, alongside the Creek towns that were already there (Swanton 1922). In sum, although towns often moved--short and long distances--Creek towns were fixed at specific points in time. Map 1 shows the location of the Creek towns based on the Land Location Register of 1836, and Map 2 shows the locations of towns in 1858 based on Swanton and information from the Creek Nation (Swanton 1922; Creek Nation n.d.).

The pattern of White encroachments is also important for understanding pressures on the Creeks in the Southeast. Significant areas were sold or deeded to Euro-Americans; besides the obvious loss of Creek land, there was a dramatic increase in the European population of the area. Georgia's Euro-American population doubled in size, and in Alabama it increased more than four-fold from 1820 to 1840 in the Creek area--see Table 3.3 (Campbell 1989; Green 1973). Georgia's population grew from 340,989 to 691,392, while Alabama's grew from 127,901 to 590,756--see Table 3.3. This rapid growth of settlers and slaves in the area led to pressures on the US government and on Native Americans to give up their lands. Andrew Jackson became a symbol for the removal period--the democratic, individualistic frontiersman--through his determination to remove Indians from the Southeast and open it for settlement.

Table 3.3. Population of Free Citizens and Slaves of Alabama, Florida, and Georgia

	Population 1820			Population 1830			Population 1840		
State	White	African	% Inc[1]	White	African	% Inc[1]	White	African	% Inc[1]
Alabama	85,451	42,450	1,314%	190,406	119,121	142%	335,185	255,571	91%
Florida	-	-	-	18,385	16,345	-	27,943	26,534	57%
Georgia	189,570	151,419	35%	296,806	220,017	52%	407,695	283,697	34%

Source: Dodd 1993. [1] Percent Increase from previous decennial census.

Perhaps the best example of the seriousness of Euro-American squatting and the abusiveness of the settlers is the need for protective language in nearly every treaty with Southeastern groups during this period. For example, the Chickasaw Treaty of 1834 specifically stated, "[T]he Chickasaws are not acquainted with the laws of the Whites, which are extended over them; and the many intruders which break into their country, interrupting their rights and disturbing their repose . . ." (Kappler 1904). The Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek treaties all contain similar articles. The negotiators of each of these treaties recognized the serious problems that occurred when frontiersmen squatted on Indian lands (Kappler 1904; Young 1961). Besides the legal abuse of squatting, these individuals often physically and socially abused the indigenous population. From murders and arson to abusing credit systems, squatters were as responsible for removal as the government itself. Though members of the government openly admonished the squatters and in some cases forcibly removed them, most were never removed, thus implying support for their existence. Mary Young and Michael Green provide the best discussion of this situation (Green 1982; Young 1961). The Treaty of March 24, 1832, between the United States and the Creek Tribe of Indians, as well as the subsequent removal, was, in part, a result of pressure from the White population (Kappler 1972; Green 1973).

As mentioned earlier, the Creek Treaty of March 24, 1832, was the impetus for the removal of the Creek people beginning in earnest in 1836. The treaty was not a removal treaty, but stated that the Creeks were to be censused and allotted land. If individuals desired to do so, they could sell their land and move west of the Mississippi (Kappler 1904). In May of 1832 the government appointed Benjamin Parsons and Thomas Abbott to census the Creeks (Young 1961; Parsons and Abbott 1963). They completed the census in May of 1833, and by January of 1834 the land allotment process was finished (Young 1961). In fact, by early 1834 many Creeks had already sold their land or been defrauded of it (Young 1961).

Frauds and the Creek War of 1836

The frauds committed against the Creeks began before allotment and continued, nearly unabated, until the forced emigrations of 1836-38. Moreover, these frauds may have caused the incidents known as the Creek War of 1836. To put it differently, the loss of land from fraud and the resulting starvation were, in a large part, responsible for the war (Valliere 1979-80). By 1836 many, if not most, Lower Creeks were in a perilous situation. They had no land, no money, and little food and were surrounded by unfriendly settlers. This led to hostile actions by both Creeks and settlers.

Examples of fraud include selling the land of dead allottees as executor and leaving no money for the heirs; intoxicating individuals before having them sign over their land or their cash; and offering food, drink, and housing outside the land agents'

home until the individual signed over the land. Finally, there was a large, complicated scheme headed by investors from Columbus, Georgia, involving a former Creek agent and Paddy Carr, a Mixed-Blood Creek often used as an interpreter by the US. This scheme was an organized effort to defraud the Creeks by hiring Creeks to impersonate other Creeks. The perpetrators would train these individuals with information such as town, family relations, and desired location, mostly prime land along the Coosa. It was a well-orchestrated effort that infuriated many honest people among the settlers (Young 1961; Foreman 1932; Hogan 1835a; McHenry 1835; Creek Chiefs 1835a).

There have been a number of studies of the Creek War of 1836. Two examples are the military history of the war by Kenneth Valliere and the removal history of the Southern Indians by Grant Foreman (Valliere 1979-80; Foreman 1932; Brannon 1951). In addition, a political history of the war, particularly the conflict between the state of Alabama and the federal government, has been completed (Jack 1916; Green 1982). And finally, the Creek War of 1836 has been characterized as a small, unimportant part of the Second Seminole War (Wright 1986; Mahon 1967).

Contemporaries maintained that the impetus of the war was loss of land and starvation. Starvation, however, had been a serious problem among Creeks for years before hostilities commenced. Eufaula, see Map 1, was one of the most desirable locations in the Creek area. In 1831 the Creek town of Eufaula was destroyed, the people chased out of town, the fields and corn cribs destroyed, and some people physically assaulted (Foreman 1932:114). In fact, in 1833 Enoch Parsons wrote, "How the Indians are to subsist the present year, I cannot imagine" (Foreman

1932:115). He seems to have been referring particularly to the members of the towns of Euchee and High Log, both Euchee towns (Foreman 1932:115). To summarize the situation, he wrote:

> You cannot have an adequate idea of the deterioration which these Indians have undergone during the last two or three years, from a general state of comparative plenty to that of unqualified wretchedness and want . . . The free egress into the nation by the whites; encroachments upon their lands, even upon their cultivated fields; abuses of their person and property; hosts of traders, who, like locusts, have devoured their substance and inundated their homes with whiskey, have destroyed what little disposition to cultivation the Indians may have once had (Foreman 1932:119-120).

Francis Scott Key was sent to Alabama in 1833 to investigate the situation--the invading Whites, the whiskey traders, the starvation, and the remedies offered by the state of Alabama. Alabama claimed that any injustice or claims of fraud could be handled in state court. Indians, however, were not allowed to testify against Whites in Alabama courts, so this was obviously not a viable source of redress. Key's report supported, and even expanded on, the corruption in Alabama and Creek county (Foreman 1932). Key also recognized that the federal government was not protecting the Creeks as obligated in the treaty (Foreman 1932). Of course, the President and much of Congress had very little interest in protecting the Indians, but instead used this report as an excuse or justification for removal. Fears for the safety of Whites in the Creek area began as early as April of 1835 and steadily continued until after emigration began. Equally important, not all of the Creeks who had lost land and were starving became hostile. In short, the hostiles in the Creek War of 1836 were starving

and had been defrauded, as had many Creek, but only a specific group committed hostilities and only a specific group was affiliated with the hostiles. (Howard 1836; Schley 1836; Martin 1836a; Cass 1836a; Hogan 1836a; 1836b; Citizens of Russell County 1836; Sanford 1836a).

Another contemporary explanation of the hostilities was the desire on part of the Creeks not to emigrate. In fact, one Creek authority maintained that the Lower Creeks were not disposed to migration and that Neah Micco and Neamathla, two hostile Lower Creek leaders, were influencing this feeling. These Creek leaders were also accused of encouraging Lower Creeks to steal food, a common complaint against Creeks at that time (Page 1836a; McIntosh 1836). In spite of this, the desire not to emigrate is not sufficient reason to explain the war. There are a number of examples of towns and individuals not wanting to emigrate who did not join in the hostilities. In fact, the principal Creek leader who fought with the US in the Creek War of 1836, Opethleyoholo, was originally overtly anti-emigration (Green 1982:183). To put it differently, there is no evidence that the desire not to emigrate existed only in those individuals who were hostile.

In addition to the explanations above, accusations abound that the war was caused by land speculators who wished to stall the investigations and that the investigator himself, Colonel John Hogan, was moving too slowly. In fact, a memorial was sent to Congress signed by over 700 Alabamans stating that the cause of the Creek War was the frauds committed on them by Whites. This led to a commission which resulted in no change in either Alabama and Georgia. As for the

first accusation, Mary Young suggests that the land speculators did not control the hostiles because among the hostiles' plans was the burning of Columbus, the heart of the organized effort to defraud the Creeks (Hogan 1836c; Young 1961). Of course it is possible that the hostiles simply got out of control, but this is unlikely to have been the main cause of the war. The second accusation, against Colonel Hogan, does have some merit. Although Colonel Hogan probably did not stall intentionally, he did begin his investigation among those Creeks who were less hostile. Indeed, he never investigated the Lower Creek towns where the most serious frauds occurred. The sources of these accusations, however, were members of land companies who obviously did not want Colonel Hogan to investigate the frauds (Sanford 1836c; Residents of Russell County 1836; Page 1836a). A final explanation offered by contemporaries was that the frauds committed by land speculators drove the Indians to hostilities. In answer to this, Mary Young notes conclusively that many towns which were defrauded did not become hostile (Young 1961:89).

Finally, perhaps the biggest mistake was that Colonel Hogan was originally to remove Creeks to the west, apparently an acceptable situation, but the US decided that an emigration company, made up of some of the worst of those committing frauds, would do it instead (Foreman 1932:140). Of course few Creek desired emigration under these circumstances.

Besides these explanations, the suggestion has been made that the Creeks began a war in early 1836 because of the military success of the Florida Seminoles in early 1836 (Halt 1836; Martin 1836b; Shorter 1836; Sanford 1836b). The only

obvious connection between the two wars was in the American leadership of Generals Scott and Jesup (Mahon 1967). There is no doubt that the Seminoles' success influenced the leaders of the hostile Creeks, but depredations had been occurring in Georgia for over two years. Perhaps the best connection is the heightened fear among Alabama residents of the threat of war on two fronts. To summarize, the Seminole War did influence the Creek War of 1836, but a number of towns who took up arms did not have strong ties to the Seminoles.

The war began when a group of Creeks attempting to emigrate to the Cherokees were shot at by a few Georgia militia (Foreman 1932). The resulting incident was best summarized by Foreman: "Because the Indians attempted to defend themselves the Georgia general of militia ordered 1,000 men to assemble for the purpose of crossing the river and attacking the Indians in Alabama" (Foreman 1932:142). This event started the war (Foreman 1932:142). In early May of 1836, Major J. S. McIntosh informed the Adjutant General of the United States that ". . . three hundred warriors, painted and ready for the work of murder, [were] assembled. . . ."(McIntosh 1836). Even though this event ended peacefully within a few days, the war soon began. Later that month, a force of Creeks attacked settlers south of the route from Columbus, Georgia, to Montgomery, Alabama, thus beginning the serious hostilities in the Creek War of 1836 (McIntosh 1836; Page 1836b). On May 16, 50-60 Creeks attacked a mail stage from Columbus to Tuskegee murdering several people. Interestingly, a White man was later hanged for instigating these murders. By the middle of May the hostile Creeks had captured two steamboats on the Chattahoochee

River and burned the city of Roanoke, Georgia, located 25 miles south of Columbus (Schley 1836). On May 19, 1836, Lewis Cass, United States Secretary of War, assigned Major General Thomas Jesup to end the depredations and begin the removal process (Cass 1836b).

The major events in the war occurred in June and early July of 1836. To prevent actual combat, the first tactic of the US Army was to capture and disarm all potentially hostile forces. On June 20 General Jesup asked for the surrender of the hostiles, and 300 warriors and 550 women and children surrendered (Jesup 1836). Also in June, Opethleyoholo and 1,150 warriors joined with the American forces to quell hostilities (Jesup 1836). By June 22, reports stated that all hostiles except a small party of Hitchiti and a few Euchee had surrendered. (Jesup 1836; Patterson 1836). Three days later a militia leader reported that he had burned the town of High Log and 300 Eufaula Indians were captured (Scott 1836). Following the capture of a few remaining Euchee, the only battles of the war occurred. A group of 60-150 Creeks moved through southern Georgia killing settlers. Eventually, they were surrounded in the Chicasahatchee Swamp near Fort Gaines (Valliere 1979-80). Since these battles have been described by Kenneth L. Valliere, it is not necessary to do so here (1979-80). To summarize, by the time the battles occurred, well into July, most of the hostiles had already surrendered or been captured.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* summarized the reality of the "War" this way:

> The war with the Creeks is all a *humbug*. It is a base and diabolical scheme, devised by interested men, to keep an ignorant race of people from pittance placed under their control, through the munificence of

> the government. We do trust, for the credit of those concerned, that these blood suckers may be ferreted out, and their shameful misrepresentations exposed (Foreman 1932:147).

One interesting aspect of this war was that Opethleyoholo raised 300 troops to fight against his own tribe. These troops were placed on the front lines, capturing many of the hostiles left (Foreman 1932:148). But civil war is unattractive and many soon left (Foreman 1932:148). However, one month later he organized 1,150 men from Kialedji, Eufaula, Fish Pond, and Nuyaka towns (House of Representatives 1840a). Additionally, Jim Boy, Tukabatchee Hadjo, and Tukabathcee Micco had groups serving under Jesup. Later, 776 Creeks served in Florida fighting the Seminoles (National Archives 1836; Foreman 1932). Governor Clay estimated that there were 1,000 hostiles under Eniah Micco and 500 under Enah Emathla, Chief of Hitchiti Town on the Hutchechubee River. There were three hostile groups besides the two mentioned above, and there was a group under Jim Henry. Jim Henry's group managed to steal some horses and mules and joined the Seminoles (Foreman 1932:150-151). In July Jim Henry was captured. This officially ended the hostilities. A few Eufaula Warriors under Nuthcup Tustenuge, a few in the swamps, and a few among the Seminoles were all that remained.

Table 3.4. Towns Involved in the Creek War of 1836

Hostile Towns	**Friendly Towns**
Eufaula	Eufaula
Chiaha	Ki,a,li,ge
Hitch,e,tee	Fish Pond
Euchee	Nuyaka (Toak paf kar)
	Tuckabatchee

After the battles ended, the hostile Creeks were forced to migrate west of the Mississippi. There were 2,498 Creeks turned over to the contract company in Montgomery by Captain John Page on July 12, 1836. Of these, 2,159 arrived in Indian Territory in 1837 (National Archives 1836-1838). At the beginning of this removal the men were chained and manacled, with the women and children following on horses and in wagons. The sight, according to one observer of ". . . the remnant of a once mighty people, fettered and chained together--forced to depart from the land of their Fathers into a county unknown to them, is of itself sufficient to move the stoutest heart" (*Montgomery Advertiser* 1836). Another observer tells of

> . . . Eneah Mathla . . . [who] is 84 years old . . . [and that] they were all handcuffed and chained together and in this way they marched to Montgomery, on the Alabama, 90 miles. Old Eneah Mathla marched all the way, hand-cuffed and chained like the others. . . . (*Army and Navy Chronicles* 1836).

The Second Seminole War

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Seminoles are a coalescent group of Muskogee or Creeks, Mikasuke, Hitchiti, Euchee, and other small Florida populations. In the early to mid 1700s, the first groups of Creeks moved to Florida and joined the people already there to form the Seminoles. Later, after the Creek War in 1813-1814 and the First Seminole War of 1817-1819 and during the early removal threats, many more Creeks joined the Seminoles. The Second Seminole War, between 1835 and 1842, was one of the fiercest and most costly wars in US history. Financially, the war cost the US $20,000,000. The Seminole lost not only their fields,

but also substantial herds of cattle. In personnel, for each Seminole removed to Indian Territory, two American soldiers died (Mahon 1967). The number of Seminole deaths is unknown, but without doubt significant; estimates range from 1,000 to 2,000 (Sattler 1987). Ultimately, it is estimated that over 3,000 Seminoles were removed to Indian Territory. The war was also costly for the US in prestige, as groups of Seminoles never surrendered and their descendants remain in Florida to this day. Prucha describes the Seminoles, who "numbered no more than five thousand, but they showed a resistance to removal that kept the United States army occupied for seven years and that was never completely overcome" (Prucha 1984:81-82).

A short discussion of this war is important for understanding Creek political factions and history. As with most wars, the causes are complicated. The Removal Act of 1830 instigated the Treaty of Payne's Landing in 1832 between the United States and the Seminoles. The Seminoles agreed to look at land in the west and, if they found it acceptable, to leave Florida in three years (Klos 1979). Furthermore, the treaty considered Seminoles of African descent as runaway slaves. Many were, but the demand that they be returned to the US was unacceptable to the Seminole leadership (Klos 1979). It was accepted practice that captured African-Seminoles were often handed over to American or Creek slaveowners without legal authority, as payment for service in the war (Klos 1979). According to the Seminoles, Creek greed for Seminole slaves was excessive and notorious (Klos 1979). The treaty also required the Seminoles to live among the Creeks after removal. As mentioned before, this was a ridiculous idea given the groups' historic animosity. Simply, many Seminoles were emigrant Creeks

obviously dissatisfied with the Creek political or social structure. In fact, many Creek families are noted on Seminole Emigration Muster Rolls as moving to the Seminoles in 1835. Interestingly, one of the leaders of the Creek War of 1836, Neahmathla, had been a recent emigrant to the Creeks from the Seminoles. Finally, one of the more serious threats during the Creek War of 1836 was the threat that hostile Creeks would join the Seminoles. In short, despite the close ties--linguistic, social, and economic--between the two groups, the political leadership of the two were distinct, often hostile, entities.

The Treaty of Payne's Landing in 1832 considered Seminoles of African descent to be runaway slaves (Kappler 1904). In 1835 most Seminoles remained in Florida, including those of African descent. The US coerced a new removal treaty in 1835 (Kappler 1904). This treaty, though signed by Osceola, a main anti-removal leader, prompted the assassination of a major pro-removal leader (Mahon 1967). Although a simplified explanation, this basically started the Second Seminole War.

There was only one key battle in 1836, but during this period a few skirmishes between Georgia Militia and the Creeks in Alabama led to fears of a Creek War. The Creeks were controlled, though of course there was never a serious threat, by General Thomas Jesup (Valliere 1979-80). Later, despite problems in his Creek command, General Jesup took over the Seminole action (House of Representatives 1840b). General Jesup was the most successful of the eight generals who fought the Seminoles, sending over 3,000 Seminoles to Indian Territory. His methods, however, were not always considered appropriate even by his contemporaries (Mahon 1967; House of Representatives 1840b; Vallier 1979-80). An example was his 1837 capture of Osceola

while the Seminoles were meeting with General Jesup to negotiate for peace. Osceola died in captivity, but several others including Cocoachee, or Wild Cat, escaped.

The only other important engagement in 1837 occurred when General Taylor surprised the forces of Alligator near Lake Okeechobee. This was the sole battle US forces won, even though more American soldiers died than Indians (Mahon 1967). Typical of the war, there were few outright battles. Most of the American effort was put into finding and removing Seminoles, while the Seminoles harassed and eluded the military (Mahon 1967; Covington 1993).

This loss of leadership and population ended the serious hostilities in Florida, but many Seminoles remained there. Actual fighting did not end until 1842 with the battle of Colee Hammock (Mahon 1967; Covington 1993). In that year the US government gave up fighting the Seminoles and let them remain in the Everglades; hence, the name "Unconquered Seminoles." But, as discussed above, the war was costly in many ways. It is important to remember that a large number of Creeks supported the United States in both the Creek War and the Seminole War.

Creek Removals and Removal Routes

Since Grant Foreman has discussed the removal of most of the Southeastern Natives, I will not go into depth over the process (Foreman 1932). To put it simply, removal was horrifying for many Creeks. A short discussion of each Creek removal episode will help to clarify the political and social situations among the Creeks, and is an important part of understanding the effects of removal.

To begin with, some emigrations occurred before the major forced removals. Besides the self-emigrations west of the Mississippi that occurred in 1825, large emigrations to other Indian tribal areas occurred. For example, in September 1834, 236 members of Sche-se-ho-ga town, probably Tallipsehogy, moved to the Chickasaw Nation (Foreman 1932). These individuals wanted to emigrate to the west with the Chickasaw, claiming they were related (Foreman 1932:126). Furthermore, according to Opethleyoholo, in February of 1836, 2,500 Creeks from Sakapayi (Sock,o,par,toy), Kan-Tcati (Con charte tee), Tallase-hatchee (Tal,la,se Hatch,ee), and Talladega (Talledega) towns move to the Cherokee side of the Coosa near Turkey Town (Foreman 1932:141). These movements were mentioned earlier in connection with the beginning of the Creek War.

As for the main emigration, it was expected that large numbers of starving Creeks would turn out early to emigrate, but only 630 arrived for the first major migration in December 1834 (National Archives 1836-38). The emigration occurred under the leadership of Captain John Page, who was familiar with Indian emigration from work with the Chickasaws and Cherokees. It was a miserable, cold trip; Captain Page wrote, "I have to stop the wagons to take the children out and warm them and put them back again 6 or 7 times a day . . . I am sometimes at a stand to know how to get along under existing circumstances" (Foreman 1932:127).

This group traveled from Alabama to Memphis, Tennessee, by land and from Memphis to Little Rock, Arkansas, by water on the Steamboat *Harry Hill.* While in Little Rock they had to stop for a week due to illness and "a number died"; in fact, a

total of 161 Creeks died on this trip. A total of 469 arrived at Fort Gibson on March 28, 1837 (National Archives 1836-38). This group settled 5 miles west of the Verdigris River Crossing at an area the McIntosh Creeks a pre-1832 self-emigrant group, had recently vacated near present-day Tulsa, Oklahoma (Foreman 1932:128). The emigration was a part of the Lower Creeks.

The second major emigration was a group from Fish Pond, Kealedji (Ki,a,li,ge), Hilibi (Hil,la,bee), and Asilanabi (O se lar ne by) towns. Their Creek leader was Benjamin Marshall. They were emigrated by Lieutenant Edward Deas. Only 73 are listed on the emigration muster rolls, but evidently 511 actually emigrated (Foreman 1932). They were enrolled on October 15, 1835, and began their journey on December 6, 1835. They traveled by land from near Wetumka, Alabama, to Motevallo, Alabama, and then to Tuscumbia, Alabama. The remainder of their trip was by water. From Tuscumbia they traveled to Waterloo, Alabama, at the mouth of the Tennessee River, to Memphis, Tennessee, then to Little Rock, Arkansas, then to Fort Smith, Arkansas, and, finally, on February 2, 1836, arriving at Fort Gibson in Indian Territory (Foreman 1932). They settled on the west side of the Verdigris (Foreman 1932).

The third group to be removed were the hostiles of the Creek War of 1836. As mentioned above, the males in this group was chained and manacled for the first part of the journey. On July 14, 1836, part of the hostile Creeks, the majority of males and some families, were loaded onto two steamboats, the *Lewis Cass* and the *Meridian* to be taken from Montgomery to Mobile, Alabama, where they landed on the July 16.

The 900 Euchee and 500 Cusseta were constantly under guard. About 200 stayed in Mobile for trials, but the rest were shipped from Mobile to New Orleans. They left New Orleans on July 21, 1836, reaching Rock Roe on July 29, 1836. From there they moved overland, reaching Fort Gibson on September 3, 1836.

The remaining 210 hostile Creeks went from Montgomery to Mobile beginning on August 2, 1836, on the *Lewis Cass*. From Mobile they took the *Mezeppa* to Lake Pontchatraine, where they were forced to board a railroad to New Orleans. This group apparently had much illness before they reached Montgomery Point, where they were forced to travel on land to Fort Gibson, arriving October 3, 1836 (Foreman 1932).

The fourth removal group were the friendly Creeks under Opethleyoholo, leaving Tallasee on August 1, 1836. Their movement was slow because of the economic situation of the group; many members were arrested for alleged debts. On August 28, the US agreed to give these Creeks $31,900 to pay alleged debts to Euro-Americans (Foreman 1932:161). In exchange the Creeks were to provide "600 to 1,000 men for service against the Seminoles, to be continued in service until the same shall be conquered, they to receive the pay and emolument and equipment of soldiers, in the army of the US and such plunder as they may take from the Seminoles," the latter being slaves from the Seminoles (Foreman 1932:161). Most of Opethleyoholo's followers never fought the Seminoles, but a group from Lower Creek towns--Coweta, Cusseta, Thla,katch,ka and Eu,fau,la--did.

This fourth group of Creeks reached Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on September 12 and Memphis, Tennessee, on October 7. The group then broke apart. About 1,200 boarded the *Farmer*, arriving at Rock Roes on October 11. They then headed for Little Rock, Arkansas, by land, but it took almost a month to get close to Little Rock because of bad roads. This group finally arrived at Fort Gibson in Indian Territory on December 7. The rest of the party followed the same path and arrived on December 11, 1836.

The fifth group was led by Creek leader William McGillivray and escorted by Lt. R. B. Screven. This group left from Wetumka, Alabama, on August 6, 1836, with over 3,000 Creeks. They traveled by land to Memphis, arriving September 3 after six weeks. They traveled by water to Rock Roe, then by land to Little Rock. Finally, this group arrived at Fort Gibson in late November or early December of 1836. This group had serious health problems during the migration. Lieutenant Screven blamed these problems on the contractor's not having enough corn for the emigration. Only about 2,000 arrived at Fort Gibson, but the loss does not seem to have been due to mortality alone, but also to a lack of supplies which led to death, straggling, and sickness. However, when we look at this group later, we find that it showed one of the lowest decreases in population.

The next emigration involved two separate parties that left from the same area in Alabama and joined in Memphis, Tennessee. The first party left Talladega district or Randolph, Benton, and Talladega counties of Alabama on August 6, 1836. They traveled north, crossing the Tennessee River at Guntersville, Alabama, then traveling

overland to Memphis, Tennessee. The second part of this group left on September 6, 1836, following a similar route along the Tennessee River and west to Memphis. From Memphis, part of each group went by land to Rock Roe and Little Rock, while others traveled by water to Rock Roe and then to Little Rock. The majority of this group arrived at Fort Gibson in December of 1836.

The next removal took place from Tallasee on September 5, 1836. This group, consisting of 1,984 individuals, was primarily from Coweta and Cusseta towns. There were 100 to 150 hostiles, along with most of Cusseta and Coweta. They were emigrated by the Alabama Indian Company, and again there were serious problems with supplies. Again Lieutenant Sprague attempted to correct these problems, by buying supplies without authority. The journal of Lieutenant Sprague, reproduced by Grant Foreman, covers this thoroughly (Foreman 1932:166-176). From Memphis the men led the horses, and later along the Arkansas River to Little Rock, while the women, children, and baggage went by water to Little Rock. From here almost the whole group, 1,600 persons, went to Fort Gibson by boat while the remainder went on foot. These emigration groups arrived at Fort Gibson around the middle of December, apparently with heavy casualties, though this is not stated directly.

This concluded the main portion of emigration. However, there were groups that did not emigrate with the main portion of migrants. These included those individuals and their families who fought with the US in the Second Seminole War, one of the most interesting and important groups. The group includes 776 individuals under the leadership of Jim Boy, who enlisted in late 1836 with the guarantee that

they would be allowed to emigrate early in 1837. The families of these individuals were to be housed in concentration camps while the soldiers fought. The war lasted longer than expected, however, and conditions in the camps deteriorated. In late 1836 a Creek family member in the camp was killed by Whites. At the same time the last few hostiles attacked, frightening the local White population. The Whites demanded disarmament of the Creeks. A short time later, several attacks on Creeks in the camps occurred. In fact, 253 men in these camps were captured by a group of angry militia. While these men were being held, an elderly man was killed, a girl was shot, and numerous Creeks were assaulted and terrorized. The militia then surrounded the camp, forcing the Creeks toward the agent's office. This group was then robbed and forced to begin emigration before the Creek soldiers returned from the Seminole War; not surprisingly, many of these Creeks sought refuge in the woods surrounding the camps rather than emigrate. These individuals in the woods--family members and townsmen of those fighting the Seminoles in Florida--were attacked, and 40 were found dead, while at least that number were said to have been disposed of in the river. Grant Foreman summarizes this situation best:

> It matters little whether indignation most condemns the ineptness of the government officials or the cowardly brutality of the white mobs, the result is the same: The government's promise to protect the families of the Indians as a part consideration for their service in the army in Florida, had a familiar realization. Like many another promise to the Indians, it served its purpose when made; its fulfillment later was forgotten in the welter of intrigue against the helpless Red People (Foreman 1932:182).

Around four thousand Creeks were gathered near Montgomery to be sent west while their kinsmen were fighting for the US in Florida. This group consisted of those listed on Document 274 as aiding the United States during the Seminole War, plus about 2,000 others (House of Representative 1840a). This group was sent to Mobile Point to await resettlement in camps, with appalling results. A few, about 500, left in April by way of New Orleans, Little Rock, and finally by water to Fort Gibson. For those who remained, there was terrible disease. For example, between March 20 and the end of July, 177 people, or about 5 percent of the group, died (Foreman 1932:185). Captain Page, in charge of this migration, stated he had "great difficulty in getting them on board the boat, there were such a number sick; many of them died on the wharf before they could get on board and some died immediately after they embarked and we had to bury them" (Foreman 1932:185). The cause of the deaths was unclear, but may have been dysentery. Though yellow fever was raging in New Orleans, it does not seem to have been the cause of death (Foreman 1932).

Finally, in October of 1837, the largest portion of this emigration began in two main parties. The first included the families of Echo Hadjo, John Chupco, Tuskeneah, and Jim Boy. It was among this group that the *Monmouth* accident occurred. The *Monmouth* was a steamboat loaded with 611 Creeks. Because of poor navigation, the boat was rammed and cut in two parts. The boat sank with 311 Creeks lost. According to the contemporary press, the ships contracted by the emigrating agency were "rotten, old, and unseaworthy" (Foreman 1932:187). The remainder of this group and the other friendly Creeks traveled by water to Fort Gibson. There is no emigration muster

roll of this group, and the actual number of deaths is unclear, but even the limited information available suggests that this group had one of the highest mortality rates (Foreman 1932).

Other groups of Creeks that emigrated included those who fled to the Cherokee Nation after the March 24, 1832, Creek Treaty. These individuals were taken from Gunter's Landing via the Tennessee, Ohio, Mississippi, and Arkansas Rivers, reaching the headwaters of the Verdigris on June 28, 1837. Finally, in 1845, 65 Creeks, including Jim Boy's son Ward Co-cha-my, arrived in Indian Territory. Several Creeks remained in Alabama as Slaves. Ward Co-cha-my states in 1848 that only 100 remained; modern populations suggest that "a few dozen" Creeks remained in Alabama and Florida (Foreman 1932; Paredes 1980).

As discussed previously, removal was horrifying for many Creeks. Two examples should suffice. The *New York Observer* reported:

> Thousands of them are entirely destitute of shoes or covers of any kind for their feet many of them are almost naked, and but few of them have any thing more on their person than a light dress calculated only for summer, or for a warm climate . . . In this destitute condition, they are wading in cold mud, or are hurried on over the frozen ground, as the case may be. Many of them have in this way had their feet frost-bitten and being unable to travel, fall in the rear of the main party and in this way are left on the road to await the ability or convenience of the contractors to assist them. Many of them, not being able to endure this extreme state of human suffering, die, and are thrown by the side of the road, and are covered over only with brush, etc.--where they remain until devoured by the wolves. (Letter from Little Rock, December 25, 1836 in *New York Observer*, February 11, 1837).

Before we assume this is only journalistic fervor, a removal officer on a different journey states:

> So long a journey under the most favorable auspices must necessarily be attended with suffering and fatigue. They were in a deplorable condition when they left their homes, and a journey of upwards of a thousand miles could not certainly have improved it. There was nothing within the provision of the contract by which the Alabama Emigrating Company could contribute to their wants, other than the furnishing of rations and transportation, and a strict compliance what the demands of the officer of the government these demands, unquestionably, must come within the letters and spirit of the contract . . . (Sprague 1837).

Table 3.5. Creek Emigrations 1834-1837

	Date of Emigration	Date of Arrival	Emigration Creek Leaders	Emigration American Leaders	Towns	# Emigrated	# Died	# Arrived
1	12/1834	3/1835	Sampson Grayson, Neahola, Ufaula Harjo	Capt. John Page	Coweta, So,woc,co,lo	630	161	469
2	10/5/1835 12/6/1835	2/2/1836	Benjamin Marshall	Lt. Edward Deas Dr. Ingersoll	Coweta	73 (511)		
3a	7/2/1836 7/14/1836	2/2/1837	Eneah Mathla, Enah Micco Chemalee, Jim Henry, Echo Harjo	J.W.A Sanford	Eufaula, Chiaha, Hitchiti, Euchee ***Hostiles***	1600 2498	81 37 <5 13 <10 most rest old	
3b	7/2/1836 7/14/1836	10/3/1836	Eneah Mathla, Enah Micco, Chemalee, Jim Henry, Echo Harjo	Capt. F.S. Benton	Eufaula, Chiaha, Hitchiti, Euchee ***Hostiles***	210	17 in jail 19 died 9 missing	165
4	8/1/1836*	12/7/1836 12/11/1836 1/3/1837	Opethleyoholo	Lt M.W. Batman	Tuck a batcha, Tallasee, Conchartee	2403 (2700)	-37 Warriors to Florida	2321

continued

Table 3.5. continued

	Date of Emigration	Date of Arrival	Emigration Creek Leaders	Emigration American Leaders	Towns	# Emigrated	# Died	# Arrived
5	8/25/1836		William McGillivray	Lt. R.B. Screven	Hatchee chubba, Kialijah, Toparfka, Cloblogulge or Fish Pond, Geo a bo four or Hicory Ground, Weo-wo-kar, Pock-in-tal-la-has-se, Weo-guf-ka, Alabama, Eu-fal-la	3022 (3142)		
6	8/6/1836			Lt. Edward Deas	Randolph, Benton and Talledega Chock,o,lock,o; Tal,la,se Hatch,ee; E,kum,duts,ke	1170		
7	9/3/1836			Lt. Edward Deas	Talladega District Hil,la,bee; Char,tok,sof ke; ? U faw la	2420		
8	9/5/1836		Tuckabatchee Harjo	Lt J.T. Sprague	Cusseta, Coweta	1984 +100-150 2087	29 14	2037
9	11/1837			R. Clements	Cusseta?	297		

continued

Table 3.5. continued

	Date of Emigration	Date of Arrival	Emigration Creek Leaders	Emigration American Leaders	Towns	# Emigrated	# Died	# Arrived
10	10/1837		Echo Hadjo, John Chupco, Jim Boy, Tuskeneah	Lieutenant Sloan	Jesup's Groups See table 4.1 and list below.	1900*	311+ 177*	
11	10/29/1837					1600*	177*	
12	5/16/1837			Lt. Edward Deas		543	80** and desertions	463

*together these equal 3500

Opethleyoholo's Group: Parts of Thlob thloc co, Tuck a batcha, Ottisee, Talmachussa, Cle walla, Autauga, Tallisee, Che haw, Tus kee ga, Coosawda, Lu chi poga, Sow ga Hatch cha, U faw la, Toak paf kar, Ko ho junt ka garts kar, Ki,a,li,ge, Tal lip se ho gy Otciapofa Okfuskee HolitaigaTchulako nini, Eufaula, Cow,e,ta towns.

"By nearly all who had anything to do with it this undertaking [removal] seems to have been used as a means of the most cold-blooded, systematic looting of public and tribal moneys and was accompanied by a cynical disregard for human suffering and the destruction of human life which were its immediate and remote consequences." (Foreman 1932:7)

CHAPTER 4

DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

This study is designed to look at the demographic and social changes among the Creeks between 1832 and 1859. Since only specific documents and data are available, surrogate variables must be used to understand these changes. Unfortunately, it is impossible to trace all families through this period, but it is still possible to show demographic changes in specific social and political groups. This chapter will look at population changes between and among various social groups--ethnic groups and political groups--as well as the total population. Additionally, this chapter analyzes changes in the most important social groupings among the Creeks--towns and households. This chapter will first look at each removal group to show differences between and among these groups and then discuss one specific political group in 1832. These two analyses, along with the demographic analysis, will help in understanding the political and social situation in 1832 already discussed in Chapter 3; to understand change it is important to understand beginnings. Finally, the changes between the two periods, 1832 and 1859, will be analyzed among various social and political groupings. This will also show how the changes reflect the pre-removal social and political circumstances. Each analysis will support some of the propositions in resettlement theory noted in Chapter 1.

To understand the impact of Creek removal, it is important to understand Creek subgroups and especially the difference between Opethleyoholo's group and the rest of the Creeks. This group includes individuals listed on the *House of Representative Document No. 274* and the *1834 Land Location Register* as Opethleyoholo's followers and was assigned to General Thomas Jesup during the Creek War. Although not always clearly differentiating subgroups, each emigration muster roll was most likely a political or social grouping before removal. Therefore, each emigration muster list from the *1835-37 Emigration Muster Roll* will be analyzed to detect differences in these groups. However, Opethleyoholo's group was not obvious after removal. Therefore, this work can analyze these groups in 1832, but cannot show change through time in these subgroups. Nonetheless, these analyses are important for understanding hypothesized effects of removal. In analyzing groups, names and populations within each group will be outlined. The differences should provide a clear picture of this aspect of pre-removal Creek social and political situation.

A short discussion of the methods used in analyzing Creek personal names is important for clarification. Creek names, as discussed in Chapter 3, have specific meanings. Although the relationships among names are not always clear, there are general categories of names. These categories are covered in detail with definitions and translations in the appendix. The categories used in this analysis are names with *moiety, clan,* or *town* parts and *personal titles or busk names*. The tables in this chapter will look at some of the names within these categories. This will accomplish

two tasks. First, it will show the different subgroup populations and how they relate to each other. Second, it will show the changes that occurred after removal in this aspect of Creek society.

For the period after removal, this analysis of names uses the 1858-59 census because 1857 was less complete. Several important towns were missing from the list of households in the 1857 census, including *Coweta, Broken Arrow,* and *Oakchoy*. To be consistent from 1832 to 1858-59, only the first name for each household or family of 1858-59 was used. The first member of the household should be the head of household in the 1832. Females heading households were not deleted, as it was unclear which were female-headed in 1858-59. There is no evidence that the number of female-headed households increased after removal.

Although many names were translated by the author, most were originally translated by one or more native Muskogee speakers. Other translations were recorded in historical documents (Toomey 1917; Swanton 1928b; Moore 1995). In name translation, the following techniques were important. First, all parts of names that were clear were translated. That is, if there were clearly two parts to a names--i.e., Otis Harjo--and one was not translatable but was clearly not English, it was counted as a non-English name. English names that were plainly translations of Creek names--i.e., Tiger--and not trader or borrowed English names, such as names of agency personnel, political leaders, or soldiers, were separated into a designated list. These names include names such as Little Doctor and Mad Blue, and were generally rare. Second, translated names were put into three distinct groups--English names, English

translations of Creek names, and Indian names. The latter, of course, had various levels of translation and undoubtedly many of the untranslatable names were not Muskogee, but Euchee, Hitchiti, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Natchez, or other native names. Thirty-six percent of names from 1832 could not be translated, ranging from 10% in *Pochishatcha* to 93% in *High Log*--a branch of *Euchee* town. Foreign towns, for example *Euchee* and *Hitchitee*, had the highest percentage of names that could not be translated. Thirteen percent of names on the *Emigration Muster Rolls of 1836-1838* could not be translated. In the post-removal period, 28% of 1857 and 21% of 1858-59 names could not be translated.

Non-English names were then put into four groups. First were *moiety* groups, as discussed in Chapter 2. Names such as *Hatke,* White, and *Charte,* Red, were included in this group. The second group was *clans*, consisting of known or suspected clan names. The third group was *town* names, including both contemporary and historic Creek towns. The fourth group was the list of appellations consisting of known *political titles or busk names*--see Chapter 2. The final group is names which are less clear in origin and background; these names cannot be put into one particular group, but are translatable. Many of the latter names may be nicknames, names given to children prior to busk names, or female names Finally, also noted is the percentage of names with at least one name with a personal title or busk name. For example, names such as *Kotchar Harjo* would be counted in both clan--*Kotchar* or tiger--and personal titles or busk names--*Harjo*, while names such at *Micco Harjo* would be

counted twice in the personal title or busk names but only once when analyzing all names with at least one personal title or busk names.

Opethleyoholo's Faction

Political factions are often difficult to determine and, of course, not always apparent. The history of Opethleyoholo's group was discussed in Chapter 2. To summarize, this political group was affiliated with General Thomas Jesup during the Creek War of 1836 and, perhaps, some of them in the Second Seminole War. Their Creek leader was Opethleyoholo, a very popular and powerful leader. According to Alexander, principal chief of the Upper Creeks in 1842, "about 11,000 of Opethleyoholo's followers were removed" (Hitchcock 1930:119). If this is accurate, almost half of the pre-removal Creeks were followers of Opethleyoholo. However, Opethleyoholo and the main groups of his followers began removal on August 1, 1836, before the Second Seminole War.

The Creek Military Muster Rolls include Opethleyoholo's followers as well as many who were not his followers. These rolls are company muster rolls from both the Creek and the Seminole Wars. Thus, many of those listed on the Military Muster Roll are not among the 645 households listed on *Document 274*--see Table 4.1 below. When *Document 274* is linked to the 1832 Census, there are almost 2,200 individuals. Those listed on the Military Muster Rolls who were not Opethleyoholo's followers were the basis for those who emigrated after the main emigration--see Chapter 3.

Opethleyoholo was a major Upper Creek leader from Tuckabatchee town. Originally, he did not want removal. Later, apparently realizing there was no option, Opethleyoholo agreed to remove, but did not approve of the western lands (Foreman 1932:134-135). Opethleyoholo wanted land in Texas, then a part of Mexico, along with Benjamin Hitchcock, Jim Boy, Tuckabatchee Micco, and Dave Burnett (Foreman 1932:135). The plan failed, however, because of a negotiation breakdown between Mexico and the US.

Another important aspect of this political group was its treatment by the US. In May of 1836 Opethleyoholo was arrested for Creek debts. Eventually he was released and the charges were dropped. Opethleyoholo's followers would not emigrate while he was in jail. Later that month he, along with Jim Boy, Tuckabatchee Hadjo, Chemalee, and Tuckabatchee Micco, raised first 300 and, later, in June a group of 150 Creeks to help suppress the Creek War of 1836. This group, therefore has an interesting political history. Although they supported the US in the Creek War, and some may have supported the US in the Second Seminole War, they were clearly anti-removal and had clear ideas about their own future, even though their plans failed.

As for the group itself, these towns are a cluster located in the central Creek Nation--see Map 1. The group includes 2,233 individuals, 47 slaves, and 662 households; 54 individuals in 16 households came from the Lower Creeks, while 2,179 people and 47 slaves in 646 households were from the Upper Creeks. The households come from 17 towns, 15 Upper Creek and 2 Lower Creek. They represent

10.3% of the population, 15.9% of the Upper Creeks, and 0.7% of Lower Creeks. Obviously this faction came from specific towns; some towns have a major portion among Opethleyoholo's groups--see Table 4.1. In general, there is very little difference between this faction and the rest of the Creek population.

Table 4.1. General Characteristics of Opethleyoholo's Followers

Towns	Total	Slaves	Households	Percent of Town Population	Household Size
Thlob thloc co (1st)	220	0	54	70.1%	4.07
Tuck a batcha	563	30	182	43.7%	3.09
Ottisee	81	0	21	22.7%	3.86
Talmachussa	38	0	14	26.4%	2.71
Cle walla	109	0	24	25.5%	4.54
Taw warsa	4	0	1	3.7%	4.00
Autauga	92	0	25	43.0%	3.68
Tallisee	178	0	53	29.1%	3.36
Che haw	7	0	3	6.4%	2.33
Tus kee ga	44	13	11	20.4%	4.00
Coosawda	21	0	7	25.6%	3.00
Lu chi poga	193	0	62	34.2%	3.11
Sow ga Hatch cha	58	0	17	24.2%	3.41
U faw la	237	2	71	51.6%	3.34
Toak paf kar	3	0	1	0.8%	3.00
Ko ho junt ka garts kar	58	0	19	14.3%	3.05
Ki,a,li,ge	17	2	6	2.9%	2.83
Char,tok,sof ke	256	0	75	53.3%	3.41
Cus,se,taw	3	0	1	0.2%	3.00
Eufaula	51	0	15	27.9%	3.40

Very little analysis of the Military Muster Roll is possible because of some unique problems. As mentioned above, there are often several versions of one company. Because the companies change through time, it is not always obvious which lists are the same company. In the following analysis, there may be two or more

companies repeated, but every attempt was made to eliminate duplicates. Additionally, although most were marked, it is not always clear if a company was in the Creek War or the Seminole War.

When ranks are analyzed by name, an interesting pattern emerges. As should be expected, the higher the rank the more likely the name is English. Although not a noteworthy difference, among the military ranks listed a few names stand out--see appendix for definitions of these names. *Yaholo* are more likely to be sergeants, and *Micco* are more likely to be either captains or sergeants. Interestingly, there are very few *Tustanuggi* or *Taskiniha,* both important war titles. Finally, the high-status, relatively rare names of *Hobia* and *Hopiethle* are all privates, except for one sergeant. Unfortunately, there is little other useful information from these rolls for this analysis.

As mentioned above, many of those on these muster rolls appear to be different from Opethleyoholo's faction. Of those that can be linked to the 1832 Census, those listed as fighting in the Seminole War were from the towns of *Coweta*, *Cusseta*, and *Thlakatchka*. There towns were not listed on Document 274, or were listed with only a few members.

Opethleyoholo's group has specific name characteristics. First, this group had a lower percentage of English names --see Table 4.2. Additionally, they had more names with *Hatke* and *Luste*, slightly more *Charte*, and no *Cheloke*--see Table 4.3. In short, there are more white leaders, about the same percentage of red leaders and no foreigners among the group. There were slightly more clans among the group--24% v. 23%--see Table 4.4. Of course, there were specific clans that were larger or smaller

among Opethleyoholo's followers, but very little that stands out--see Table 4.4. Town names among this group were also more common--14% v. 11%. Again, some town names had higher rates among this group, including the Lower Creek town of Cusseta, but most higher percentage towns were Upper Creek towns--see Table 4.5. Additionally, there are a few town names missing among the group, including Tuskege, Oakchoy, Narpooche, Kolomi, Kialmulga, Kialige, Hitichiti, Hatchachuba, Coweta, and Cowyka. As for personal appellations or busk titles, overall this group has a significantly higher percentage than the rest of the Creeks--65.8% for Opethleyoholo's group with a confidence interval of 51.4%-55.0%, as compared to 53.2% and a confidence interval of 61.3%-70.3%--see Table 4.6.

Table 4.2. English/Non-English Names Creeks 1832

	1832 Non-Opethleyoholo's		**1832 Opethleyoholo's Group**	
	No	**%**	**No**	**%**
Total	5756		662	
Non-English	5382	93.5%	643	97.1%
English	374	6.50%	19	2.87%

Table 4.3. Creek Moiety Names 1832

	1832 Non-Opethleyoholo's		**1832 Opethleyoholo's Group**	
	No	**%**	**No**	**%**
Hatke	24	0.45%	10	1.56%
Charte	30	0.56%	4	0.62%
Cheloke	8	0.15%	0	0.00%
Luste	17	0.32%	4	0.62%

Table 4.4. Creek Clan Names 1832

Clan Name *(English)*	1832 Non-Opethleyoholo's No	%	1832 Opethleyoholo's Group No	%
Alpata *(Alligator)*	20	0.37%	3	0.47%
Arche *(Corn)*	11	0.20%	3	0.47%
Arloc *(Sweet Potato)*	60	1.11%	8	1.24%
Carpitchar *(Lye-drip)*	44	0.82%	3	0.47%
Chewasti	40	0.74%	1	0.16%
Chisse *(Mouse)*	16	0.30%	2	0.31%
Chitto *(Snake)*	6	0.11%	0	0.00%
Chofa,Chofolope *(Rabbit)*	7	0.13%	0	0.00%
Choko, Chokote *(House)*	18	0.33%	2	0.31%
Chular *(Fox)*	13	0.24%	3	0.47%
Echo, Echo ille, Echo gus *(Deer)*	111	2.06%	21	3.27%
Efa *(Dog)*	24	0.45%	4	0.62%
Fose *(Bird)*	36	0.67%	5	0.78%
Fullo *(Owl)*	18	0.33%	5	0.78%
Hillis *(Medicine)*	18	0.33%	4	0.62%
Hotulga *(Wind)*	34	0.63%	6	0.93%
Ichohos *(Beaver)*	12	0.22%	7	1.09%
Inthlannis *(Pubes-hair)*	9	0.17%	2	0.31%
Isfarny *(Spanish)*	51	0.95%	4	0.62%
Isko *(Squirrel)*	7	0.13%	2	0.31%
Koakoako *(Wildcat)*	9	0.17%	1	0.16%
Kono, Konip *(Skunk)*	54	1.00%	8	1.24%
Kontalle *(Fresh Land)*	13	0.24%	1	0.16%
Kotchar *(Tiger)*	87	1.62%	6	0.93%
Lochar *(Turtle)*	9	0.17%	3	0.47%
Lumhe *(Eagle)*	6	0.11%	1	0.16%
Nocus, Nocus silla, Nocose ekar *(Bear)*	102	1.90%	6	0.93%
Oakchun *(Salt)*	21	0.39%	3	0.47%
Oche *(Hickory Nut)*	21	0.39%	6	0.93%
Ogillise *(Weevil)*	18	0.33%	2	0.31%
Osar *(Otter)*	14	0.26%	4	0.62%
Octiarche *(Sand Creek)*	34	0.63%	6	0.93%
Pahose	45	0.84%	3	0.47%
Pin *(Turkey)*	22	0.41%	1	0.16%

continued

Table 4.4. continued

Clan Name *(English)*	1832 Non-Opethleyoholo's Group No	%	1832 Opethleyoholo's Group No	%
Tami	47	0.87%	2	0.31%
Tarbose *(Granddaddy Long Legs)*	5	0.09%	1	0.16%
Thalthlo *(Fish)*	61	1.13%	2	0.31%
Thle *(Arrow)*	2	0.04%	0	0.00%
Thlejim	8	0.15%	0	0.00%
Totkose *(Mole)*	15	0.28%	0	0.00%
Watco *(Raccoon)*	14	0.26%	1	0.16%
Woxie *(Chigger)*	37	0.69%	11	1.71%
Yaha *(Wolf)*	32	0.59%	2	0.31%

Table 4.5. Creek Town Names 1832

	1832 Non-Opethleyoholo's Group No	%	1832 Opethleyoholo's Group No	%
Alabama	2	0.04%	0	0.00%
Arbeka	15	0.28%	3	0.47%
Arbiccoche	4	0.07%	0	0.00%
Atasi	49	0.91%	5	0.78%
Chiaha	7	0.13%	2	0.31%
Clewalla	10	0.19%	2	0.31%
Concharta	41	0.76%	8	1.24%
Coosa	37	0.69%	6	0.93%
Coweta	9	0.17%	0	0.00%
Cowyka	2	0.04%	0	0.00%
Cusseta	26	0.48%	6	0.93%
Emarhe	9	0.17%	0	0.00%
Eufaula	14	0.26%	6	0.93%
Fose hatche	44	0.82%	12	1.87%
Hatchachubba	1	0.02%	0	0.00%

continued

Table 4.5. continued

	1832 Non-Opethleyoholo's Group		1832 Opethleyoholo's Group	
	No	%	No	%
Hillabee	21	0.39%	2	0.31%
Hitchiti	5	0.09%	0	0.00%
Kialige	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Kiamulga	2	0.04%	0	0.00%
Koasati	11	0.20%	2	0.31%
Kolomi	7	0.13%	0	0.00%
Narpooche	23	0.43%	0	0.00%
Oakchoy	26	0.48%	0	0.00%
Oakfuska	21	0.39%	4	0.62%
Okmulgee	1	0.02%	0	0.00%
Osochee	19	0.35%	4	0.62%
Oswichee	10	0.19%	1	0.16%
Opillar	1	0.02%	0	0.00%
Sarwanno	6	0.11%	1	0.16%
Sococolo	2	0.04%	1	0.16%
Taladega	12	0.22%	1	0.16%
Talip	7	0.13%	0	0.00%
Tallise	49	0.91%	9	1.40%
Talmachus	9	0.17%	2	0.31%
Talowar	28	0.52%	3	0.47%
Tamathli	5	0.09%	1	0.16%
Tuckabatche	23	0.43%	6	0.93%
Tuskege	15	0.28%	0	0.00%
Wewoka	4	0.07%	0	0.00%

Table 4.6. Creek Titles 1832

	1832 Non-Opethlyoholo's Group		1832 Opethleyoholo's Group	
	No	%	No	%
Chopko	90	1.67%	15	2.33%
Emarthla	396	7.36%	50	7.78%
Fixico	328	6.09%	38	5.91%
Harjo	1038	19.29%	162	25.19%
Heneha	47	0.87%	12	1.87%
Hobia	3	0.06%	0	0.00%
Hopiethle	29	0.54%	9	1.40%
Holata	36	0.67%	7	1.09%
Cochokone	11	0.20%	2	0.31%
Micco	184	3.42%	36	5.60%
Taskiniha, taski	35	0.65%	5	0.78%
Thlocco	93	1.73%	18	2.80%
Tusconnar	20	0.37%	1	0.16%
Tustanuggi	94	1.75%	11	1.71%
Yardeka	10	0.19%	0	0.00%
Yaholo	449	8.34%	57	8.86%

So what does this mean? First Opethleyoholo's group was mostly Upper Creeks. They had a lower percentage of English names, and among the non-English names there were more clan names, town names, and personal appellations or busk names. This groups appears to be more *Muskogean*. That is, this group had a higher percentage of Muskogee clan, town, or title names.

This group is not distinct on the census of 1858-59, though no doubt they were among the Upper Creek towns Moreover, those who remained of this group probably became the nucleus for those following Opethleyoholo during the Civil War. Those who fought in the Seminole War, however, were probably large slave owners and

their political supporters, as they were allowed to take slave plunder as part of their payment. Thus, they may have been Confederate sympathizers, though Opethleyoholo supported the Union in the Civil War. However, the point of this analysis is to look at the changes that resulted from removal. E. A. Hitchcock states, in 1842, referring to the area of Upper Creeks living near Opethleyoholo's home:

> There appears to be a considerable number of Creeks in this part of the nation. We passed by a number houses in our four miles ride this morning. One was a fine double house with a broad piazza, of course, built of logs. Most of the houses are small and are covered . . . I went to the house of the Principal Chief of the Upper towns and was sorry to find it a miserable cabin, without a floor & very small. Mr. Alexander said he was very poor and has been placed at the head of affairs for his honesty, for which he is held in great respect . . . Opothleyaholo don't like our missionaries . . . (Hitchcock 1930:116).

Thus, there is very little direct evidence of Opethleyoholo's group in the post-removal period before the Civil War. What is known suggests that they were economically poor and maintained a conservative anti-American economic system. In 1842, Hitchcock states:

> These Indians are quite primitive in their appearance and I am told by white men that some of the towns this way are so hostile to the whites and so much exasperated by cheats put upon them in Georgia and Alabama, that they will not wear pantaloons. Why they make a difference and wear coats and vest I do not see. Opothleyaholo is a principal man over here, I find, though I understand he has resigned as a chief and is no longer a chief...had on a blue frock coat of good cloth, but wore deer skin leggings. Several of the chiefs today were dressed in cloth coats or overcoats & skin leggings, some had turbans on, nearly all had moccasins instead of shoes. Some common Indians had blankets, worn in the usual Indian style (Hitchcock 1930:112).

Muster Rolls

As discussed in Chapter 3, Creeks were removed in groups. Presumably, these groups consisted of political or social factions. These factions may be important for understanding the post-removal period. Table 3.5 show each emigration and its political leaders and town derivation.

Not all emigration muster rolls were clear about the origin of their population, and many of the larger towns, such as *Coweta* and *Cusseta*, emigrated in various stages. Additionally, it is obvious that many of the town population, or even parts of towns, were never mustered for emigration.

Nonetheless, some demographic analyses can be made from these data. There was very little difference in the age and sex structure of the emigration groups--see Charts 2-10. Muster group 4, Opethleyoholo's group, has an age and sex structure typical of a growing population. The younger age groups are larger than the older ages. A few other groups have similar age/sex structures, but none have as many young as this group. For example, Muster group 3, the hostiles from the Creek War, had a high proportion of adults, both males and females, and fewer children. Interestingly, according to Abert--see Chapter 2--this group was extremely poor. Many of these differences, however, may be due to the small number in the population. In any case, many of the Lower Creek muster groups--Musters 1, 3, 8, and 9--had fewer children.

Chart 2

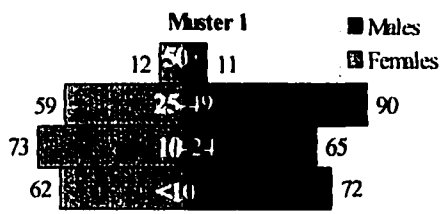


Chart 3

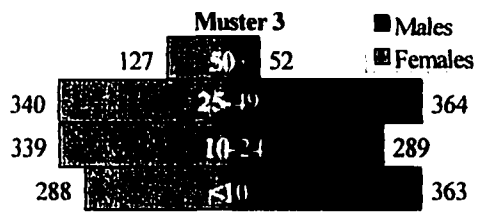


Chart 4

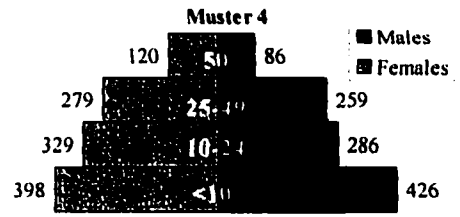


Chart 5

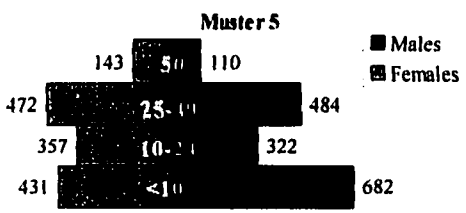


Chart 6

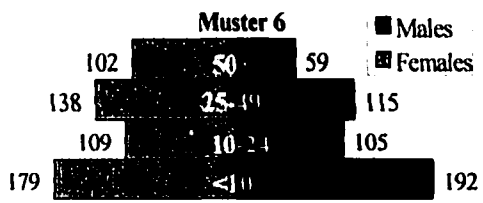


Chart 7

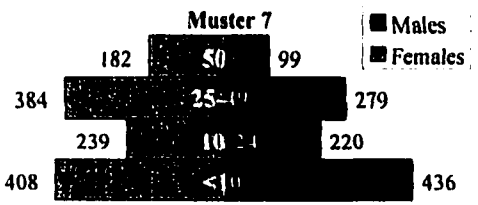


Chart 8

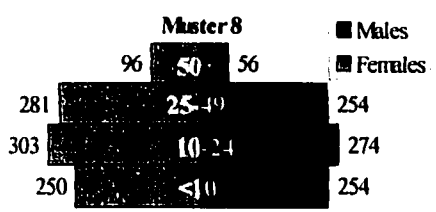


Chart 9

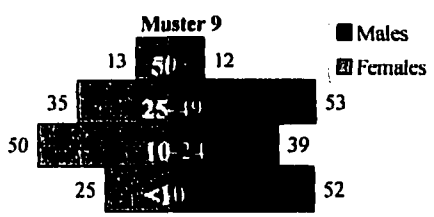
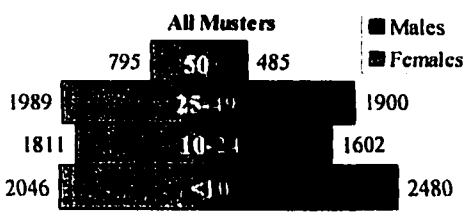


Chart 10



A look at the muster roll names shows fundamental differences between and among removal groups--see Table 4.7. To begin with, Musters 6 and 8 are both quite high in the percentage of English names, as is Muster 3, the hostiles from the Creek War of 1836. The rest, Muster groups 1, 4 and 5, have only about 5% English names. When looking at non-English names, a similar pattern emerges. Muster 3, the hostiles from the Creek War of 1836, have consistently low--often extremely low--percentages of Muskogean names. They have no moiety names, very few clan or town names, and a significantly lower percentage of personal titles or busk names--see Tables 4.8, 4.9, 4.10, and 4.11. Muster 3 had only 17.4% personal titles or busk names, with a 95% confidence interval of 9.6%-25.2%, as compared to 88.2%, with a 95% confidence interval of 84.5%-91.9%, for Opethleyoholo's group; 56.3%, confidence interval of 44.8%-67.7%, for Muster 1; 87.9%, confidence interval of 84.7%-91.1%, for Muster 5; 49.8%, confidence interval of 41.9%-57.7%, for Muster 6; 44.5%, confidence interval of 36.3%-52.7%, for Muster 7; 61.4% confidence interval of 56.2%-66.6%, for Muster 8. For example, among this group only 6% have *Harjo* in their names, only 2% *Yaholo*, and 1% *Micco*. Among Opethleyoholo's muster group--the group originally mustered to fight with the US government--and Muster 5, led by William McGillivray, there is a substantially higher percentage of Muskogean names. For example, among Opethleyoholo's muster groups, 29% have the name *Harjo*, 14% *Yaholo*, and 9% *Micco*. Among Muster 5, 36% are named *Harjo*, 18% *Yaholo*, and 4% *Micco*.

In general, the Opethleyoholo and McGillivray groups have the highest percentage, and the Hostile group has the lowest percentages, of Muskogean names. This has important implications for the post-removal Creeks. First, the group most

Muskogean--according to the criteria used in this analysis--is Opethleyoholo's group. Interestingly, they agreed to fight with the Americans against fellow Creeks; however, they left Alabama almost immediately after agreeing to fight and fought only inconsequentially. Also, this muster roll was not the group that fought in the Seminole War, and thus not the group with the proposed high death rates. In conclusion, Opethleyoholo's and McGillivray's groups have less variety of non-English names and a higher percentage of Muskogean names, while the Creek hostiles and many of the Lower Creek removal groups had fewer Muskogean names.

Unfortunately, the number and percentage of deaths is not clear for each emigration. However, from narrative information we know that specific groups had more problems than other groups. The emigrations were not recorded consistently. There were journals and letters generated in each, but the authors were different men with different perspectives. Thus, there is no strong evidence for which were the most traumatic removals. It is known that the last major removal group, one not mustered, was very traumatic. In general, it was clear that removal was severe among most groups. For example, E. A. Hitchcock states:

> . . . the chiefs and half breeds were provided for to prevent their making a disturbance, but the ignorant common Indians and the women-widows, ignorant, helpless, and dependent, were left to starve or beg their way as they could, to dig for roots &c. That for eighteen months or two years scarce any children were seen in the nation, i.e., infants; that the suffering and broken health of the women reduced the women past conception (Hitchcock 1930:157).

But, as will be discussed in detail later, Hitchcock's analysis may not be entirely accurate concerning who did and did not survive removal.

Table 4.7. Creek Names Among Emigration Muster Rolls 1836-1838

	All Muster Rolls		Muster 1		Muster 3a & 3b Hostiles		Muster 4 Opethleyoholo		Muster 5		Muster 6		Muster 7		Muster 8	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Total	2926		150		572		357		471		347		594		360	
Non-English	2678	91.52%	128	93.66%	523	91.43%	339	94.96%	447	94.90%	309	89.05%	549	92.42%	319	88.61%
English	248	8.48%	22	6.34%	49	8.57%	18	5.04%	24	5.10%	38	10.95%	45	7.58%	41	11.39%

Table 4.8. Creek Moiety Names Among Emigration Muster Rolls 1836-1838

	All Muster Rolls		Muster 1		Muster 3a & 3b Hostiles		Muster 4 Opethleyoholo		Muster 5		Muster 6		Muster 7		Muster 8	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Hatke	13	0.49%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	1.77%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	3	0.55%	3	0.94%
Charte	10	0.37%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.59%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.36%	6	1.88%
Cheloke	2	0.07%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.18%	1	0.31%
Luste	9	0.34%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	2	0.59%	0	0.00%	1	0.32%	1	0.18%	4	1.25%

Table 4.9. Creek Clan Names Among Emigration Muster Rolls 1836-1838

Clan Name *(English)*	All Muster Rolls		Muster 1		Muster 3a & 3b Hostiles		Muster 4 Opethleyoholo		Muster 5		Muster 6		Muster 7		Muster 8	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Alpata *(Alligator)*	11	0.41%	0	0.00%	2	0.38%	2	0.59%	3	0.67%	1	0.32%	1	0.18%	2	0.63%
Arche *(Corn)*	4	0.15%	0	0.00%	2	0.38%	1	0.29%	0	0.00%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Arloc *(Sweet Potato)*	35	1.31%	3	0.97%	1	0.19%	4	1.18%	5	1.12%	4	1.29%	10	1.82%	7	2.19%
Carpitchar *(Lye-drip)*	22	0.82%	1	0.32%	1	0.19%	4	1.18%	4	0.89%	2	0.65%	4	0.73%	3	0.94%
Chewasti	22	0.82%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	3	0.88%	10	2.24%	4	1.29%	3	0.55%	0	0.00%
Chisse *(Mouse)*	8	0.30%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	0	0.00%	3	0.67%	1	0.32%	3	0.55%	0	0.00%
Chitto *(Snake)*	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Chofa,Chofolope *(Rabbit)*	11	0.41%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	2	0.59%	2	0.45%	1	0.32%	3	0.55%	2	0.63%
Choko, Chokote *(House)*	19	0.71%	1	0.32%	2	0.38%	1	0.29%	8	1.79%	5	1.62%	1	0.18%	1	0.31%
Chular *(Fox)*	7	0.26%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.59%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	2	0.36%	1	0.31%
Echo, Echo ille, Echo gus *(Deer)*	54	2.02%	8	2.59%	3	0.57%	8	2.36%	11	2.46%	10	3.24%	10	1.82%	3	0.94%
Efa *(Dog)*	9	0.34%	0	0.00%	2	0.38%	2	0.59%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	4	0.73%	0	0.00%
Fose *(Bird)*	17	0.63%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	1.34%	0	0.00%	5	0.91%	4	1.25%
Fullo *(Owl)*	10	0.37%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	2	0.59%	3	0.67%	1	0.32%	2	0.36%	1	0.31%
Hillis *(Medicine)*	10	0.37%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.59%	2	0.45%	2	0.65%	2	0.36%	1	0.31%
Hotulga *(Wind)*	25	0.93%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8	2.36%	6	1.34%	2	0.65%	9	1.64%	0	0.00%
Ichohos *(Beaver)*	10	0.37%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.59%	2	0.45%	0	0.00%	1	0.18%	4	1.25%
Inthlannis *(Pubes-hair)*	2	0.07%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.29%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.18%	0	0.00%
Isfarny *(Spanish)*	22	0.82%	0	0.00%	2	0.38%	3	0.88%	4	0.89%	1	0.32%	7	1.28%	3	0.94%
Isko *(Squirrel)*	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Koakoako *(Wildcat)*	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.18%	0	0.00%

continued

Table 4.9 continued

Clan Name *(English)*	All Muster Rolls		Muster 1		Muster 3a & 3b Hostiles		Muster 4 Opethleyoholo		Muster 5		Muster 6		Muster 7		Muster 8	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Kono, Konip *(Skunk)*	35	1.31%	2	0.65%	2	0.38%	5	1.47%	9	2.01%	6	1.94%	6	1.09%	3	0.94%
Kontalle *(Fresh Land)*	6	0.22%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%	1	0.32%	2	0.36%	1	0.31%
Kotchar *(Tiger)*	31	1.16%	3	0.97%	4	0.76%	12	3.54%	7	1.57%	0	0.00%	2	0.36%	1	0.31%
Lochar *(Turtle)*	12	0.45%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	1.18%	2	0.45%	2	0.65%	3	0.55%	1	0.31%
Lumhe *(Eagle)*	11	0.41%	1	0.32%	2	0.38%	5	1.47%	2	0.45%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Nocus, Nocus silla, Nocose ekar *(Bear)*	59	2.20%	1	0.32%	2	0.38%	11	3.24%	10	2.24%	4	1.29%	25	4.55%	6	1.88%
Oakchun *(Salt)*	9	0.34%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	1	0.29%	4	0.89%	2	0.65%	1	0.18%	0	0.00%
Oche *(Hickory Nut)*	9	0.34%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.59%	5	1.12%	0	0.00%	2	0.36%	0	0.00%
Ogillise *(Weevil)*	9	0.34%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.88%	1	0.22%	2	0.65%	3	0.55%	0	0.00%
Osar *(Otter)*	15	0.56%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	1.77%	3	0.67%	1	0.32%	3	0.55%	2	0.63%
Octiarche *(Sand Creek)*	16	0.60%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	4	1.18%	4	0.89%	0	0.00%	5	0.91%	2	0.63%
Pahose	22	0.82%	2	0.65%	0	0.00%	3	0.88%	8	1.79%	5	1.62%	4	0.73%	0	0.00%
Pin *(Turkey)*	18	0.67%	1	0.32%	1	0.19%	0	0.00%	4	0.89%	4	1.29%	6	1.09%	1	0.31%
Tami	29	1.08%	1	0.32%	5	0.96%	3	0.88%	6	1.34%	5	1.62%	3	0.55%	4	1.25%
Tarbose *(Granddaddy Long Legs)*	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.18%	0	0.00%
Thalthlo *(Fish)*	28	1.05%	2	0.65%	3	0.57%	1	0.29%	7	1.57%	2	0.65%	5	0.91%	7	2.19%
Thle *(Arrow)*	2	0.07%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Thlejim	9	0.34%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.29%	3	0.67%	3	0.97%	2	0.36%	0	0.00%
Totkose *(Mole)*	7	0.26%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	1	0.29%	2	0.45%	1	0.32%	2	0.36%	0	0.00%
Watco *(Raccoon)*	8	0.30%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.67%	1	0.32%	4	0.73%	0	0.00%
Woxie *(Chigger)*	17	0.63%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	4	1.18%	7	1.57%	0	0.00%	4	0.73%	1	0.31%
Yaha *(Wolf)*	16	0.60%	3	0.97%	2	0.38%	3	0.88%	2	0.45%	1	0.32%	2	0.36%	3	0.94%

Table 4.10. Creek Town Names Among Emigration Muster Rolls 1836-1838

	All Muster Rolls		Muster 1		Muster 3a & 3b Hostiles		Muster 4 Opethleyoholo		Muster 5		Muster 6		Muster 7		Muster 8	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Alabama	2	0.07%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.29%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.18%	0	0.00%
Arbeka	12	0.45%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	5	1.47%	4	0.89%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Arbiccoche	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.29%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Atasi	28	1.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7	2.06%	6	1.34%	3	0.97%	11	2.00%	1	0.31%
Chiaha	5	0.19%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	2	0.59%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.31%
Clewalla	5	0.19%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	2	0.36%	1	0.31%
Concharta	13	0.49%	1	0.32%	1	0.19%	4	1.18%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	1.09%	0	0.00%
Coosa	21	0.78%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	6	1.77%	5	1.12%	4	1.29%	4	0.73%	1	0.31%
Coweta	4	0.15%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%	1	0.32%	1	0.18%	0	0.00%
Cowyka	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Cusseta	13	0.49%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	1	0.29%	7	1.57%	2	0.65%	1	0.18%	1	0.31%
Emarhe	2	0.07%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.29%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.18%	0	0.00%
Eufaula	11	0.41%	1	0.32%	1	0.19%	2	0.59%	2	0.45%	3	0.97%	2	0.36%	0	0.00%
Fose hatche	23	0.86%	0	0.00%	4	0.76%	7	2.06%	2	0.45%	1	0.32%	8	1.46%	1	0.31%
Hatchachubba	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Hillabee	12	0.45%	2	0.65%	1	0.19%	1	0.29%	6	1.34%	0	0.00%	1	0.18%	1	0.31%
Hitchiti	2	0.07%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.59%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Kialige	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Kiamulga	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Koasati	14	0.52%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	5	1.47%	5	1.12%	0	0.00%	3	0.55%	0	0.00%
Kolomi	5	0.19%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%	2	0.65%	2	0.36%	0	0.00%
Narpooche	11	0.41%	3	0.97%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.67%	0	0.00%	4	0.73%	1	0.31%

continued

Table 4.10 continued

	All Muster Rolls		Muster 1		Muster 3a & 3b Hostiles		Muster 4 Opethleyoholo		Muster 5		Muster 6		Muster 7		Muster 8	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Oakchoy	15	0.56%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	0	0.00%	4	0.89%	2	0.65%	7	1.28%	0	0.00%
Oakfuska	11	0.41%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%	1	0.32%	4	0.73%	2	0.63%
Okmulgee	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Osochee	3	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.59%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Oswichee	2	0.07%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.18%	0	0.00%
Opillar	2	0.07%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	1	0.18%	0	0.00%
Sarwanno	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Sococolo	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Taladega	9	0.34%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	1	0.29%	3	0.67%	2	0.65%	1	0.18%	1	0.31%
Talip	6	0.22%	0	0.00%	2	0.38%	4	1.18%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Tallise	23	0.86%	1	0.32%	2	0.38%	2	0.59%	7	1.57%	3	0.97%	2	0.36%	5	1.57%
Talmachus	5	0.19%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.59%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.36%	1	0.31%
Talowar	10	0.37%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.45%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	6	1.88%
Tamathli	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Tuckabatche	20	0.75%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	7	2.06%	5	1.12%	0	0.00%	6	1.09%	1	0.31%
Tuskege	7	0.26%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	2	0.59%	4	0.89%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Wewoka	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.18%	0	0.00%

Table 4.11. Creek Titles Among Emigration Muster Rolls 1836-1838

	All Muster Rolls		Muster 1		Muster 3a & 3b Hostiles		Muster 4 Opethleyoholo		Muster 5		Muster 6		Muster 7		Muster 8	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Chopko	47	1.76%	3	0.97%	5	0.96%	2	0.59%	12	2.68%	6	1.94%	9	1.64%	9	2.82%
Emarthla	191	7.13%	7	2.27%	13	2.49%	29	8.55%	50	11.19%	22	7.12%	51	9.29%	18	5.64%
Fixico	178	6.65%	11	3.56%	7	1.34%	34	10.03%	47	10.51%	25	8.09%	42	7.65%	9	2.82%
Harjo	585	21.84%	26	8.41%	33	6.31%	101	29.79%	162	36.24%	56	18.12%	140	25.50%	54	16.93%
Heneha	26	0.97%	2	0.65%	3	0.57%	6	1.77%	1	0.22%	3	0.97%	8	1.46%	2	0.63%
Hobia	10	0.37%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	4	1.18%	0	0.00%	3	0.97%	1	0.18%	0	0.00%
Hopiethle	13	0.49%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7	2.06%	0	0.00%	1	0.32%	4	0.73%	1	0.31%
Holata	15	0.56%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	8	2.36%	1	0.22%	3	0.97%	0	0.00%	2	0.63%
Cochokone	6	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.29%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	1.25%
Micco	98	3.66%	3	0.97%	6	1.15%	32	9.44%	16	3.58%	8	2.59%	19	3.46%	11	3.45%
Taskiniha, taski	24	0.90%	1	0.32%	1	0.19%	9	2.65%	7	1.57%	1	0.32%	4	0.73%	0	0.00%
Thlocco	46	1.72%	1	0.32%	3	0.57%	13	3.83%	8	1.79%	3	0.97%	8	1.46%	8	2.51%
Tusconnar	12	0.45%	1	0.32%	2	0.38%	2	0.59%	3	0.67%	1	0.32%	1	0.18%	2	0.63%
Tustanuggi	39	1.46%	5	1.62%	6	1.15%	4	1.18%	3	0.67%	2	0.65%	6	1.09%	11	3.45%
Yardeka	5	0.19%	0	0.00%	1	0.19%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	2	0.36%	1	0.31%
Yaholo	224	8.36%	11	3.56%	10	1.91%	47	13.86%	81	18.12%	20	6.47%	42	7.65%	10	3.13%

Total Population Change

Total population changes among Southeastern groups are well known (Swanton 1922; Thornton 1984; 1987; Sattler 1987). Total population changes tell little about actual social and political changes; however, they do provide an overview of the population changes. The Creek population dropped from at least 21,720 in 1832 to about 14,000 in the late 1850s--see Table 4.12. It should be remembered that the 1832 population does not include those who moved to Indian Territory in the mid 1820s. This group comprises an estimated 2,000 to 3,000 individuals (Swanton 1922). The number of slaves during this period almost doubled, from 894 in 1832 to 1,591 in 1860. Only seven slaves in the 1860 Creek Nation were listed with free US citizens as owners. The number of Creek towns dropped slightly from 66 to somewhere between 58 and 60--see Table 4.13. According to E. A. Hitchcock, there were only 45 towns in 1842, apparently there was a decrease in the number of towns, followed by an increase (Hitchcock 1930:122).

Table 4.12. Total Creek Population 1832-1860

	1832	**1857**[1]	**1858-59**[2]	**1860**
Creeks	21,720	14,888	13,527	
Slaves	894			1,591

[1]Summary information [2] Missing data

Table 4.13. Creek Towns 1832, 1857, and 1858-59

Year	**Number of Towns**
1832	66*
1857	58
1858-59	60

*plus 1 town with only a chief listed.

Names changes that occurred between 1832 and 1858-59 are important for understanding the social situation of the Creeks after removal. To begin with, there was a significant increase in the percentage of English names between 1832 and 1858-59, from 6.5%, with a 95% confidence interval of 4.1%-8.9%, to 22.0%, with a 95% confidence interval of 18.8%-25.1%--see Table 4.14. After removal, more than one in five Creek heads of household had an English name.

Table 4.14. English/Non-English Names Creeks 1832 and 1858-59

	1832		1858-59	
Names	**No**	**%**	**No**	**%**
Total	6443		3030	
Non-English	6025	93.5%	2365	78.0%
English	418	6.5%	665	22.0%

Among moiety names there was a general decrease in the number and percentage, though there was an increase in the name *Cheloke*--speaks with a foreign tongue--as well as a slight increase in the moiety name *Luste*, which means black and is associated with a foreign moiety--see Table 4.15.

Table 4.15. Creek Moiety Names 1832 and 1858-59

	1832		1858-59	
	No	**%**	**No**	**%**
Hatke	34	0.56%	10	0.42%
Charte	34	0.56%	8	0.34%
Cheloke	8	0.13%	9	0.38%
Luste	21	0.35%	9	0.38%

During the post-removal period, there was an increase in the percentage of individuals with clan names--23.0% in 1832 v. 34.0% in 1858-59--see Table 4.16. At the same time there was an increase in overall percentage of clan names, there was a decrease in the number of clan names. In fact, 12 of the 43 clan names analyzed show a decrease, and three disappeared altogether. In other words, there was decreased variety of clan names and increased number of clan names. Apparently, popular or powerful clans gained strength, thus decreasing variety.

Table 4.16. Creek Clan Names 1832 and 1858-59

	1832		**1858-59**	
Clan Name *(English)*	**No**	**%**	**No**	**%**
Alpata *(Alligator)*	23	0.38%	15	0.63%
Arche *(Corn)*	14	0.23%	26	1.10%
Arloc *(Sweet Potato)*	68	1.13%	43	1.82%
Carpitchar *(Lye-drip)*	47	0.78%	19	0.80%
Chewasti	41	0.68%	21	0.89%
Chisse *(Mouse)*	18	0.30%	4	0.17%
Chitto *(Snake)*	6	0.10%	1	0.04%
Chofa,Chofolope *(Rabbit)*	7	0.12%	12	0.51%
Choko, Chokote *(House)*	20	0.33%	27	1.14%
Chular *(Fox)*	16	0.27%	13	0.55%
Echo, Echo ille, Echo gus *(Deer)*	131	2.17%	77	3.26%
Efa *(Dog)*	28	0.46%	7	0.30%
Fose *(Bird)*	41	0.68%	20	0.85%
Fullo *(Owl)*	23	0.38%	9	0.38%
Hillis *(Medicine)*	22	0.37%	14	0.59%
Hotulga *(Wind)*	40	0.66%	30	1.27%
Ichohos *(Beaver)*	19	0.32%	13	0.55%
Inthlannis *(Pubes-hair)*	11	0.18%	1	0.04%
Isfarny *(Spanish)*	55	0.91%	21	0.89%
Isko *(Squirrel)*	9	0.15%	0	0.00%
Koakoako *(Wildcat)*	10	0.17%	0	0.00%
Kono, Konip *(Skunk)*	62	1.03%	30	1.27%
Kontalle *(Fresh Land)*	14	0.23%	14	0.59%
Kotchar *(Tiger)*	93	1.54%	60	2.54%
Lochar *(Turtle)*	12	0.20%	8	0.34%

continued

Table 4.16. continued

	1832		1858-59	
Clan Name *(English)*	**No**	**%**	**No**	**%**
Lumhe *(Eagle)*	7	0.12%	5	0.21%
Nocus, Nocus silla, Nocose ekar *(Bear)*	108	1.79%	64	2.71%
Oakchun *(Salt)*	24	0.40%	21	0.89%
Oche *(Hickory Nut)*	27	0.45%	14	0.59%
Ogillise *(Weevil)*	20	0.33%	0	0.00%
Osar *(Otter)*	18	0.30%	11	0.47%
Octiarche *(Sand Creek)*	40	0.66%	7	0.30%
Pahose	48	0.80%	29	1.23%
Pin *(Turkey)*	23	0.38%	13	0.55%
Tami	49	0.81%	35	1.48%
Tarbose *(Granddaddy Long Legs)*	6	0.10%	2	0.08%
Thalthlo *(Fish)*	63	1.05%	25	1.06%
Thle *(Arrow)*	2	0.03%	7	0.30%
Thlejim	8	0.13%	7	0.30%
Totkose *(Mole)*	15	0.25%	15	0.63%
Watco *(Raccoon)*	15	0.25%	11	0.47%
Woxie *(Chigger)*	48	0.80%	25	1.06%
Yaha *(Wolf)*	34	0.56%	27	1.14%

As for towns, the same situation existed but with even more intensity. Although there was only a slight increase in the number of town names during this period, from 11.0% to 11.6%, there was a noticeable decrease in variety--see Table 4.17. This general stability in the percentage of town names may imply a decreased importance of towns in favor of the national government, but this is unsubstantiated. Over one-half--20/39--of Creek town names decreased, while only 11 increased; the rest remained stable.

Table 4.17. Creek Town Names 1832 and 1858-59

	1832		1858-59	
	No	%	No	%
Alabama	2	0.03%	0	0.00%
Arbeka	18	0.30%	14	0.59%
Arbiccoche	4	0.07%	2	0.08%
Atasi	54	0.90%	27	1.14%
Chiaha	9	0.15%	7	0.30%
Clewalla	12	0.20%	1	0.04%
Concharta	49	0.81%	21	0.89%
Coosa	43	0.71%	17	0.72%
Coweta	9	0.15%	9	0.38%
Cowyka	2	0.03%	0	0.00%
Cusseta	32	0.53%	5	0.21%
Emarhe	9	0.15%	8	0.34%
Eufaula	20	0.33%	13	0.55%
Fose hatche	56	0.93%	21	0.89%
Hatchachubba	1	0.02%	0	0.00%
Hillabee	23	0.38%	11	0.47%
Hitchiti	5	0.08%	0	0.00%
Kialige	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Kiamulga	2	0.03%	2	0.08%
Koasati	13	0.22%	10	0.42%
Kolomi	7	0.12%	2	0.08%
Narpooche	23	0.38%	10	0.42%
Oakchoy	26	0.43%	11	0.47%
Oakfuska	25	0.41%	8	0.34%
Okmulgee	1	0.02%	0	0.00%
Osochee	23	0.38%	16	0.68%
Oswichee	11	0.18%	1	0.04%
Opillar	1	0.02%	0	0.00%
Sarwanno	7	0.12%	2	0.08%
Sococolo	3	0.05%	0	0.00%
Taladega	13	0.22%	1	0.04%
Talip	7	0.12%	0	0.00%
Tallise	58	0.96%	18	0.76%
Talmachus	11	0.18%	7	0.30%
Talowar	31	0.51%	15	0.63%
Tamathli	6	0.10%	1	0.04%
Tuckabatche	29	0.48%	9	0.38%
Tuskege	15	0.25%	1	0.04%
Wewoka	4	0.07%	4	0.17%

Overall, there was an increase in individuals with at least one personal title or busk name. Names can include two or even three personal titles or busk names, such as *Emarthla Harjo*. In 1832, 48.9% of individuals had at least one name that was a personal title or busk name; in 1858-59, 56.2% had at least one.

As for specific personal titles or busk names, there was a notable increase in household heads with most titles--see Table 4.18. The only decreases occurred in the names *Emarthla, Tusconnar,* and *Tustanuggi*. This suggests a decrease in war titles. Although not all war titles decreased, the two most common ones did. One name that did not decrease was *Taskiniha,* an ambiguous title that may have had to do with speaking or negotiation rather than warfare. The other war titles that did not decrease were those that were important, prestigious, and rare, including *Hobia* and *Hopiethle*. Additionally, the unassuming title or busk name of *Harjo* increases. In short, war titles decreased while honorary, official, or political titles increased.

Table 4.18. Creek Titles & Personal Names 1832 and 1858-59

	1832		1858-59	
	No	%	No	%
Chopko	105	1.74%	42	1.78%
Emarthla	446	7.40%	155	6.55%
Fixico	366	6.07%	203	8.58%
Harjo	1200	19.92%	512	21.65%
Heneha	59	0.98%	26	1.10%
Hobia	3	0.05%	17	0.72%
Hopiethle	38	0.63%	20	0.85%
Holata	43	0.71%	21	0.89%
Cochokone	13	0.22%	8	0.34%
Micco	220	3.65%	108	4.57%
Taskiniha, Taski	40	0.66%	30	1.27%
Thlocco	111	1.84%	50	2.11%
Tusconnar	21	0.35%	7	0.30%
Tustanuggi	105	1.74%	22	0.93%
Yardeka	10	0.17%	9	0.38%
Yaholo	506	8.40%	231	9.77%

Slaves

The number of slaves among the Creeks almost doubled between 1832 and 1860, when the Creek slaves were enumerated, from 894 to 1,591. Since only some of the names can be linked to the 1857/58-59 payrolls, only a limited amount of information is available. Additionally, there may have been differences in the enumeration process between the 1832 census and the 1860 slave list that make the lists less comparable. The 1832 list was clearly a household list, while the 1860 list was of slave owners. Consequently, in 1860 there could have been individuals who owned slaves but were not heads of households. Thus some households may have been represented twice on the list. Additionally, the self-emigrants were large slave owners, and they were not counted in 1832, but were in 1860. Thus the difference may not have been as drastic as it seems.

However, these enumerations appear to be somewhat comparable. In any case, the differences between 1832 and 1860 were minimal except in a few important areas.

Table 4.19. Creek Slaves 1832 and 1860.

Number of Slaves	Individuals	1832	Individuals	1860
1	47	29.2%	67	25.2%
2-5	63	39.1%	109	41.0%
6-10	26	16.1%	54	20.3%
11-15	12	7.5%	17	6.4%
16-20	6	3.7%	10	3.8%
21-25	3	1.9%	1	0.4%
26-76	3	1.9%	8	3.0%

In 1832 a high percentage of Creek slave owners, 29.2%, owned only one slave (Campbell 1989). This was also the case in 1860, at 25.2%. The increase in number of slaves held by individuals or household was fairly consistent from 1832 to 1860--see Table 4.19. That is, the increase was similar across the categories. There does, however, seem to be an increase in the number of large slave holders. In 1832, there were households with 30, 32, and 35 slaves each; however, by 1860, there were individuals with 36, 37, 42, and 62 slaves, as well as two individuals with 76 slaves each. One of these very large slave owners was Benjamin Marshall. According to the 1832 census, this man had no slaves, but according to the muster roll he had 19 slaves before removal. The other is Jane Hawkins; even though there are several Hawkinses on the muster rolls, the names were missing from the 1832 census. How she acquired these slaves in unknown.

Slave owners generally had English names. In 1832, 76 of 161--47%--had English names. On the muster rolls, 29 of the 66 slave-owning individuals, 44%, had English names. By 1860, 222 of 270 slave owners, 82%, had English names. Interestingly, of the

48 individuals with non-English names in 1860, 8 were Yargee with various English given names. They may have all been one family. Additionally, many of these individuals were well known historically. Although a larger percentage of slave owners with non-English names had the name *Micco* than in the total population--12% in 1832 and 8% in 1860--there were so few non-English names among this group that no analysis of this data was possible.

Ethnic Composition

As discussed in Chapter 2, Creeks often accepted other groups as towns of their Confederacy. Since most other social organizations were subordinate to the town, towns were the most important unit. However, towns were social groupings and as such were composed of people of specific ethnic origin. Swanton discusses town ethnicity, which is summarized in the tables below (1922). The self-sufficient nature of the town allowed groups who did not speak the Muskogee language and who were not necessarily similar in their culture to join the Confederacy while maintaining their own political and sometimes even social independence. Among towns and settlements extant in 1832 and 1857/58-59, some historically spoke the Muskogee language while others did so only as a lingua franca--see Tables 4.20 and 4.21 (Swanton 1922). Foreign towns were considered separate peoples at an earlier historic period. In 1832, over 25 of the 65 Creek towns were of foreign ancestry; by 1857, 17 of the 58 towns, and in 1858-59, 18 of the 60 towns, were foreign. As discussed earlier, these foreign languages included Hitchiti, Euchee, Alabama, and Natchez, and later Shawnee, Cherokee, and Piankeshaw (Nunez 1958;

Swanton 1915; Hitchcock 1930). It is important to note that many of these town may not have spoken their original language, but were Muskogee speakers.

Although historically important, ethnic differences are said to be minimal during this period. By the early nineteenth century, through "close association over an extended period of time . . . some of the most sharply distinctive cultural features . . ." began to merge (Green 1973:2). "[T]he tongue of the dominate Muscogees had become the national language and the most noticeable differences were the prominence of different clans in different towns" (Green 1973:2). "Their own friendly compact continues the union . . ." was how English trader James Adair described the type of confederacy the Creeks had in the mid to late 1700s (Adair 1775:460). Differences, however, were clearly maintained into Indian Territory.

> The principal Indians of the Creek Nation are the Creeks properly so called or Muskogees, next the Uchees then the Hitchitees, the Natchez (Natchez), Coowarsarde and Alabamas. These are exclusive of the Seminoles. These all have different languages, but the young people nearly all understand and speak the Creek languages. All the Hitchitees speak the Creek but the Uchees or many of them, do not speak the Creek. There are two small towns of Alabamas, one is called Oakchoyuchee, but they speak the Alabama language, and though originally a separate tribe are now considered Alabamas (Hitchcock 1930:120).

Table 4.20. 1832 Creek Town Ethnicity and Language

Towns	Upper/Lower	Town Ethnicity	Language
Ar bic coo chee	Upper	Abihka	Muskogee
Autauga	Upper	Alabama	Foreign
Char,tok,sof ke	Upper	Okefuskee	Muskogee
Che ar haw	Upper	Chiaha	Foreign
Che haw	Upper	Chiaha	Foreign
Chock,o,lock,o	Upper	Unknown	Unknown
Cle walla	Upper	Hotiwahali	Muskogee
Con charte tee	Upper	Abihka	Muskogee
Coosawda	Upper	Koasati	Foreign
Corn house Tohtogagi	Upper	Okefuskee	Muskogee
Cu bi Hatcha	Upper	Unknown	Unknown
E,kum,duts,ke	Upper	Muskogee	Muskogee
E,mar,he	Upper	Muskogee	Muskogee
Fish Pond	Upper	Okchai	Muskogee
Hatch chi chubba	Upper	Tuckabahchee	Muskogee
Hatchet Creek	Upper	Okchai	Muskogee
Hicory Ground Hitcisihogi	Upper	Okefuskee	Muskogee
Hil,la,bee	Upper	Hilibi	Muskogee
Hitch o,par,tar ga	Upper	Hilibi	Muskogee
Ki,a,li,ge	Upper	Tuckabahchee	Muskogee
Ki,a,mul,ga	Upper	Cherokee & Shawnee	Foreign
Ko ho junt ka garts kar	Upper	Okefuskee	Muskogee
Lu chi poga	Upper	Coosa	Muskogee
O se lar ne by	Upper	Unknown	Unknown
Oak choy	Upper	Okchai	Muskogee
Oak taw sar by	Upper	Hilibi	Muskogee
Ottisee	Upper	Atasi	Muskogee
Po chis hach cha	Upper	Okchai	Muskogee
Poch,en,tal,la haf,s	Upper	Pakana	Muskogee
Rabbit	Upper	Muskogee	Muskogee
Sock,o,par,toy	Upper	Wakokai	Muskogee
Sow ga Hatch cha	Upper	Coosa	Muskogee
Tal lip se ho gy Otciapofa Okfuskee Holitaiga Tchulako nini	Upper	Muskogee	Muskogee
Tal,la,se Hatch,ee	Upper	Unknown	Unknown
Talledega	Upper	Abihka	Muskogee
Tallisee	Upper	Coosa	Muskogee
Talmachussa	Upper	Okefuskee	Muskogee
Taw warsa	Upper	Alabama	Foreign
Thlob thloc co (1st)	Upper	Okchai	Muskogee
Thlob thlocco (2nd)	Upper	Hotiwahali	Muskogee
Toak paf kar	Upper	Okefuskee	Muskogee
Tuck a batcha	Upper	Tuckabahchee	Muskogee
Tus kee ga	Upper	Tuskeegee	Foreign
U faw la	Upper	Efaula	Muskogee
We woak kar	Upper	Strays from other towns	Refugees
We,o,gufka	Upper	Wakokai	Muskogee

continued

Table 4.20. continued.

Towns	Upper/Lower	Town Ethnicity	Language
Che,haw,ah	Lower	Chiaha	Foreign
Cow,e,ta	Lower	Coweta	Muskogee
Cow,y,ka (So,woc,co,lo)	Lower	Sawaokli	Foreign
Cus,se,taw	Lower	Kasihta	Muskogee
Eu,chee	Lower	Yuchi	Foreign
Eu,faw,la	Lower	Efaula	Muskogee
Eufaula	Lower	Efaula	Muskogee
Hatch,ee chubba	Lower	Sawaokli	Foreign
Hi,har,geeHitch,e,tee	Lower	Hitchiti	Foreign
High log Euchee	Lower	Yuchi	Foreign
Hitch,e,tee	Lower	Hitchiti	Foreign
Ho,tal,le, he,gar,nar	Lower	Chiaha	Foreign
O,swich,ee	Lower	Osochi	Foreign
O,switch,ee	Lower	Osochi	Foreign
Pok,lo,cho,ko,lo	Lower	Apalachicola	Foreign
So,woc,co,lo	Lower	Sawaokli	Foreign
Thla,katch,ka	Lower	Muskogee	Muskogee
Thla,katch,ka	Lower	Muskogee	Muskogee
or Broken Arrow; Wetum,ka			
Tol,o,war thlock,o	Lower	Apalachicola	Foreign
Pok,lo,chofke,lo			

Table 4.21. 1857 and 1858-59 Creek Town Ethnicity and Language

Towns	Upper/Lower	Adjusted Upper/Lower	Town Ethnicity	Language
Arpihcah	Upper	Upper	Abihka?	Muskogee
Arpihcochee	Upper	Upper	Okefuske	Muskogee
Artussee	Upper	Upper	Atasi	Muskogee
Charotc Sofkar	Upper	Upper	Okefuske	Muskogee
Fish Pond	Upper	Upper	Okchai	Muskogee
Hickory Ground	Upper	Upper	Okefuske	Muskogee
Hillabe	Upper	Upper	Hilibi	Muskogee
Hillabee	Upper	Upper	Hilibi	Muskogee
Kialiche	Upper	Upper	Tuckabachee	Muskogee
New Yorkar	Upper	Upper	Okefuske	Muskogee
Oak Choy Ochee	Upper	Upper	Alabama	Muskogee
Oakchoy Quarsardy	Upper	Upper	Koasati	Foreign
Osochee	Upper	Upper	Osochi	Foreign
Puccontallarhasse	Upper	Upper	Pakana	Muskogee
Shawnee	Upper	Upper	Shawnee	Foreign
Sockopotoy	Upper	Upper	Wakokai	Muskogee
Tallassee	Upper	Upper	Coosa	Muskogee
Talmochussee	Upper	Upper	Okefuske	Muskogee
Talwarthlocco	Upper	Upper	Apalachicola	Foreign
Thlewarle	Upper	Upper	Hotiwahali	Muskogee
Thlob Thlocco	Upper	Upper	Okchai	Muskogee
Tookpofkar	Upper	Upper	Wakokai	Muskogee
Tuckabatchee	Upper	Upper	Tuckabachee	Muskogee
Tus Ke Ke	Upper	Upper	Tuskeegee	Foreign
Upper Eufala	Upper	Upper	Efaula	Muskogee
Weokufkee	Upper	Upper	Wakokai	Muskogee
Wewokah	Upper	Upper	Refugees	Refugees

continued

Table 4.21 continued.

Towns	Upper/Lower	Adjusted Upper/Lower	Town Ethnicity	Language
Big Spring	Lower	Lower	Whites	Whites
Broken Arrow	Lower	Lower	Muskogee	Muskogee
Chakey Thlocco	Lower	Upper	Unknown	Unknown
Cherokee	Lower	Lower	Cherokee	Foreign
Cheyarhar	Lower	Lower	Chiaha	Foreign
Concharta	Lower	Upper	Abihka?	Muskogee
Cowassauda	Lower	Upper	Koasati	Foreign
Coweta	Lower	Lower	Coweta	Muskogee
Cuseta	Lower	Lower	Kasihta	Muskogee
Emarche	Lower	Upper	Muskogee	Muskogee
Euchee	Lower	Lower	Yuchi	Foreign
Eufaula	Lower	Lower	Efaula	Muskogee
Hichete	Lower	Lower	Hitchiti	Foreign
Hillebee	Lower	Upper	Hilibi	Foreign
Ho Tulle Ho Yanar	Lower	Lower	Chiaha	Foreign
Hutchichubbee	Lower	Upper	Tuckabachee	Muskogee
Little Tallisee	Lower	Upper	Coosa	Muskogee
Lo Cha Po Kah	Lower	Upper	Coosa	Muskogee
Oakchoy	Lower	Upper	Okchai	Muskogee
Ockfuskee	Lower	Upper	Okefuske	Muskogee
Ohkauwiky	Lower	Lower	Sawokli	Foreign
Okeliyokeny	Lower	Lower	Sawokli	Foreign
Osilarbuby	Lower	Upper	Unknown	Unknown
Oswichi	Lower	Upper	Osochi	Foreign
Piankeshawus	Lower	Lower	Piankeshawus	Foreign
Sand	Lower	Lower	Refugees	Refugees
Sowoclo	Lower	Lower	Sawokli	Foreign
Tallidagee	Lower	Upper	Abihka?	Muskogee
Talse Hatchee	Lower	Upper	Unknown	Unknown
Tuckabatchee	Lower	Lower	Tuckabachee	Muskogee
Tulwah Thlocco	Lower	Lower	Apalachicola	Foreign
Tuskegee	Lower	Upper	Tuskeegee	Foreign
Wok Ko Koy	Lower	Upper	Wakokai	Muskogee

According to Hitchcock, there were but a few Natchez remaining in the Creek country, about "three families" that did not speak Creek but had a distinct language (Hitchcock 1930). These appear to be listed on the self-emigrant list as *Narche*. Further, there were about 200 to 300 Hitchities intermixed with the Creeks who had "become Creeks" (Hitchcock 1930:121). The Hitchiti belonged to the Lower Creek towns of Sawakli, Okmulgee, Apalachicola, and Chiaha. (Hitchcock 1930:121). Finally, the Euchees were the most numerous, about 800, who did not speak Creek. The Euchee maintained a separate social system and evidently did not intermarry (Hitchcock 1930:120).

It is certainly important to understand the difference in Muskogee and Foreign Creek towns between 1832 and 1858-59 to understand post-removal conditions. The ethnic composition of the Creeks is important because changes not only reflect social and political changes but may explain demographic differences resulting from removal. As discussed above, the major linguistic or ethnic groups, based on town names, were Muskogee, Foreign, and White, with a few towns as refugees from other Creek towns or unknown. In general, there was a slight increase in the percentage of foreign population--Foreign Indian or Whites--and a corresponding decrease in the percentage of Muskogee town names--see Table 4.22. Even though this could be a result of an increase in the application of extinct town names by new towns, this does not appear to be the case. Two of these Foreign towns, *Big Spring* and *Piankeshawus,* were not listed on the 1832 census.

Table 4.22. Language Groupings 1832, 1857, and 1858-59

Tribe	1832		1857		1858-59*
Muskogee	15,956	77 %	10,725	74%	10,129
Foreign	4,409	21%	3,229	22%	2,537
Whites			273	2%	252
From other Towns	295	1%	242	2%	227
Unknown	1,060	5%	419	3%	382

all except Unknown include unknowns in the denominator

These Muskogee and Foreign towns can be arranged in smaller ethnic groups--see Table 4.23. There were variable increases and decreases in percentage of the population among groups. Important decreases in percentage of total population occurred among the Appalachicola, Chiaha, Osochi, Sawokli, Efaula, Kasihta, and Muskogee groups. Increases in percentage of total population occurred among the Cherokee, Euchee, Abihka, Okefuske, Wakokai, and Whites. Although most groups decreased in total population, the groups of Cherokee, Koasati, Shawnee, Abihka, and Wakokai increased.

Table 4.23. Ethnicity 1832, 1857, and 1858-59

Town Ethnicity	Language	1832		1857		1858-59	
Alabama	Foreign	322	1.6%	215	1.5%	189	1.4%
Apalachicola	Foreign	239	1.2%	93	0.6%	65	0.5%
Cherokee	Foreign	176	0.9%	579	4.0%	0	0.0%
Chiaha	Foreign	859	4.2%	262	1.8%	244	1.9%
Hitchiti	Foreign	379	1.8%	252	1.7%	316	2.4%
Koasati	Foreign	82	0.4%	148	1.0%	151	1.1%
Osochi	Foreign	545	2.6%	115	0.8%	92	0.7%
Sawokli	Foreign	450	2.2%	250	1.7%	182	1.4%
Shawnee	Foreign			199	1.4%	214	1.6%
Tuskeegee	Foreign	216	1.0%	241	1.7%	248	1.9%
Yuchi	Foreign	1141	5.5%	875	6.0%	836	6.4%
Abihka	Muskogee	904	4.4%	1136	7.9%	1047	8.0%
Atasi	Muskogee	357	1.7%	233	1.6%	269	2.0%
Coosa	Muskogee	1416	6.9%	809	5.6%	913	6.9%
Coweta	Muskogee	895	4.3%	697	4.8%	729	5.5%
Efaula	Muskogee	1443	7.0%	513	3.5%	502	3.8%
Hilibi	Muskogee	802	3.9%	501	3.5%	471	3.6%
Hotiwahali	Muskogee	607	2.9%	241	1.7%	226	1.7%
Kasihta	Muskogee	1883	9.1%	908	6.3%	775	5.9%
Muskogee	Muskogee	1768	8.6%	641	4.4%	435	3.3%
Okchai	Muskogee	1199	5.8%	835	5.8%	846	6.4%
Okefuske	Muskogee	1760	8.5%	1694	11.7%	1521	11.6%
Pakana	Muskogee	288	1.4%	208	1.4%	203	1.5%
Tuckabachee	Muskogee	2083	10.1%	1560	10.8%	1512	11.5%
Wakokai	Muskogee	551	2.7%	749	5.2%	680	5.2%
Strays	Refugees	295	1.4%	242	1.7%	185	1.4%
Whites	Whites			273	1.9%	252	1.9%
Piankeshawus	Unknown			27	0.2%	27	0.2%
Unknown	Unknown	1060	4.9%	392	2.6%	355	2.6%

Before looking at the changes in Muskogee and Foreign personal names, a look at the Muskogee and Foreign names in both time periods will show how the two groups differ. The percentage of English names in 1832 is similar among both the Muskogee and Foreign towns. However, in 1858-59 the percentage of English names among Foreign towns had increased substantially even though the percentage of the population was similar. At the same time it had increased only slightly among the Muskogee towns. Among all of the other groups of names--clan names, town names, and personal titles or busk names--foreign groups generally had a lower percentage than Muskogee groups. For example, in 1832 there were several clans and towns and one personal title or busk name with a lower percentage among the Muskogee groups. By 1858-59, only one clan name, one town name, and one title had a higher percentage among the foreign groups. Evidently, the Muskogee towns had the higher proportion of these Muskogean names. Furthermore, the Muskogee towns increased in the proportion of their towns with names, while the Foreign towns decreased or increased only slightly. There was a decrease in personal appellations or busk titles among the Foreign towns--31.2% in 1832 to 24.6% in 1858-59--and a slight increase among the Muskogee towns--52.8% in 1832 to 54.7% in 1858-59. Among the Muskogee groups there was a dramatic increase in clan names, from 24.3% to 54.0%. There was a much smaller increase in town names, from 12.2% to 18.7%. There was a slight increase in clan names among the Foreign group, from 15.6% to 20.5%, and a decrease in town names, from 6.5% to 4.5%.

Table 4.24. Muskogee and Foreign English/Non-English Names 1832 and 1858-59

	1832 Muskogee		1832 Foreign		1858-59 Muskogee		1858-59 Foreign	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Total	4792		1252		2226		627	
Non-English	4498	93.86%	1178	94.09%	2070	92.99%	488	77.83%
English	294	6.14%	74	5.91%	156	7.01%	139	22.17%

Table 4.25. Muskogee and Foreign Creek Moiety Names 1832 and 1858-59

	1832 Muskogee		1832 Foreign		1858-59 Muskogee		1858-59 Foreign	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Hatke	25	0.56%	7	0.59%	9	0.76%	1	0.20%
Charte	27	0.60%	6	0.51%	5	0.42%	3	0.61%
Cheloke	7	0.16%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Luste	18	0.40%	1	0.08%	8	0.68%	0	0.00%

Table 4.26. Muskogee and Foreign Clan Names 1832 and 1858-59

Clan Name *(English)*	1832 Muskogee No	1832 Muskogee %	1832 Foreign No	1832 Foreign %	1858-59 Muskogee No	1858-59 Muskogee %	1858-59 Foreign No	1858-59 Foreign %
Alpata *(Alligator)*	17	0.38%	5	0.42%	13	1.10%	2	0.41%
Arche *(Corn)*	10	0.22%	4	0.34%	22	1.87%	1	0.20%
Arloc *(Sweet Potato)*	57	1.27%	5	0.42%	35	2.97%	5	1.02%
Carpitchar *(Lye-drip)*	39	0.87%	4	0.34%	17	1.44%	1	0.20%
Chewasti	33	0.73%	3	0.25%	17	1.44%	2	0.41%
Chisse *(Mouse)*	18	0.40%	0	0.00%	4	0.34%	0	0.00%
Chitto *(Snake)*	4	0.09%	0	0.00%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%
Chofa,Chofolope *(Rabbit)*	6	0.13%	1	0.08%	10	0.85%	0	0.00%
Choko, Chokote *(House)*	14	0.31%	6	0.51%	21	1.78%	5	1.02%
Chular *(Fox)*	12	0.27%	2	0.17%	7	0.59%	2	0.41%
Echo, Echo ille, Echo gus *(Deer)*	97	2.16%	18	1.53%	61	5.18%	11	2.25%
Efa *(Dog)*	22	0.49%	3	0.25%	6	0.51%	1	0.20%
Fose *(Bird)*	37	0.82%	4	0.34%	15	1.27%	4	0.82%
Fullo *(Owl)*	15	0.33%	7	0.59%	5	0.42%	3	0.61%
Hillis *(Medicine)*	18	0.40%	4	0.34%	12	1.02%	0	0.00%
Hotulga *(Wind)*	36	0.80%	2	0.17%	18	1.53%	4	0.82%
Ichohos *(Beaver)*	16	0.36%	1	0.08%	11	0.93%	1	0.20%
Inthlannis *(Pubes-hair)*	8	0.18%	2	0.17%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%
Isfarny *(Spanish)*	50	1.11%	1	0.08%	20	1.70%	1	0.20%
Isko *(Squirrel)*	6	0.13%	2	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Koakoako *(Wildcat)*	8	0.18%	2	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Kono, Konip *(Skunk)*	48	1.07%	8	0.68%	27	2.29%	1	0.20%
Kontalle *(Fresh Land)*	10	0.22%	3	0.25%	6	0.51%	7	1.43%
Kotchar *(Tiger)*	72	1.60%	13	1.10%	41	3.48%	13	2.66%
Lochar *(Turtle)*	8	0.18%	3	0.25%	7	0.59%	0	0.00%
Lumhe *(Eagle)*	6	0.13%	1	0.08%	3	0.25%	1	0.20%
Nocus, Nocus silla, Nocose ekar *(Bear)*	87	1.93%	14	1.19%	56	4.75%	7	1.43%
Oakchun *(Salt)*	18	0.40%	3	0.25%	18	1.53%	2	0.41%
Oche *(Hickory Nut)*	22	0.49%	3	0.25%	11	0.93%	1	0.20%
Ogillise *(Weevil)*	16	0.36%	3	0.25%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Osar *(Otter)*	17	0.38%	0	0.00%	10	0.85%	0	0.00%
Octiarche *(Sand Creek)*	29	0.64%	8	0.68%	7	0.59%	0	0.00%
Pahose	37	0.82%	6	0.51%	26	2.21%	3	0.61%

continued

Table 4.6 continued

Clan Name *(English)*	1832 Muskogee No	1832 Muskogee %	1832 Foreign No	1832 Foreign %	1858-59 Muskogee No	1858-59 Muskogee %	1858-59 Foreign No	1858-59 Foreign %
Pin *(Turkey)*	17	0.38%	2	0.17%	12	1.02%	1	0.20%
Tami	40	0.89%	4	0.34%	30	2.55%	4	0.82%
Tarbose *(Granddaddy Long Legs)*	4	0.09%	2	0.17%	2	0.17%	0	0.00%
Thalthlo *(Fish)*	43	0.96%	16	1.36%	16	1.36%	6	1.23%
Thle *(Arrow)*	1	0.02%	1	0.08%	5	0.42%	1	0.20%
Thlejim	6	0.13%	1	0.08%	7	0.59%	0	0.00%
Totkose *(Mole)*	6	0.13%	9	0.76%	12	1.02%	2	0.41%
Watco *(Raccoon)*	12	0.27%	1	0.08%	9	0.76%	0	0.00%
Woxie *(Chigger)*	43	0.96%	2	0.17%	19	1.61%	3	0.61%
Yaha *(Wolf)*	29	0.64%	5	0.42%	16	1.36%	5	1.02%

Table 4.27. Muskogee and Foreign Town Names 1832 and 1858-59

	1832 Muskogee		1832 Foreign		1858-59 Muskogee		1858-59 Foreign	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Alabama	1	0.02%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Arbeka	15	0.33%	3	0.25%	12	1.02%	1	0.20%
Arbiccoche	3	0.07%	0	0.00%	2	0.17%	0	0.00%
Atasi	44	0.98%	5	0.42%	23	1.95%	3	0.61%
Chiaha	4	0.09%	2	0.17%	5	0.42%	1	0.20%
Clewalla	11	0.24%	1	0.08%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%
Concharta	41	0.91%	6	0.51%	20	1.70%	1	0.20%
Coosa	37	0.82%	4	0.34%	15	1.27%	1	0.20%
Coweta	5	0.11%	4	0.34%	6	0.51%	2	0.41%
Cowyka	1	0.02%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Cusseta	27	0.60%	4	0.34%	5	0.42%	0	0.00%
Emarhe	8	0.18%	0	0.00%	7	0.59%	1	0.20%
Eufaula	18	0.40%	1	0.08%	10	0.85%	3	0.61%
Fose hatche	46	1.02%	8	0.68%	19	1.61%	1	0.20%
Hatchachubba	1	0.02%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Hillabee	22	0.49%	1	0.08%	10	0.85%	0	0.00%
Hitchiti	3	0.07%	2	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Kialige	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Kiamulga	2	0.04%	0	0.00%	1	0.08%	1	0.20%
Koasati	10	0.22%	3	0.25%	9	0.76%	0	0.00%
Kolomi	5	0.11%	1	0.08%	2	0.17%	0	0.00%
Narpooche	17	0.38%	1	0.08%	6	0.51%	2	0.41%
Oakchoy	21	0.47%	1	0.08%	8	0.68%	1	0.20%
Oakfuska	23	0.51%	0	0.00%	8	0.68%	0	0.00%
Okmulgee	0	0.00%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Osochee	19	0.42%	4	0.34%	13	1.10%	1	0.20%
Oswichee	8	0.18%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Opillar	0	0.00%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Sarwanno	5	0.11%	2	0.17%	2	0.17%	0	0.00%
Sococolo	3	0.07%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Taladega	11	0.24%	1	0.08%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%
Talip	7	0.16%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Tallise	47	1.04%	8	0.68%	17	1.44%	1	0.20%
Talmachus	10	0.22%	1	0.08%	6	0.51%	1	0.20%
Talowar	27	0.60%	4	0.34%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Tamathli	6	0.13%	0	0.00%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%
Tuckabatche	24	0.53%	4	0.34%	8	0.68%	1	0.20%
Tuskege	12	0.27%	1	0.08%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%
Wewoka	4	0.09%	0	0.00%	2	0.17%	0	0.00%

Table 4.28. Muskogee and Foreign Titles & Personal Names 1832 and 1858-59

	1832 Muskogee		1832 Foreign		1858-59 Muskogee		1858-59 Foreign	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Chopko	87	1.93%	14	1.19%	46	3.90%	10	2.05%
Emarthla	360	8.00%	55	4.67%	134	11.38%	11	2.25%
Fixico	303	6.74%	28	2.38%	174	14.77%	9	1.84%
Harjo	944	20.99%	174	14.77%	438	37.18%	49	10.04%
Heneha	48	1.07%	6	0.51%	25	2.12%	1	0.20%
Hobia	2	0.04%	0	0.00%	16	1.36%	0	0.00%
Hopiethle	36	0.80%	2	0.17%	18	1.53%	2	0.41%
Holata	41	0.91%	1	0.08%	18	1.53%	2	0.41%
Cochokone	10	0.22%	3	0.25%	4	0.34%	4	0.82%
Micco	188	4.18%	26	2.21%	95	8.06%	11	2.25%
Taskiniha, taski	32	0.71%	4	0.34%	25	2.12%	5	1.02%
Thlocco	95	2.11%	13	1.10%	44	3.74%	5	1.02%
Tusconnar	16	0.36%	3	0.25%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%
Tustanuggi	83	1.85%	19	1.61%	16	1.36%	5	1.02%
Yardeka	8	0.18%	2	0.17%	7	0.59%	2	0.41%
Yaholo	404	8.98%	59	5.01%	1	0.08%	0	0.00%

In sum, as should be expected, there was a higher proportion of Muskogean moiety, clan, and town names as well as personal appellations or busk titles among the Muskogee towns. However, it is interesting that, while there was an increase in foreign towns, there was also an increase in Muskogean names. That is, even though there was an increase in foreign population, there was an increase in Muskogee name characteristics.

Upper and Lower Creeks

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Creeks have two important geographic/social groups, Upper and Lower. Unquestionably, the Upper and Lower town system was maintained into Indian Territory.

> The whole Creek Nation is composed of two parties, which were designated in the Old Nation east of the Mississippi River, as the Upper and Lower Towns. Sometimes called upper Creeks and Lower Creeks,. They are still to a considerable extent distinct; the Upper Creeks are principally on the Canadian and the Lower Creeks are on the Arkansas. These parties have separate head chiefs; at present the principal chief of the Lower Creeks is Rolly McIntosh, as Tommarthle Micco is for the Upper Creeks (Hitchcock 1930:121).

Again according to Hitchcock, the Lower Creeks were the more powerful. Lower Creek leader Roly McIntosh was considered the "head chief of the Nation" (Hitchcock 1930:122). Additionally, the Lower Creeks were less conservative even in Indian Territory. "The Lower Creeks have to some extent abandoned their old customs, but the Upper Creeks who are less advanced in civilization, have retained most of their ancient ceremonies and customs" (Hitchcock 1930:213). Moreover, this same author states:

> I find the Creeks here a different people from those on the Arkansas and very different from the Cherokees. The Creeks over on the Arkansas, with Roly McIntosh for their principal chief who is indeed the acknowledged principal chief of the Creek Nation, embraced most of those Creeks who emigrated under the first treaties with the United States. They appear to be more advanced in intelligence, seem less wild, not to say ferocious than these here (Hitchcock 1930:213).

When looking at population differences, there was an increase in Upper Creeks and a parallel decrease in Lower Creeks--see Table 4.29. It is important to note that several town names are listed as Upper Creek in 1832 and Lower Creek in 1857 and 1858-59. The reason for this could be the well known reuse of town names after a town dissolves. According to Swanton, the best source available for this period, only the town name of *Arbicoochee*--actually *Arbika* town in 1857/58-59--was used in both periods by different towns (Swanton 1922). Town realignment between 1832 and 1857/58-59 is

discussed in detail in the next section, as is a listing of each town and its Upper/Lower affiliation--see Table 4.36. There was a broad inconsistency in Upper/Lower town affiliation between 1832 and 1857/58-59. Sixteen towns were listed as Upper towns in 1832, but listed as Lower towns in 1857 or 1858-59. These towns, though, are located in the general geographic area of the Upper Creek, in the southern part of Creek Nation--see Map 2. Adjustments to the population totals were made listing the towns entered as Upper Creek in 1832 as Upper Creek in 1857 and 1858-59. The unadjusted population totals indicate an increase in Lower Creeks, but when adjustments are made, the proportion of Upper to Lower Creeks increases slightly.

Table 4.29. Upper and Lower Creeks 1832, 1857, and 1858-59

	1832		**1857** [1]		**1858-59** [2]
Lower Towns	8,040	37%	7,464	50%	6,233
Upper Towns	13,680	63%	7,424	50%	7,294
Adjusted Lower Towns			4,976	33%	4,129
Adjusted Upper Towns			9,912	67%	9,398
Total	**21,720**		**14,888**		**13,527**

[1]Summary information [2] Missing data

There were substantial differences in the ethnic composition of Upper and Lower Creeks. In 1832 only 10% of Upper Creeks and 40% of Lower Creeks were Foreign--see Table 4.30. In 1857 only 7% of the adjusted Upper Creeks, compared to 45% of the adjusted Lower Creeks, were foreign. In other words, the percentage of the population that lived in Muskogee Upper Creek towns increased, while the percentage of Muskogee Lower Creek towns decreased, between 1832 and 1857.

Table 4.30. Ethnicity of Creeks 1832 and 1857 Census

	1832		1857		Adjusted 1857	
	Upper					
Foreign	1,227	10%	465	5%	880	9%
Muskogee	11,098	88%	6,748	71%	8,429	89%
From other Towns	295	2%	211	2%	211	2%
Whites	0		0		0	
Unknown	1,060	8%	0		299	3%
	Lower					
Foreign	3,182	40%	2,656	54%	2,241	45%
Muskogee	4,858	60%	4,085	83%	2,404	49%
From other Towns			31	1%	31	1%
Whites			273	6%	273	6%
Unknown			419	8%	120	2%

all except Unknown include unknowns in the denominator

Before comparing the personal name changes among the Upper and Lower Creeks, a look at the differences between Upper and Lower Creeks in 1832 and 1857 is essential to understanding these changes. This will help determine the characteristics of each group before the differences are analyzed.

First, Upper Creeks had a higher percentage of English names. This suggests that the Upper Creeks intermarried more and perhaps were less conservative; however, when looking at the non-English names, this does not appear to be the case--see Table 4.31. Among moiety names the Upper Creeks had more White and fewer Red names--see Tables 4.32. The Upper Creeks had more clan names--see Table 4.33. Additionally, Upper Creeks were twice as likely to have a town in their names as Lower Creeks--see Table 4.34. Besides clan and town names, there were more personal appellations or busk titles among the Upper Creeks--see Table 4.35. In short, although Lower Creeks had fewer English names, they also had fewer important non-English names.

Table 4.31. Upper and Lower English/Non-English Names 1832 and 1858-59

	Lower						Upper					
	1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59		1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Total	2,449		1,703		1,068		3,968		1,327		1,962	
Non-English	2,330	95.14%	1,073	63.01%	712	79.10%	3,694	93.09%	1,116	84.10%	1,652	76.64%
English	119	4.86%	630	36.99%	356	20.90%	274	6.91%	211	15.90%	310	23.36%

Table 4.32. Upper and Lower Creek Moiety Names 1832 and 1858-59

	Lower						Upper					
	1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59		1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Hatke	12	0.52%	6	0.56%	1	0.09%	22	0.60%	4	0.36%	9	0.81%
Charte	19	0.82%	5	0.47%	3	0.28%	15	0.41%	3	0.27%	5	0.45%
Cheloke	3	0.13%	4	0.37%	2	0.19%	5	0.14%	5	0.45%	7	0.63%
Luste	4	0.17%	3	0.28%	0	0.00%	17	0.46%	6	0.54%	9	0.81%

Table 4.33. Upper and Lower Clan Names 1832 and 1858-59

	Lower						Upper					
	1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59		1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59	
Clan Name *(English)*	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Alpata *(Alligator)*	7	0.30%	8	0.75%	5	0.47%	16	0.43%	7	0.63%	10	0.90%
Arche *(Corn)*	4	0.17%	5	0.47%	2	0.19%	10	0.27%	21	1.88%	24	2.15%
Arloc *(Sweet Potato)*	15	0.64%	20	1.86%	11	1.03%	53	1.43%	23	2.06%	32	2.87%
Carpitchar *(Lye-drip)*	15	0.64%	10	0.93%	6	0.56%	32	0.87%	9	0.81%	13	1.16%
Chewasti	8	0.34%	8	0.75%	4	0.37%	33	0.89%	13	1.16%	17	1.52%
Chisse *(Mouse)*	10	0.43%	2	0.19%	2	0.19%	8	0.22%	2	0.18%	2	0.18%
Chitto *(Snake)*	1	0.04%	1	0.09%	1	0.09%	5	0.14%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Chofa,Chofolope *(Rabbit)*	1	0.04%	3	0.28%	1	0.09%	6	0.16%	9	0.81%	11	0.99%
Choko, Chokote *(House)*	10	0.43%	16	1.49%	12	1.12%	10	0.27%	11	0.99%	15	1.34%
Chular *(Fox)*	7	0.30%	7	0.65%	4	0.37%	9	0.24%	6	0.54%	9	0.81%
Echo, Echo ille, Echo gus *(Deer)*	19	0.82%	33	3.08%	13	1.21%	112	3.03%	44	3.94%	64	5.73%

continued

Table 4.33 continued

	Lower						Upper					
	1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59		1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59	
Clan Name *(English)*	**No**	**%**	**No**	**%**	**No**	**%**	**No**	**%**	**No**	**%**	**No**	**%**
Efa *(Dog)*	10	0.43%	2	0.19%	1	0.09%	18	0.49%	5	0.45%	6	0.54%
Fose *(Bird)*	20	0.86%	10	0.93%	8	0.75%	21	0.57%	10	0.90%	12	1.08%
Fullo *(Owl)*	11	0.47%	5	0.47%	1	0.09%	12	0.32%	4	0.36%	8	0.72%
Hillis *(Medicine)*	1	0.04%	4	0.37%	1	0.09%	21	0.57%	10	0.90%	13	1.16%
Hotulga *(Wind)*	6	0.26%	15	1.40%	6	0.56%	34	0.92%	15	1.34%	24	2.15%
Ichohos *(Beaver)*	3	0.13%	6	0.56%	3	0.28%	16	0.43%	7	0.63%	10	0.90%
Inthlannis *(Pubes-hair)*	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10	0.27%	1	0.09%	1	0.09%
Isfamy *(Spanish)*	15	0.64%	4	0.37%	4	0.37%	40	1.08%	17	1.52%	17	1.52%
Isko *(Squirrel)*	5	0.21%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Koakoako *(Wildcat)*	8	0.34%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Kono, Konip *(Skunk)*	12	0.52%	15	1.40%	4	0.37%	50	1.35%	15	1.34%	26	2.33%
Kontalle *(Fresh Land)*	5	0.21%	8	0.75%	6	0.56%	9	0.24%	6	0.54%	8	0.72%
Kotchar *(Tiger)*	33	1.42%	30	2.80%	17	1.58%	60	1.62%	30	2.69%	43	3.85%
Lochar *(Turtle)*	1	0.04%	2	0.19%	2	0.19%	11	0.30%	6	0.54%	6	0.54%
Lumhe *(Eagle)*	4	0.17%	5	0.47%	4	0.37%	3	0.08%	0	0.00%	1	0.09%
Nocus, Nocus silla, Nocose ekar *(Bear)*	34	1.46%	22	2.05%	10	0.93%	74	2.00%	42	3.76%	54	4.84%
Oakchun *(Salt)*	8	0.34%	7	0.65%	5	0.47%	16	0.43%	14	1.25%	16	1.43%
Oche *(Hickory Nut)*	5	0.21%	3	0.28%	2	0.19%	22	0.60%	11	0.99%	12	1.08%
Ogillise *(Weevil)*	4	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	16	0.43%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Osar *(Otter)*	0	0.00%	2	0.19%	1	0.09%	18	0.49%	9	0.81%	10	0.90%
Octiarche *(Sand Creek)*	9	0.39%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	31	0.84%	7	0.63%	7	0.63%
Pahose	12	0.52%	11	1.03%	6	0.56%	36	0.97%	18	1.61%	23	2.06%
Pin *(Turkey)*	5	0.21%	5	0.47%	2	0.19%	18	0.49%	8	0.72%	11	0.99%
Tami	16	0.69%	20	1.86%	9	0.84%	33	0.89%	15	1.34%	26	2.33%
Tarbose *(Granddaddy Long Legs)*	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5	0.14%	2	0.18%	2	0.18%
Thalthlo *(Fish)*	29	1.24%	11	1.03%	7	0.65%	34	0.92%	14	1.25%	18	1.61%
Thle *(Arrow)*	0	0.00%	2	0.19%	1	0.09%	2	0.05%	5	0.45%	6	0.54%
Thlejim	0	0.00%	2	0.19%	0	0.00%	8	0.22%	5	0.45%	7	0.63%
Totkose *(Mole)*	12	0.52%	5	0.47%	2	0.19%	3	0.08%	10	0.90%	13	1.16%
Watco *(Raccoon)*	1	0.04%	2	0.19%	0	0.00%	14	0.38%	9	0.81%	11	0.99%
Woxie *(Chigger)*	14	0.60%	10	0.93%	5	0.47%	34	0.92%	15	1.34%	20	1.79%
Yaha *(Wolf)*	18	0.77%	12	1.12%	7	0.65%	16	0.43%	15	1.34%	20	1.79%

Table 4.34. Upper and Lower Town Names 1832 and 1858-59

	Lower						Upper					
	1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59		1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Alabama	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Arbeka	6	0.26%	5	0.47%	1	0.09%	12	0.32%	9	0.81%	13	1.16%
Arbiccoche	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.08%	2	0.18%	2	0.18%
Atasi	6	0.26%	3	0.28%	2	0.19%	48	1.30%	24	2.15%	25	2.24%
Chiaha	2	0.09%	4	0.37%	2	0.19%	7	0.19%	3	0.27%	5	0.45%
Clewalla	3	0.13%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9	0.24%	1	0.09%	1	0.09%
Concharta	12	0.52%	6	0.56%	4	0.37%	37	1.00%	15	1.34%	17	1.52%
Coosa	9	0.39%	8	0.75%	2	0.19%	34	0.92%	9	0.81%	15	1.34%
Coweta	7	0.30%	5	0.47%	4	0.37%	2	0.05%	4	0.36%	5	0.45%
Cowyka	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Cusseta	8	0.34%	1	0.09%	1	0.09%	24	0.65%	4	0.36%	4	0.36%
Emarhe	3	0.13%	2	0.19%	2	0.19%	6	0.16%	6	0.54%	6	0.54%
Eufaula	4	0.17%	7	0.65%	2	0.19%	16	0.43%	6	0.54%	11	0.99%
Fose hatche	18	0.77%	3	0.28%	0	0.00%	38	1.03%	18	1.61%	21	1.88%
Hatchachubba	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Hillabee	4	0.17%	1	0.09%	0	0.00%	19	0.51%	10	0.90%	11	0.99%
Hitchiti	5	0.21%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Kialige	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Kiamulga	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.05%	2	0.18%	2	0.18%
Koasati	4	0.17%	2	0.19%	1	0.09%	9	0.24%	8	0.72%	9	0.81%
Kolomi	2	0.09%	1	0.09%	0	0.00%	5	0.14%	1	0.09%	2	0.18%
Narpooche	1	0.04%	6	0.56%	0	0.00%	22	0.60%	4	0.36%	10	0.90%
Oakchoy	2	0.09%	6	0.56%	0	0.00%	24	0.65%	5	0.45%	11	0.99%
Oakfuska	7	0.30%	3	0.28%	1	0.09%	18	0.49%	5	0.45%	7	0.63%
Okmulgee	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Osochee	6	0.26%	5	0.47%	2	0.19%	17	0.46%	11	0.99%	14	1.25%
Oswichee	2	0.09%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9	0.24%	1	0.09%	1	0.09%
Opillar	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Sarwanno	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	0.16%	2	0.18%	2	0.18%
Sococolo	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Taladega	2	0.09%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	11	0.30%	1	0.09%	1	0.09%
Talip	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7	0.19%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Tallise	14	0.60%	6	0.56%	1	0.09%	44	1.19%	12	1.08%	17	1.52%
Talmachus	3	0.13%	3	0.28%	2	0.19%	8	0.22%	4	0.36%	5	0.45%
Talowar	13	0.56%	5	0.47%	2	0.19%	18	0.49%	10	0.90%	13	1.16%
Tamathli	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	0.16%	1	0.09%	1	0.09%
Tuckabatche	5	0.21%	2	0.19%	1	0.09%	24	0.65%	7	0.63%	8	0.72%
Tuskege	5	0.21%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10	0.27%	1	0.09%	1	0.09%
Wewoka	0	0.00%	2	0.19%	0	0.00%	4	0.11%	2	0.18%	4	0.36%

Table 4.35. Upper and Lower Titles & Personal Names 1832 and 1858-59

	Lower						Upper					
	1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59		1832		1858-59		Adjusted 1858-59	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Chopko	31	1.33%	17	1.58%	9	0.84%	74	2.00%	25	2.24%	33	2.96%
Emarthla	122	5.24%	42	3.91%	8	0.75%	324	8.77%	113	10.13%	147	13.17%
Fixico	60	2.58%	72	6.71%	25	2.33%	306	8.28%	131	11.74%	178	15.95%
Harjo	302	12.96%	177	16.50%	74	6.90%	898	24.31%	335	30.02%	438	39.25%
Heneha	17	0.73%	5	0.47%	2	0.19%	42	1.14%	21	1.88%	24	2.15%
Hobia	0	0.00%	3	0.28%	1	0.09%	3	0.08%	14	1.25%	16	1.43%
Hopiethle	11	0.47%	9	0.84%	2	0.19%	27	0.73%	11	0.99%	18	1.61%
Holata	14	0.60%	6	0.56%	2	0.19%	29	0.79%	15	1.34%	19	1.70%
Cochokone	8	0.34%	6	0.56%	5	0.47%	5	0.14%	2	0.18%	3	0.27%
Micco	63	2.70%	32	2.98%	10	0.93%	157	4.25%	76	6.81%	98	8.78%
Taskiniha, taski	7	0.30%	12	1.12%	5	0.47%	33	0.89%	18	1.61%	25	2.24%
Thlocco	41	1.76%	24	2.24%	12	1.12%	70	1.89%	26	2.33%	38	3.41%
Tusconnar	4	0.17%	4	0.37%	2	0.19%	17	0.46%	3	0.27%	5	0.45%
Tustanuggi	60	2.58%	12	1.12%	7	0.65%	45	1.22%	10	0.90%	15	1.34%
Yardeka	7	0.30%	5	0.47%	3	0.28%	3	0.08%	4	0.36%	6	0.54%
Yaholo	102	4.38%	64	5.96%	22	2.05%	404	10.94%	167	14.96%	209	18.73%

In 1858-59, there was still a higher proportion of English names among the Upper Creeks, but not an excessively high proportion. Using the adjusted totals, there was a higher proportion of moiety names among the Upper Creeks--see Table 4.32. Interestingly, when using the non-adjusted totals the 1858-59, Lower Creeks had almost twice the proportion of English names as the 1858-59 Upper Creeks. Using the non-adjusted totals, there were more Muskogean names among the Lower Creeks than using the adjusted totals. Also, using the adjusted figure, there was a much higher proportion of clan names, town names, and especially personal names or busk titles among the Upper Creeks--see Tables 4.33, 4.34, and 4.35.

There were differences between the Upper and Lower Creeks in 1832, and these differences had intensified by 1858-59. These differences were most pronounced among the Upper Creeks, or at least those who were Upper Creeks in 1832. In both 1832 and

1858-59, the Upper Creeks had more of the Muskogean names. By 1858-59 these Muskogean names were even more common than in 1832. Likewise, there was less variety in 1858-59, and there was less variety among the Upper Creeks than among the Lower Creeks in both 1858-59 and 1832.

As for changes that occurred between 1832 and 1858-59, changes that will help in understanding Creek post-removal adaptation, there were many. There was an increase in percentage of English names among both Upper and Lower Creeks. However, the increase was higher among the Lower Creeks--see Table 4.31. Also, among the Lower Creeks there was a decrease in the percentage of moiety names. Additionally, there was a slightly lower increase in the Charte or red names, but otherwise there were similar decreases in the Lower Creeks and increases in the Upper Creeks. Among the Lower Creeks' clan names there was a slight decrease in percentage, 17.2% to 16.3%, while there was a large increase among those of the Upper Creeks--26.7% to 56.3%--see Table 4.33. Again, the differences between the adjusted and non-adjusted totals were substantial; the non-adjusted totals did not have extreme differences. The Upper and Lower differences show the same pattern in 1858-59 as in 1832. Clans went from 13.7% in 1832 to 21.9% in the Upper Creeks and 6.8% to 2.9% among Lower Creeks--see Table 4.34. Towns follow a similar pattern. Among Lower Creeks, there was a decrease using the adjusted totals and a slight increase using the non-adjusted totals. Among Upper Creeks, there was a substantial increase using the adjusted totals and a minor increase using the unadjusted figures.

Again, the greatest differences appear in personal names or busk titles--see Table 4.35. Among the Lower Creeks, there was a dramatic decrease in the percentage of

Creeks with these titles; when using the non-adjusted figures there was a slight increase. Among the Upper Creeks, there was a dramatic increase when using the adjusted figures and a less dramatic increase when using the non-adjusted figures. Again, this suggests major differences in the adjusted towns. All of this is in total number of personal titles or busk names--counting individuals more than once--but when counting individuals only once, there was a slight increase among Lower Creeks, from 24.4% to 25.3%, but still a dramatic increase among Upper Creeks from 49.3% to 69.6%.

To summarize, ethnographic and modern consultants indicate that the Upper Creeks were the most conservative. This pattern exists in 1832 and in 1858-59. Moreover, Muskogean names become more common after removal; indeed, there was less variety after removal. Upper and Lower differences and changes indicate three important points: First, Upper Creeks, even though they had more English names, also had more Muskogean names. Lower Creeks had fewer Muskogean Creek names, particularly personal appellations or busk titles. Second, there was a profound decrease in the percentage of personal titles among the post-removal Lower Creeks. Third, there was a reduction among the Upper Creeks in red or warrior titles. Consequently, civil titles had an increased importance after removal, as did Muskogean names among the Upper Creeks.

Distinct differences between Upper and Lower Creeks were shown previously. Besides the discussions quoted above, Hitchcock says of these differences in reference to Tuckabatchee town, "I was not prepared for what I have seen for I supposed the Creeks [Tuckabatchee] more removed from their ancient customs than I find they are" (Hitchcock 1930:112). Additionally, Hitchcock notes that "some of these people as I am

informed and believe, will not wear a white man's dress, such is their bitterness of feeling on account of the wrongs inflicted upon them" (Hitchcock 1930:119). The analysis of names agrees with this descriptive information in that they are more conservative or have more Muskogean names.

Towns

Towns were the primary social group among the Creeks. All Creeks belonged to a town. The town was the basic social, political, and economic body of the Creeks. Towns, as autonomous political institutions, had to maintain their independence in the face of the larger native political struggles--the Creek Confederacy, the Creek Nation--and external forces, especially European and American powers. Creek towns have maintained their independence even into this century because of certain basic characteristics described in Chapter 2. Since all other social organizations were subordinate to the town, the importance of the town among the Creek cannot be underestimated.

Even though there were changes in the power and importance of towns, they maintained prominence in the post-removal era. "The whole nation is divided into towns having separate names. There may be forty-five towns, each of which had a principal chief or king and a sub chief" (Hitchcock 1930:122). For this analysis it is important to understand how towns and their names changed after removal. Many towns can be traced from 1832 to 1857/58-59, but this tracing is complicated. Simply matching towns based on name is not enough. Even though most towns existed and maintained the same name between 1832 and 1857/58-59, a few did not--see Table 4.36. For Example, *Ar bic coo chee* town was listed on both the 1832 and the 1857/58-59 census, but, according to

Swanton and personal name matching, they were two different groups of people. Thus, even if towns had the same names in 1832 and 1857/58-59, the latter was not inevitably the descendant of the former.

Besides *Ar bic coo chee,* other important coalescing and dissolution occurred. The three 1832 Chiaha towns--*Che,haw,ah, Che haw,* and *Che ar haw*--merged with *O,switch,ee* to form *Cheyarhar* in 1857, though no doubt some families moved to other towns. The 1832 town of *Tus kee ga* became two Tuskegee towns in 1857/58-59; *Tus ke ke,* the westernmost town was populated by freedman--former slaves, while *Tuskegee* was the Indian population. The 1832 towns of *Cle walla* and *Cu bi Hatcha* merged to form *Thlewarle.* The two 1857 Hillabe towns, *Hillabee* and *Hillabee Canadian,* come from four separate towns. *Hillabee* came from *Hil,la,bee* and *Oak taw sar by,* while *Hillabee Canadian* came from *Hitch o,par,tar ga* and *E,kum,duts,ke.* The 1832 town of *Ki,a,mul,ga* became *Shawnee* in 1857. The towns of *Oak choy, Po chis hach cha,* and *Hatchet Creek* merged into *Oakchoy* in 1857. Finally, the 1832 towns of *O,swich,ee* merged into *Osochee* and *Oswichi* while *Tallisee* and *Sow ga Hatch cha* merged to form *Tallassee.*

Many dissolutions or splits also occurred between 1832 and 1857/58-59. Although many members of the 1832 town of *Toak paf kar* probably moved before the 1832 census, *Toak paf kar* later split to form *New Yorkar* and *Tookpofka* in 1858-59. The 1832 town of *So,woc,co,lo* split to form *Ohkauwiky* and *Okeliyokeny,* while *Cow,y,ka* became *Sowoclo. Thlob thloc co (1st)* and *Thlacatchka* merged to form *Thlob Thlocco,* while many of the member of the second *Thlob thlocco* moved to either *Oakchoy* or *Clewalla,* though some may have joined the 1857/58-59 *Thlob Thlocco.* And finally, the

1832 towns of *Tal lip se ho gy, Ko ho junt ka garts kar,* and *Corn House* merged to form *Ockfuskee* and, according to Swanton, *Arpicochee,* while the 1832 *Ar bic coo chee* became *Arpihcah* in 1857.

Among Foreign towns, *Taw warsa* and *Autauga* merged to form the 1857/58-59 town of *Oak Choy Ochee,* while *Hitch,e,tee* and *Hi,har,gee* merged to form *Hichete. Eu,chee* and *High Log* merged to form *Euchee. Pok,lo,cho,ko,lo* probably became *Tulwah Thlocco,* while *Tol,o,war thlock,o* became *Talwarthlocco.* Finally, *Rabbit* was probably a *Cherokee* town; thus, many of the individuals probably joined *Cherokee* town.

Finally, there were four new towns in 1857--*Big Spring, Sand, Piankeshawus,* and *Wok Ko Koy.* These towns have interesting histories. *Big Spring* was apparently a town with many intermarried Whites that migrated before the 1832 census. Thus, they existed but simply were not listed in 1832. *Sand* was a town of refugees from other Creek towns that probably did not exist in 1832. It is unclear which town or towns they were refugees from. *Piankeshawus* was evidently a town from a group located in Northeastern Indian Territory as part of the Confederated Peoria who were absorbed into the Creek Nation (Wright 1986). Very little is historically known about this adoption, as they may not have remained with the Creeks, may have been completely absorbed, or may have died before ethnographic information was collected (Wright 1986). Finally, *Wok Ko Koy* was an old town name which was evidently used from time to time. However, the town seemingly did not exist in 1832, in either the east or the west. Likewise, it is also unclear whether individuals from specific towns formed the new town of *Wok Ko Koy,* though *Wok Ko Koy* is most likely a conservative town.

Table 4.36. Population of Creek Towns 1832 and 1857/58-59

1832 Upper Towns	1832 Population	1857 Upper Towns	1857 Population	1857 Population	1858-59 Population
Thlob thloc co (1st)	314	Thlob Thlocco*	356	355	388
Tuck a batcha	1,288	Tuckabatchee	923	919	870
Ottisee	357	Artussee	231	233	269
Talmachussa	144	Talmochussee	177	177	186
Cle walla	427	Thlewarlc	241	241	226
Taw warsa	108	Oak Choy Ochee	214	215	189
Autauga	214	Oak Choy Ochee			
Tallisee	611	Tallassee	536	536	511
Che haw	109				
Tus kee ga	216	Tuskegee	164	164	137
Tus kee ga		TusKeKe (l)Freedmen	77	77	111
Coosawda	82	Cowassauda	148	148	137
Cu bi Hatcha	124	Thlewarle (merge)			
		Tuckabatchee	82	82	70
Thlob thlocco (2nd)	180	*Oakchoy or Clewalla			
Lu chi poga	565	Lo Cha Po Kah (l)	274	273	268
Sow ga Hatch cha	240	*Tulsa*			
U faw la	459	Upper Eufala	284	284	281
Hatch chi chubba	204	Hatchichubbee (l)	69	67	69
Hicory Ground	221	Hickory Ground	187	187	132
Hitcisihogi					
We woak kar	295	Wewokah	212	211	185
Po chis hach cha	87	w/Oakchoy?			
Poch,en,tal,la haf,s	288	Puccontallarhasse	208	208	203
We,o,gufka	353	Weokufkee	235	235	219
Toak paf kar	391	New Yorkar	283	290	293
Sock,o,par,toy	198	Sockopotoy	175	174	138
Fish Pond	357	Fish Pond	337	340	344
Oak taw sar by	131	w/Hilibee			
Oak choy	141	Oakchoy (l)		140	114
O se lar ne by	182	Osilarbuby (l)		217	252
Hatchet Creek	300	w/Oackchoy			
E,mar,he	210	Emarche (l)		153	
Ki,a,mul,ga	176	Shawnee	198	199	214
Talledega	334	Tallidagee (l)	512	510	413
Con charte tee	192	Concharta (l)		292	297
Che ar haw	322				
Chock,o,lock,o	456	Chakey Thlocco (l)	93	93	
Tal,la,se Hatch,ee	298	Talse Hatchee (l)	82	82	103
Rabbit	243	Cherokee?			
Ar bic coo chee	378	Arpihcah	333	334	337
Hitch o,par,tar ga	186	Hillabee (l) Canadian			
E,kum,duts,ke	147	Hillebee (l) Canadian	107	107	
Hil,la,bee	485	Hillabee (1)	183	185	471
Hil,la,bee		Hillabe (2)	209	209	
Ko ho junt ka garts kar	405	Okfuskee (l)			
Corn house Tohtogagi	119	Okfuskee (l)			
Ki,a,li,ge	591	Kialiche	493	492	503
Char,tok,sof ke	480	Charotc Sofkar	686	685	576
Tal lip se ho gy	72	Ockfuskee (l)	78	78	60
Otciapofa Okfuskee					
Holitaiga					
Tchulako nini					
		Arpihcochee (Okfuskee)	276	277	274
		Oakchoy Quarsardy (?)			14

continued

Table 4.36 continued.

1832 Lower Towns	1832 Population	1857 Lower Towns	1857 Population	1857 Population	1858-59 Population
Eu,faw,la	801	Eufaula	250	229	221
So,woc,co,lo	187	Ohkauwiky	60	56	
		Okeliyokeny (& others)	98	98	90
Cow,y,ka	157	Sowoclo	96	96	92
Hatch,ee chubba	106				
Pok,lo,cho,ko,lo	77	Tulwah Thlocco?	23	23	
Tol,o,war thlock,o	162	Talwarthlocco	70	70	65
Hitch,e,tee	325	Hichete	256	252	316
Hi,har,gee	54				
Ho,tal,le, he,gar,nar	82	Ho Tulle Ho Yanar	70	70	52
Che,haw,ah	346	Cheyarhar	192	192	192
O,swich,ee	257	Osochee (u)	32	32	92
		Oswichi	83	83	
O,switch,ee	288	w/ Chiaha			
Eu,chee	394	Euchee	875	875	836
High log Euchee	747	Euchee			
Cus,se,taw	1,883	Cuseta	907	908	775
Eufaula	183				
Cow,e,ta	895	Coweta		697	729
Thla,katch,ka	383	Broken Arrow		488	435
(or Broken Arrow)					
(Wetum,ka)					
Thla,katch,ka	713	Thlob Thlocco (some)			
		Big Spring	274	273	252
		Cherokee	585	579	
		Little Tallisee			134
		Piankeshawus	27	27	27
		Sand	31	31	42
		Wok Ko Koy	167	168	146

Analyzing the decrease and increase in town population is important for understanding the impact of removal. Overall, there was a 31% decrease in the Creek population from 1832 to 1857/58-59. Most towns, 38 of 53 or 72%, showed a decrease in population. Of the towns that showed an increase, only 1 of the 11 was Lower Creek using the adjusted totals, and using the non-adjusted totals, 5 of the 11 were Lower Creek.

For this analysis, the towns were lumped into two groups, those with an increase and those with a decrease in population. This was done because certain towns were larger than other towns, if only total population was used, then these large town have more influence. That is, one large town can create the illusion of an increase or decrease when it occurred in only one town. Further, when looking at Upper and Lower towns, the

adjusted figures were used. There were more decreases and fewer increases among the Lower Creek towns as compared to the Upper Creek towns--see Table 4.37. In short, there was less of a decrease in population among the Upper Creek towns of 1832.

Table 4.37. Upper and Lower Creek Town Population Changes 1832 to 1858-59

		Decreased	Increased	Not on 1832
Lower	1832	6310	383	0
	1858-59	3489	488	331
	Number of Towns	12	1	3
		-45%	27%	
Upper	1832	11522	2440	0
	1858-59	6710	3510	168
	Number of Towns	25	10	1
		-42%	44%	
Upper/	1832	1065	0	0
Lower	1858-59	192	0	0
	Number of Towns	1	0	0
Total	1832	18897	2823	0
	1858-59	10391	3998	499
	Number of Towns	38	11	4
		-45%	42%	

Although not as striking, there was also a difference in population changes between Muskogee and Foreign towns. Foreign towns were very similar to Lower towns; they had more overall decrease than Muskogee towns--43% and 30%, respectively. Correspondingly, there was a larger decrease in population among Foreign towns than Muskogee towns. Likewise, there was a lower percentage of increase among Foreign towns and a higher percentage of increase among Muskogee towns.

Table 4.38. Muskogee and Foreign Creek Town Population Changes 1832 to 1858-59

		Decreased	Increased
Foreign	1832	3935	258
	1858-59	2062	347
	Number of Towns	11	2
		-48%	34%
Muskogee	1832	13362	2167
	1858-59	7702	3193
	Number of Towns	23	7
		-42%	47%

As discussed in Chapter 2, in 1858-59 there was a census of those who self-emigrated from Alabama to Indian Territory before 1832. These individuals were listed with their towns--see Table 4.39. They represent about 10% of the 1857/58-59 population. The majority were among Lower towns. Except for two towns, *Narche* and *Charwokle,* all towns were listed in 1857 or 1858-59. Between 15% and 20% of Lower Creeks--using the non-adjusted and adjusted totals, respectively--and 1% to 3% of Upper Creeks were self-emigrants. If about 2,000 to 3,000 Creeks lived in the west at the time of the 1832 census, this percentage is about the same in 1857/58-59 as in 1832. Less than 1% of this population had a non-English name. In fact, the majority of the population had historically well-known English names.

Table 4.39. 1857/58-59 Self-emigrants List

Town	Number	Town	Number
Big Springs	146	Thapthocco	26
Warko-kaye	64	Peyankeshaw	22
Kowetah	417	Talsey	18
Broken Arrow	72	Lo char pokar	16
Hitchitee	105	Uchee	28
Oke te tak he	91	Sand	11
Okarwikee	40	Kasetah	8
Sarwoklo	39	Tukeparche	10
Cheyar-har	18	Wewokah	6
Charwokle	73	Narche	5
Kowas-sarter	36	Hilluppy	9
Talsehatchee	9	Hat chi chuppar	4
Koncharte	2	Fish Pond	10
Charkethlocko	17	**Total**	**1,342**

Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to analyze towns for emigration. The major problem is that towns did not all emigrate at one time. Several major towns emigrated in different groups, particularly the Lower Creek towns of Coweta and Eufaula. Thus, entire migrations can be analyzed only in part. One apparently contradictory emigration was William McGillivray's groups, emigration number five. This group of Upper Creek towns, clustered about the bend in the Tallapoosa River, was said to have quite high death rates during removal. According to the emigration officer, there was not enough corn. However, there was also evidence that this loss of corn led to straggling rather than death (Foreman 1932). In any case, it was the pre-removal social characteristics of this group that seemed to aid their adaptation. In Indian Territory, this group moved far away from the agency--see Map 2. Presumably, the individuals who deserted the emigration eventually arrived later. The interesting feature is that this emigration groups showed a high rate of Muskogean names. They had the highest rates of clan names, were tied for

the highest rate in personal titles or busk names, and had the second highest rate of town names.

To summarize, when looking at Creek towns and the decrease or increase in their population between 1832 and 1858-59, there was a general decrease. However, certain towns, mainly Upper Creek towns, had a less severe decrease. On the whole, Lower towns show more of a decrease than Upper towns, and Foreign towns showed more of a decrease than Muskogee towns.

Households

Although households are less important politically than towns, they are socially and demographically the most important units. Household size is the best proxy available in this data for fertility. Overall there was a general increase from 3.4 to 4.5 members per household between 1832 and 1857/58-59. Simply, there was an average increase of more than one person in each household, occurring at the same time as a total population decrease--see Table 4.40. In addition, there was a lower increase among Lower Creeks than among Upper Creeks. And finally, those in Foreign towns showed less increase than in Muskogee towns.

Table 4.40. Creek Household Changes 1832 to 1858-59

	1832	1858-59	Difference
Lower Towns	3.36	4.08	0.72
Upper Towns	3.49	4.85	1.35
Adjusted Lower Towns		3.87	0.51
Adjusted Upper Towns		4.79	1.29
Foreign Towns	3.58	4.02	0.45
Muskogee Towns	3.39	4.58	1.19
Refugees Towns	2.95	4.45	1.50
Unknown Towns	3.94	4.89	0.95
White Towns		4.20	

Of the 42 towns that can be matched, only 5 showed a decrease, while 37 showed an increase, in household size--see Table 4.41. Three of the five were Lower Creek towns, and 29 of the 37 towns that increased were Upper Creek towns. Moreover, Upper Creek towns showed a larger increase than Lower Creek towns.

Table 4.41. Creek Household Size Decreases and Increases 1832 to 1858-59

	Decreased	Increased	Total
Lower	-0.29	0.73	0.45
Number of Towns	3	8	11
Upper	-0.09	1.43	1.38
Number of Towns	1	29	30
Upper/	-0.23		-0.23
Lower Number of Towns	1	0	1
	Decreased	**Increased**	**Total**
Foreign	-0.24	0.97	0.64
Number of Towns	3	8	11
Muskogee	-0.38	1.39	1.32
Number of Towns	1	25	26

English Names

English names increased dramatically between 1832 and 1857/58-59. There were increases both in number and percentage of English names--see Table 4.42. Even though they represent only 10% of the population, over half of the English names among the Creeks were listed among the self-emigrants.

Table 4.42. Number of English Names 1832-1857/58-59

	Number of English Names
1832	100
1857	185
1858-59	162
Self-emigrants	103

Summary

In summarizing this information, several patterns emerge. First, in both time periods Upper Creeks were the most Muskogean, at least using the criteria of this study. Also, Opethleyoholo's followers, mostly Upper Creeks, had more Muskogean names. This group had a lower percentage of English names, and among the non-English names there were more clan names, town names, and personal titles or busk names. Also, people labeled as Upper Creeks had more clan names, more town names, and more personal appellations or busk titles. Furthermore, both Upper and Lower Creeks increased in Muskogean names across the censuses. In 1858-59 Muskogean names were more common than in 1832. Likewise, there was less variety in 1858-59 than in 1832. Additionally, there was less variety among the Upper Creeks than among the Lower Creeks in both periods. Upper Creeks, however, had more English names. In short, even though Lower Creeks had fewer English names, they also had fewer important non-English names. The entire Creek population became more like the 1832 Upper Creeks and Opethleyoholo's followers in 1858-59, while Upper Creeks were still more Muskogean.

Second, the Muskogee towns were more Muskogean. Not unexpectedly, Muskogee towns had a higher proportion of Muskogee moiety, clan, and town names as well as personal appellations or busk titles. Nevertheless, while there was an increase in the population and number of Foreign towns, there was also an increase in Muskogee names. That is, even though there was an increase in Foreign population, there was an increase in Muskogee names.

Third, although there was an overall decrease in total population and a decrease in the number of towns, there was an increase in the slave population. And although there was a general decrease in town populations between 1832 and 1858-59, certain towns, mainly Upper Creek towns, had less severe decreases, and a few towns actually showed an increase in population. On the whole, Lower Creek towns showed more of a decrease than Upper Creek towns, and Foreign towns showed more of a decrease than Muskogee towns.

Finally, there was an increase in household size from 1832 to 1857/58-59. Since the most likely reason for household increase is increased family size, this suggests increased effective fertility--but whether it is reduced mortality or increased fertility is unclear. In addition, there was a larger increase in household size among the Upper Creeks and Muskogee Creeks.

In the pre-removal period, Upper Creeks and Muskogee Creeks had a higher percentage of Muskogean names. This pattern continued and intensified in the post-removal period. In general, there was a higher percentage of Muskogean names in the post-removal period. The population of Upper Creek towns showed less of a decrease than Lower Creek towns. Finally, there was increased family size in 1857/58-59; these increases seem to be more conspicuous among Upper Creeks. In short, removal seems to have made the Creeks more conservative with less variety.

". . . yet everything, both in the short and long term, and at the level of local events, as well as on the grand scales of world affairs, is bound up with the numbers and fluctuations of the mass of people . . ." (Braudel 1979a)

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this analysis has been to show the process and nature of Creek Indian removal from what is now Alabama to Indian Territory in the early nineteenth century. The study was designed, first, to estimate the extent of death from this trauma, and to show these events in relation to general parameters of Creek political and social structure. Second, this study was designed to described the pre- and post-removal demographic, social, and political situation. Third, it was designed to show the relationships between demographic change and social or political change, using the most appropriate theoretical perspective available.

To accomplish this, this study showed specific demographic characteristics before, during, and after removal. A discussion of each specific removal showed that removals were not all the same. The only clearly damaging removal was the emigration of the families of those who fought in the Seminole War, where very clear descriptions of the deaths occurred. This group was obviously the most pro-American and were willing to fight for a considerable time at considerable danger. According to qualitative sources, there were many deaths in this group.

Although there were no specific totals of deaths recorded for most removal groups, it is estimated that 50% or more of the total population died. E. A. Hitchcock, an important political observer, noted in 1842:

> In the first twelve months after the emigration of 1836 at the lowest calculation there were thirty-five hundred dead of the emigrants of 1836. I am sure of this because I took the census of the emigrants of 1836 in 1838. The first three years after Opethleyoholo came to the country there was a decrease, but since then there has been an increase, I took the census again, last summer of Opethleyoholo's people and from this I know there had been an increase (Hitchcock 1930:120).

Removal information is sometimes inconsistent. The information comes from different sources. Different emigration officers described the events, and some were more verbose than others. But clearly some removals seem to be have been less severe. These include Opethleyoholo's group; the first removal of Sampson Grayson's group; and the seventh emigration from Talledega District, Upper Ufawla and Char,tok,sof ke. These specific removals included several powerful individuals with more Muskogean followers, particularly in the first and fifth removals.

Specifically, Opethleyoholo's group and other Upper Creek towns seem to have had less severe removals. Specific groups, whether their removal was severe or not, survived removal, and many of these groups were more Muskogean:

> Change of habits, loss of old customs, not savage or sanguinary, simple and in some cases highly interesting; respect the aged and the dead. Certain punishments have been objectionable and continue so among the Creeks; cropping, no jails or penitentiaries one reason. Don't work a loss of character to undergo a punishment, but just the contrary; hence Indians rarely attempt to elude or escape punishment, even extending to loss of life, as no character survived a crime

> unpunished; but when avenged by the law, the offender is restored and a cropped women may lead off the next dance and is all right. This is one principle by which women submit to law in India, that if they do not, they are despised and they had better die (Hitchcock 1930:185).

As for the second goal, this analysis looked at one specific area of Creek social organization, names, both before and after removal. To begin with, 1832 Creeks had a rather low percentage of moiety names. Given the vagueness of these names, this should not be surprising. Furthermore, there was very little change in moiety names between 1832 and 1858. Among clan names a similar pattern was found. There were very few clan names in either period, but substantially more than moiety names. However, there was a slight increase between 1832 and 1858 in the percentage of names that contained clan designations. In addition, there was less variety of clan names in 1858--specific clans became stronger while others died out. Among town names there was again an increase in percentage, though only a slight one, between 1832 and 1858. Besides these differences, Upper Creek and Muskogee Creek towns have more moiety, clan, and town names than Lower Creek and Foreign towns.

Among names, personal titles or busk names were the most informative. These names are important in Creek society whether they represent actual political jobs or simply the status of individuals. These names represent positions that were most important in Creek society. Overall, there was a 30% increase from 1832 to 1858 in personal titles or busk names. Much of this increase was in civil titles rather than warrior titles. The difference between Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks was

striking. Among Upper Creek towns there was a major increase, to the point that most heads of household had at least one of these names by 1858. In all, Upper Creek towns seemed to be more Muskogean in 1832, and this pattern intensified at least as far as names were concerned.

Overall, there was less variety in social characteristics during the post-removal period. Collectively, there was a higher percentage of Muskogean names, but fewer of these names--clan names, town names, or personal appellation or busk titles. After removal, the Upper and Lower Creeks, Muskogee and Foreign Creeks all became more Muskogean. However, all groups exhibited an increase in English names.

The general demographic profile of the Creeks was limited, as there was no information on age and sex structures available after removal. Even though there was a decrease in total population, there were similarities between 1832 and 1858. The percentage of Upper and Lower Creeks was comparable, though there seems to have been a slight increase among the Upper Creeks. There was, as well, a significant increase in household size from 1832 to 1857/58-59. Since the most likely reason for household increase is increased family size, this suggests increased effective fertility--whether it was reduced mortality, increased fertility, or lack of housing is unclear. Likewise, there was a larger increase in household size among Upper Creeks and Muskogee Creeks. Since it seems apparent that the Creeks had decreased fertility and increased mortality immediately after removal, some Creeks seems to have readjusted better, although there is the possibility that, because of social differences, they had different intermediate variables, such as voluntary or involuntary celibacy, increased

separation, death of a spouse, decreased coital frequency, decreased fecundity, infertility, and increased fetal mortality (Davis and Blake 1968). No matter what the cause, specific groups had larger households. Most towns show a decrease in population, except for a few prominent Upper Creek towns, among which was *Char,tok,sof ke* or *Ockfuskee,* historically a very conservative, even nationalistic, Creek town (Swanton 1928; Moore 1988).

The important question is, What does all of this mean? In Chapter 1, several typical reactions of populations to resettlement were discussed. These reactions included differential stress patterns--for example, increased stress among older as compared to younger persons, poorer persons as compared to the more wealthy, and minorities as compared to majorities. Ultimately, what needs to be answered is, Did these occur in this case? Clearly, differential stress occurred. Some specific removals were worse than others. According to Hitchcock, Opethleyoholo's following was beginning to recover as early as 1842, whereas other towns were significantly below their 1832 numbers in 1857/58-59. Anecdotal information suggests the groups that suffered the most from removal were strongly pro-American, particularly the group that fought with the US in the Second Seminole War. Opethleyoholo's followers were not as overtly anti-American as the hostile Creeks, they did after all fight with the US in the Creek War. However, they were also clearly anti-removal, and their leadership was clearly conservative. Demographic and name data supports anecdotal information. The increase in non-English names suggests that the groups which increased, in the power associated with their names if not in their actual population,

were Muskogean. This study proposes that Opethleyoholo's followers were some of the most Muskogean. Although not exclusive, there are two possible explanations of this situation: first, these groups survived removal better and became a higher proportion of the population; second, these groups became the most populous, thus increasing the proportion of names.

As for increased stress among the poorer as compared to more wealthy people, the notion that wealthy individuals even in forced resettlements have more control over their migration and thus less stress is an oversimplification. One often-ignored factor is the difference between economic poverty and ***social poverty***. In the post-removal period the Upper Creeks were poorer, from a European perspective. "I find the Creeks here [Lower Creeks] a different people from those on the Arkansas . . . They appear to be more advanced in intelligence, seem less wild, not to say ferocious than these here" (Hitchcock 1930:213). However, they were not socially poorer. That is, Upper Creeks adjusted better because they were less dependent on Euro-Americans and had a social system that was more capable of recovery. The circumstances necessary for a successful resettlement include the presence of every necessary individual in the resettlement--for example, midwives, herbalists, farmers, and workers, as well as spiritual, religious and political leaders; homogenous settlements; nucleation of settled communities; and a smoothly functioning elite. Although these circumstances are not easily measured, Upper Creeks, through their conservative social patterns, adjusted to resettlement more easily. Some of these social patterns included a middle or upper class through titles; built-in religious, spiritual, and

political leaders through titles or clans; and, perhaps most important, self-sufficient, homogenous Creek towns. The larger, less homogenous towns among the Lower Creeks exhibit more post-removal depopulation. These less measurable social factors were of prime importance in post-removal Creek adaptation

Other characteristics of resettlement include increased morbidity and mortality, loss of production capabilities, and limitations on economic opportunity. Again the question is, Did these occur among the Creeks? Mortality certainly increased, as discussed above. Hitchcock and calculated population totals definitely show increased mortality. As for morbidity, anecdotal evidence suggests that it, too, increased. By 1857/58-59 there seems to be less morbidity; at least the family size has begun to increase.

As for loss of production capabilities, although it is a likely scenario, there is very little evidence of decreased production. Some qualitative information suggests that specific groups stayed near the agency after removal expecting food, while other groups immediately left to form new towns. Additionally, one group that claims they did not receive supplies at all--*Ockfuskee* town--is historically one of the most conservative towns and also one of the few towns that showed an increase in population (Hitchcock 1930:143). Thus, loss of production may have been differential, although there was very little evidence for this. Among plantation owners--large slave owners--and those who relied on these individuals, there was, perhaps, a loss a production. Many of the towns with large slave populations show a substantial decrease.

As for a limitation of economic opportunities, this no doubt also occurred. But those who lost their economic opportunities were most likely those who were more reliant on the American economic system, and they probably adapted in specific ways. However, as the economies of conservative Creek towns were self-sufficient, these towns and individuals did not suffer from economic depression.

In short, these hypothesized differences are indicated in the evidence from this analysis but need to be tested further. Some of the most Muskogean towns exhibited the lowest population decrease or even population increases after removal. Also, Upper Creek towns exhibited the lowest decrease and the largest family size. These same Upper Creek towns exhibit a high proportion of Muskogean names. Yet, there were not excessively large decreases in Lower towns--perhaps due to additional immigration. At the same time Lower Creeks had an increased proportion of English names.

Another resettlement generalization in the literature is that self-emigrants take more risks--economic and social--than forced migrants. What was seen in the post-removal period was that the self-emigrant groups had a different adaptation and were probably different to begin with. The self-emigrants--though of course they are not true self-emigrants in that they migrated under threat of removal--have the vast majority of English names. They also probably include the vast majority of new economic adaptation in Indian Territory. Although not covered in this analysis, one important development after removal was a strong cattle industry. Large cattle ranches developed in Indian Territory. This was a new and innovative economic

development, one that should be expected after a self-emigrant resettlement. In this case, increased English names suggests increased adaptation by and importance of the self-emigrants.

Though this was a forced migration, there were differences in the attitudes and reasons for movements. Such differences are discussed in resettlement theory. First there was a group of self migrants. Though information about this migration is unavailable for the pre-removal period, anecdotally it included several wealthy individuals and their political followers. Additionally, this group alone accounted for many of the English names among the Creeks. In the post-removal period, this group alone accounted for 20% of all English names, but only 10% of the population. Thus this group, or at least their social patterns, increased, as did Muskogean patterns. A different attitude toward removal was exhibited by Opethleyoholo and his followers. For example, Opethleyoholo supported the Americans in the Creek War, but not in the Seminole War. Indeed, he and his supporters did not participate resolutely in the Creek War. He and his followers were clearly anti-removal, but did emigrate quickly. Additionally, this group and the Upper Creeks in general did not stay around the agency, but almost immediately moved south and west to rebuild their towns. Even though all Creeks were forced to migrate, they had different attitudes about migration. Some groups recognized that they were better off maintaining control of their post-migration settlement, and their adjustment to the forced migration was better.

Why this occurred is not entirely clear, although two main factors seem to be most likely. First, less mortality during and after migration improved their population

and power. They were less dependent on Euro-Americans, and thus they were able to recover and build a social system more quickly. Their social systems allowed faster recovery. The groups necessary for survival could be created within the social system, and those less necessary groups, such as warriors and war-related groups, could be decreased in importance.

Resettlement also caused a major reduction in cultural inventory due to a temporary or permanent loss of behavioral patterns, institutions, and symbols. This reduction also included the development of new social groupings with decreased diversity, disorganization of residences, a scattering of kinship groups and family systems, and a loss of social networks through an interruption of traditional local groups.

The evidence available also suggests another typical reaction to resettlement, that authority and status became tighter or more confined. New leadership patterns often develop because of a loss of traditional authority and management system. Though the evidence does not suggest that new leadership developed, it does indicate that authority and status became more confined or tight. There was a decrease in the number of clan and town names and in red or warrior political names. Overall, however, there was an increase in personal titles or busk names. Older leaders such as Opethleyoholo did not lose power, but this was probably because of his unique removal situation. No doubt some Lower Creek leaders lost power, such as those who led the failed Creek War of 1836, but this is unclear from the present analysis.

The effects of differential mortality on a society, class, or racial group is rarely discussed, as are the individual, social, demographic, and cultural effects of increased or decreased mortality. This research demonstrates that mortality was less severe among specific groups, and perhaps that these groups recovered faster. Whether the groups actually recovered faster or simply gained in importance is unclear and insignificant. The effect was the same. These groups include Upper Creeks, Muskogee Creeks, and high-status individuals such as those with English names. Since many of these individuals were in groups that showed less severe mortality or who self-emigrated, it appears that the differential mortality of removal resulted in the increased power and importance of those who did not die. Thus, as seen in Smith's analysis of the earlier Creeks, the populations decreased in social organization and stratification. In fact, it is probable that, in the past, political names had more actual power. By post-removal, the earlier kings or *Miccos* had very little actual power, hence the increase in the use of the name (Swanton 1928a). These titles simply became honorary and status symbols rather than actual political titles. Additionally, certain titles, particularly war-related titles, became much less common, suggesting that the social effects of removal decreased the importance of these jobs and titles, even if they were only honorary busk titles. This should not be surprising given the decreased importance of war after removal.

Other resettlement theory generalizations in the post-removal period, although less applicable, are important in this Creek example. First, Scudder and Colson noted that:

> People now begin to become increasingly flexible, individualistic and open-ended. . . . This is because the simplified cultural repertoire and the breakdown of patterns of community organization and leadership that occur during resettlement, make for less restraint on diversity and individual initiative as the relocation community re-establishes itself (Scudder and Colson 1982:274).

With the Creeks there was clearly a loss of cultural inventory, but, if flexibility later increased, it is unclear. In fact, both innovation and conservatism seem to apply. The intensification of Muskogean Creek names, especially civil political names, is conservatism. Innovation may be seen in English names and, perhaps, new economic development such as the cattle industry among certain groups.

One of the most interesting post-resettlement adaptations was developed by Guggenheim and Cernea when they state, "[C]ontradictions in indigenous social structures that are held in check by social norms and practices are often released when displacement creates alternative courses of action" (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993). Some of these contradictions may have included a balance of power between white and red clans and moieties. But, when there was no longer a need for warriors and war groups, the question arose, What do they do and how do they gain power? Without war, these red clans could have become inconsequential--without any real power. Without going into great detail, ball games seem to help red groups maintain some power (Haas 1940). Thus, it would be expected that they became less populous and powerful.

No analysis would be complete without suggestions for testing the new ideas. There are several specific analyses that are needed. First, an in-depth analysis of the

letters and diaries of the post-removal period would provide much information on leaders during this period. There are hundred of letters, diaries, and journals in the National Archives, the Oklahoma State Archives, and the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma. They could provide information about power and important individuals--their attitudes and their economic and social adaptation. However, this analysis would likely not include information about the average person.

A second potentially useful area of future research is an analysis of post-removal Creek laws. Since laws and changes in laws often reflect problems or perceived problems within a social system, they should show changes in social structure that occurred after removal. Additionally, by analyzing proposed, passed, and enforced laws, information could be gained about the elite and their opinions of problems.

Finally, a third possible area of research is Civil War documents. The Creeks, like most groups in Indian Territory, were split between the Union and the Confederacy during the Civil War. Opethleyoholo and his followers supported the Union and were driven into Kansas, where they suffered serious difficulties (Banks 1963). Some of the more wealthy slaveholders among the Creeks, and many Lower Creeks, supported the Confederacy (Banks 1963). There are many documents including military muster rolls of both Union and Confederate companies, and payment lists into the twentieth century. An analysis of the groups and their

subsequent payrolls would be very informative as to the power, political, and social situation of the post-removal Creeks.

Finally, future research should also look at the other Southeastern groups, particularly the Seminoles, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. Since there are censuses for these groups, this analysis could be duplicated among any of these groups.

To summarize, there seems to have been two strategies for adaptation. First, a return to and intensification of traditional patterns. This includes an increase in Muskogean names and resettlement in strong towns. The second pattern was innovation and increasing relations with Americans. This includes large scale plantations, slave ownership, and economic development. Both of these groups existed before removal, and both increased after removal. However, conservatism became even more important, while innovation was beginning to develop and gain in importance. These two routes to adaptation occurred simultaneously among the Creeks. The latter was well known, but the former has not been discussed previously as a development resulting from removal (Green 1982).

> . . . I must say a good deal about the half-breeds, the true civilizers after all . . . . There are not many among the Creeks and the relative conditions of the tribe is distinctly marked by that fact. The full blood Indian rarely works himself and but few of them make their slaves work. A slave among wild Indians is almost as free as his owner, who scarcely exercises the authority of a master, beyond requiring something like a tax paid in corn or their product of labor. . . . more service is required from the slave among the half-breeds and the white who have married native, they become slave indeed in all manners of work. Some full-blood Indians are impelled by the example of the whites to efforts formerly unknown among them and have better

> houses, own more stock and cultivate larger fields than their ancestor, etc. . . (Hitchcock 1930:187).

Finally, this study attempted to describe the relationship among forced migration, fertility, and mortality among the Creeks. The relationship is simple. Immediately after removal, mortality increased and fertility decreased. This clearly occurred among the Creeks. However, what is also clear from this analysis is that fertility or mortality--and probably both--increased again by 1857, but not a long time before 1857/58-59, as the population was still smaller than pre-removal though the household size was larger. This implies, especially since Upper Creeks exhibit an even larger household size, that for some it took twenty years to begin recovery.

This study indicates the importance, especially in historical removals, of analyzing not only the total population changes, but also changes among and between subgroups within the population. Thus, even though it is well known that removals have serious demographic consequences, specific demographic and social effects are not always clear. It is evident from this study that subgroups can grow in importance because of differential mortality. That is, subgroups with more survivors often increase in importance. Furthermore, subgroups can adapt differently to the same trauma. This, too, can change a population.

Because removals have occurred throughout history, an understanding of them is vital to comprehend both those groups involved in removals and their historical perspective in general. This understanding includes the consequences of removal, as well as a realization of the demographic, political, and social outcomes. This study

focuses on the demographic, social, and political effects of forced migration, using the Creeks as a sample population. For those researchers interested in Creek history and social systems, in general, as well as a more complete understanding of American history, this work is vital. Finally, for those interested in resettlement theory, this study will assist the future development of resettlement models.

Resettlement theory has been important for showing what happened among the Creeks. Resettlement theory, however, rarely focuses on long-term, historical, forced migrations. Even though resettlement theory has recognized and expanded on the distinction between forced and voluntary migration, a new study of historical, long-term social and demographic effects of forced migration was needed for several reasons.

Many of the more important historical events in world history involved forced migrations. An understanding of the causes of forced migration, along with their effects, is consequently important for historians. Extant conditions in many areas of the world can thus be explained by understanding the circumstances of these historical resettlements. The combined scientific community of anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and health professionals must grasp the social, political, and demographic effects of forced migrations, in order to perceive the social systems within which they work today. A social scientist, for example, who specializes in Native American history, must understand the relationship between removal and social structure. Since forced migrations, as well as other major demographic traumas, continue to occur, both development researchers and policy

makers must understand the necessary results of forced migrations. Moreover, social scientists in the field of development theory must also understand the potential and real combinations of social, political, and demographic effects of removal if they are going to bring about any changes. Finally, those involved in policy development must also understand these potential and real combinations of social, political, and demographic outcomes of forced migrations, before their policies are advanced and implemented.

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APPENDIX

NAME DICTIONARY

Moiety

Creek Word	Translation	Spellings
Hatkee	white	hatke, hutka, hvt'ke (1), hutko (3)

White or hathagalgi, as in peace moiety and peace towns.

Charte	red	chartee, coty, choakchart, choakchart, chocchar, charne, choakchat, chocke, cate (1), tcati (2), chati (3)

Red or tcilokagalgi, as in war or foreigners moiety and towns.

Cheloke	foreign	cheloakkie, cheloke, chelockcha, chelock, chelok, cheloko, cheloke, celokketv (1), tciloki (2)

Similar to red or tcilokagalgi, actually meaning people of different speech.

Luste	black	loste, lusyi, lostar, losey, lvste (1), lvstvt'etv (1), lasti (2), losti (3), lasta, (3)

Name added to other names. for example black bird -- Fose Luste. A nickname for red is also laksafaskalgi, which may be black, but black is also a term used for your own clan.

Clans

Creek Word	Translation	Spellings
Alpata	alligator	albuddi, albudder, albredy, arpartar, alper, alpetter, allabudder, albert, albet, albudda, alpetter, albetter, albuddar, albudda, albuttar, alpetter, albetter, albuttu, hvlpvtv (1), halapata (2), halpati (3)

Clan name alligator -- halapatalgi.

Arche	corn	archewe, archee, archar, aichu, tieche, tiechi, tiheache, tiarche, vce (1), adji (2)

Clan name of corn -- atcialgi.

Arloc	sweet potato	aleka, allike, allock, ahle, arharlock, arloc, heallock, harlok, hurlok, warloc, arhar, arfarla, arfiloc, arlock, hallock, horlok, warlow, wollock, arhalle, arharle, arhollee, arhawle, allok, arhaw, arlok, harharlok, parlock, warlock, aheloc, harlocke, aha (1), ahalak (2), ahha (3), halleck (3)

Clan name of sweet potato -- ahalagalgi.

Carptichar	lye-drip	karpicchar, karpickchar, cubeche, cubieache, cubbeachche, cubbreachche, karpikchar, karpowchar, kurpiechar, cubbieache, cubbreachche, karciechar, kobbitchar, cobbitchey, cubbitchchar, cubbitchche, cobbiechchar, cobbich, cabiekke, carbieachche, carbieachar, carbietche, carbiethcar, kobbich, cubbich, cobbitchche, cobbiecha, cubbichche, capolatchee, copithchy, cabieh, culbith, carbichee, carbichar, cibiche, cabicker, culbichel, coputchi, copacha, cubiha, karbiche, cubbithchar, karbitche, cubbickchar, cubbiche, cubbitchche, karpyea, kapitca (2)

Clan name lye-drip -- kapitcalgi.

Chewasti		chewastar, chewastarye, chewaste, chewarti, chewasto, chuwasti, tchuwastai (2)

Meaning unclear, but is a clan name -- tchuwastalgi affiliated with potato clan (2).

Chisse	mouse	Cheis, chiske, chosesis, chisee, chusse, cesse (1)

Clan name mouse, but not listed in Swanton.

Chitto snake chitto, chilton, cetto (1), tcito (2), chitto (3), chiti (3), chito (3)

Clan name snake -- tcitalgi.

Chofa rabbit chofa, chofe, chofee, chofose, cofi, cufe (1)

Clan name rabbit -- tcufalgi).

Chofolope rabbit? chofolop, chofelope, chofoloap, chofelepe

Meaning unclear. Not listed in any source, may be rabbit -- cufe and quick -- lvpeke -- or quickly -- lvpece -- and thus rabbit clan -- tcufalgi.

Choko house cocka, coker, jaque, joke, joake, chockko, chokko, jockho, Chokotechocko, choko, cogo, chockho, chocko, choko, choke, cuko (1), chocote, choogotte, chugartta, chocotee, chocottee, chokarte, chokate, chugati, tcokot (2)

Clan name house -- tcokotalgi.

Chular fox chular, colo, cholo, choli, chular, cholar, choolar, chular, chule, choye, chuyar, chojar, culv (1), tcula (2)

Clan name fox -- tcolalgi.

Echo deer choe, chu, choi, co, cho cue, eche, ichhoie, chue, coe, ckoe, choo, cu, icho, ichho, itchar, echar, eco (1), itco (2), echo (3)

Clan name deer -- itcoalgi.

Echo ille deer foot choille, chooille, chuwille, chuwilla, chuwille, chu ele, chuwillar, itco-ile (2)

Affiliated with clan name deer -- itcoalgi.

Echo gus deer head coeiga, coeega, coiegar, choehar, choegar, chekar, chuecar, cowegus, coewgus, chogarta, chogartee, cooecus, cowegus, coigosse

Affiliated with clan name deer — itcoalgi.

Efa dog efar, farla, fi, fiat, far, efv (1), ifa (2), ifa (3)

Clan name dog. Very little information on this clan. Swanton lists no Creek dog clan but does list one for Timacua.

Fose	bird	fashar, fos, fuckta?, futs, fuswa (1), fus (2), fosowa (3)

Clan name bird -- fuswalagi.

Fistarca	birds	fistakake, fistarca, fistarke, fielsti, fuswa-hulwe (1)

Affiliated with clan bird -- fuswalagi. Plural form of bird.

Fullo	owl	fullo, fulbe, folo, foloda, folop, foliga, obar, fully, fololike, folunke, fullodige, efulo, foloppo, folote, fulli, fullhoe, foole, efole, fulle, folot, efv'lv (1)

Clan name owl. Swanton says not a clan, but are several examples from 1832 census.

Hillis	medicine	Heelis, elise, hillis, illis, hillesse, illise, helis, hellis, ilis, hilli, elis, heleswv (1), hilis (2), illis (3)

Clan name medicine -- hilisalgi.

Hotulga	wind	hotulga, homulga, hotulke, hotulga, hotalke, hotulek, otulga, otulke, otulgee, hodulga, odulga, hotuga, hotvle (1), hotalgi (2), hotalgi (3)

Clan name wind -- hotalgalgi.

Ichhos	beaver	eachhos, echhos, ichhas, ichhos, echarse, echostu, echos, echas, echa, itchko, echaswa (1), itchas (2).

Clan name beaver -- itchaswalgi.

Inthlannis	pubes hair	inclannis, inhelanis, tinhilanis, tinhillannis, tinhilannis, tinlannis, tinthlannis, inthlarnis, tinthinis, tinthlannis, inlanis (2)

Clan name pubes hair -- ininlanisalgi.

Isfarny	spanish	isfarny, isfarne, isparne, spanna, sparse, isfannarte, isfannis, spanny, isfanne, isfanney, isfanny, isfarne, isfarna, sfarne, sparne, isfarne, sparne, farney, isfanny, farne, ispanny, isfunny, spanny, espane (1), ispani (2)

Clan name spanish -- isfanalgi. Swanton is not sure this the correct translation of clan name.

Isko	squirrel	iskarde, iskarne, iskinhar, iskoyou, isko, iskunne, iskoyou, esko (1)

Clan name squirrel. No Creek names listed in Swanton, but is a Euchee and Chickasaw clan.

Koakako	wildcat	cowokoche, kowokkogi, kowokkoge, kowokkooche, cowoccoche, kowykenay, kowakuche (1), koakodji (2), koakodji (3), koakotcha (3)

Clan name wildcat -- koakotcalgi.

Kono, Konip	skunk	kono, konip, konap, clonip, coono, coniby, conobe, conocfu, konis, conose, conip, kono, cono, coni, konepe, konippe, conoo, kenepe, kinnip, konobie, kunu (1), kunip (2)

Clan name skunk -- konipalgi.

Kontalle	fresh land	kuntalle, kondalla, kuntal, kontul, contal, kuntalla, ontalla, undeel, thlantal, montal, condel, kantal (2)

Clan name fresh land -- kantalalgi.

Kotchar	tiger/panther	cotchar, cochar, kotchar, cochis, cochchar, cotcher, kochusse, kotchar, cockkonar, kochus, kothar, cohos, chochon, hotchar, kochus, kartar, cocheer, cockar, katcv (1), katca (2), katsa (3), katsha (3)

Clan name tiger or panther -- katcalgi.

Lochar	turtle	lockco, logar, locho, logy logoti, loco, logie, lochi, locki, logi, luchi, luckhar, luchin, lojar, loca (1), lodja (2)

Clan name turtle or tortoise -- lutcalgi.

Lumhe	eagle	inlummar, limmar, lummanly, limmy, limma, limmi, leeme, lemi, lime, lvmhe (1), lamhi (2)

Clan name eagle -- lamhalgi.

Nocus	bear	noccsar, nocose, nocas, narcose, nochis, nocus, nocosi, nocosr, noga, nogo, nokos, nokose, nocueaskis, nokosee, noclus, noklis, nocossie, nocof, nokuse (1), nokos (2)

Clan name of bear -- nokosalgi.

Nocus silla	bear foot	nocosilla, nocose ylla, nogosilly, nococilla, nocose cilla, nochilisi,nocosille, nocoseille, nokocille, nokosilla, nokocella, nocoseelle, nocosila, nokosili (2), nukusi ili (3)

Affiliated with clan name bear -- nokosalgi.

Nocose ekar	bear head	nocosiecar, nocose alay, nocose ekar, nokosickar, nokosiggar, nokose ekar, nosiccar, nocose eke

Affiliated with clan name bear -- nokosalgi.

Oakchun	salt	oakchon, oakchon, okechun, okechon, hoakchon, oakchan, okcunwa (1), oktcan (2)

Affiliated with clan name salt -- oktcanalgi.

Oche	hickory nut	ogis, ochi, ogee, ochas, oggede, okete, okee, (1), otci (2), ochi (3)

Clan name hickory nut -- otcialgi.

Ogillise	weevil?	chogillis, hogillise, ogillasey, ogillise, ogillissa, ogillis, kelissarm, vcesulkicv (1), okilis (2)

Clan name weevil -- okilisalgi. Swanton says may be weevil, but he is unsure.

Osar	otter	ohsa, osawwe, oser, ose, osear, osvnnv (1), osana (2)

Clan name otter -- osanalgi.

Octiarche	sand creek?	octiarche, ocliurche, oktarsars, octiarchee, ochcatche, octearche, oktiarche, octearche, ocetiarche, hoaktecharte, oktaha hvtce (1), oktahasas (2 sand town), octiarche (3)

Clan name -- actayatci. Swanton gives meaning as water moccasin, but is not sure. Toomey gives meaning as Sand Creek, but again is not sure. Hewitt, in his note and an unnamed source gives this as a clan but does not translate it. It was probably a clan, related to fox clan, but the meaning is not known.

Pahose	?	powhe, parhose, pawhose, powhas, powhos, powose, parhos, pasohos, powwas, powwos, powhoe, powessi, powissee, pawhos, pawhosse, pahose (2)

Clan name -- pahosalgi. Meaning unknown.

Pin	turkey	pinme, pine, pen, pime, pim, ben, pwn'wa (1), pin (2)

Clan name turkey -- pinwalgi.

Tami	?	tommy, tomme, tomma, tome, toma, tome, tommi, toma, tome, tume, tommo, tami (2)

Clan name -- tamialgi. Meaning unknown.

Tarbos	granddaddy long legs	tarbos, tarpos, tarpus, toppus, tvpohsv'lv (1 long leg legs spider)

Clan name granddaddy long legs -- tapohsalalgi.

Thlathlo	fish	charcho, claty, clayi, chatleby, thlatlo, chaly, charley, charlo, clathlo, thatlo, thlathlo, thatlo, thothlo, thlathle, cloitlo, clothlo, cheely, clockar, thlo, clothhilo, thlaththlo, clothloyo, charle, chearlie, rv'ro (1), lalo (2), thlochlo (3)

Clan name fish -- laloalgi.

Thle	arrow, bullet	thle, cle, t'le (3), re (1), li (2)

Clan name arrow -- lialgi.

Thlejim	?	clegumma, flejum, clejinia, clegima, clejim, clijim clijumme, clejima, clejuno, clechumme, clechumma, lidjami (2)

Clan name lidjamalgi.

Totkose	mole	tocosa, tocoska, toatkis tukonesar, tokose, tukose, tukesar, tokosar, tokose, tuckosa, tuckosar, tukese, tukko, tukke, tarkose, tukkosar, tako (1), takosa (2), takose (3)

Clan name mole -- takosalgi.

Watco	raccoon	watko, wokieka, wotke, wockda, wotco, watco, watgue, watque, wotco, watup, wottoga, wottobe, wechose, woodcoi, wose, weoto, wechop, wootka, wotko (1), wotko (2)

Clan name raccoon -- wotkalgi.

Woxie	chigger	woxe, woxey, soxse, wocsa, wacse, wocse, woksok, woxe, sarsar, wackso, wocksee, wosin, soxce, oacsoc, waxce, wasko (1), woksi (2), waksi (3)

Clan name chigger -- woksalgi or everted prepuce (3).

Yaha	wolf	yarhar, yarar, yahhar, yahv (1), yaha (2), yaha (3).

Clan name wolf -- yahalgi.

Towns or Tribes

Creek Word	Translation	Spellings
Alabama		Alabama, Alabaw
Arbeka		ahbica, arbiock, arbieca, arbilco, arbick, arbieck, arbico, arbicco, arbokie, arbiock, arbic, arbicker, arbieco, arbithke, arpiuck, harpiuk, arpiehar, arpeka, arbickko, harpekaw, abicco
Arbiccochee	little Arbeka	arboketige, arpecooche, harpekooche, arbiccosee, abi'kutci (2)
Atasi		artus, ottis, ottus, ottese, arfos, arfus, odis, ottissee, artis, atuvse (1), atas (2)
Chiaha		chearhar, chiarye, chear, chehar, chsaw, chiar, cheeai, chiarhar, tciaha (2)
Clewalla		clewalla, thlewarley, cuwarla, thlewarle, clewaetula, cleewilla, clewathla, cuwalla, thlewalle, thlewalla, thlewarthle, liwahali (2)
Concharta		conchart, concharta, cuechart, konchart, konchartee, konchart, kunchartee, concharta, conchadda,kunchartee, kunchart, concharda, concharty, concharti
Coosa		coosar, cousah, kosar, koosar, corser, kosar, coose, coosi

Ancient town.

Coweta		kowete, coweppal, coweater
Cowyka		koyka, cowoeko
Cusseta		coosista, cusete, cussetan, cussetar, cussetau, cussetaw, coosiste, coosista, cusseatar, cusseutar, kusseta, kasista

Emarhe		emar, iemarmie, emarme, hemar
Eufaula		ufaula, eufaula, ufawla, eufawlee, ufalla, eufauler, efaular, eufala, eufalla, eufarla, eufawla
Fose hatche	bird creek	fosehatchee, fushatchee, fushatche, fosehatche, fushatch, fushatchcha, fosehatch, fushatchche, fushatch, forse hatch, forsehatche, forsehack, fushagche, fusake, fus hatci (2)Affiliated with clan bird -- fuswalagi.
Hatchachubba		hatchachubba
Hillabee		hillabi, hillabie, hillubba, hillubby, hilbubba, hillubba, hillabba, hillabbie
Hitchiti		hitchetee, hitchhokey, hitchatee
Kialigee		kilichee
Kiamulga		kimulga, kiemulga, kiemulga
Koasati		cowarsarda, cowassart, kosiste, kosokkooche, cewassart, coowarsart, cooswarsart, cowarsarde, coosarto, coassart, coosti, cowossot, coassart
Kolomi		koloomme, kolome, colecame, kolumme, coleme
Ancient town.		
Narpooche		narbogee, narborcha, narbooche, narbothchi, narboche, narbosche, narboetch, norboche, narpoochee, nobotchche, nabothche, nawbichcooche, nurboche, nabotci (2)
Ancient tribe.		
Oakchoy		oakchoi, oakchi, oakchart, oakche, hokechi, okechu, coakchoy, hoakchow, hoakchose, okechoy, hoakchi
Oakfuska		okefuske, oakfuske, okefu, oakfuskee, oakfaska, oakfuskee, oakfuskey, arfutsky, ockfuska, okfuske, okefooske

Osochee		osooch, osogo, osooche, osooch
Oswichee		ohswith, ohswich, ohswich, oswich, oswitche, ohsuit, oswiche, osehitchee
Opillar	swamp	pollar, poith, opitle, opothli, opelofv (1), opillo (2) Former town name Big Swamp (2).
Sarwanno	Shawnee	sawwonno, sarwanwo, sarwarney, sarwarnoak, sawwanne, sawwanwah, sawanok (2), shonock (3)
Sowocolo		chowoecala, chawoccala
Taladega		talladega, talladiga, tailadega, talladeg, talledega, talladeeg, talladeg, talladig, tallowdeg
Talip		TallipsahogyTallip, talllip, tallipse

Town name Tal lip se ho gy means "two talewa plants standing together," Swanton suggests that talip meant talewa. Talip is an abreviation for Tallipsahogy.

Tallisse	Tulsa, Talsitallassee, tallarsee, tallasse, tallissi, tallussa, tallasee, tallihe, tallasu, talse, tallase, talsene, tallarne, tallise, tallisee, tallisse, tallissee, tulse, tallusse, tallaharse, tallisa, telase, tallis, talsenehe, tallusse, tallaharsa, telase, talsi (2)
Talmachus	talmachiso, talmachus, talmachus, talmuchus, talmutis, talmos
Talowar	tallowwar, tallwar, tallowar, talwar, taloaway, tolewar, tolowar
Tamathli	tommalth, tommarlth, tomarth, tommarth, tobathle, tommarthla, tommarth

New Tamathli on list in 1788 and Old Tamathli on 1738 and 1750 list (2).

Tuckabatche	tuckabatchee, tuckabacha, tuckabatche, tuckabatcha, toakkebassi, tucabatch, tuckebatch, tucebatch, toakkebie, tuckabatchy, tuckabutchee, tukaba'tci (2)

Tuskege	tarskege, tuskega, tarsekegee, tarsekeek, tuskeeg, tarskeke, tuskeege, tuskkeegee, tuskeee, tussekee, tvske'ge (1), taskigi (2)
Wewoka	wewoci, wewoakkar, wewocco, wewoke, wewoakki, wewo'ka (2)

Personal Titles or Busk Names

Creek Word	Translation	Spellings
Chopko	long, tall	choko, tcopko,

The name seems to be a part added to make a name unique. Often used with a war name.

Emarthla	leader	emarthlar, emarthler, homararth, mallear, marthlo, mathleth, mathlar, mathliga, melarthle, mieethlar, emarthlo, othlemartle, clemarthlar, emalth, emarthlo, tarmathla, clemarthla, marthletarmeathlar, mearthar, martarwar, imarthla, temaitle, emathlu, stemarthla, imala (2), imat'la (3)

Meaning is simply leader or leading. Swanton states it is a name associated with red clans and is a job or functionary. Hewitt gives this as a town official who "performs certain duties at festivals." The name ranks above Harjo, Fixico and Yahola. Additionally he states that is associated with specific clans and has a specific office. Often they are called Emarthlas "burden carries" with busk duties. The names is often associated with other title such as Micco Emarthla and is perhaps a war title.

Fixico	heartless	fixico

This is a simple busk name. The name is not associated with any civil or war titles. The name is the second part of a common name with no official titles associated with it. Hewitt calls this a puberty name. Is one of the two lowest names in rank, only above Harjo. This name implies only status not authority or influence.

Harjo	crazy,mad furious in battle	hargo, harcho, harge, hadjo, hajie, haco (1), hadjo (2,3)

This is a simple busk name. The name is not associated with any civil or war titles. The name is simply the second part of a common name with no official title associated with it. Hewitt calls this a puberty name. It is the lowest ranking name. This name implies only status not authority or influence.

Heneha	liuetenient	innehaw, hinneha, innehar, enehar, enehe, hinnehar, titleinnehar, innehaw, inhiyar, eneho, honnehar, innehe, henay, enenihar, hinhihow

This is a groups of "old men and advisors" (4). These individuals rank third among the civil officers only below Micco and the subchiefs. Hewitt states this person is in charge of feasts and festivals. These men are supposed to be "old and versed in traditions and laws" (5). Again, he states they rank third among town officials only below Micco and Simpaya or national representatives. The name ranks above Harjo, Fixico, Yaholo, and Emarthla. The name is also said to be a white name thus below Micco but of the same moiety (5).

Hobia	far away/blue	harpar, hoboua, hoboya, hoeah, hopiye, hopiejar, hopoie, hopoye, hobie, hopoe, hobo, hobie, hoboy, harparlar, hopis, hobilt, hoboyis, hoboi

A Hobia is a prophet or charmer. Toomey calls it a very important war title. Swanton states it was historically the most distinguished name. Some definitions of Hobia are "charmer of enemies," (4) or "one who understand all of the strategic arts of war" (2) or "a traveled warrior or one who has seen foreign lands" (2). Gatschet gives this as a war title only below Tustanuggi Thlocco, the title is probably higher. This person does not actually fight but works from a distance. This is strictly a job of ability. Hobia and Hopiethly are the planners and thinkers of wars, and perhaps religious leaders. This title does not appear to be used as a busk name or civil title, but is an earned war title.

Hopiethle	war leader	hopoiethly, hoboiethla, hoithbolyer, hothleboye, hothlepoye, heboethele, hobeelthla, hobtichchar, hobothlener, hopoitley, hapoithleana, harhopiye, harhoyehe, hathleboie, hoborthlar, hopoealth, hopoethe, hopoithla, hothlemarthle, poiethla, hoboethlani, hopoiethle, hopoethle, hopoethlo, hopoithla, hopoithlo, opiethly, hoboihili (2), hoethlematee (3)

Similar to Hobia. Also means war conqueror or good child. Swanton states this is the highest ranking name. This name or title is given to those who are both prophets and warriors. The title is never listed as a town officer nor a busk title but is strictly a war title. Hewitt list these individuals at the same level as Hobia with a definition of "those who do the thinking" of war. As with Hobia these individuals earn this title based on ability.

Holata	head, chief	harlotte, holater, holartar, holoftar, holofter, hotlarda, holarte, holarter, holattar, holattee, holote, holofter, heolotta
Kochokone	short	kochokonar, chokehonu, kocuk'ne (1), kocuncoke (1), kutcugani (2)

Similar to long, tall -- Chopko -- used with other names. Generally added to war names, this name is simply added to make a name different.

Micco	chief, king	micco, miccoo, micqui, micke-o, micke, miku, micgue, micque, mekko (1), miko (2), miko (3)

Civil official. This title is associated with white or peace moiety. The person who holds this title is either the hereditary leader of a town or clan (3). The title represents the top position in the white clan, they can only influence and cajole but not force an action. Hewitt calls the Micco the top of town organization or the highest ranking town official. However, there is a question of whether or not the person with this name is that official or not. Micco may be a busk name given to young men who can achieve this title, thus they must be of a particular clan and be of a respected family. Micco also appears to be a high ranking busk name. The name may also be used as a busk name when all other busk names are taken and the name was that of a young man's grandfather. Which grandfather is not stated but either is suggested by modern informants.

Taskiniha war name tuseickie, tuskiyaw, tussekaryar, tussekear, tussekiar, Taski (abr.) tussickia, tussicye, tussickke, tussieki, tussickke, tussekiar, tussicya, tussiggayar, tuskhiega, tuske, tusakiah, tuske, tuski, tuskar, tuske, tuskie, tusseki, tusseke, taskiniha (2), taski (abr. 2), tuski (3), tuska (3)

Meaning is sapsucker. According to early sources this is the name of low level warriors. These were young men generally known as "braves" or "warriors" but the lowest level of warrior. Later the name came to mean a young man who had received a war name and had busk duties (4). Toomey states that this is a busk title translated as "warriors," but not a war title (3). Hewitt says this name represents a town officer who is in charge of certain festivals and is the "chief talker" or announcer of decisions for the chief(5). This name is listed as fourth in the line of officials.

Thlocco great thlarke, thlarpie, locco, loco, locko, loko, rak'ke (1), tcapko (2), tchapko (3)

This is a word added to others to mean great, big, or important. It strengthens the ranks of a title, such as Tustanuggi Thlocco who is the actual commanders of warriors in the field. It is used for important men of various rank but generally used with titles.

Tusconner ? tusconer, tusconar, tuxconer, tuskonar, tasconer, tuskonar, tvsekiyv (1), taskona (2)

Meaning unknown. War title. Loughridge "one who has received a war name."

Tustanuggi assistant war leader tustunnuckee, tustunnugga, tustanugeigie, tustanugga, tustunnuchee, tustanuggy, tustunnugga, tustanug, warriortustunnuck, tustanuck, tustannucki, tustunug, tustonuc, tustinoc, tustinuga, tustunuckcoo, tustunuckee, tustunnuck, tvstvnuv'ke (1), tastanagi (2), tustennuggi (3)

Tustanuggi are war leaders. Hewitt calls them war chiefs or towns sheriffs. They are not town officials, they are warriors or war officials. Tustanuggi are elected by town officials and have authority. The Tustanuggi is an assistant war leader but the Tustanuggi Thlocko (great warrior) is the actual leader during wars. Tustanuggi is the top title a man can receive if they are a red clan member. According to early sources a young man must perform an act of bravery before he can use this name. Toomey points out that war titles, such as Tustanuggi, are not war names (3). Thus war names are bestowed because of a specific war achievement, but a war title is a "job." Like Micco, Tustanuggi is also a busk name that can be used as the second part of a name, but, apparently, not as a title. When used as a busk name the name may be a potential title or an ancestral titles.

Yardeka	interpreter	yardicke, yardicky, yededick, yardick, yartekar, yarteka, yartakar, yvtekv (1)
Yaholo	shouting	yoholo, yaholo, yawholo, yohila, uholo, yoholo, yarlowa, yarholo, yoholoe, yahola (2), yaholo (3)

This name is a bit confusing. According to Toomey and Swanton this name is simply a busk name. The name has more status, or is acquired later than Harjo and Fixico. Even Swanton agrees that the name "tends" to be used after Harjo and Fixico. But Hewitt states that Yaholo is "higher" in rank than Emarthla and belongs to white clans, while Swanton maintains it is only a common name with no job or seat associated while Emarthla is a title with a job. This name may be in the process of becoming "common" or it was a name with a function that later became a common name. The name, in any case, is of similar rank to Emarthla, above Harjo and Fixico, but below Micco and Tustanuggi. The name does not have a clear job associated with it, but Hewitt state these people are town officers and messengers. The name might be similar to Taskiniha, but not specifically associated with war and warriors.

Ceremonial or town related

Creek Word	Translation	Spellings
Asi	black drink	ose, osai, osse, osi, osiah, osick, osse, asan, oser, osiar, osser, ossse, assone, ufse, vsse-passv (1), asin (2) a-sin (3)

Associated with black drink, ceremonial drink of busk and other important events.

Arthle	to start fire	arthlee, arthlon, arthlou arthla, arthlar, etecetv (1)

Associated with fire renewal at busk.

Chon	ground	echun, chon, chun, ekvnv (1)

Meaning unclear in names. Probably associated with square ground used in town name Econchatta (red ground town).

Esarpar	gar fish	essarfur, esapav (1)

Meaning unclear in names. May refer to the ceremonial use of gar fish for scratching during the busk.

Hoyarnechar	red root	hoyarnechar, hoyeneche

Meaning unclear in names. Red root used for ceremonial and medicinal purposes.

Poscofe	stomp dancing	paskefar, poscharter, poscoaf, poscove, pafsko, pafscoe, pafscove, parscoaf, paskoaf, poscoaf, poscose, poscof, poscore, paskofv (1), paskofa (2), pascoffer (3)

Refers to the ceremonial grounds of a town.

Sukey	rattle	sukey, suckey, sikey

May refer to the turtle rattles used by women in dancing. This is probably a woman's name.

Talmarse	public/common	Talmarsey, talmarse, talamarse, talmarse, talmarso, talmas, talemarse, tallamarse, talmarsa, talmas, talmos, tilmarse, talmose, tulmarse, tarmarse, talmarsa, tv'leme (1), talimas (2)

May refer to common or public ground.

Talof	town	talope, tolope, talope, taloaf, talope, talloppo, tulwi, talloa, tallar, tallabar, tulwa, tollew, tulofv (1), tv'lwv (1), talof (2)

Probably refers to town.

Toatka	fire	chote, tockco, tulgis, tulga toatkio toatkis, toatkar, choti, tulka, totka (1), totka (2)

Toatka hasi	old fire	totekar harse, toatcarhas, toteka hafse, toatkohos, tockkasar, tockkarsa, tockkosar, tockasa, tockca su, totka hasi (2)

Meaning unclear. Refers to fire put out at busk ceremony.

Other Important Names

Creek Word	Translation	Spellings
Archule	old	archular, july, chooeley, chulee, chuly, archee, archoly, archuloc, archula, auchuly, chulo, archoole, archosle, archulock, archusle, choole, chulock, chooli, vcule (1)

May be a title similar to great, distinctly male term (1).

Chebarny	boy	chebarney, chparne, parne, barney, char barney, chebarne, parnuy, cepane (1)

Meaning is boy. Often young males with this name.

Fuckta	dirt or duck	foco, futilus, fapk, fakke (1 dirt), fuco (1 duck), faki (2 earth) fee ke (3 dirt), fuchta (3 duck)

May be a title. Toomey states is part of a busk title or a clan associated name.

Hatchee	creek	hatchke, hatchkis, hatch, archee, hvtce (1), hatci (2)

Word usually added to another in a name such as Fose hatche.

Holiche	cloud	holetikay, holige, holotoke, aholoce (1), tahalooche (3), yehologi (3), yaholoochee (3)

Name given as a war title by Toomey, but is also a woman's name.

Homatee	leader or chief	homer, homahe, homarhe, homarhi, homarho, homarko, homarye, homarye, homarlar, homahtee (2), homa (3)

May be a title. Sometimes used for a woman.

Letif	shedding hair	letif, liltif, liptif. littif, letef-ketv (1), litif (2)

Meaning unclear. Swanton translation is "any creature shedding hair." May be a busk name.

Lottito	cut up	lotti, lottar, lottas, lotti, lotty, lofter, lofty, loftee, lofto, lofti, loftie, lv'fke (1), lata? (2)

Means a cut or gash and to cut with a knife. May be a title.

Neha	fat, oily, big	narhar, nehar, nehaw, nar, nahar, nehe, nehi, nia, niah, neho, neha (1), neha (3 big)
Ninne	road (side)	ninnar, nonone, ninnehe, nineo, ninne, nen'ne (1), ninnee (3)

Meaning unclear in names. Often associated with war names.

Nubbe	on top of	nubbe, nubba,

Names from ekv-onv'pv top of the head (1). Means very highest or person on top.

Otarke	shaman	otake, otarke, otalke, otalka, otalki (3).

Spoakoak	last one	spoage, spokeoke, hopodark, spoakoga, spokeoke, in numbershospartok, hospotok, hospolock, hospotastk, ospodark, ospotark, spoaktak, spokeoke, hospotar, spoakogie, spoakkos, spoakya, spokey, oaspartok, spohok, espoke (1)

Meaning unclear. Last one in numbers may also be stuak'hahki of Toomey meaning men fighting in a line. May refer to the way a war party travels in single file as Gatschet describes. Probably a war title.

Yarkinha	holler	yarkinhar, yarginna, yarkin, yarkinhar, yarpinhaw, yargin, yv'hketv (1), yakinha (2)

May be a title, but seems to be from to shout or holler.

Others

Creek Word	Translation	Spellings
Alla	buckeye	Allo, v'lv (1)

Meaning unclear. Is a modern church with this name.

Arbasle	dreamer	arbasle
Charkee	agent	chargy, charkee, este-cako (1)
Chustee	pumpkin	chostee, choltu, cv'se (1)

Clan name may be pumpkin. Not listed in Swanton.

Funny	bone	funny, fune (1),
Halthon	fish hawk?	hathlan, hathlun, hathlon, hathslo

Not sure of meaning, fish hawk may refer to bird clan.

Hosar	lost	hospar, hose, hospar, hoosar, hosse (1)
Hotose	tired	hotose, hotese, hotose (1)
Hule	war	hule, hothle, horre (1)
Istihu	man, person	iste, isti, istar, ista, esta, esti, es'te (1), isti (3)
Kisse	head hair	kisse, kise, kizzy, kise (1)

Meaning unclear, seem to be woman's name. Often associated with a the color larne which is yellow/brown or green.

Kenalth	?	koneethlar, kemarlth, kenalth, kenalt, kinnarth, kenalth, kinmalt, kinnalt, kenith
Kowe	old time talk	kowe, kulwv (1)
Lartar	to cut up	lattar, laughty, latare (1), lofter, olfty, loftes, loftee, lofoe, lofto, lofti, loftie, lvfetv (1)
Larna	yellow, brown, greeen	larna, larnar, larney

Color yellow or brown or green, probably a womans name.

Lowse		lowse
Martupa	like	martup, martop, martvpome (1)
Marhe	tall	marhe, marke, mahitta

Meaning unclear. Distinct from the title chopko, tall, long, but only used rarely and usually with little as in Marheche. Used as first word unlike Chopko which is used as second or third.

Mista	chestnut, water oak	ormister, misto, miste, miske, meskvlwv (1)
Mochus	new	mochusse, mochus
Nitta	day, sun	nittar, nitti, nottoe, nettv (1)
Noche	sleep, rest	noche, nochecha nuckv (1)
Pathle	grass	pathle, pathhe, pie, pvhe (1), powis (3)
Pisse	breast	pissee
Poches	hatchet	pocheisse, pochus, pucuswuce (1)
Sattuck	apple	svtv-rakko
Soquaga	hog range	soquaga, sokoseke
Sowarkeche	?	sowwarheche, sowarhegatche, sowwarheeche, sowwarkeeche
Sowwike		sowwieke, sowwiheke, sowwihecky, sowwikay, sowyga, sowwika, sowwikey.

Suddesky		suddde, sutv (1).
Tecumseh		tecumsu

Name after the famous Shawnee warrior of Creek Wars. Only example in 1836-8 emigration roll, later common name.

Timpochee	coming near	timpuitci (2)

Name of famous Euchee leader.

Toffo	grasshopper	toffo,

Meaning unclear in names, may be a clan unknown to Swanton.

Yelka	?	yelka, yelkar,

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Note: che, chee or ge appended to end simply means little. For example, Harjochee Little Harjo.