HISTORIC CONTEXT FOR THE NATIVE AMERICAN THEME

MANAGEMENT REGION #3

1830 - 1941

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CHAPTER I

REGIONAL OVERVIEW

This Historic Context for the Native American Theme pertains to Management Region #3. Specifically, it addresses the experiences of the Cherokee and Creek Indians within those regions between 1830 and 1941. The study region encompasses virtually the entire northeastern quadrant of the State of Oklahoma. Technically, it includes the following eighteen counties: Adair, Cherokee, Craig, Creek, Delaware, McIntosh, Mayes, Muskogee, Okfuskee, Okmulgee, Osage, Ottawa, Pawnee, Rogers, Sequoyah, Tulsa, Wagoner and Washington. Because the study focuses on the Cherokee and Creek Indians, however, most events and properties associated with the Native American theme in Osage and Pawnee counties extend beyond its parameters. Relevant properties in that sector are included, but the reader should remember that they pertain to the Osage and Pawnee tribes. Altogether the eighteen counties included within this study incorporate 13,491 square miles, or 19 per cent of the total land area of the state (see Map I).

Extending from the Canadian River on the South to the Kansas border on the North and from the 97th meridian on the West to the Arkansas border on the East, Management Region #3 includes diverse geographical features. Topographically it ranges from rolling prairie to semi-mountainous terrain (Cookson Hills; Ozark Plateau). In elevation it rises from

approximately 400 feet above sea level in the Arkansas River Valley in Sequoyah County to over 1000 feet on the Ozark Plateau in Adair and Delaware counties. Vegetation is divided almost equally between tall grasses and forests of Oak and Hickory. Rainfall varies from 34 inches to 44 inches annually. In sum, Management Region #3 is a geographical borderland with the Southern Uplands on the east and the prairie-plains on the west.

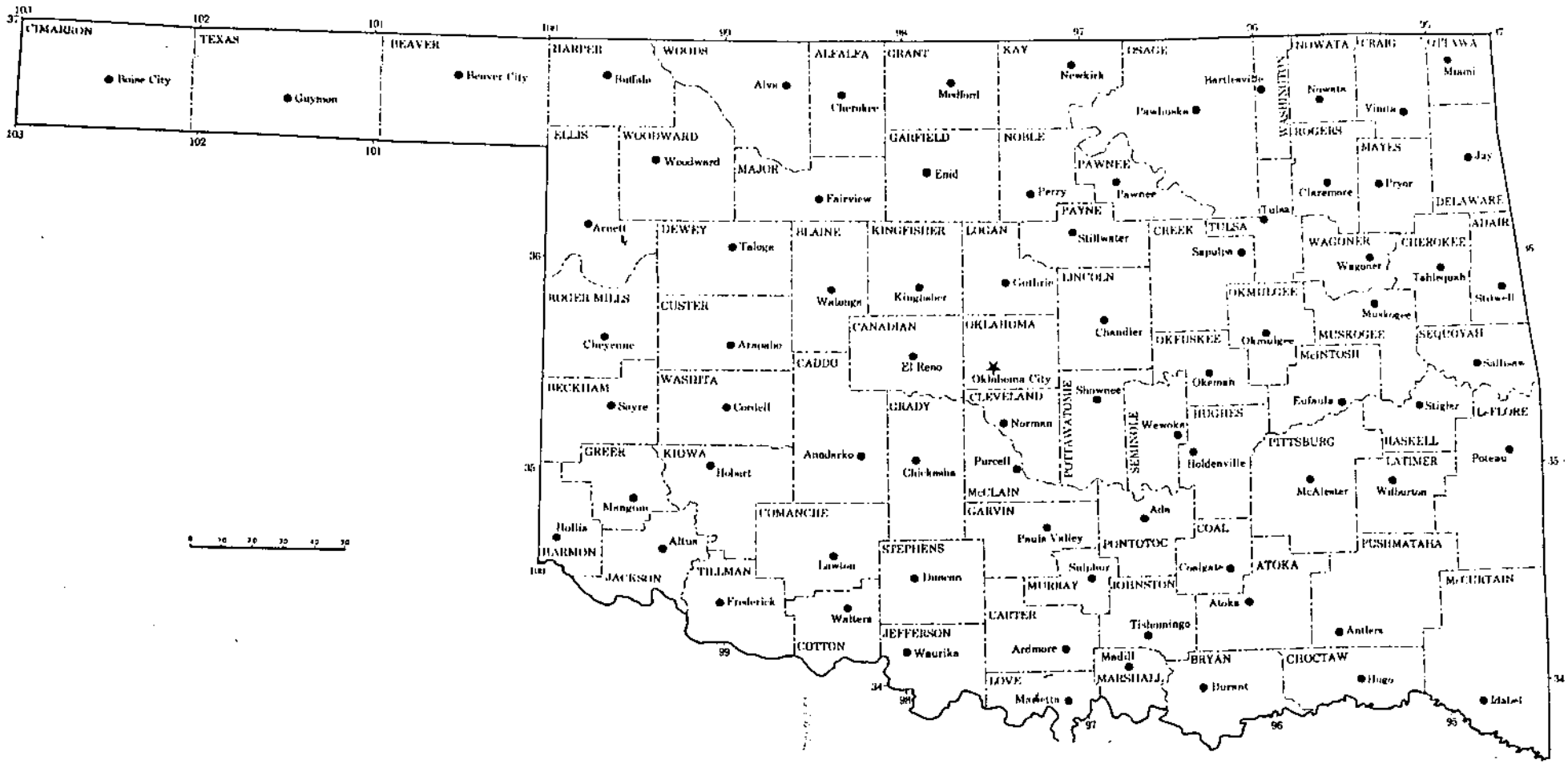
The economic profile of the study area is varied as well. Agriculturally, cotton, wheat and corn have been and are important. Over the years, ranching has become increasingly significant. Coal production was important as early as the 1870s, losing significance after the 1920s only to regain some of its vitality in the 1970s. Oil and gas production became noteworthy in the 1920s and then again in the 1970s and 1980s.

In the northeastern counties population has fluctuated significantly. In 1930 it totalled 701,221, or 29 per cent of all state residents. Mechanized agriculture, combined with the depression and New Deal policies, engendered a mass exodus from the region. Only in the last decade have population figures matched those of the pre-depression era, although in 1980 ten counties still had less population than 50 years earlier. Moreover, the estimated 1,088,900 persons residing in Management Regions #3 in 1984 constituted about one-third of Oklahoma's total population.

It is significant for this study that more than 81,000 Native Americans in 1980 lived in the project area, or just more than 48 per cent of Oklahoma's total Indian population. The greatest concentration of these was in Tulsa County with 19,059, followed distantly by Cherokee and Adair counties. Only one county had less than 1000 Indians; only three more had less than 2000.

The eighteen counties of the study area are more urbanized than other regions, in large part because of the influence of Tulsa. The second largest city in Oklahoma, Tulsa has a population of nearly 400,000. Muskogee's population exceeds 42,000, Bartlesville counts more than 34,000, Okmulgee has at least 16,000, Sapulpa 15,000 and Miami 14,000.

If the southeastern counties are more urbanized than much of the rest of the state, they also have less personal income. Statewide in 1982 per capita income averaged $9,511. In the study area, however, it averaged only $7383. And this amount was not evenly distributed. Among Native Americans in the study area, personal income was no more than one-half the income of non-Indians.



MAP I. BOUNDARIES OF MANAGEMENT REGION #3

CHAPTER II

THE NATIVE AMERICAN THEME

Much of Oklahoma history is Native American history. Indeed, it can be argued that the latter is the dominant theme of the former, at least through the nineteenth century. And in Management Region #3, the importance of the theme extends well into the twentieth century.

The eighteen northeastern counties that comprise the study area are primarily associated with the Cherokee and Creek Indian Tribes. They first arrived in significant numbers in 1830 and exercised sovereignty throughout the area until 1906. They did not abandon their homes with Oklahoma statehood but remained to contribute to the economic and social development of the area. The chronological parameters of the current study, therefore, are clear: 1830, when tribal relocation in southeastern Oklahoma began, to 1941, when, according to the fifty year criteria of the National Register, history ends and the present begins.

Dates, of course, are very arbitrary. The Native American Theme in Management Region #3 has its genesis in antiquity, not 1830. Many of Oklahoma's most important prehistoric sites are located there. The famous Lee Creek Complex in Sequoyah County, just north of the Spiro mound area, reveals a people of considerable religious, artistic, economic, and political sophistication. Bernard de la

economic, and political sophistication. Bernard de la Harpe, one of the earliest Europeans to traverse the area, in 1719 found large settlements of people (doubtless Caddos or Taovayas) in what is now McIntosh and Muskogee counties. Over the years other Frenchmen followed to engage the Indians in a network of trade that centered, among other places, at the Three Forks of the Arkansas River just north of present Muskogee.

Management Region #3, as well as all of Oklahoma, became United States Territory by virtue of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. At that time the Quapaws and Osages as well as the Wichitas, Caddos, Comanches, and Kiowas claimed the area. The United States, however, saw it as a place to relocate tribes who resided further east and obstructed American expansion west of the Appalachians. Early on federal officials negotiated with the resident tribes to relinquish their claims to the region so that they might reassign it to emigrant tribes. The Osages, for example, ceded title via Lovely's Purchase in 1816 to a seven million acre tract along the Arkansas-Oklahoma border north of Sallisaw as a hunting outlet for the Cherokees.

The Cherokees and Creeks were among those Indians that American officials wished to remove to Oklahoma. Their traditional domain included what is now Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina. Through the 1820s the two tribes objected to removal, but pressure was intense.

Finally, President Andrew Jackson and his administration during the 1830s forced them to cede their homelands and to relocate in the old Osage domain, or, put differently, in the current study area.

Substantial numbers of Creeks followed their so-called "Trail of Tears" to Oklahoma as early as 1827. The majority of their kinsmen joined them over the next ten years. By 1839 the Cherokees too removed from their ancestral domain to take up homes adjacent to the Creeks on their east and north. Most of the trauma of relocation was over by 1840.

The emigrants worked diligently to reestablish their social, economic, and political institutions. They did it so successfully that some historians call the decade of the 1850s "The Golden Years." "Golden" may be excessive, but certainly the existence of educational complexes, transportation facilities, substantial homesteads, government buildings, Christian churches and mission stations, and commercial centers reflected a successful and maturing society. Unfortunately this progress was interrupted by the American Civil War that began in 1861 and continued through 1865. Both tribes became participants in the struggle, and like the American Republic itself divided into two camps: some supported the Confederacy, while others retained an allegiance to the United States.

From the physical and social devastation of the war the Cherokees and Creeks only slowly recovered, if they ever

recovered. The post-war era brought new pressures with which to cope. The M. K. & T. railroad completed a line across the Cherokee and Creek nations by 1872. For the tribespeople it was a mixed blessing. The railroad gave them easier access to the consumer goods manufactured in "the states," a phenomenon graphically reflected in housing, and to markets for their own agriculture produce and natural resources. But it also brought unwelcome white intruders, criminals as well as entrepreneurs, who moved ruthlessly to control the economic resources of the tribe. One technique of exploitation was for white men to marry Indian women, after which they had full citizenship rights within the tribe (as, for example, Florian H. Nash of Fort Gibson).

It is significant that intermarried whites had with few exception always participated fully in the corporate life of the tribespeople. They were particularly influential economically; only slightly less in politics, education, and religion. Their mixed blood children assumed positions of influence as well. To exclude them from any study of the Cherokee and Creek experience in northeastern Oklahoma is to do violence to historical reality and to impose racial definitions that simply did not exist. Accordingly, herein "Native Americans" include Creeks and Cherokees by blood, by intermarriage, by tradition, and by cultural preference.

Given the arrival of the railroad and the cattle industry, by 1880 there were more white intruders than

Indians (regardless of ones definition) in the Cherokee and Creek nations, i.e. in what is now the eighteen northeastern Oklahoma counties. This demographic profile was matched elsewhere in Indian Territory, especially as the so-called Boomer Movement out of Kansas gained full force. Not surprisingly, the white majority soon called upon the federal government to end the Indian's common ownership of the land, to allot individual tracts to members of the tribes, and to open surplus lands for white settlement. For a time the Cherokees and Creeks as well as other tribes resisted these challenges to their sovereignty, but not for long.

In 1893, Congress authorized the Dawes Commission to negotiate with the Cherokees and Creeks (along with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles) for the allotment of tribal lands. When the Indians proved uncooperative, Congress directed the commission to go ahead with surveying tribal land and enrolling potential allottees. With this, further resistance seemed futile and the Cherokees in 1902 and the Creeks in 1901, finally signed documents agreeing to allotment and, by 1906, the termination of tribal government.

In 1907, of course, Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory were joined to form the State of Oklahoma. With that momentous event, the Creeks and Cherokees did not descend into oblivion. Appointed by the president of the

United States--belated in the case of the Cherokees--principal chiefs exercised some responsibilities for both tribes. Tribal revenues from one source or another for a time helped to finance schools such as Sequoyah High School, Euchee Boarding School, Nuyaka, Wealaka, and Eufaula. They also underwrote in part health care facilities at Tahlequah, Claremore and Vinita. And tribespeople worshipped in Christian churches that they themselves administered.

The continuing sense of identity was reinformed by federal government policy in the 1930s. Like the better known Indian Reorganization Act, the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 encouraged the Creeks and Cherokees, among others, to revitalize themselves economically and socially by organizing legally as a corporate entity. The legal provisions of the Indian New Deal the tribes generally ignored, but the spirit of the law that encouraged them to preserve their identity as a unique people they accepted eagerly.

Between 1830 and 1939, therefore, the Native American Theme in Management Regions #3 moved through a complete cycle. From the ashes of removal, it progressed first to a golden age of tribal achievement (1830-1860), then to a period of struggle and challenge (1860-1890), and finally returned to ashes with the loss of sovereignty (1890-1936). By 1939, however, the theme moved back to embrace an era of

Creek and Cherokee vigor and creativity. Chronologically as well as geographically, then, the present study is both legitimate and appropriate.

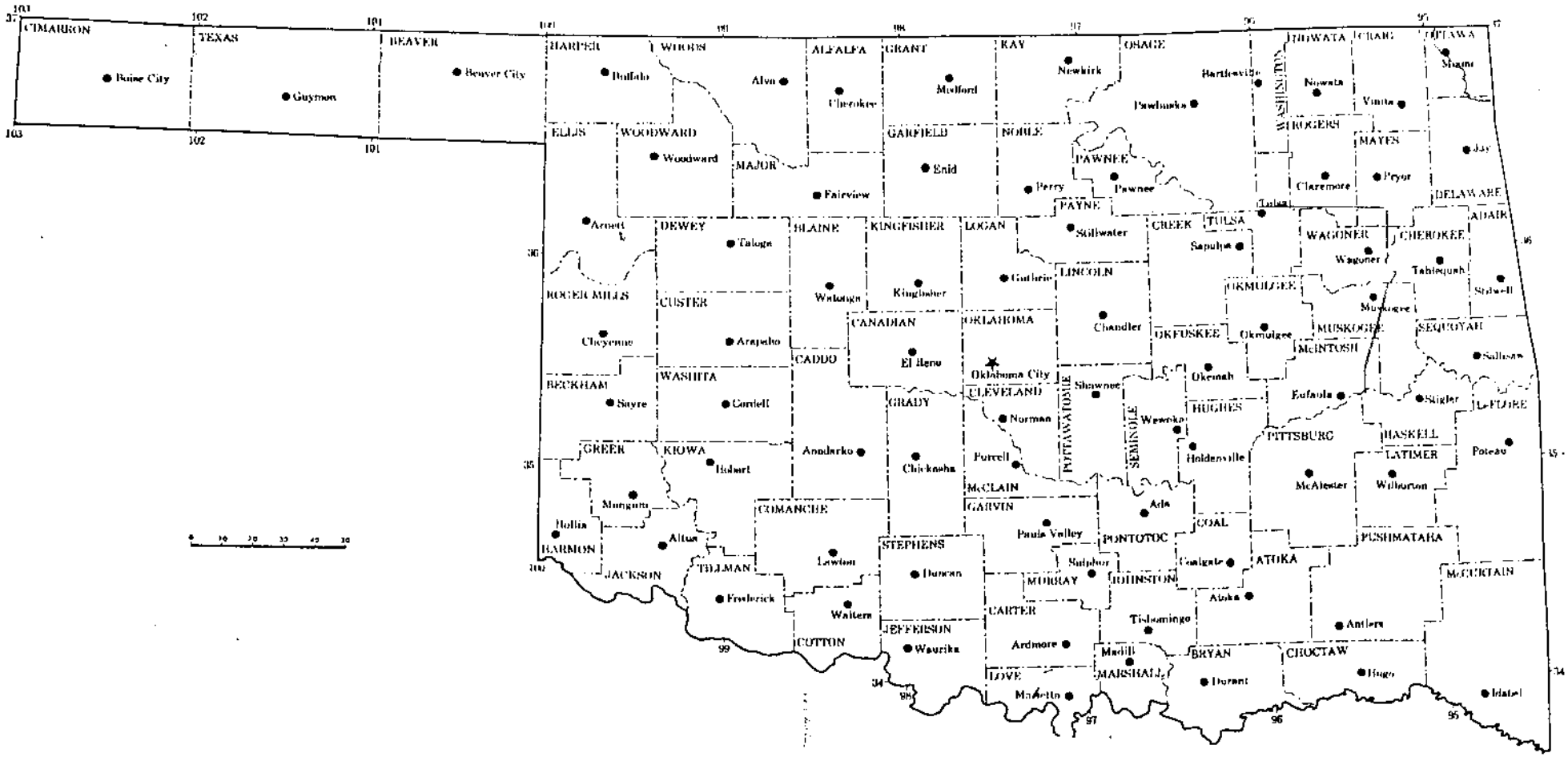
CHAPTER III

CHEROKEE TRIBAL HISTORY THROUGH 1941

The following brief essay is designed to provide a historical overview of the Creek Indians during the course of their residence in northeastern Oklahoma, or Management Region #3. A fuller appreciation of their story requires some knowledge of their cultural characteristics and their long occupation of what is now North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, but the focus of this essay is primarily upon the years between 1828 and 1941. The story of the Cherokees during much of that period is a least one-half of the story of the area encompassed in Management Region #3.

Ancient tribal legend asserts that the Cherokees are a people of fire. In the beginning they had been given a sacred fire which created and sustained life. So long as the fire burned, it was believed, the Cherokees would survive as a people. At the times the flame might smolder, but eventually it would burst forth to blaze again. For that reason traditional Cherokees carefully preserve that fire ceremonially in the hills of northern Sequoyah County. The flame is immortal, like the Cherokee people.'

Another legend has the first Cherokees emerging from the ground after other people were created. Still another, now virtually forgotten, mentions a prehistoric trek from a land toward the rising sun (east). Historical data and oral tradition tends to confirm this latter account. The tribe



MAP II: HISTORIC BOUNDARIES OF THE CHEROKEE NATION IN OKLAHOMA

did once live on the upper tributaries of the Ohio River south of the Iroquois Indians. Pushed by their immediate neighbors and other enemies, the Cherokees subsequently migrated southward to the Tennessee region, establishing their peace town, Echota, initially on the south bank of the Little Tennessee River.[2]

The genesis of the word "Cherokee," like the people themselves, is in dispute. John Swanton said it derived from the Creek "chilokee," meaning "people of a different speech." And in actual fact the Cherokee language is Iroquoian in structure rather than Muskogeean, the language of the Creek, Seminole, Choctaw and Chickasaw. The Cherokees call themselves "Tsa-la-gi" meaning "the real people."[3]

Whatever their source or name, in the sheltered valleys of the southern Appalachian Mountains the early Cherokees developed a culture that met their material and spiritual needs. Like neighboring tribes (Creeks and Choctaws), they sustained themselves primarily by agriculture, but also by hunting, fishing and gathering. In both individual family plots and collective fields they raised beans, sweet potatoes, corn, squash and tobacco. Tobacco was particularly important to the Cherokees, for it was central to social, religious and healing practices. From the forests they supplemented their diets with meat of the white tailed deer, bear, turkey, squirrel and other creatures as

well as a variety of fruits and nuts.[4]

The Cherokee people were not nomadic in their settlement habits but lived at one time or another in as many as 160 permanent villages along rivers and streams. Families occupied individual or multiple-family dwellings (the latter similar to the more famous Iroquois long house) constructed of wood and clay. Near the center of each village was a seven-sided clan house in which religious meetings, social gatherings and councils were held. In the center of this structure the sacred fire burned constantly.[5]

Traditional Cherokee society was organized into seven clans. These have been identified as the Bird, Blind Savannah, Deer, Holly, Long Hair, Paint and Wolf. Membership in a particular clan was determined matrilineally; marriage between members of the same clan was forbidden. The clans, indeed the entire tribe, was then divided into red (war) and white (peace) moieties. Each of the divisions was headed by a chief who derived power from the Council of the Seven Clans which met at Chota. The chief of the red moiety ruled during war; the chief of the white moiety ruled during peace.[6]

Annually the Cherokees celebrated different religious ceremonies. Typical of these festivals was the green corn, or busk, which for the Cherokees, like their woodland neighbors marked the beginning of a series of religious activities. The green corn was a literal and symbolic

cleansing at which time new food was consumed and old sins were forgiven.[7]

What impressed observers about the Cherokees, however, was not their religion or their social structure. More notable, at least according to botanist William Bartram, was their commitment to personal liberty and the tenacity with which they defended it. They were "...secret, deliberate and determined in their councils; honest, just and liberal, and always ready to sacrifice every pleasure and gratification, even their blood and life itself, to defend their territory and maintain their rights."[8] Bartram came to this conclusion in part because of how the Cherokees had dealt with Europeans since their arrival in the new world.

Numbering probably 30,000 to 35,000, the Cherokees had their first encounter with white men when the Spaniard Hernando de Soto invaded their North Carolina homeland. They gave the explorer and his men 300 little dogs and some corn as food. One hundred and thirty years passed before other Europeans--this time Englishmen from Virginia--visited their mountain homes again. This time the newcomers came to trade, establishing an economic relationship that soon became the basis of a diplomatic alliance that arrayed the Cherokees and the English against the Spanish in Florida, the French in the Mississippi Valley and the Indian allies of both. The interaction with the Europeans had devastating consequences for the tribespeople over the next century.[9]

Among other things, the relationship involved the Cherokees in bloody warfare. They battled the Tuscarora of Carolina in 1711, forcing their enemy to find refuge in the North. Four years later they drove the Shawnee out of the Cumberland River region and contributed to the defeat of the powerful Catawba and Yamassee tribes in South Carolina. About 1755 they forced the Creeks to abandon Upper Georgia.[10]

The Cherokees were very much involved in the French and Indian War in colonial America that began in 1756. England established three forts in their territory: Fort Prince George, Fort Loudon, and Fort Dobbs. The Cherokees were supposed to support the English, guarding the frontier along its southern flank, but when British officers and frontiersmen conducted themselves arrogantly and lawlessly, the tribespeople turned on their allies and attacked the forts. Peace was restored only with great effort, and the heroic leadership of peace (white) chief Attakullakulla.[11]

Relationships with the British colonial authorities remained tense in the aftermath of the French and Indian War. Virginia and Carolina frontiersmen pushed westward into the Cherokee domain establishing settlements despite treaty language and boundary lines. This and cessions of tribal hunting grounds caused Dragging Canoe, the son of Attakullakulla and by now an implacable foe of white men, to take a large group of Cherokees "over-the-hill" to establish

new villages and fires along Chickamauga Creek near present Chattanooga, Tennessee.[12]

Known as the Chickamaugas, this division of the tribe was considered the most hostile and warlike of the Cherokees. During the American Revolution and after, its warriors frequently attacked white settlements in eastern Tennessee.[13] And they constituted the largest number of those Cherokees who sought to preserve their traditional way of life by moving even further West into Arkansas and Texas after 1794.[14] Indeed, the Chickamaugas provided much of the leadership and most of the population of the so-called "Western Cherokees" who made the first tribal settlements in Oklahoma near the Arkansas and Illinois rivers. These included Tahlonteeskee, John Jolly, Young Tassel, The Bowl and Dutch.[15]

Although the Western Cherokees had long hunted in Oklahoma, clashing often with the Osages, they had no assigned domain there until 1828. In that year their leaders signed a treaty with the United States in which they agreed to exchange their Arkansas lands for seven million acres in northeastern Oklahoma as well as "a perpetual outlet west" from the main tract to the limits of United States territory (100th meridian). In 1829 the Western Cherokees left their Arkansas homes and moved to the new location. They established their capitol at Tahlonteeskee, on the Illinois River just west of Gore in Sequoyah County,

their council adopted written laws, and Christian missionaries established stations and schools (especially Dwight Mission) amongst them. They enjoyed a large measure of independence and sovereignty until their Eastern brethren joined them under the leadership of John Ross in 1839.[16]

Meanwhile, the main body of the Cherokees continued to live in the southern Appalachians. During the American Revolution, the tribespeople had little sympathy for the Patriots, whom they associated with white frontiersmen who coveted large portions of the Cherokee domain. In the aftermath of the war, United States officials remembered the tribe's coolness and demanded that its leaders sign a treaty defining both tribal boundaries and inter-governmental relationships. By the Treaty of Hopewell, signed in November, 1785, the Cherokees thus relinquished title to large tracts in Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina. They got little in return.[17]

With the organization of the Federal Republic and the administration of President George Washington, the United States adopted an Indian policy designed to "civilize" the tribespeople, to transform them into yeoman farmers who were both literate and Christian. Beginning in 1791, treaties signed with the Cherokees often provided annual annuity payments in exchange of land cessions. Money from this source the Cherokees generally used to purchase farming implements, spinning wheels and looms as well as to support

educational activities.[18]

Those tribal members living in Tennessee and Georgia, including the Chickamaugas, the so-called "Lower Towns," were the ones who most often took advantage of the civilizing program. Significantly, it was there, rather than in the mountains of North Carolina among the "Upper Towns" people, that most of those Cherokees who had Scottish, English, Welsh, Irish or German fathers lived. Among these were some of the most prominent families in tribal history: Adair, Vann, Chisholm, Ward, Hicks, Reese, Wickett, Fields, Coody, Shorey, Gunter, Ross, Lowry and Rogers. The progenitors of these families had come among the tribespeople as traders or refugee British Loyalists in the 18th Century, taken Cherokee wives and fathered a large number of children. Their descendants became agriculturalists of note, employed the first black slaves, controlled most of the commerce, manufactured cloth and built European-style homes.[19]

In addition to embracing a market economy, this contingent of Cherokees also promoted education and, secondarily, Christianity. In 1801 they consented to Moravian missionaries opening a school at Springplace, Georgia. In time, they permitted the missionaries to proclaim Christianity elsewhere than just on the mission compound. Two years later the Presbyterian Church General Assembly opened two additional schools near the Hiwassee

River. The American Board of Commissioners (ABCFM) established Brainerd Mission in 1817 at Chickamauga Town, and three years later, among the Western Cherokees in Arkansas, opened Dwight Mission. Baptist and Methodist mission work, activity that did not include schools, began in 1817 as well. But unlike other denominations in the field, the Baptists concentrated their work among the Cherokees living in the mountains of North Carolina.[20]

Significantly, the most dramatic educational advancement among the Cherokees had no relationship to the schools. Working independently at his home near Willstown, Alabama, Sequoyah created a syllabary consisting of 85 characters representing all the combination consonant and vowel sounds in the Cherokee language. News of the invention spread quickly among the tribespeople, who quickly saw the advantages of it. By 1822, most were writing and reading in the vernacular language. Successful among eastern Cherokees, Sequoyah took his syllabary to the Western Cherokee, first in Arkansas and then in Oklahoma. His single-bin log home is located northeast of Sallisaw in Sequoyah County, has been well preserved, and constitute's one of Oklahoma's most precious cultural resources.[21]

Those Eastern Cherokees interested in education and Christianity were usually those who were also interested in a governmental system more formal than traditionally employed by the tribe. After 1799 the Cherokees, although

seemingly united under Chief Little Turkey, remained divided regionally and politically. The Upper Towns met in council at Ustanali, while the Lower Towns met at Willstown, Alabama. Charles Hicks, one of the chiefs of the latter, apparently authored the first written law for the Cherokee Nation in 1808. Additional laws were codified by subsequent councils, to the extent that by 1821 the Cherokees were able to publish Laws of the Cherokee Nation.[22]

As more and more Cherokees came to embrace dramatic cultural change and adopted "civilized" habits and manners, the federal government continued to pressure them to relinquish even more of their domain. Between 1804 and 1819, representatives of the United States negotiated eight different treaties with the tribal leadership, by which the Cherokees ceded more than 24,000 square miles of their landed estate. With just more than 12,000 square miles left, many of the tribespeople feared for the continued existence of the Cherokee Nation. Over time they responded to the crisis in at least two distinct ways.

One response was to institute the law of blood. Chief of the Chickamauga, Doublehead, negotiated a secret clause in the Treaty of 1805 that reserved for his own use a valuable tract of land. Federal officials envisioned that Doublehead would sell the land, generating funds that would compensate him for his support of the treaty. For dealing falsely with his people the chief paid with his life, being

killed by a party led by Major Ridge and commissioned by the chiefs in accordance with tribal law.[23]

Yet the "legal" assassination of Doublehead did not stem the tide of demands for land cessions. Nor did it prevent a growing interest by government officials in removal of the Indians from their ancestral domain as a final solution to America's Indian problem. The idea, first articulated by President Thomas Jefferson, was to relocate them west of the Mississippi River where they would be left undisturbed either to pursue a traditional lifestyle or to adopt "civilized" pursuits at a more leisurely pace. Demands for Cherokee removal became a crescendo after 1817 when the federal government assigned specific lands in Arkansas to the Western Cherokees and urged their eastern brethren to join them.

As a strategy of defense against erosion of the land base and the possibility of removal, Lower Town leaders urged rapid adoption of civilized manners and habits by the general population.[24] They reasoned that it would be virtually impossible for the federal government to deal unjustly with a people of cultural attainments equal to those residing in any of the United States. The arrival of a large cadre of missionary educators and evangelists coincided with this decision. The publication of written laws had the same objective. Even more important was the adoption of a written constitution in 1827 that established

regular legislative, executive, and judicial departments.[75] The tribespeople elected John Ross, of Scottish and Cherokee descent, as principal chief.[76] Shortly thereafter the General Council established a national press which promptly published the Cherokee Phoenix newspaper as well as the constitution and laws of the tribe in both English and Cherokee.

This apparent metamorphosis of traditional Cherokee society into one with Euroamerican characteristics, however, did not quiet demands that the tribe remove from its ancestral domain. These actually reached a crescendo with the inauguration of President Andrew Jackson in early 1829. In another year, the federal congress had passed the Indian Removal Act that effectively required the Cherokees and other eastern Indian groups to negotiate treaties whereby they would relinquish their eastern homelands for new ones west of the Mississippi River. In the case of the Cherokees, they were to cede their ancestral domain in the east and merely join their brethren in the West (Oklahoma).

All Cherokees joined with John Ross in opposing the removal demands. When Georgia extended state law over the Cherokees, Chief John Ross took the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, but without success. A later decision by the court involving missionary Samuel Worcester tended to sustain the Cherokee position, but it failed to stem the tide of removal. When Jackson was reelected as president in 1832,

some of the tribal leadership concluded that further resistance to the inevitable was futile. This group, which included Major Ridge, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, Stand Watie, Andrew Ross, Robert and William Rogers, John Gunter, John A. Bell, Charles F. Foreman, George W. Adair and James Starr, ultimately negotiated a treaty of removal with the United States at New Echota in December, 1835. By its terms, the Eastern Cherokees were to cede their ancestral lands of 8 million acres to the United States and within two years remove to Oklahoma where they would be joint tenants on lands previously assigned (1828) to their western brethren.[27]

The majority of the tribe under Chief Ross's leadership vigorously protested the treaty by sending delegations and petitions to Washington and appealing to public opinion. Meanwhile, the signers of the New Echota treaty and their 2000 followers, now known as the Treaty Party, gathered their possessions and removed to northeastern Oklahoma without significant difficulty in the summer of 1837.[28] There they merged with the Western Cherokees, accepting without question the traditions and laws of those people and establishing quickly new homes and farms. The Ridge families purchased improvements on Honey Creek just southeast of present Grove and cleared ground for new fields, opened a well-stocked store, and dreamed of new schools. The Ross Party, on the other hand, behaved as if

removal could be avoided.[29]

But it could not. While Chief Ross presented one petition after another to government authorities in Washington, those same officials sent agents among the Eastern Cherokees to organize parties to emigrate West. The tribespeople greeted them generally with contempt, although some were persuaded to make the trip west. Groups that did go experienced considerable hardship and loss of life, the news of which confirmed the resolve of the majority to stay in their ancestral homeland. At that point--early 1838--federal officials determined to use force to expel the Cherokees. Accordingly, President Van Buren directed the U.S. Army under the command of General Winfield Scott to gather-up the tribespeople from their isolated homesteads and to march them to Oklahoma.[30]

With the Army in the field collecting the Cherokees and confining them in stockades, Chief Ross finally concluded that his followers were going to have to remove after all. He and the Council then petitioned General Scott to delay the removal until the fall, after the "sickly season" was past, and to permit the Cherokees themselves to organize the actual migration itself. Despite the increased cost, Scott agreed to the request.[31]

The move from the old eastern homeland to Northeastern Oklahoma, therefore, was managed by Cherokee leaders. Some 13,000 of the tribespeople were organized into thirteen

groups that on foot, by horseback, and in wagons made the 800 mile journey west via Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri. The first contingent left in late August, 1838; the last, led by John Ross, in late October. Some detachments were on the trail for almost six months; not all reached their destination until late March 1839. Along the way, all groups endured incredible hardships: from the weather, from the road, from inadequate clothing, from insufficient food, from sickness, from sorrow, from broken spirits. The number is uncertain, but probably as many as 4000--primarily the very young and the very old--died along the trail, during the earlier "round-up," or in the year following arrival.[32]

These hardships the majority of the Eastern Cherokees blamed on the Treaty Party, not on their own leaders who had advised them to resist the "inevitable" until force was employed. Their justifiable sense of having been wronged manifested itself in their relationships with the Western Cherokees and the Ridge Party, all of whom had preceded them to Oklahoma. In early June, 1839, at Double Springs on Fourteen Mile Creek (10 miles north of Fort Gibson; S, NW, NE Sec. 12, T17N, R21E) when the leaders of the 6,000 Western Cherokees, Chief John Brown, welcomed his 12,000 eastern brethren and invited them to participate fully in the established government, John Ross declined and insisted that the old settlers should join with the new settlers to

write a new constitution that would be submitted to the people for ratification. Moreover, when the Western Cherokees insisted that their government take precedence at least until the next scheduled elections, Ross and the Eastern Cherokees blamed the hated Ridge Party for their obstinacy.[33]

What followed was almost predictable. Apparently unknown to Ross, his supporters invoked the law of blood revenge. On June 22, 1839, Major Ridge, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot--all signers of the Treaty of New Echota--were brutally assassinated at the same time in different parts of the country. Stand Watie escaped the attempt, to then stand as a rallying point for those among the Ridge faction who promptly sought to avenge the death of their murdered leaders. For seven years a virtual blood feud existed between the two factions, perpetuated in part by the non-Indian enemies of the Cherokees in general and John Ross in particular. To many observers the only solution was a territorial division of the tribe between the Eastern and Western (including the Treaty Party) Cherokees.[34]

Certainly Ross acted in such a way as to incite factionalism, but he desired unity for the tribe rather than division, although upon his own terms. As leader of the majority, he issued a call for all Cherokees to meet on July 1, 1839, at the Illinois Camp Ground just southeast of present Tahlequah to organize a new government for all

members of the tribe. Few of the Western Cherokees came, but one, the venerable Sequoyah, took a leadership role. On July 12th, the convention adopted a formal "Act of Union" written by William Shorey Coody by which the Eastern and the Western Cherokees were declared "'one body politic, under the style and title of the Cherokee Nation.'" The following September at Tahlequah another convention drafted and adopted a constitution for the "unified" nation. A third convention, this time of the Western Cherokees, met the following June to accept the new constitution.[35]

The new organic law was not dissimilar to the document written in 1827. The executive power was vested in a principal chief and assistant chief elected every four years, the executive being advised by a five member council appointed by the legislative branch. A bicameral national council exercised legislative power: the "upper" national committee and the "lower" council composed of two and three delegates respectively elected from each of nine (ultimately) districts by voice vote. The judicial power was vested in a supreme court and inferior courts, the latter sitting in courthouses located in the different districts. The national capital was designated as Tahlequah and tribal land was to be held in common. The constitution of 1839 proved a durable document, serving the Cherokees during the course of their national existence, or until 1906.[36]

The Act of Union and the new constitution did not quell the factionalism rampant within the tribe as John Ross and his supporters had hoped. Yet despite the constant tension and frequent bloodshed, the Cherokees as a whole worked diligently to overcome the trauma of removal. They soon developed a satisfactory if not flourishing economy. Using plows and hoes furnished by the government, they planted corn, potatoes, peas, beans, pumpkins, and melons. So proficient were they that surpluses were frequently marketed to garrisons at Fort Gibson and Fort Wayne and to towns situated on Arkansas's border. Along the Arkansas and Illinois rivers some Cherokees produced cotton on plantations cultivated by slave labor. Throughout the nation the Indians also raised cattle, hogs, and horses. A society to promote agriculture and domestic arts was organized in August, 1845. Many continued to hunt the forests for white tailed deer, while some traveled to the Plains to hunt buffalo, but usually more for sport than food.[37]

A thriving commerce evolved simultaneously with agricultural reconstruction. Annuity payments and the profits from agriculture were used to purchase goods imported by several different Cherokee merchants, including John Ross and his brother, Lewis. Some entrepreneurs like Joseph Vann owned their own steamboats and shipped Cherokee products as far away as Cincinnati, Ohio, and New Orleans,

Louisiana. Others engaged in regular commerce with some of the different tribes who roamed the southern Plains.[38]

Cherokee merchants centered their operations in towns that grew up at strategic locations. The most important of these was Tahlequah, the tribal capital, although Fort Gibson, Park Hill and Flint vied for top honors. In 1851 the capital contained ten different mercantile establishments in addition to tribal government structures such as the supreme court building. No single road connected these commercial centers, although the military road that linked Fort Smith with Fort Gibson was a particularly important transportation route, as were the roads that connected Tahlequah to Fort Gibson and that angled northeast from Union Mission into Missouri (the northern segment of the so-called Texas Road).[39]

In their western domain the Cherokees also engaged in limited yet significant industrial activity. Dynamic members of the tribe operated grist and saw mills, while others established salt works and cotton gins. Some even entered into contracts to manufacture spinning wheels and looms for government distribution among the Indians. Activities of this type illustrated the ability of the Cherokees to adapt to a new environment.[40]

Religious observations and guidance begun prior to removal to Oklahoma continued on the way to and in the new homeland. The emigrant party led by Jesse Bushyhead, for

example, refused to travel on Sunday so as not to disturb their worship services. A Baptist convert, Bushyhead and his spiritual mentors, Evan and John Jones, father and son, reestablished their congregation and mission at a site just north of Westville. Dwight Mission had been opened among the Western Cherokees under the auspices of the ABCFM as early as 1829, but that work enlarged when Presbyterian Samuel A. Worcester, who accompanied later arrivals to Oklahoma, opened another mission at Park Hill. Still other ABCFM missions were located at Fairfield (near Stillwell) and Mount Zion (near ??). In the 1840s other denominations instituted successful mission efforts, including the Methodists at Riley's Chapel (near Park Hill) and the Moravians at New Springplace (near present Oaks). A bible society was organized as early as October, 1841; a temperance society even earlier. By the 1860s a host of Christian church buildings dotted the landscape of the new Cherokee Nation.[4]

The most remarkable social development of the post-removal era was the reconstruction of the Cherokee educational system. Again the early initiative was taken by the missionaries who carried on instruction at their different stations. In December, 1841, however, the National Council legislated a common school system of eleven schools in eight political districts, to be supported by the interest on the national school fund. Stephen Foreman, a

native Cherokee, was made superintendent. By 1843, there were 18 schools in operation with 500 pupils.[42]

"Higher" education, or high school, came somewhat later. The National Council in 1846 authorized construction of two seminaries, one for boys and one for girls to bring the "'system of education already commenced' 'to a further degree of maturity.'" The National Female Seminary was located three miles southeast of Tahlequah (currently on the grounds of Tsa-la-gi); the National Male Seminary was located just southwest of the city (now on the grounds of the Go-Ye Mission). Built by a party of Mormons en route to Utah, the principal building of each of the seminaries was three stories high and constructed of brick, while each contained dormitory rooms, a dining area, a kitchen, chapel and classrooms.[43]

Materials printed in both Cherokee and English within the Nation facilitated educational developments. Missionary Samuel Worcester removed to Oklahoma in 1835, bringing with him a printing press upon which he published religious books and pamphlets using both the Sequoyah syllabary and the English alphabet. He operated first from Union Mission (established for the Osages near Mazie), but in 1837 moved the press to Park Hill. Over the next several years, Worcester published 14,000,000 pages of Cherokee materials alone, including the Cherokee Almanac and the Cherokee Primer.[44]

In the midst of the removal crisis, the Cherokee Phoenix, the tribal newspaper published at New Echota, was forced to close down. Following the trek westward tribal authorities reestablished the national printing press at Tahlequah. The first issue of the Cherokee Advocate, edited by William P. Ross, appeared in September, 1844, with its columns in both English and Cherokee. The Cherokee Messenger, a periodical published by the Baptist missionaries, was issued later that year. Both publications, along with those from Park Hill, said Agent Pierce Butler in 1846, provided "an easy and cheap mode of diffusing instruction among the people, and stimulating them to further exertion and improvement...."[45]

The post-removal economic, social and cultural reconstruction of the Cherokee Nation occurred despite the bloody rivalry between the Ridge and Ross factions. Each year after 1839 adherents of the two sides sent delegations to Washington, made written appeals to the public, and assassinated some of their adversaries. There were so many claims and counterclaims that federal officials despaired of sorting them out and concluded that only a division of the tribal estate between the major factions would restore any semblance of peace. The specter of two Cherokee domains sobered John Ross especially. Now more inclined to negotiate, he and representatives of the Ridge Party and the Western Cherokees met in Washington with officials of the

United States and hammered out a treaty that united rather than divided the tribe.

The agreement was signed in August, 1846. Significantly, the United States agreed to deliver a patent (or warranty deed) to all the Cherokees for their Oklahoma lands, ending once and for all the dispute as to whether the Western or Eastern Cherokees owned them. The treaty instituted a general amnesty, stipulated that Cherokees charged with crimes against the Nation would be pardoned, compensated members of the Treaty Party, and especially the Ridge and Boudinot families,for losses suffered by them, authorized payment of Western Cherokee claims, and ordered that a long list of other matters be adjudicated. Both Stand Watie and John Ross assured President Polk that they would live in peace with each other; later they actually shook hands. For a time, quietness covered the land.[46]

But only for a time. The political division that the Cherokees had diverted the United States could not. In 1860 and 1861 the southern states withdrew from the federal union and organized the Confederate States of America. Almost immediately representatives of the confederacy descended upon the Cherokees and other tribes of the Indian territory to win their support for the war that was sure to come. At first, John Ross insisted upon Cherokee neutrality, but as an increasing number of his tribespeople, led by leaders of the old Ridge faction, embraced the southern cause, he

reversed his position. On October 7, 1861, at Tahlequah, Ross signed the treaty that allied the Cherokees with the Confederate States of America. That they were a slave-holding people, that their agent was a southern sympathizer, that their neighbors embraced the South, that some of them saw the strife of the United States as an opportunity to settle some old scores and that the U.S. Army had withdrawn from Indian Territory and suffered a military loss in Missouri all accounted for the treaty.[47]

Compared to neighboring tribes, the Cherokees played a dominant role in the war that followed. As Confederate allies, they raised two regiments of troops, one commanded by Colonel John Drew and comprised primarily of fullbloods, and another commanded by Colonel Stand Watie and made up of mixed bloods. Drew's regiment saw immediate action at Chusto Talasah (or Caving Springs just southeast of present Skiatook), the second of three battles that forced the neutral Indians led by Creek Opothleyaholo to retreat into Kansas. The December 6, 1861, conflict, however, ended in a Confederate defeat primarily because most of Drew's regiment refused to fight their fullblood Creek brothers and deserted the battlefield en masse. Confederate arms later prevailed at Chustenalah, just west of Skiatook in Osage County.[48]

Drew's Cherokee regiment reorganized in early 1862 and prepared itself for further military action. Although in a lost cause, in March it distinguished itself in battle at

Pea Ridge in northwest Arkansas. In June, in operation with Watie's regiment, it harassed effectively a Union expedition out of Kansas, until confronted at Locust Grove with artillery fire. The Cherokee troops retreated, with Drew's regiment regrouping to defend Tahlequah from the invaders. The latter was a futile effort, for when attacked on July 12 the defenders again deserted en masse. As a result, the Union troops took John Ross into custody, and Ross, disavowing the Confederate treaty he had signed the year before, removed with his family, official papers and tribal treasury to Philadelphia where he spent the rest of the war. Members of Drew's old unit and other Ross supporters subsequently reorganized as a Union regiment and then at Cowskin Prairie east of Grove in February, 1863, met to repudiate the Cherokee-Confederate alliance, denounce Stand Watie, abolish slavery, and organize a caretaker government to function until Chief Ross returned.[49]

Meanwhile, and with the eventual retreat of Union arms from Tahlequah back to Kansas, Confederate Cherokees elected Stand Watie to replace John Ross as chief. It was not a good time to hold the office he had long coveted. Union troops soon returned to the Nation in full force in the Spring, 1863, causing Watie and other Confederates to abandon Tahlequah, Fort Gibson, and Fort Smith. On July 17, moreover, they suffered a decisive defeat at Honey Springs, and then again the next month at Perryville. Thereafter the

Confederate Cherokee troops established temporary "forts" below the Arkansas and Canadian rivers, and their families sought refuge in camps on the Boggy, Blue, and Kiamichi rivers in the Choctaw Nation as well as in Texas.[50]

From time to time, Watie and troops loyal to him conducted raids, or "scouts" as he called them, into Union territory. These often resulted in sensational actions, if not brilliant military victories. Particularly notable was the capture of the J. R. Williams in June, 1864, and a train of 300 wagons at Cabin Creek in September. But these efforts were hardly enough to keep Confederate hopes alive in Indian Territory, especially after the defeat of General Robert E. Lee's army and its surrender to General U. S. Grant in April, 1865. The Confederate Cherokees recognized that further resistance was foolish. On June 23, now General Watie signed a capitulation agreement with representatives of the Union Army, the last Confederate general to do so.[51]

The United States government expected to sign a formal peace treaty with the Cherokees during the course of a council that met at Fort Smith in September, 1865. That negotiation revealed the depth of factionalism that still troubled the tribespeople. John Ross traveled from Philadelphia to insist that he represented the "real" Cherokee government, while Stand Watie rode in from the field to claim that honor for himself. With factionalized

leadership only part of the problem, the conference at Fort Smith failed to produce a formal peace treaty. With rival delegations representing both Southern and Northern Cherokees, that document was finally negotiated the following year in Washington, D.C. Its terms made clear that the alliance with the Confederacy had been a costly error, an error only made worse by the division within the tribal leadership that would not go away.[52]

The provisions of the Treaty of 1866 were severe, but not as severe as they might have been. They required Cherokees to abolish slavery and to grant the freedmen the privileges of tribal citizenship. They also insisted that the tribe grant right-of-ways to north-south and east-west railroads, that it encourage allotment of land in severalty, and that it endorse in principle a unified government for the Indian Territory to be known as "Oklahoma." The treaty also required the Cherokees to cede title to lands in Kansas (with proceeds of the sale going to the tribal treasury) and to give the federal government an option to settle other Indian tribes on the so-called Cherokee Outlet, although title remained with the tribe until settlement occurred.

Recovery from the economic and social devastation of the Civil War was no easy task. In time agriculture flourished as enterprising Cherokees imported white and black tenants to work and break the land. In 1872, Cherokee farmers produced 3 million bushels of corn, in addition to

substantial amounts of wheat, oats and potatoes. Growth and progress in adjoining states provided ready markets for all surplus production. Hog production was practiced everywhere, but cattle ranching became particularly important north and east of Tulsa. To show off their agricultural success, beginning in 1870 the Cherokees held annual fairs at Tahlequah.[53]

Especially dramatic was the arrival of the railroad. The Treaty of 1866 had granted right of way to one north-south and one east-west railroad through Indian Territory. The benefits of this provision fell to the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas, or the "Katy," which completed construction across the Cherokee country via the old Texas Road by early 1871, and to the Saint Louis and San Francisco, or "Frisco," which built west out of Missouri later that year to intersect the Katy at Vinita, a townsite recently established by E. C. Boudinot, the son of the slain Elias. Boudinot expected to make a fortune selling lots. After 1886 other railroads pushed into the Nation, including the Kansas and Arkansas Valley Railway. By Oklahoma statehood in 1907, nine roads traversed the Cherokee Nation.[54]

Just as dramatic were developments in the Cherokee Outlet just west of the Osage and smaller reservations. Immediately after the Civil War Texans drove large cattle herds northward across Indian Territory in general and the Outlet in specific to markets in Kansas. Very quickly the

cattlemen adopted the practice of grazing their herds on the lush grasses of Indian Territory to fatten their stock just prior to sale. To get some return from this resource, the Cherokee National Council in 1879 sought to collect a grazing fee from non-Cherokee cattlemen. When this proved difficult to collect, tribal authorities four years later leased the entire Outlet to the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association for five years at $100,000, a sum later doubled. That the tract should be used for ranching rather than agriculture homesteading offended many white farmers. Pressure from them and from "Boomers" led by David L. Payne caused the federal government to purchase the Outlet from the Cherokees in March, 1893, for $8.5 million and open it to settlement by run in September.[55]

These and other revenues enabled the Cherokees to pay the expenses of governmental activities. These included costs associated with running the government itself (executive, legislative and judicial), publishing the Cherokee Advocate (which continued to appear in both English and Cherokee), maintaining delegations to Washington, construction of a new capital building in Tahlequah, and operating the educational system. The latter was the single largest enterprise of the tribe. In addition to the male seminary and the female seminary (relocated to Tahlequah itself, now on the campus of NEOSU), it maintained 75 public schools that enrolled more than 2,200 Indian students (in

1877), opened three schools that accepted only children of former slaves, and organized special institutions for orphans (Salina), the blind and deaf, and the insane (Park Hill).[56]

That the Cherokees were able to undertake and carry out such substantial governmental tasks suggested a political maturity not previously achieved. Indeed, the factional strife that marked the ante-bellum era became little more than a painful memory after 1870. New political groups formed that were explained more by reactions to "modernization" programs for the Cherokee Nation than by blood feuds of the past. Conservative fullbloods who had once supported John Ross and abolition joined with mixed bloods who had stood with Stand Watie and owned slaves to form the so-called Downing Party, led by Lewis Downing, an ex-Union officer. The new group wrested political power from the old Union Cherokees who rallied around W.P. Ross, the nephew of John, as the National Party. The debate between the two groups produced very healthy dialogue.[57]

According to the Treaty of 1866, the Cherokees were to open up their domain for the settlement of Indians previously situated in Kansas. While most of those who took advantage of this provision purchased lands and set up their own governments west of the Osage Nation in the Outlet, at least two purchased lands within the Nation proper and became Cherokee citizens. These included nearly a 1000

Delawares led by Chief Sarcoxie who took up homes just west of Alluwe in 1867-1868, and nearly 800 Shawnees who settled primarily in what is now northern Craig County near Blue Jacket. Income received from the sale of land to these two people was welcomed by Cherokee authorities, who always found the tribal treasury inadequate.[58]

The economic activities going on within the Cherokee Nation after the Civil War affected it profoundly. The influx of tenants, railroad employees, and cowboys raised the number of non-Indians from only hundreds in 1865 to 29,000 in 1890 (or 40 percent of the total). Lawlessness was rampant, especially along the railroads. Consumption of alcohol was excessive. National and county Cherokee officials were virtually powerless if not defenseless to combat the lack of order. They gained some relief, however, when the Federal Court for the Western District of Arkansas sitting at Fort Smith and presided over between 1875 and 1896 by Judge Isaac C. Parker extended jurisdiction over the Cherokee Nation.[59]

Under these conditions the ability of the Cherokees to maintain their Nation was problematic. The passage of the Dawes Allotment Act in 1887 by the U.S. Congress made that ability even more tenuous. That legislation did not apply to the Cherokees and others of the Five Civilized Tribes but did foreshadow a somewhat later effort to force the tribes to terminate their independent governments and to allot

their domains in individual tracts to members of the tribes. In March, 1893, Congress created the so-called Dawes Commission and directed it to negotiate with the Cherokees a termination of tribal government. When the Cherokee leadership proved reluctant to negotiate, Congress responded by giving the Dawes Commission even more authority.[60]

Fearful that allotment might be imposed upon them unilaterally, the Cherokees as a whole finally consented to the third allotment agreement negotiated by their leadership with the Dawes Commission in August, 1902. This agreement provided that the entire tribal domain should be allocated among the citizens in tracts of not more than 110 acres of average value; that homestead allotments (40 acres) would remain inalienable and non-taxable for 21 years; that the portion of the allotment not designated homestead would be inalienable for 5 years; that the Dawes Commission would evaluate town lots, sell and distribute proceeds to Cherokee citizens; that 157,600 acres should be set aside for allotment to Delaware-Cherokee citizens; and that tribal government would terminate March 4, 1906. Legislation in 1906 authorized the president to appoint a principal chief of the tribe that would serve at the pleasure of the federal government in the post-allotment era.[61]

Before allotment of the tribal estate could proceed, it was necessary to establish a roll of Cherokee citizens. Although a census in 1880 was used as a basis, enrollment

was complicated by the fact that many persons improperly declared their citizenship, requiring lengthy judicial proceedings. The roll as finally established enumerated 36,619 Cherokees (including 1000 Delawares and Shawnees), 4,919 freedmen, and 286 whites. Even as the roll was being finalized, allotment occurred whereby each enrolled tribesperson received 110 acres of averaged value land. It soon became apparent, however, that there was not enough land to go around. At that point, Congress provided that each citizen who failed to receive his share should be paid $651.20 from tribal funds. More than 2700 persons qualified for this payment. Other allottees who did not receive the full amount of land to which they were entitled were compensated for the value of their shortage.[62]

Although Cherokee authorities had little choice but to accept allotment of the tribal estate, some of the more conservative tribespeople refused to accede to the process. Most of these were Knighthawk Keetoowahs, the very traditional element of the old Keetoowah Society reformed in the 1860s. Led by Redbird Smith, they expressed their dissatisfaction with allotment by refusing to cooperate with the Dawes Commission, even to the point of not accepting legal papers assigning specific tracts to them. Indeed, as late as 1912 some 2000 Cherokees had refused to claim their individual allotments.[63]

Once the tribal government was terminated and the

tribal estate was allotted, the Cherokees found themselves as citizens of the new state of Oklahoma which entered the Union on November 16, 1907. They had little opportunity to capitalize upon their "blessings." Their land allotments, which were to have been protected--held in trust--by the federal government for as long as 21 years, were placed immediately at risk by grafters and guardians. White grafters, for example, leased allotments for a mere pittance. When Congress in 1908 removed restrictions against alienation of title from allotments assigned to intermarried whites, freedmen, and mixed-blood Cherokees with less than one-half Indian blood, they gained control of the land through intimidation, deceit, and fraud--at a fraction of its value. Some willed their property to grafters in return for a lifetime monthly pension of $10 only to meet an untimely death from carbolic acid or ground glass. Also court-appointed guardians would lease the allotment of their minor charges to a real estate dealer for a particle of its worth and then in a separate transaction share the profits of the person so favored.[64]

The federal government as guardian did little to prevent this exploitation of the Choctaws. By the late 1920s, nine of every ten allotments from which restrictions were removed were lost to the allottee. Awaking to this fact, Congress acted in 1928 and 1932 to preserve the inheritance of those tribespeople of more than one-half

Indian blood: it extended restrictions on the alienation of title until 1956.

In the three decades following the demise of the Cherokee Nation itself, the identity of the Cherokees as a distinct people was in great jeopardy. The last elected chief of the tribe, W. C. Rogers, a resident of Skiatook, continued in office after 1906 at the pleasure of the president to preside over the final affairs of the terminated tribal government. During his tenure the capitol and other office buildings both in and out of Tahlequah passed into the control of others; the tribal school system closed down permanently in 1913; 50,000 acres of unallotted lands were sold on the open market, with the proceeds paid in three small per capita installments in 1912, 1915, and 1916 (totalling $30.32). Most of the tribal funds received from the sale of the Cherokee Outlet and other invested funds had gone to compensate those who did not receive a land allotment.[65]

When Rogers died in 1917, the president for some reason failed to appoint someone else to succeed him as chief. Others of the Five Civilized Tribes had such officers, who, although only honorary, did provide a spokesperson for and symbolic representation of a particular historic people. Among the Cherokees that role was performed by the Nighthawk Keetoowah, who numbered 3,000 to 4,000 fullbloods, perpetuated the sacred fire and preserved the seven clans,

and as late as 1923 petitioned the federal government to restore the old order of things, "a common title to all Indians."[66]

It was the Nighthawks, unlike most other Oklahoma Indian groups, that endorsed the Indian Reorganization Act proposed by Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier in 1934. Collier, of course, was opposed to allotment and sympathetic to tribal traditions. When the provisions of the IRA were extended to Oklahoma tribes in 1935 via the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, the Kighthawk Keetoowahs were one of the few groups that organized under its provisions. Other New Deal programs benefitted the Cherokees in general: Works Progress Administration funds constructed a large hospital or annex at Tahlequah or Claremore. These projects, along with the continuing witness of the Keetoowahs, made clear that the Cherokees still existed as a people. In belated recognition of this President Franklin Roosevelt finally appointed a "chief" for the tribe in 1941, J. Bartley Milam.

How the Cherokees ultimately organized and revitalized themselves governmentally and socially is beyond the scope of this brief essay. Suffice it to say that they now have an elected Principal Chief and Council and that the administrative offices of the tribe are focused in Tahlequah where, and at Park Hill they also maintain vital cultural centers. Indians of Cherokee blood have increased from

36,619 in 1906 to ????? in 1990. At the same time there has been a steady decline of full bloods and a major geographic shift in the population. Rather than concentrating in one area, members of the tribe have taken up residence in numerous communities and states far distant from the old tribal domain. Yet Management Region #3 remains the home for most of the fullbloods and the spiritual residence for the largest part of the rest. It is here too that one finds evidences of a built environment that reflects the Cherokees' progression toward modernity.

END NOTES

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2. Muriel H. Wright, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman c. 1951), 58.

3. Russell Thornton, The Cherokees: A Population History (Lincoln, 1990), 8-9.

4. Subsistence patterns of the early Cherokees are best discussed in Charles Hudson, The Southeastern Indians (Knoxville, 1976), chapter 5.

5. Ibid., 213-216.

6. Pierce and Strickland, The Cherokee People, 14.

7. Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, 226-28.

8. Quoted in Pierce and Strickland, The Cherokee People, 13.

9. Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, 111-112.

10. Ibid., 438-441. See also Gary B. Nash, Red, White, and Black (2nd. ed.; Englewood, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1982), 133-37; 234-35, and David H. Corkran, The Cherokee Frontier, 1740-1762 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 15.

11. R. S., Cotterill, The Southern Indian (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 28-30.

12. William G. McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1886), 19-20.

13. Still the best study of this aspect of Cherokee history is found in John P. Brown, Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times.... (Kingsport: Southern Publishers, 1938).

14. Cotterill, The Southern Indians, 47ff; and McLoughlin, Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 31, 42. For a new study of the Texas Cherokees see Dianna Everett, The Texas Cherokees: A People Between Two Fires, 1819-1840 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990). Mary W. Clarke, Chief

Bowles and the Texas Cherokees (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971) is still useful.

15. Malone, Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956), 38-45; Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland, eds. Starr's History of the Cherokees (Fayetteville, Ark.: Indian Heritage Assn., 1968), 35-38; McLouglin, Cherokee Renascence, 56-57. As yet the best study of the Western Cherokees remains Robert P. Markham, "The Arkansas Cherokees: 1817-1828," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla., 1972).

16. See Brad Agnew, Fort Gibson, Terminal on the Trail of Tears (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), chapters 2 and 4 and Morris L. Wardell, A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 12.

17. McLouglin, Cherokee Renascence, 21.

18. Ibid., 33-57.

19. See Theda Perdue, Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 58-59; Rennard Strickland, Fire and Spirts: Cherokee Law from Clan to Court (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 49; McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, 20, 33; McLoughlin, Cherokees and Missionaries, 45.

20. McLoughlin, Cherokees and Missionaries, chapters 1, 2 and 6. See also Grant Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 352-55.

21. Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 371-75; McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, 350-365; McLoughlin, Cherokees and Missionaries, 83-85.

22. Strickland, Fire and the Spirits, 58; McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, chapter 2.

23. Strickland, Fire and the Spirits, 77; McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, 72-73. For an important study of the Cherokee law of blood, see John Phillip Reid, A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation (New York: New York University Press, 1970).

24. McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, chapter 18.

25. Strickland, Law and the Spirits, 65-66; McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, 232.

26. For the best biography of John Ross see Gary Moulton, John Ross, Cherokee Chief (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1978).

27. For exceptional analysis of the Treaty Party see Thurman Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy: The Story of the Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People (New York: Macmillan, 1970). A newer study with essentially the same positive interpretation of the Ridges is John Ehle, Trail of Tears (???). Of the latter, see chapter 19 especially.

28. Grant Foreman, Indian Removal (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 277-78; Ehle, Trail of Tears, 363-372.

29. Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy, chapter 12; Ehle, Trail of Tears, chapter 22; Foreman, Indian Removal, 273-285.

30. Ehle, Trail of Tears, chapter 20; Foreman, Indian Removal, chapter 23.

31. Moulton, John Ross, 91.

32. Ehle, Trail of Tears, chapter 21; Foreman, Indian Removal, chapter 24; Moulton, John Ross, 97-101.

33. Agnew, Fort Gibson, chapter 13; Moulton, John Ross, 109-110; Wardell, Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 14-15; Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 292-94.

34. The Ridge party assassinations are well covered by Wilkins, Ehle, Wardell, Moulton and Foreman. The best account, however, is found in Gerald A. Reed, "The Ross-Watie Conflict: Factionalism in the Cherokee Nation, 1839-1865" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla., 1967).

35. See Moulton, John Ross, 115-117 and Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, chapter 12. Reed's dissertation, cited above, is also most helpful in detailing the consequences of tribal factionalism.

36. Moulton, John Ross, 118; Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 303-307; Wardell, A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 33-34; 43-46.

37. Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 352-361, 376-78; see also Norman A. Graebner, "Pioneer Indian Agriculture in Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma 23 (Autumn 1945): 232-48, and Strickland, Fire and the Spirits, 80.

38. Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 377.

39. Ibid., 377. See also Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Park Hill (Muskogee: Star Printery, 1948) and the early chapters of C. W. "Dub" West, Tahlequah and the Cherokee Nation, 1841-1941 (Muskogee: Muscogee Publishing Co., 1978).

40. See Reid A. Holland, "Life in the Cherokee Nation, 1855-1860," Chronicles of Oklahoma 49 (Autumn 1971): 284-301.

41. Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes, 360-367; 375. See also O. B. Campbell, Mission to the Cherokees: The Story of Dwight Mission (Oklahoma City: Metro Press, 1973); Althea Leah Bass, Cherokee Messenger (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936).

42. Wright, Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 67.

43. Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 393; Wright, Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 67.

44. Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes, 365-367; A. M. Gibson, Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, c. 1981), 88-89.

45. Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 367-77; for Butler's comment see page 390. See also William P. Ross, The Life and Times of Hon. William P. Ross (Fort Smith: Weldon & Williams, 1893).

46. Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 349-50; Moulton, John Ross, 152-153.

47. Perdue, Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, chapter 7, contains a good summary of the causes of Cherokee involvement in the American Civil War.

48. W. Craig Gaines, The Confederate Cherokees: John Drew's Regiment of Mounted Rifles (Baton Rogue: Louisiana State University, c. 1989) tells this part of the Cherokee story as well as any one, although with not as great as accuracy as Larry C. Rampp and Donald L. Rampp, The Civil War in the Indian Territory (Austin: Presidial Press, 1975).

49. Ibid., and Moulton, John Ross, chapter 10.

50. For Confederate action in Indian territory see Kenny A. Franks, Stand Watie and the Agony of the Cherokee Nation (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1979).

51. Ibid.

52. Moulton, John Ross, chapter 11; Wardell, Political History of the Cherokee Nation, chapter 9.

53. The most complete account of post-war economic development of the Cherokee Nation, especially the construction of railroads and the ranging of cattle, is found in H. Craig Miner, The Corporation and the Indian: Tribal Sovereignty and the Industrial Civilization in Indian Territory, 1865-1907 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976).

54. Wardell, A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 258-263.

55. See William W. Savage, Jr., The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1973).

56. N. B. Johnson, "The Cherokee Orphan Asylum," Chronicles of Oklahoma 44 (Autumn 1966): 275-280.

57. John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Lewis Downing and Chief Charles Thompson (Oochalata)," Chronicles of Oklahoma 16 (Sept. 1938): 315-325. In the same journal Meserve has also published biographical sketches of a number of other Cherokee chiefs. See also Gaston L. Litton, "The Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation," Chronicles of Oklahoma 15 (Sept. 1937): 253-270.

58. Wardell, Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 217-220.

59. Wardell, Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 263-73.

60. Angie Debo, And Still the Waters Run (Princeton: Princeton University Press, c. 1972), pp. 23-38. For a good overview of the Dawes Allotment Act see D. S. Otis, The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973).

61. Debo, And Still the Waters Run, 50; Wardell, A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 326-27.

62. Debo, And Still the Waters Run, 50.

63. Ibid., 57-58; Wardell, A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 328.

64. The only thorough study of this ugly circumstance is found in Debo, And Still the Waters Run, 61-125.

65. Debo, And Still the Waters Run, 260, 266, 276 and 286.

66. See Janet Campbell and Archie Sam, "The Primal Fire Lingers," Chronicles of Oklahoma 53 (Winter 1975-76): 463-475; Janey B. Hendrix, "Redbird Smith and the Nighthawk Keetoowahs," Journal of Cherokee Studies 8 (Fall 1983): 22-39 and 73-86; Daniel F. Littlefield, "Utopian Dreams of the Cherokee Fullbloods: 1890-1930," Journal of the West 10 (1971): 404-427.

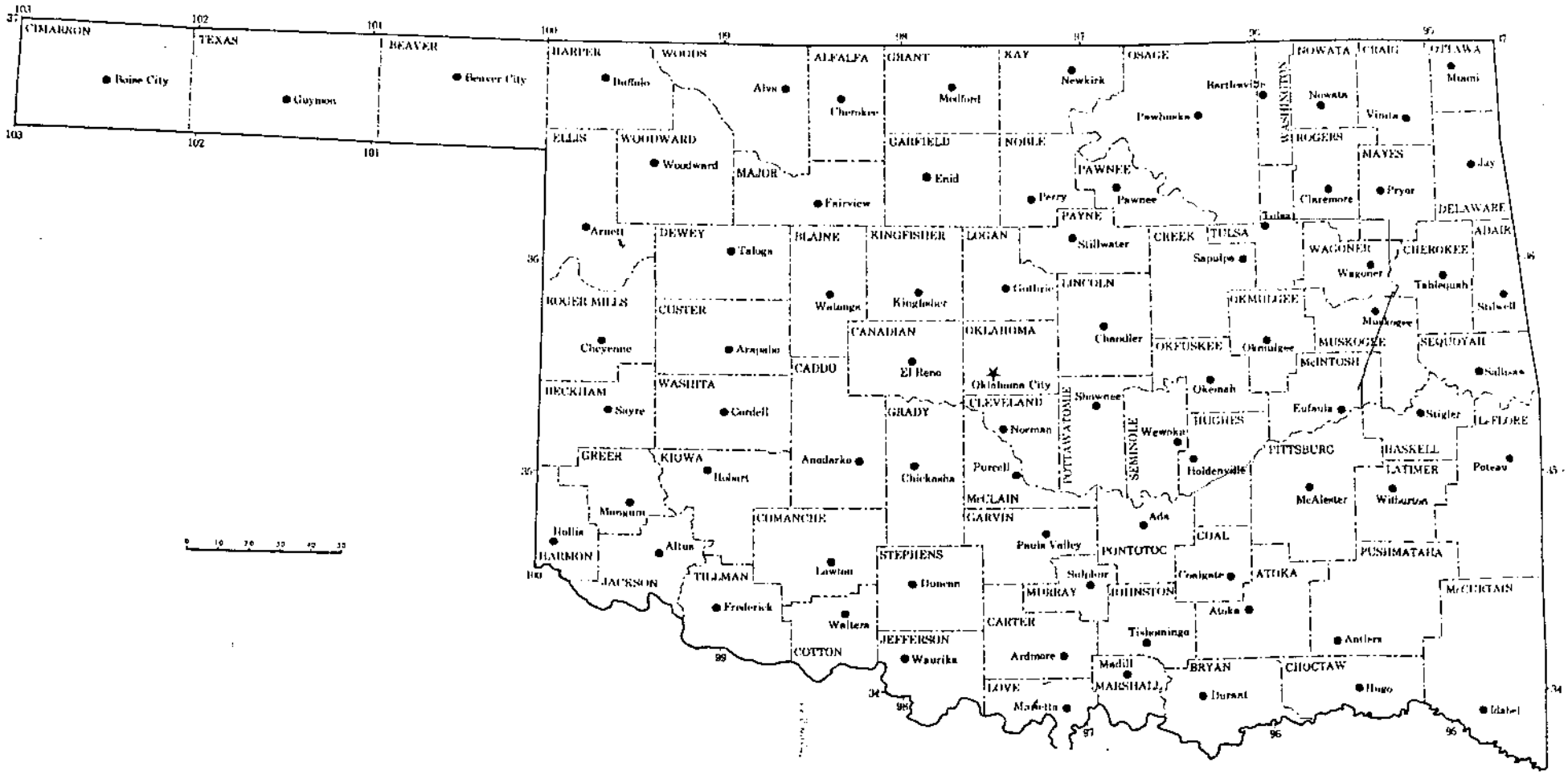
CHAPTER IV

CREEK TRIBAL HISTORY THROUGH 1941

The following brief essay is designed to provide a historical overview of the Creek Indians during the course of their residence in northeastern Oklahoma, or Management Region #3. A more complete comprehension of their story requires some knowledge of their cultural characteristics and their long occupation of what is now Georgia and Alabama, but the focus of this essay is primarily upon the years between 1828 and 1941. The story of the Creeks during most of that time is at least one-half of the story of the area encompassed in Management Region #3.[1]

According to tribal legend, the Creeks were a people of great antiquity. They once lived in the far West, but before time was even counted they had migrated southeast across a great river to a new homeland. In what is now Alabama and Georgia, they took up homes and established villages along beautiful streams, where, according to one early observer, "the lands are fertile, the water clean and well tasted, and the air extremely pure."[2]

The early Creeks developed in this new environment a material culture that provided each one an opportunity for an abundant life. Like neighboring tribes (Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee), they sustained themselves primarily by agriculture, but also by hunting, fishing and gathering. In collective fields as well as small individual



MAP III: HISTORIC BOUNDARIES OF THE CREEK NATION IN OKLAHOMA

family plots they raised corn, beans, pumpkins, squash and sweet potatoes. From the forests they took white tailed deer, bears, turkeys, squirrels, and other creatures, as well as a variety of fruits and nuts.[3]

The Creek people lived in single family dwelling units. These were constructed of vertical poles plastered over with mud and covered by a roof of bark shingles. A family might build as many as four such structures on a single lot: one for summer living; another for winter; one for food storage; still another as a warehouse for trade goods.[4]

The different structures that made up a family dwelling were usually clustered together with similar units belonging to other families into a single community. Indeed, the Creeks were known for their ordered towns, central to each of which was a large, open area used for governmental and social activities. This space contained a round building where the town council met in the winter, a square where the council met in the summer and the sacred fire burned continuously, and a chunky yard, or ball field. Family dwellings surrounded the public area.[5]

Of the 50 or so different towns (settlement centers) of the Creeks in 1800, the oldest were Cusseta, Coweta, Arbeka, Coosa and Tuckabatchee. Most citizens of these communities were Muskogee speakers, which was also the language of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. Over time the five towns came to cooperate on issues of mutual concern within

the context of a loose knit social and governmental network, or confederacy. Other Muskogee and even non-Muskogee speaking people, namely the Alabama, Hitchiti, Euchi, and Shawnee became a part of the network as well.[6]

The different towns came to be divided into "Upper" and "Lower" districts. The Upper Towns were in the Appalachian highlands on the north, while the Lower Towns were congregated on the flatlands and along the river bottoms in the south. A principal miko or chief, a second miko, and a council of elders comprised town government. The miko was elected for life and was often succeeded by his son. He also represented the town in the General Council of the nation, although cooperation with the council and other towns seldom prevented independence of action.

"Decentralized," therefore, best described the nature of the national government. Mikos of the different towns did meet together from time to time in a general council that included other distinguished men. The Miko who presided over these meetings, which rotated among the larger towns, was known as the principal chief. By the 18th century, on the other hand, the tribespeople recognized two mikos as principal chiefs: one for the Upper Creeks and another for the Lower Creeks. Principal chiefs and "national" council notwithstanding, the various towns retained their sovereignty and often acted without direction from the central council.

The basic social unit of the Creeks was the family. The families were organized into clans, groupings that extended into virtually every town. The Wind Clan was the most influential. In it as in all clans, membership was determined through the female line and marriage between members was forbidden.[7]

The Creeks were a religious people. Assisted by lesser spirits, the Master of Breath, or Esaugeta Emissee, watched over the tribespeople. Holy Men within each town sought his approval for the various activities of the community. This was especially true during the busk festival. Known as the Green Corn Dance, the busk was a time of spiritual renewal when new fires were lit, bodies were purged with the "Black Drink," old grudges were forgiven, and new corn filled the town's granaries. It was the most important annual ritual of the Creeks.[8]

Social occasions brought the tribe together as often as religious ceremonies. The Creeks frequently gathered to play so-called "stick ball" in the town chunky yard. On these occasions opposing teams attempted to throw a deer hide ball by means of sticks with attached leather cups through goals at either end of the yard. When rival towns played each other, the contest was more like a war, with at least one or two players loosing their lives.[9]

Unlike other Native Americans, the Creek people were not known for their religious fervor or warlike qualities.

Most were more interested in economic and social activities and better known for their generous hospitality and diplomatic skills. The Creeks never failed to welcome into their midst individuals and groups of different ethnic origins and social customs, including both Europeans and Africans.

Numbering 30,000 or more strong, the Creeks got their first glimpse of white men in 1540 when the Spaniard Hernando de Soto invaded their Georgia and Alabama homeland. More than a century elapsed before other Europeans disturbed them seriously again. The heirs of de Soto settled Florida and sent padres north to found missions in Georgia; the French came south from Canada to settle the Gulf Coast; the English established Charleston in Carolina and pushed westward to exploit the commercial potential of the land and the people. Each wanted to recruit the Creeks for a particular national purpose, ambitions that had devastating consequences for the tribespeople over the next one hundred years.

Among other things, the Europeans involved the Creeks in bloody warfare. At one time or another during the last of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, the Creeks fought the Spanish, French and the English. If they fought the Spanish, it was usually as an ally of the French or English; if they fought the French, it was as an ally of England or Spain. But by the time of the American

Revolution, the Creeks had settled upon a principal diplomatic and commercial ally: England."

The advent of the white man cost the tribespeople their economic and political independence. Before the arrival of the European, the Creeks had sustained themselves by the harvest of the field and the results of the hunt. After the white man arrived, they used much of the proceeds of their economic effort, especially deer hides, to trade for various creature comforts (guns, pots, cloth, etc). In time they became so dependent upon those products of civilization that they neglected their agriculture and compromised their sovereignty. Indeed, by the 1760s they hunted for deer well beyond their traditional domain."

The party who profited most from this activity was the trader who often lived among and intermarried with the Creeks. In 1800 a substantial majority of these men had English, especially Scottish, surnames. These included McGillivray, McIntosh, Grierson (Grayson), Hawkins, Barnard and Kennard. Because of the matrilineal descent system of the tribe, children of the unions between the traders and Creek women suffered no loss of cast and usually rose to positions of political and economic leadership, if not nationwide at least in the towns.

Alexander McGillivrary is a case in point. The son of Lachlan McGillivrary, a Scotch trader, and Sehoy Marchand, of French-Creek descent and a member of the Wind Clan, he

was born in 1740 and educated in Charleston, South Carolina. Alexander returned to his mother's people when the American Revolutionary War broke out and his Loyalist father sailed back to Scotland. Given his education and membership in the Wind Clan, he soon won the esteem of most Creeks. Although associated with the Lower Towns, at the urging of the chief of the Upper Creeks, Alexander became principal chief of the nation. His selection had a unifying effect on the confederacy.[12]

Long influenced by the British, it is no wonder that during the American Revolution the Creeks allied with England. Alexander was commissioned a colonel in the British Army; some of the tribespeople participated in military skirmishes; more British goods were available for trade. But on the whole, support of England during the American war for independence was an unfortunate choice. When the English lost, signed the Peace of Paris in 1783 and withdrew from United States territory, the Creeks were without strong political allies and commercial partners.[13]

Georgia frontiersmen soon took advantage of this weakness and demanded that the new government of the United States exact major land concessions from the tribe. At that point McGillivrary sought diplomatic and economic support from Spain, who continued to control Louisiana and had recently reoccupied Florida. More specifically, he turned to the British trading firm of Panton, Leslie and Company

that operated out of Pensacola under a Spanish license. From the latter he won commercial concessions for the Creeks, as well as a partnership for himself. With trade goods assured, he told the Georgians and United States officials that land cessions were out of the question.[14]

Concerned about the tension on the southern border, President George Washington--a year after his inauguration--invited McGillivrary and a delegation of Creeks to New York City. He entertained them royally and succeeded in having them sign a treaty that stipulated an annual annuity payment to the tribe, defined tribal boundaries, forbade white encroachment, recognized tribal sovereignty and promised farm implements and stock to further "civilization." Washington saw the accord as the basis of a friendship between the United States and the Creek people.[15]

Over the next fifteen years, three other treaties were signed, e.g. 1795, 1802 and 1805. These documents made clear what the federal government really expected of the tribespeople--cession of their entire tribal domain. Indeed, between 1790 and 1805 the Creeks relinquished title to what is now one-third of the entire state of Georgia. They also granted the United States the right to construct a road through a portion of the tribal domain that remained. For these concessions they received the usual annual annuity and additional support for the civilization program.[16]

U. S. Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins administered the

government's "civilizing" activities. Designed to change the Creeks into yeoman farmers, they meant that Hawkins spent most of his time teaching the tribespeople how to plow and plant and harvest cotton, and how to breed and herd and process beef cattle. He also succeeded in getting them to formalize and centralize their governmental system. Annually the towns were to send five or six delegates to a meeting of the national Council which would legislate for the Creeks and even elected a principal chief.[17]

Hawkins's civilization program and the continual pressure for additional land cessions produced a good bit of tension within the tribe. Many residents of the Lower Towns who were intermarried whites or the children of white-Creek marriages supported the changes. Others, especially those from the Upper Towns, responded first with passive resistance and finally with bloody conflict. The so-called Red Stick War (1812-1814) was just as much a Creek civil war, between "traditionalists" who opposed Hawkins's program and "progressives" who supported it, as it was a contest between Indians and whites.

The war itself was part of a broader conflict between England and the United States that in time produced the War of 1812. In the West it involved the great Shawnee leader, Tecumseh, who, with England's help, sought to forge a coalition of tribes that would impede further American expansion by refusing to negotiate additional land cessions.

Tecumseh visited the Creeks in 1811, sharing with them his message of resistance and "vision of glory." Some tribespeople sympathetic to him--known as Red Sticks--attacked and killed a party of whites the next year. Led by Menawa and William Weatherford, most of the Upper Creek towns demonstrated their frustration with Hawkins's civilization program and joined in the rebellion. In August 1813, they fell on the white settlement around and troops stationed at Fort Mims in southwestern Alabama, killing some 300.[18]

Andrew Jackson organized the American response to the "massacre." With a force that included Tennessee militia as well as contingents of Creek warriors (led by William McIntosh, chief of the Lower Towns), Cherokee and Choctaw warriors, Jackson surrounded and attacked the Red Stick fortification at Horeshoe Bend in northeastern Alabama in March, 1814. Some 500 of the defenders were killed. Most of the remaining Red Sticks surrendered within a few weeks.

For the resistance of the conservatives, the entire confederation paid an enormous price. By the Treaty of Fort Jackson negotiated in late 1814, the Creek people were required to cede nearly 22 million acres in what is now southern Alabama and Georgia. The United States paid nothing for the land, although they did compensate the "loyal" Creeks some $195,000 for their losses, most of which was not paid for 40 years. The federal government later

sold the 1814 cession for more than $11 million.[19]

The Red Stick War and subsequent treaty deepened the factional division within the Creek community. William McIntosh and his progressive/Lower Town/mixed-blood followers tended to blame Menawa and his traditionalist/Upper Town/fullblood adherents for the war and the land loss. Yet factional lines were never clear cut. The smaller McIntosh party included traditionalists, Upper Towns people, and fullbloods, just as Menawa numbered progressives, Lower Towns people and mixed bloods among his supporters. The distinction between the two was clear only in the different attitudes expressed toward removal.

The idea of removing Native Americans from the east side to the west side of the Mississippi River was first officially articulated by President Thomas Jefferson in 1803. But not until after the conclusion of the War of 1812 did the federal government pursue the policy with vigor. On several occasions United States envoys urged the Creeks to abandon their ancestral domain and establish new homes in the west where advancement in "civilized" pursuits could occur at a more leisurely pace. They failed to tell the Indians, of course, that in the West they would not be around to impede the agricultural development of their Alabama homeland by white frontiersmen. Both major factions of the tribe spurned the proposal for a decade. Indeed, the Creek national council unanimously stipulated in May, 1824

that any person who would sign a land cession treaty--the first step to removal--would suffer the pain of death.[20]

For reasons that are not yet altogether clear, Principal Chief William McIntosh consented to just such a treaty in less than a year later at Indian Springs. By its terms, the Creeks were to relinquish most of their eastern lands in an exchange for a tract in Indian Territory (now eastern Oklahoma), to which they would remove voluntarily. For McIntosh and his supporters, apparently, removal was less offensive than remaining where Creek land was overrun by whites and Creek personal property, especially slaves, was always subject to theft. But his change of heart cost him his life: under orders from the Council, Menawa and warriors from Okfuskee Town on May 1, 1825, shot him down and destroyed his property. Many of his supporters suffered the same fate.

The death of McIntosh caused President John Quincy Adams to set aside the Treaty of Indian Springs and to order negotiation of a new one. At the president's invitation, Menawa and Opothle Yahola, with the approval of the tribal council, journeyed to Washington, D.C. to begin new talks. There in January, 1826 they consented to cede virtually all of the Creek lands remaining in Georgia for $217,000 and a $20,000 annuity. Moreover, the followers of the late Chief McIntosh were given the privilege of moving to Indian Territory where the United States agreed to purchase a

country for them.[21]

The McIntosh faction soon took advantage of the removal option. Five of their leaders in late 1827 toured the proposed refuge and selected as a settlement site a location north of the Arkansas and west of the Verdigris and Grand rivers, in what is now Wagoner County, Oklahoma. Early the next year, Chilly McIntosh, the son of William, led a large contingent of Lower Towns people to the new domain, the precise boundaries of which were ultimately defined in 1833. By then well over 3000 Creeks lived on the Arkansas River, not all of whom, however, were of the McIntosh party. Roley McIntosh, the half-brother of William, served as chief of the western tribespeople.[22]

Meanwhile the majority of the Creeks still in Alabama learned that the white man's thirst for their land would not be quenched. Pressured by President Andrew Jackson, the United States Congress passed legislation in 1830 that effectively required the Creeks, as well as other native neighbors, to negotiate a treaty whereby they too would relinquish their homeland and follow the McIntosh party and others to eastern Oklahoma. Under this mandate a Creek delegation including Opothle Yahola and Benjamin Marshall signed at Washington in March, 1832 another treaty whereby the tribe ceded its remaining Alabama lands (5.2 million acres) and consented to emigrate to the West as soon as possible. The United States agreed to pay the cost of the

removal and of subsistence for one year after arrival in Oklahoma. Significantly, no Creek was to be compelled to emigrate; indeed, ninety chiefs and the head of every other family had the right to select a 320 acre allotment (altogether as many as 2.2 million acres) and remain in Alabama or at the end of five years sell it and remove West.

Following the negotiation of the "removal" treaty, confusion reigned among the 22,000 eastern Creeks. 21,000 determined to take one of the "every other" allotments; no more than 650 prepared to emigrate. Fraudulent land sales brought unprincipled white men into the old tribal domain, who then either harassed Creeks working in their own fields or dispossessed them from their legal allotment. When Eneah Emathla, chief of the Lower Creeks, organized a bloody resistance to this invasion, United States officials announced the existence of a "Creek War" and assembled 12,000 troops commanded by General Winfield Scott to quell the disturbance. Even Opothle Yaholo supplied forces to aid Scott. The military operation provided the pretext necessary to justify removal of the eastern Creeks to Indian Territory.[23]

Although the treaty of 1832 had provided specifically to the contrary, Creek emigration to Oklahoma was forced. Eneah Emathla and his 2500 proud followers were chained and hand cuffed and as prisoners either marched overland or rode steamboats to Indian Territory. Others not involved in the

"war" were treated almost as rudely, arriving at Fort Gibson in a wretched condition. 3500 of their kinspeople, or 20 percent, had died on the way. By the spring of 1837, according to officials, some 15,000 eastern Creeks had completed the trek to the West. Of this number, another 20 percent died from exposure and fevers during the first year in Indian Territory.[24]

The 3000 Western Creeks, led by Chief Roley McIntosh and living on the Arkansas River for nearly a decade, viewed the arrival of their kinsmen with some alarm. Most of the newcomers had opposed the McIntosh faction. But they worried unnecessarily. Eneah Emathla and other traditional chiefs of the emigrants resigned and agreed to submit to the leadership of the westerners, with Roley McIntosh as chief. (This deferral stood in stark contrast to the behavior of the Cherokees: the later emigrants under John Ross demanded that the Western Cherokees abandon their governmental structure and adopt those of his larger party.) Moreover, the recent emigrants consented to take up homes along the Deep Fork, North Canadian and Canadian rivers south of the Lower townspeople and west of present Eufaula.[25]

Life in Indian Territory for the reunited tribe required a myriad of adjustments. Town life, for example, under went considerable change. The more traditional Upper Creeks named their new settlements after their old towns and generally constructed a square. Few, however, built chunky

yards or round houses, excepting Tuckabatchee on the Canadian River near the village of Melette. Over time town members moved to individual agricultural plots beyond the confines--sometimes far distant--of the particular settlement itself. Yet wherever the Creeks resided they continued to regard themselves as members of one specific town or another.[26]

Each town recognized a principal chief, or "king," and a second chief, both of which were elected for life. In addition to local duties, the principal chief represented the town in the regional (Upper Towns or Lower Towns) or national (General) councils. Both the Upper Towns and the Lower Towns had their own "district" chiefs that presided separately over local councils but sat side by side during the course of the general council.[27] The latter met at "High Spring" just west of Council Hill in Muskogee County (Sec. 31, T13N, R15E, Okmulgee County). Written laws passed by the council and approved by the two chiefs were administered locally by so-called lawyers and enforced, depending upon the region, by lighthorsemen or councilors.[28]

Although the early years were most difficult, the Creeks soon developed a satisfactory if not flourishing economy. Using hoes and plows furnished initially by the government, they planted corn, rice, sweet and irish potatoes, peas, beans, pumpkins, and melons. So proficient were they that surpluses (100,000 bushels of corn in 1846)

were often marketed to garrisons at Fort Gibson and Fort Smith. Large herds of cattle and hogs ranged the rolling prairies and river bottoms, with 1000 of the later in 1846 marketed in Illinois, Missouri and Indiana. Along the Arkansas River some Lower Creeks produced cotton on plantations cultivated by slave labor. Everywhere peach orchards abounded. Many continued to hunt the forests for white tailed deer and smaller game, while some even journeyed to the Plains in search of buffalo. But the hunt was primarily for sport rather than food.[29]

As before removal, black slavery continued as an important element of the Creek economy in Indian Territory. Possession of slaves was most common among Lower Creeks along the Arkansas River (Benjamin Marshall presumably owned 100 of the bondsmen), although the practice extended to Upper Creeks as well (Opothle Yahola invested substantially in slaves). In 1860, 267 Creeks owned 1651 blacks. But slavery within the tribe was different than in the American South. It rested more easily upon the bondsman, who lived on individual farms, accumulated personal property, acted as interpreters, and moved about with relative freedom. Often there was intermarriage between blacks and Creeks, despite the fact that the practice was not generally accepted socially. Prejudice against blacks was not just restricted to the white man![30]

Although not as strong as among the Choctaws, a

significant commerce evolved among the Creeks after removal. Annuity payments and the profits from agriculture were used to purchase goods imported by enterprising Creek merchants such as Napoleon B. Hawkins, D. N. McIntosh, G. W. Stidham, and later G. W. Grayson. In addition to operating business at various locations, these and other entrepreneurs usually had extensive agricultural and ranching operations. Stidham, for example, controlled several, slave worked farms in the Choska bottom (east of Haskell) and owned others in Texas.[31]

Creek merchants and licensed white traders generally centered their operations in settlements (as opposed to traditional Creek Towns) that grew up at strategic locations. Among these were the Creek Agency just west of Muskogee, North Fork Town near Eufaula, and Edwards Store south of Holdenville. The economic importance of these centers is explained in part by the fact that they were near rivers intersected by major thoroughfares such as the north-south Texas Road and the east-west California Trail.[32]

The Creeks also engaged in a limited amount of industrial activity. A handful of dynamic members of the tribe operated grist and saw mills as well as salt works and cotton gins. And most families engaged in some kind of cottage industry, especially spinning cotton thread and looming cloth. Significantly, the conservative Upper Creeks were more enterprising in home manufacturing than the

"progressive" Lower Creeks whose energy levels were apparently dulled because of their dependence upon slave labor.[33]

In construction, Creek houses varied little from what would have been typical of the rural South. The most prosperous lived in large, double log houses that often had two stories and featured verandas. Others with some economic means occupied a double bin cabin with a dog trot. Most of the tribespeople, however, lived in a one-room log cabin with dirt or puncheon floors, with a roof of thin oak boards, and with a fireplace of stone and a chimney of mud-covered sticks. The structure was often chinked with mud. Cooking was usually done on an open fire out of doors.[34]

Prior to removal the Creeks as a whole had shown only limited interest in either Christianity or European-style education. Once in Indian Territory that situation did not change, and with regard to Christianity it got worse. Believers were harassed if not punished. Tribal officials prevented white missionaries from working among the Creeks, but native Christians could preach without serious interference. Creek Baptists were such effective ministers that they established several congregations and even converted some of the tribal elite, namely Chilly McIntosh and Moty Kennard. In time they persuaded the council to admit a white missionary, Henry F. Buckner, who later met with notable success in and around North Fork Town. In the

wake of a major religious revival in 1848, the council raised all restrictions against the practice of Christianity.[35]

Denominations other than the Baptists were also active among the Creeks. In 1842 Presbyterian Robert Loughbridge founded Koweta Mission near present Coweta in Wagoner County. Eight years later he also established Tullahassee Mission just east of Porter, in Wagoner County as well. At this facility the Reverend William S. and Mrs. (Ann Eliza Worcester) Robertson provided memorable service to the Creek people.[36] In 1850, Methodist T. B. Ruble opened Asbury Manual Labor School and mission just north of North Fork Town. Actually Ruble "reopened" the institution, for a predecessor had once functioned in the old Creek country.[37]

The missions established and operated by the Presbyterians and the Methodists were clearly more than religious facilities. They were also major educational institutions. Koweta, Tullahassee and Asbury admitted boarding students and offered a curriculum devoted to the 3-Rs as well as to vocational training. Hardly as elaborate as schools among the Choctaws or Cherokees, they were nonetheless seeds that would multiply and bring forth a richer harvest after the Civil War.

In Indian Territory the Creek people continued their ancient tradition of accepting remnants of once powerful tribes as members of their own community. The more notable

of these groups included the Appalachicola, Alabama, Koasati, Hitchiti, Natchez, and Yuchi. On their southern and western frontier they also welcomed small settlements of Quapaw, Shawnee, Delaware, Kickapoo, and Piankashaw. Not subject to the Creek government, these tribes nonetheless provided a defensive buffer for the peaceful Creeks between themselves and the more aggressive occupants of the Great Plains.[38]

At the behest of the federal government, for a time the Creeks accepted the Seminole people on the same basis as other groups. In 1833 the objective of the Treaty of Fort Gibson was to "reunite" the two as one people. The Creeks were willing, but not the Seminoles. First, the Seminoles resisted removal from Florida. Second, when they finally arrived in Indian Territory, they refused to settle among the Creeks, fearful apparently that the host tribespeople would steal their black slaves. Tension between the two prevailed until 1856 when the Creeks formally ceded part of their western territory to the Seminoles for their use as an independent and separate homeland.[39]

The Seminoles excepting, the Creeks generally succeeded in creating a community that tolerated and even harmonized social differentness. That experience, no doubt, encouraged them to take a leading role in fostering cooperation between the myriad of tribes that lived in Indian Territory. Accordingly, in 1842, 1847, and 1859 the Creeks hosted

within the borders of their nation an international council attended by delegates from the Plains tribes as well as the Five Tribes.[40]

The Creeks were able to enhance good will among their Indian neighbors, but they had no impact upon their white neighbors. In 1861, Civil War broke out between the northern and southern states, a war that eventually engulfed the Creek people and split them asunder as well. The greater part of the Lower Towns people supported the Confederate States of America. That they were a slave-holding people, that their agent was a southern sympathizer, that their Texas and Arkansas neighbors embraced the South, that they feared the Republican Party, and that the United States Army withdrew its forces from Indian Territory all accounted for that support. Chief Moty Kennard and other headmen signed a formal treaty of alliance with the Confederacy on July 12, 1861.[41]

Led by Opothle Yahola, many Creeks, especially Upper Towns Creeks opposed this course of action. They maintained that the tribe should remain neutral in the white man's war at the very least, or continue to support the "old treaties" at the best. Confederate Creeks and other Southern Indians interpreted this view as treasonous and prepared to attack the so-called "Loyal Indians," then 5000 strong and encamped on the Deep Fork River. In November, Opothle Yahola and his people sought refuge within Union Army lines in Kansas.

They reached there in late December, but not before they had fought three major battles (Round Mountain near Yale; Caving Springs just southeast of Skiatook; and Chustenahlah west of Skiatook), endured a blizzard and suffered many casualties.[42]

Confederate arms generally controlled Indian Territory until July, 1863. On the 17th of that month Union forces attacked Southern defenders, including two Creek regiments, deployed at Honey Springs near present Okata in McIntosh County. The Union Army carried the day, causing Confederate troops to retreat south of the Canadian River. Southern Creek families promptly abandoned their "unguarded" homes and fled south to the Choctaw nation, establishing temporary camps on the Boggy, Blue, and Kiamichi rivers. There they suffered as much or more as their kinsmen had done previously in Kansas.[43]

From time to time Creek Confederate troops pushed north of the Canadian River on raids designed to harass Union forces and to capture supplies. Usually attached to the Confederate commander, Stand Watie, they campaigned before Fort Smith, helped capture the J. R. Williams, took part in the Flat Rock Creek massacre of black Union soldiers and participated in the second battle of Cabin Creek. This action notwithstanding, Creek warriors were not noted for their discipline or military prowess.[44]

They were probably glad when the fighting stopped in

the spring of 1865 and the tribal leadership, from both Union and Confederate sides, were called together to meet at Fort Smith in September to negotiate a peace with United States Commissioners. That conference failed to produce a formal peace treaty, although such a document was negotiated the following year in Washington, D. C. The 1866 treaty made it clear that the alliance with the Confederacy had been a costly mistake.

The Washington accord required the Creeks to cede the western 3.25 million acres of their domain for compensation of only 30 cents per acre. From the proceeds of this sale Opothle Yaholo were compensated $775,000 for losses they sustained during the recent war. A small portion of the ceded tract was then sold to the Seminoles at 50 cents per acre; the remainder was to be used for the resettlement of Kansas and other Indians. The treaty also required the tribal council to abolish slavery and to provide citizenship for the freedmen. It authorized right-of-way grants to north-south and east-west railroads; it encouraged the Creeks to allot their land in severalty; it required the tribe to participate in a governmental structure that would include all the tribes of Indian Territory.[45]

Recovery from the economic and social devastation of the Civil War was no easy task. In time agriculture flourished as enterprising Creeks imported white and black tenants to break and work the land. Cattle ranching became

particularly important in the prairie lands in the central and western part of the nation. By 1896, 61 men and companies leased one-third of the nation at 5 cents per acre, among them George Stidham and G. W. Grayson. More dramatic was the arrival of the railroad. The treaty of 1866 had granted right of way to two railroads through Indian Territory. The benefits of this provision fell to the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas, or the "Katy," which completed construction across the Creek country via the old Texas Road by the spring of 1872. Other lines, including the Frisco; the Kansas, Oklahoma and Gulf; the Midland Valley; the Fort Smith and Western; and the Missouri Pacific soon pushed into the nation. By 1902, almost 700 miles of line crisscrossed the tribal domain.[46]

These and other economic developments affected the tribe profoundly. The influx of tenants, railroad employees, and even government workers raised the number of non-Indians from less than 100 to well over 100,000 by 1907. Lawlessness was rampant, especially along the railroads. Consumption of alcohol was excessive. Creek national and town officials were virtually powerless if not defenseless to combat the lack of order. They gained some relief, however, when the Federal Court for the Western District of Arkansas sitting at Fort Smith and presided over between 1875 and 1896 by Judge Isaac C. Parker extended jurisdiction over the Creek nation.

Although outnumbered almost ten to one by white intruders, the Creeks maintained their national institutions and identity. In an attempt to establish political unity in the wake of the divisive Civil War, the Creeks met in late 1867 to adopt a constitution and code of criminal and civil law. The constitution established a two-house legislature (House of Kings and a House of Warriors) with membership elected by the different towns and provided for a principal chief and a second chief. It also divided the nation into 6 geographical districts with appropriate judicial and administrative officers. Simultaneously, the Creeks located their capitol at Okmulgee where the chief officed and the legislature met annually. In 1878 they constructed a new capitol building for the tribal government, a stone building that still stands.[47]

Sadly, factional strife did not end with the adoption of a new constitution. Before the Civil War, the tribe had divided largely along Upper Towns and Lower Towns divisions. After the war it was along cultural lines--those who wanted to hold on to the old ways and those who were willing to make accommodation to new ways. For many Creeks, the 1867 constitution was a progressive and long over-due development; but for others that instrument was an unfortunate compromise with the "old Indian law." Led by Oktarharsars Harjo (Sands), the latter group was outraged that elections were to be decided by ballots rather than by

a count of individuals who qued up behind their candidate. Their protest in 1871 was known as the "Sands Rebellion."[48]

Ten years later the nature of tribal government still spawned political factionalism. This time it resulted in the so-called "Green Peach War." When lighthorsemen disarmed some participants in an anti-constitution political gathering near Wewoka, Isparhecher organized and led a series of "military" actions against tribal authorities. Chief Samuel Checote responded by raising a 1000-man militia force and directing it to pursue the rebels until they surrendered. The chief also requested the United States Army to send troops to Okmulgee to protect the peace, a request that was honored and helped to speed a resolution to the conflict. In 1883, Isparhecher and Checote agreed to compromise their differences.[49]

Ironically, although faction-troubled at home, the Creeks continued to take a leadership role in inter-tribal cooperation. The United States considered the organization of some type of Indian Territory cooperative government--"Oklahoma"--a matter of considerable priority. The Creeks used this interest as a pretext to invite representatives of all tribes to meet at Okmulgee in late 1870 to write and adopt formal articles of cooperation. What emerged was the famous Okmulgee constitution, according to which delegates from the different Indian nations met annually for the next five years in the Creek capitol building to consider matters

of mutual importance.[50]

In the post-war era the Creeks also repaired much of the fabric of their community life. Although resources were minimal, they were at pains to reestablish their educational system. By 1871, 31 day schools were in operation; 25 years later there were 70. Tullahassee and Asbury were rebuilt, and new boarding schools were constructed: Eufaula High School, Wealaka, Nuyaka, Wetumka, Euchee and Coweta. Levering Mission east of Wetumka and the Creek Orphans Home near Okmulgee, as well as a school and a orphan's home for freedmen, virtually rounded out the tribal educational system. An additional dimension was provided by the Baptist operated Bacone College at Muskogee, where many talented young Creeks matriculated for advanced education. One of the more notable of these was poet Alexander Posey, who later edited the tribal newspaper, The Indian Journal.[51]

The years following the Civil War also brought a renewed interest in Christianity. Most leaders were active laymen in one denomination or another. The faithful erected small church buildings in serene settings for worship services, near which they also constructed a "brush arbor" to provide shelter for out-of-doors activities and established a cemetery where the dead were always covered by grave houses. Creek Baptists were strong enough and dedicated enough to send missionaries to the Plains tribes beginning in 1874.[52]

The ability of the Creeks to maintain their nation was jeopardized after 1887. In that year the United States Congress passed the Dawes Allotment Act, a measure that did not apply to the Creeks and others of the Five Tribes but did foreshadow a somewhat later effort to force the tribes to terminate their independent governments and to allot their domains in individual tracts to members of the tribes. In March 1893, Congress created the so-called Dawes Commission and directed it to negotiate with the Creeks a termination of tribal government. When the Creek leadership proved reluctant to negotiate, Congress responded by giving the Dawes Commission even more authority to achieve its policy objectives.[53]

In the meantime, the western border of the Creek nation had changed dramatically. On lands ceded by the tribe in 1866 the federal government had settled the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians as well as the Sac and Fox. Some 2 million acres remained unassigned, however. Under pressure from white settlers and railroad interests, that land was opened to settlement in the famous run of April 22, 1889. The federal government rapidly organized Oklahoma Territory and made plans to expand its borders with additional land runs and lotteries as western Indian reservations fell to the allotment "axe."

The presence of the Dawes Commission and the creation of Oklahoma Territory actually united the Creeks. In 1895

they elected conservative Isparhecher as principal chief and applauded his open defiance of government surveyors. Moderating his resistance enough to appoint a delegation to negotiate with the Dawes Commission in 1897, he and the council then rejected the recommendations of the Creek bargaining team. But this bellicose response to stated government policy was hardly realistic. In 1898, the United States Congress passed the Curtis Act mandating allotment, dictating sale of townsites, abolishing tribal courts and requiring approval by the president of all tribal laws. Another tribal delegation in 1900 reached a final agreement with the Dawes Commission regarding allotment. By it, every man, woman and child, including black freedmen, were to receive 160 acre allotments from the tribal domain, property that to a limited extent would be protected against alienation of title. Tribal government was to be terminated on or before March 4, 1906.[54]

In anticipation of allotment, the Dawes Commission had first surveyed the tribal domain according to the familiar rectangular pattern and then established a roll of Creek citizens. Survey teams ultimately chained out 3,072,813 acres in 4801 sections situated in 133 different townships. The enrollment process was complicated by the fact that many traditional Creeks led by Chitto Harjo (Crazy Snake) refused to step forward and identify themselves. When they resorted to whipping some of the tribespeople who cooperated with the

Dawes Commission (known as the Snake Rebellion), 94 were arrested, jailed and tried in Muskogee. The roll as finally established enumerated 11,952 Creeks and 6809 freedmen. The allotment process began in 1901, well before the census was completed.[55]

Once tribal government was terminated and the tribal estate was allotted, the Creeks found themselves as citizens of the new state of Oklahoma which entered the Union on November 16, 1907. They had little opportunity to capitalize upon their "blessings." Their land allotments, which were to have been protected--held in trust--by the federal government for 25 years, were placed immediately at risk by grafters and guardians. White grafters, for example, leased allotments for a mere pittance. When Congress in 1908 removed restrictions against alienation of title from allotments assigned to intermarried whites, freedmen, and mixed-blood Creeks with less than one-half Indian blood, they gained control of the land through intimidation, deceit, and fraud--at a fraction of its value. Some willed their property to grafters in return for a small lifetime pension only to meet an untimely and premature death. Also court-appointed guardians would lease the allotment of their minor charges to a real estate dealer for a particle of its worth and then in a separate transaction share the profits of the person so favored.[56]

The guardianship system had its greatest abuses after

oil was discovered on Creek lands in the years after 1901. The famous Glen Pool south of Tulsa began production in 1905; other lucrative strikes followed. Since mineral rights ran with individual allotments, royalty money was paid to the owner of record. If a Creek was still the owner and of more than one-half Indian blood, the money went first to the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs and then ultimately to the fortunate tribesperson. By 1907, some were receiving monthly checks of more than $2,000, the most notable of whom was Jackson Barnett. To gain access to this wealth became the goal of a host of grafters and guardians. Few were unsuccessful, much to the disadvantage of the wealthy Creeks. By the late 1920s, most of the money was gone and nine of every ten allotments from which restrictions against alienation had been removed were lost to the allottee.

Although sovereignty terminated in 1906, subsequent congressional legislation permitted an appointive tribal government to exist. Among those serving as presidentially appointed principal chiefs were Pleasant Porter, Moty Tiger, W. G. Grayson, Washington Grayson, George Hill and Roley Canard. The tasks of these officers were limited at best, for until 1934 official government policy was for the Creeks to lose their identity as a people and to merge into the mainstream of American political and social life. But with President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, this policy changed. The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) sought to

reinvigorate the tribal unit and to preserve Indian distinctiveness. Allotment as a policy ended, and tribes were encouraged to incorporate legally and to establish cooperatives for mutual economic benefit.

All Oklahoma Indians were initially excluded from the provisions of the IRA. Two years later its benefits were extended to the different tribes through the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. More than most, the Creeks took advantage of the measure. Under its provisions they incorporated their towns and purchased land to rebuild their squares. In 1937, 44 towns existed, 20 of which had mikos and other officials.[57]

How the Creeks ultimately organized themselves governmentally and socially is beyond the scope of this brief essay. Suffice it to say that they now have an elected Principal Chief and Council and that the administrative offices of the tribe are still focused in Okmulgee. Indians of Creek blood have increased from 12,000 in 1907 to an estimated _____ in 1990. At the same time there has been a steady decline of full bloods; from 6,800 in 1907 to no more than _____ in 1990. This biologic assimilation has also been accompanied by a population shift. Rather than concentrating in one area, members of the tribe have taken up residence in numerous communities and states far distant from the old tribal domain. Management Region #3 and the northwestern portion of

Management Region #4, however, remain the home for most of the full bloods and the spiritual residence for most of the rest. As among the Cherokees, it is here too that one finds evidences of a built environment that reflects the Creeks' progression toward modernity.

END NOTES

1. The best general history of the Creek Indians is Angie Debo's The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creeks (Norman, 1979). A very useful short history is Donald E. Green's The Creek People (Phoenix, 1973). The experience in Indian Territory prior to the Civil War is covered in selected chapters in Grant Foreman's Indian Removal (Norman, 1976) and The Five Civilized Tribes (Norman, 1982).

2. This is the observation of the English trader, James Adair, quoted in Green, The Creek People, 4. See also John R. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," Forty Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1928), 33-77.

3. Subsistence patterns of the early Creeks are3. best discussed in Charles Hudson, The Southeastern Indians (Knoxville, 1976), chapter 5.

4. John R. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1928), 171-73.

5. Although distilled from ibid., Debo's, The Road to Disappearance, 9-12, provides a very useful survey of the material and social culture of the early Creeks. A more elaborate explanation is to be found in Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, 213-23.

6. The "confederation" characteristic of the Creeks is best described in J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Creeks and Seminoles (Lincoln, 1986), 1-19.

7. Swanton, "Social Organization," 107-65, 278-88; and John R. Swanton, ed., "Notes on the Creek Indians," Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 123 (Washington, 1939), 132-41. See also Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, 223-26.

8. Green, The Creek People, 10-14; Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, 226-28.

9. For an excellent discussion of the ball games see Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, 408-21.

10. The colonial struggle for the allegiance of the Creeks is well described by Wright, Creeks and Seminoles, chapter 4.

11. Ibid., chapter 2.

12. The best biography to date is John W. Caughey, McGillivrary of the Creeks (Norman, 1938).

13. See R. S.Cotterill, The Southern Indians (Norman, 1966), chapter 3.

14. For an extended discussion of McGillivrary's relationship with Panton, Leslie and Company see William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands (Pensacola, 1986), chapter 3. See also David H. Corkran, The Creek Frontier (Norman, 1967).

15. Cotterill, The Southern Indians, 85-87.

16. Debo, The Road to Disappearance, 72-75.

17. A recent study of the civilization program is contained in Florette Henri, The Southern Indians and Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1816 (Norman, 1986), chapters 5 through 10.

18. A most helpful modern analysis of the Red Stick War is in Benjamin W. Griffith, Jr., McIntosh and Weatherford, Creek Indian Leaders (Tuscaloosa, 1988), chapters 6-8. An older study is Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr., Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek Wars and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1813 (Gainesville, 1981).

19. Green, The Creek People, 36-37.

20. Debo, The Road to Disappearance, 87-87.

21. By far the best study of the circumstances leading to the removal of the Creeks from Alabama is Michael D. Green, The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis (Lincoln, 1982). See particularly chapter 4-8. Griffith, McIntosh and Weatherford, chapters 15 and 16, are also helpful.

22. The standard history of Creek removal to Indian Territory is Grant Foreman, Indian Removal (Norman, 1976), chapters 8-14. See also Wright, Creeks and Seminoles, chapter 10, and Green, The Politics of Indian Removal, chapter 8.

23. Kenneth L. Valliere, "The Creek War of 1836, A Military History," Chronicles of Oklahoma 57 (Winter, 1979): 463-485.

24. Foreman, Indian Removal, 152-190.

25. Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 152-53; see also Muriel H. Wright, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman, 1983), 135-136.

26. Swanton, "Social Organization...of the Creek Confederacy," 175-182. Debo, The Road to Disappearance, 122-123, draws upon this material.

27. Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 167.

28. Wright, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 136.

29. Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 149ff and 191; Norman A. Graebner, "Pioneer Indian Agriculture in Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma 23 (Autumn 1945): 232-48; and R. Douglas Hurt, Indian Agriculture in America, Prehistory to the Present (Lawrence, 1987), 102-103.

30. Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War (Westport, CN, 1979), 138-45.

31. Andre Paul DuChateau, " The Creek Nation on the Eve of the Civil War," Chronicles of Oklahoma 52 (Spring, 1974): 303-04; G. W. Grayson, Creek Warrior for the Confederacy (Norman, 1988), 7.

32. Debo, The Road to Disappearance, 113-14.

33. DuChateau, "The Creek Nation on the Eve of the Civil War," 308-310.

34. Ibid., 308.

35. James W. Moffitt, "A History of Early Baptist Missions Among the Five Civilized Tribes" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1946), 87; E. C. Routh, "Henry Friedland Buckner," Chronicles of Oklahoma 14 (Dec. 1936): 456-66.

36. Lilah Denton Lindsey, "Memories of the Indian Territory Mission Field," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 36 (Summer 1958): 190-193; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Report of the Reverend R. M. Loughridge to the Board of Foreign Missions Regarding the Creek Mission," The Chronicles of

Oklahoma 26 (Autumn 1948): 278-84; Virginia E. Lauderdale, "Tullahassee Mission" The Chronicles of Oklahoma 26 (Autumn 1948): 285-300.

37. Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "North Fork Town," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 29 (Spring, 1951): 85, 103 and 108.

38. Wright, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 138.

39. Edwin C. McReynolds, The Seminoles (Norman, 1972), 243-88.

40. Debo, The Road to Disappearance, 134-39.

41. Carter Blue Clark, "Opothleyahola and the Creeks during the Civil War," in Indian Leaders: Oklahoma's First Statesmen, ed. by H. Glenn Jordan and Thomas M. Holm (Oklahoma City, 1979), 49-53.

42. Ibid., 61; see also W. Craig Gaines, The Confederate Cherokees: John Drew's Regiment of Mounted Rifles (Baton Rouge, 1989), 21-54.

43. Grayson, A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy, 58-72; Angie Debo, "Southern Refugees of the Cherokee Nation," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 35 (April, 1932): 255-66.

44. Grayson, A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy, 73-115.

45. Green, The Creek People, 63-65; see also Ohland Morton, "Reconstruction in the Creek Nation," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 9 (June 1931): 171-79.

46. The most complete account of economic development of the Creek Nation, especially the construction of railroads and the exploitation of natural resources, during and after reconstruction is found in H. Craig Miner, The Corporation and the Indian: Tribal Sovereignty and the Industrial Civilization in Indian Territory, 1865-1907 (Columbia, 1976). See also Debo, The Road to Disappearance, 197-200, 259-65.

47. Mark K. Megehee, "Creek Nativism since 1865," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 56 (Fall 1978): 282-83. Not as useful is M. Thomas Bailey, Reconstruction in Indian Territory (Port Washington, NY, 1972), 107-11.

48. Megehee, "Creek Nativism since 1865," 283; Bailey, Reconstruction in Indian Territory, 111-18.

49. Ibid., 284-86; Grayson, A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy, 155-56.

50. Allen G. Applen, "An attempted Indian State Government: the Okmulgee Constitution in Indian Territory, 1870-1876," Kansas Quarterly 3 (Fall 1971): 89-99.

51. Wright, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 139; Bailey, Reconstruction in Indian Territory, 118-122.

52. William O. Tuggle, Shem, Ham and Japeth: The Papers of W. O. Tuggle, Comprising His Indian Diary, Sketches and Observations, Myths and Washington Journal in the Territory and at the Capital, 1879-1882 (Athens, 1973), ___.

53. Angie Debo, And Still the Waters Run (Princeton, 1972), 23-38. For a good overview of the Dawes Allotment Act see D. S. Otis, The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands (Norman, 1973).

54. Debo, And Still the Waters Run, 361-67.

55. Debo, And Still the Waters Run, 47; Megehee, "Creek Nativism since 1865," 289-291.

56. The only thorough study of this sordid episode of Oklahoma history is found in Debo, And Still the Waters Run.

57. Megehee, "Creek Nativism since 1865,) 294-95; Wright, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 140-44.

CHAPTER V

PROPERTY TYPE ANALYSIS

I. TRIBAL PROPERTIES

Description: Both the Cherokees and the Creeks had sophisticated governmental institutions even before they removed to northeastern Oklahoma. Indeed, the Cherokees had a written constitution that established a national government with an elected council and an executive of a principal and an assistant chief. After removal to Indian Territory, in 1839 a constitution with similar provisions was adopted, which also designated Tahlequah as the tribal capitol. Upon their removal, the Creeks reestablished their loose-knit confederation of towns, representatives of which met periodically in a national council at High Springs (in northwestern McIntosh County), eschewing a formal constitution until 1859. A new constitution in 1867 provided for an elected bicameral legislature and an executive of a principal and an assistant chief; Okmulgee was designated as the capitol.

Both the Cherokees and the Creeks divided their nations geographically. Among the Cherokees there were nine districts; among the Creeks only six. Each of these political sub-divisions, similar to counties, had a designated location, or court ground, where a judicial court convened regularly. Additionally, the

Creeks maintained so-called "town squares" that were associated with the traditional towns but over time became more ceremonial than residential centers. Associated with these different aspects of tribal government and organization were the following types of structures:

A. National Buildings: Facilities where business associated with tribal government was conducted, national buildings were constructed of different materials over time. After removal to Oklahoma, both the Cherokees and Creeks utilized open-sided, brush-covered pavilions on the occasions of national councils (Talonteeskee for Western Cherokees; Tahlequah for Eastern Cherokees; High Springs for the Creeks). These temporary facilities were ultimately replaced by hand-hewn log buildings. If the reconstruction at Talonteeskee (just west of Gore) is accurate, the Cherokee council house was rectangular, had a gable front with a centrally placed external chimney and a double-door entry, and double-sash wood windows on each side. In 1867 the Creeks constructed at Okmulgee a two-story, double penned structure with connecting breezeways and a gable roof. Each pen was two bays wide, had an external chimney, and had 6/6 double-sash

windows.

The Cherokees constructed a more permanent capitol building at Tahlequah in 1869. A two story, Italianate structure constructed of red brick, it was five bays wide and seven bays deep, had a hipped roof with a cornice and a large cupola. Eyebrow and arched windows were singly placed. In constructing their new capitol building at Okmulgee in 1876, the Creeks utilized cut and rusticated native stone. With it they too fashioned a rectangular, two story structure with a hipped roof crowned by a cupola, with a second story balcony, and pilasters, brackets, cornices and transom and side lights as decorative features. Also of cut native stone with Richardson Romanesque features, the two story Osage Council House, built in 1894, was supposed to emulate the Cherokee capitol building in design.

The Cherokees also constructed less imposing buildings in Tahlequah for the legal branches of their national government. Their two-story Supreme Court building, raised in 1844, was constructed of red brick, had a hipped roof and singly-placed sash windows (four on each side), and was without remarkable decorative features. The Cherokee National Prison was constructed of rough-cut sandstone, had two stories on a high

basement, and probably had a hipped roof, although the roof and top story were removed in 1925. Windows covered with bars were singly placed.

B. National Council Grounds: The Cherokees and Creeks, as other Native American peoples, often met together in national (tribal) councils. In Oklahoma, these councils usually took place at pre-determined locations that accommodated large numbers of delegates/campers. The Illinois Camp Ground, the site of the stormy sessions between the Western and Eastern Cherokees in 1839 and after, contains numerous fine springs and is protected on two sides by hills. Talonteeskee, the council site of the Western Cherokees, is just west of Gore and had similar features. The High Springs Council Ground, in northwestern McIntosh County just across the line from Okmulgee County, sets in the midst of hills visible for miles from either direction and provided both protection and water for delegates the Upper and Lower Creek towns.

Often these council grounds had structures associated with them. At High Springs there was a single-story building constructed of hand-hewn logs, the location perhaps of council deliberations; at

Talonteeskee was the double-penned cabin of John Jolly, the Western Cherokee chief. We have no information about structures at the Illinois Camp Ground.

C. District Court House: Early on structures associated with district government were usually single penned cabins of hand hewn logs with gable roofs and exterior end chimneys. Later district buildings were more substantial if not sophisticated. The Salina Court House, for example, was constructed in 1884 of wood frame and clapboard siding and had a gable front. Although much altered, it seems to be the only one that has survived in the study region.

The district court house grounds often included structures other than the court building itself. At Salina, to illustrate, there is a rectangular spring house constructed of limestone.

D. Town Squares/Ceremonial Centers: Originally the Creek people were town dwellers; and their government constituted a confederation of "towns." At the center of each town was a ceremonial ground that contained a round meeting house with clay walls and conical roof and a "town house" consisting of four sheds facing each other to form a hollow square. Adjacent to these two

buildings was an open area given over to native games. Removal to Oklahoma in the 1820s and 1830s, however, tended to disrupt traditional (or concentrated) settlement patterns, as most Creeks took up homesteads distant from the town itself. At the same time, "town squares" were reestablished, but rather than a site of daily activity they were used on special occasions for ceremonial purposes. Some squares like Wiogufki still exist but as a "stomp ground"; others like Greenleaf are now associated with a Christian Church complex; still others like Hichiti have been flooded by Lake Eufaula. The precise location of others, such as Tuckabatchee, have not been determined.

Among the Osages and the Quapaws, "ceremonial centers" take on slightly different meaning. At Hominy and Greyhorse, the Osages have set aside reservations for ceremonial purposes. At Hominy is a notable roundhouse constructed of wood siding and a conical roof, which is adjacent to an open-sided, gabled-roof pavilion. On the property too are single-family, one-story bungalows constructed of wood frame and clapboard siding. The Greyhorse reservation serves the same ceremonial function. It does not, however, have a roundhouse, but it does contain a large wood frame, single story club house, in addition of single-family

dwellings, a number of wood summer houses, open sided pavilions, and a peyote house. The Quapaw Beaver Springs Stomp Grounds just southeast of Quapaw, Oklahoma, contains a large amphitheater surrounded by a large number of small, unsubstantial summer houses. On the property also is the alter of a big moon peyote house.

Significance: The significance of tribal properties is essentially historical. No other structures or sites illustrate so vividly the sophistication of the constitutional governments organized and perpetuated by the Cherokees and Creeks at the local, regional, and national levels. They also demonstrate the extent of cultural accommodation that had taken place among the tribespeople even before their removal to Oklahoma.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Tribal Properties should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. National, district, and county buildings must be located at the site of an historic Cherokee or Creek governmental center and have been used by tribal officials prior to 1906. They will vary in style and materials depending upon the time period of

construction and the historic function of the structure. Most, however, will be single story, of either logs or board and batten siding, single penned or hall-and-parlor in design. The same integrity would be required of other Native American tribal properties.

II. SPIRIT LIFE PROPERTIES

Description: The Native American residents of Management Region #3 were and are a spiritual people. Because of vigorous mission work among them by Presbyterians--or representatives of the American Board of Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.)--Baptist, Methodists and Moravians, Christianity was firmly rooted among the Cherokees by the time of removal to Indian Territory in the 1830s. Indeed, missionaries from those denominations followed them to the new land. Christianity did not flower among the Creeks until the 1840s, but thereafter many became committed Baptists. Presbyterianism also flourished among them.

In what is now northeastern Oklahoma representatives of these denominations established permanent "stations." There they preached their message, ministered to their converts, organized secular day schools for Indian youngsters, and buried the faithful dead. From these locations they went out to organize satellite congregations among converts at more distant locations, the results of which are perpetuated in churches vital to this day. Sub-types of properties associated with the spirit life of the Cherokees and Creeks in the study area are the following:

A. Mission Stations: Since mission stations were multi-functioned, different structures were associated with them.

1. Missionary residence: Early on these one to one-and-a-half story structures were constructed of logs, were single or double penned, had gable ends, included a full-width porch on the front, and had external chimneys. The missionary residence at Fairfield Mission in Adair County was of such construction, as was the residence of Samuel Worcester at Park Hill in Cherokee County. Toward the end of the tribal era, missionary houses were generally wood frame with clapboard siding as at Wealaka near Leonard in Tulsa County and at the Danish Lutheran Mission at Oaks in Delaware County. In both periods housing did not differ significantly from that described in "Residential Properties" below.

2. School House: Not far from the residence--indeed, perhaps within it--was a structure where classes were held for day students. Generally these were at first also constructed of logs and

in style were identical to the missionary residence.

3. Church Building: When the church associated with the mission station met, it often met in the structure used for educational purposes. At other times, it met out of doors. When possible, however, a building was constructed. The Baptist Mission Church at "Breadtown" north of Westville in Adair County was first constructed of logs (1839); somewhat later it was reconstructed of wood frame and clapboard siding, with a gable roof and open bell tower over the double entry over the gable end front. Mission churches, excepting the Modoc Church which was a remodeled school building, constructed after the Civil War tended to conform to the characteristics of the Breadtown church building, which itself may date from that era.

B. Church Complexes: Christian church buildings associated with the Cherokee and Creek experience in the study area, but separate and apart from Mission Stations, have unique qualities. There are exceptions, but almost always they appear as a part of a complex of

buildings that include the following:

1. Church Building: The first structures built for worship services were little more than brush arbors. Somewhat later facilities were either replaced by or improved by addition of a crude log structure. After the 1870s, however, more permanent church buildings were constructed. Most common of these was a single story, gable front structure of wood frame and clapboard siding. There was generally a single entryway on the front and a side entry to the rear; double sash windows were confined to the sides. Decorative details were limited but might include a steeple, cupola, or a bell tower. The West Eufaula Indian Baptist Church in McIntosh County is a classic example of this style of architecture.

Because of unique circumstances, generally because Indian members are wealthy because of oil royalties or business success, some church buildings take on classic architectural forms. The Splitlog Church in Cayuga in Delaware County is illustrative of this type. Gothic in design, it constructed of limestone, has a steeply pitched roof, has a bell tower and spire over the front

entry, and features buttresses and stained glass windows. The Immaculate Conception Church in Pawhuska in Osage County is equally unique.

2. Fellowship Facilities: A common characteristic of Native American church grounds in northeastern Oklahoma is the fellowship facility that is often attached to the gable front of the church building itself. Frequently these structures were or are little more than brush arbors, a thatch roof supported by four to six poles, where religious services or common meals could be held out of doors. In some complexes the thatch has been replaced by sheet metal or wood, but "arbors" remain at functioning Indian churches throughout the study area. The Nuyaka Indian Baptist Church in northern Okfuskee County provides a good example of this feature.

Since Indian church meetings might go on for days and since Indian people are famous for their hospitality, church grounds frequently had a combination kitchen-fellowship hall. These usually were of simple design--gable front or hall-and-parlor--and constructed of wood frame and clapboard siding. Interestingly, these structures

do not appear as often in northeastern Oklahoma as in the southeastern part of the state.

3. Dwellings: Often Indian church complexes include wood frame structures that serve as the residence of the minister or caretaker or that shelter members who attend a seasonal encampment. The former are likely to be massed, have end gables, and feature an entryway off a front porch. The latter are usually one or two room cabins that are very temporary in appearance. The Greenleaf Indian Baptist Church complex west of Okemah in Okfuskee County offers an example of both types of structures.

C. Traditional: A number of Spirit Life Properties are not always associated with the usual expressions of Christianity. In some, generally rural areas of northeastern Oklahoma conservative Cherokees, the Keetoowahs, continue to commune with the Sacred Fire. Particularly notable at these sites is that seven small arbors, for the seven clans, surround an open fireplace with the logs pointing in the cardinal directions; these are flanked by larger brush arbors and a ball field with its ever present central pole.

Among the Osages and Quapaws the peyote cult won many converts about the turn of the century and after. Organized into the Native American Church, members in those tribes often built unique structures in which to carry on their worship services. Designed to emulate the tipi, they were eight sided, circular buildings with steeply pitched conical roofs with a vent. Constructed of wood frame and clapboard siding, the single entry way was generally covered with an enclosed porch. The structure on the Red Eagle home place just west of Barnsdall illustrates the type.

D. Cemeteries: For fifty years or more after their removal to Indian Territory, the Cherokees and Creeks most often buried their dead in family plots similar to the Poulson Cemetery in Delaware county. Among the Creeks, as illustrated by the West Eufaula Burying Ground and most cemeteries associated with Baptist churches, individual remains were covered by grave houses, e.g. rectangular, wooden structures with gable ends and sides that rose one to two feet above the ground; later, many grave houses had foot high concrete sides covered by a concrete slab. Toward the end of the nineteenth century some of the tribespeople adopted the practice of burying their dead in community

cemeteries such as the Cherokee National Cemetery at Tahlequah in Cherokee County. This was an especially common practice among the Osages.

Significance: Spirit Life Properties have both historical and religious significance. Those associated with Christian mission activity symbolize the conviction on the part of the United States government that "civilization" of the Cherokees and Creeks in the first one-half of the nineteenth century depended upon the christianization of the tribespeople. They also demonstrate the humanitarian, albeit ethnocentric concerns of Anglo-Americans who came to Indian Territory as missionaries and who supported those that did. At they same time, they also illustrate the widespread and general acceptance of the tenants of Christianity by the Creeks and Cherokees. And today, ironically, the Spirit Life properties, especially Christian churches, work to preserve rather than eradicate Indianness.

Sites of traditional religious practices illustrate that many Native Americans either rejected Christianity or embraced it only on their own terms, as in the peyote cult. They also make clear that Oklahoma's Indians still retain many of the cultural

practices of their forbearers.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Spirit Life Properties should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. They must be associated with those facilities through which certain Christian missionary groups provided religious instruction to the Cherokees and Creeks between 1830 and 1941. Current knowledge limits these to those religious denominations listed in the first paragraph of this section. Depending upon the date of construction and the sub-type of structure, Spirit Life buildings will vary somewhat in architectural style but will generally be simple in design and constructed of inexpensive materials, excepting, of course, those structures in which oil rich Indians worshipped. Sites associated with a traditional Spirit Life activities among the Cherokees and Creeks will not ordinarily have permanent structures; among the Osages and Quapaws those sites will usually contain a circular, wood frame structure generally associated with the peyote cult. Cemeteries will not be eligible unless buried in them is some especially notable Cherokee or Creek or other Native American, e.g. Major Ridge, Stand Watie, Elias

Boudinot, John Ross, Isparhecher, Pleasant Porter, Fred Lookout, Ne-kah-wah-seh-tun-kah, or grave houses make them exceptional. All properties will need careful documentation from archival sources as to their religious significance.

III. EDUCATIONAL PROPERTIES

Description: The interest of the Cherokees in education pre-dated removal to Indian Territory. Accordingly, once in the new land the leadership of the tribe determined to reestablish and to expand educational opportunities as rapidly as possible. They looked to three groups, individually or together, to undertake this task: the tribe itself, Christian missionaries, and the federal government. And they expected two types of institutions to provide the instruction: the day school and the boarding school.

The heart of the Cherokee educational system was the day school. Established by the national council in 1841, these schools operated a curriculum through the first eight grades. By 1859, 1500 students enrolled in 30 schools. In the post-Civil War years there were twice as many schools and 2200 students. The nature and location of these facilities is not well known.

In 1846 the Cherokee national council authorized construction of two seminaries for advanced students. The Female Seminary was situated at Park Hill (now Tsa-la-gee); the Male Seminary at what is now the Go-Ye Mission in Tahlequah. After the original building burned, the Female Seminary was relocated to Tahlequah, the principal structure of which now stands on the

campus of NEOSU. The Cherokees also created after the Civil War a number of specialized educational facilities: a high school for freedmen just north of Tahlequah, an Orphan Asylum at Salina, and an insane asylum just west of Park Hill (now Sequoyah High School). During this period tribal authorities assumed complete control over the schools, authority that they relinquished reluctantly in 1899 to officials of the federal government.

Some boarding schools among the Cherokees were financed and managed primarily by missionary groups. Among these were Dwight Mission (near Marble City in Sequoyah County), Park Hill (southeast of Tahlequah) and Hillside Mission (north of Skiatook).

The Creek educational system developed more slowly than did that of the Cherokees. Prior to the Civil War they had no public schools, although they often appropriated funds to match those raised by church groups to support mission schools. Although there were a few day schools, the most notable of these were three boarding schools: Kowetah (at Coweta in Wagoner County); Tullahassee (near Tullahassee also Wagoner County); and Asbury Manual Labor School (near Eufaula in McIntosh County). Intermittently after the Civil War these schools continued to serve the Creeks, but

they also established additional schools, sometimes to replace the older institutions: Wealaka (near Liberty in Tulsa County), Wetumka (Wetumka in Hughes County); Nuyaka (west of Okmulgee in Okmulgee County); Creek Orphan School (at Okmulgee); Eufaula Boarding School (Eufaula); and Euchee Boarding School (Sapulpa in Creek County). In 1886 there were 28 neighborhood (day) schools.

Associated with the different schools were the following property types:

A. Boarding Schools: Because they were complex institutions, boarding schools featured different categories of structures:

1. Instructional/Residential Building: Common to most boarding schools was a multi-purpose structure where classes were taught and students (and even faculty) lived. At some institutions there was little else other than such a building. Before the Civil War, these structures were almost always two stories, had gable ends, may have had an L extension on the rear, and featured full-length verandas on either level covered by extended or dropped roof. Many were wood frame,

but some were constructed of cut native stone or brick. Some had a hipped roof rather than a gabled one.

After the Civil War, the instructional residential building tended to be more elaborate. Constructed of red brick, the Cherokee Female Seminary (1889) was three stories tall and 13 bays wide, with one 5 story clock tower and two 4 story conical towers, a hipped roof, and a front entryway recessed behind an arch. Wealaka Academy, opened in 1881, was a wood-frame, three-story building with a hipped roof and tent dormers. Its two story veranda had a dropped hipped roof with an abundance of rails and spindles.

2. Classrooms: Some boarding schools had separate structures for instruction and student residences rather than combine them into one. In the 1840s, both Park Hill and Dwight schools had free standing classroom buildings. The one at Park Hill was originally of log construction but then seems to have been wood framed with clapboard siding. Toward the end of the tribal era and into the twentieth century, unattached classrooms were

common. At Nuyaka it was a two-story, wood-frame and massed structure with a hipped roof and sash windows singly placed. The class building at Eufaula Boarding School was constructed of buff brick, had two stories, was T-shaped, had a hipped roof, and had wood sash windows placed in pairs. Dwight had a three-story wood frame building with a gable front distinguished by a two-story shed porch supported by six square columns. In the 1930s the BIA built at Pawnee Boarding School a single story school building with massed units of uncut native stone and with end gables. The class building (Rec Hall today) at Sequoyah was single story, constructed of red bricks, was 3 bays wide and 7 bays long, and had large, multiple window openings.

3. Dormitories: Like classrooms, dormitories were apparent on boarding school campuses early on and then toward the end of the tribal period. Although dormitories at Park Hill and Dwight evolved from log construction to wood-frame construction, no precise description of them has been found. No doubt they were one or two stories with full-length verandas and external exits for

each room. We have a better idea of dormitory characteristics in the post-Civil War era. At Nuyaka, for example, the dormitories were two stories, had hipped roofs and massed floor plans, full length but single level front porches, 4/4 wood sash windows singly placed, and rooms accessed through interior hallways. The style was similar at Eufaula, Euchee, Sequoyah, Wyandott, and at the Osage and Pawnee schools. Constructed in the 1920s, Washburn and Sage dormitories at Dwight were two levels, constructed of native sandstone, had hipped roofs and internal hallways, and featured double-sash windows placed in pairs. The main dormitory at Sequoyah High School, constructed in 1933 of red brick, had two stories, and E floor plan, with the three parallel units featuring gable fronts, porches, 6/6 sash windows singly placed, etc.

4. Activity/Utility Buildings: Much of the curriculum at the different boarding schools was designed to introduce male students to agriculture and mechanical arts and female students to the domestic sciences. These activities required buildings suitable for instruction, namely shops

and barns. The single story ante-bellum print shop at Dwight Academy is constructed of cut stone and has a hipped roof. Toward the end of the tribal era and afterwards, however, shops were constructed of wood frame and clapboard siding, were rectangular, single storied, hipped or gable roofed, and had garage doors in multiple numbers, although not always (as at Eufaula). Others were constructed of bricks and had flat roofs with parapets, suggesting a bit of art deco influence (as at Sequoyah). Barns were almost always constructed of wood frame and siding, and had gable fronts with hay lofts and large garage-like doors.

Some schools had special dining halls as at Dwight Academy. Constructed of wood frame and clapboard siding, it was rectangular, had one story with a gable roof, and featured singly placed wood sash windows. At Pawnee Indian Boarding School, the one-story mess hall was constructed of uncut native stone.

Schools also had a myriad of buildings, some large but most small, associated with just the day to day operations of the institution. Nuyaka, for example, had a single story, wood framed with

hipped roof laundry building constructed in 1915; Sequoyah conducted the same operation after 1933 in a single-story brick building with art deco characteristics. Sequoyah also had a brick power plant, as well as a brick pump house.

5. Staff Residences: Toward the end of the tribal era and especially after the federal government assumed control of most of the boarding schools, teachers and staff were often supplied with personal and family housing. Such structures generally followed the Craftsman style popular between 1910 and 1930. Veneered with either brick or clapboard, they were single storied, gable front houses that sat on poured-concrete foundations with symmetrically placed entryways but had asymmetrical, half-width porches with pediments supported by brick or wood piers. Windows were generally double hung sash, and roofs were often covered with asbestos-concrete shingles.

Units that were designed as the residence for the principal administrative officer of the institution, especially toward the end of the tribal era and after, were often larger if not

more elaborate as at Dwight, Sequoyah, and Pawnee. These usually had a massed floor plan and were side gabled; they were one or two stories; they were generally wood frame and clapboard sided (as at Sequoyah), although they might be of brick (Dwight) or stone (Pawnee).

6. Cemeteries: Residence at a boarding school--for both teachers and students--risked good health at best and death at worst. Many paid the ultimate price. Accordingly, there is associated with many schools established in the nineteenth century a cemetery of one kind or another (that at Dwight is particularly notable). Some are well maintained; others have deteriorated (as at Koweta); still others have been plowed up and lost.

B. Colleges: Although the Cherokees and Creeks never supported them with tribal funds, higher educational opportunities, or colleges, were organized by interested parties for their benefit. Most notable of these was Indian University, operational first at Tahlequah and later moved to Muskogee as Bacone University. Various types of buildings have been

associated with this institution, and excepting the earliest situated at Tahlequah, all have been constructed of brick or native stone. Virtually all have been at least two stories in height, while most have demonstrated characteristics of academic architecture. Constructed in the 1920s of bricks, for example, one-half of the buildings on the Bacone campus are Jacobethan Revival in style; the other half, constructed in the 1930s of native stone, are Georgian Revival in style.

Willie Halsell College in Vinita was constructed by a single philanthropist to benefit both Indian and non-Indian youths. The characteristics of the structures that comprised the campus of the college is unknown.

C. Day Schools: The tribal governments of both the Cherokees and the Creeks supported scores of day schools. Our knowledge of the structures in which these schools were conducted is limited, and thus we can only speculate that they were not dissimilar to one room schools at other locations on the American frontier during the nineteenth century. Doubtless many were constructed of logs, had gable ends and shake shingles, but some were probably fashioned of wood

frame and board and batten siding.

With Oklahoma statehood, however, many tribal youngsters attended public schools in more substantial buildings. An example of these is Oktaha in Muskogee County: it is a two-story brick building with a cut stone water table, a hipped roof with dormer, and a balustraded porch supported by brick columns.

C. Church Building: Because most boarding schools, colleges, and some day schools were either originally administered by Christian missionaries or completely within their jurisdiction, they often had a church building on the campus. That structure was generally single storied, wood framed and clapboard sided, rectangular, had a gable front and a bell tower that rose above the front facade or, as an extension, in front of it. On the Bacone campus, however, the large memorial chapel was constructed of native stone in 1939, had a gable front crowned by a bell tower and spire, had tall, thin stained-glass windows singly placed and on the front facade had a pediment supported by four columns.

Significance: Educational properties associated with the Cherokees and Creeks, as well as other tribes in

northeastern Oklahoma are significant historically. They obviously illustrate the remarkable commitment of the different tribes to providing formal educational opportunities for their youngsters from the moment of their arrival in Indian Territory to the end of the tribal era--and beyond. Of the financial resources available to them, surely 70 per cent went toward education. The properties also demonstrate the desire of most of the tribespeople to accommodate themselves to the cultural patterns of the white majority that surrounded them. Equally important is that they demonstrate the different dimensions of missionary service among the Creeks and Cherokees. Much of the historic leadership of the two tribes was educated in these structures. Finally, the buildings have some architectural significance. They constituted some of the best example of late nineteenth century "institutional" style in the northeastern counties.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, the different educational properties should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. They must be associated with those boarding and day schools, as well as colleges, through which the tribe, missionary

agencies, and the federal government provided educational opportunities for the tribespeople in Management Region #3 between 1830 and 1939. Excepting day schools, current knowledge limits these largely to those historic properties referenced in the first paragraphs of this section. Depending upon the date of construction and the sub-type of structure, educational buildings will vary somewhat in architectural style. All will have been built by one of the Cherokees or Creeks, by some Christian mission group, or by the federal government. Properties not already on the national register with some promise for inclusion are those at Sequoyah High School (Tahlequah), Whitaker Orphan Home (Pryor), Eufaula Boarding School (Eufaula), Pawnee Indian Boarding School (Pawnee), Tullahassee Mission site (Wagoner County). Cemeteries are not listed here, for as a general rule they are not be eligible for nomination to the register.

IV. ECONOMIC PROPERTIES

Description: Well before the Cherokees especially, but also the Creeks removed to Indian Territory they had become participants in the market economy prevalent in the United States. Rather than sustain themselves totally by the hunt and subsistence agriculture, they maintained large cattle herds and cultivated field crops such as cotton and corn (sometimes with the help of black slaves). What they profited from this effort was sold in the market place so that they could then purchase desired creature comforts. Put differently, by the time they reached Indian Territory, the tribespeople were wholly integrated into the national market economy--both as producers and consumers. Properties associated with this economy included the following sub-types:

A. Agricultural Facilities: Despite the fact that most Creeks and Cherokees engaged in agriculture and that some had vast cotton plantations cultivated by slave labor, we know little of the structures (excluding houses, which are discussed below) that supported that activity. Surely there were cabins and barns as well as bins and gins, but few contemporary descriptions of those have yet surfaced. If the

Edmondson Farm smoke house (east of Jay) is any example, agricultural buildings on any single farmstead were constructed primarily of cut and uncut logs. One would also assume, however, that after the Civil War that wood frame and board-and-batten siding would characterize some, if not most structures. The Greenlee Farm (Hichiti) as well as the Edmondson Farm hay barns were so constructed. The latter also included a gable front, large double doors that enclosed an opening large enough for vehicles, side horse stalls covered by a shed roof, and cupola vents.

B. Ranching Facilities: Cattle ranching was an important economic activity among the tribespeople immediately after removal, but it became increasingly significant after the Civil War. This was particularly true in the western part of the Creek Nation and the northwestern part of the Cherokee Nation which were covered by vast prairies and set astride the famous trails followed by Texas cattle on their way to market in Missouri and Kansas. In addition to residences of the cattlemen (discussed below), there is a surprisingly large number of structures that have survived to document this important epoch, although most of it dates from the late tribal era.

The Miller Ranch northeast of Okmulgee contains examples of most, all dating from the 1880s. The horse barn was constructed of wood frame and batten siding, had a hipped roof with ridge and cupola, and had large doors on either end. Two bunkhouses show the evolution of the type. One is square, wood frame, 1.5 story structure with batten siding and a gable roof has a side door covered with a shed porch; the other is for times the length, although it is also a wood frame, rectangular structure with board and batten siding, gable sides, and full length shed porch on the front. The smoke house was constructed of native stone with a hipped roof that, supported by rock pillars, extended over the front porch. Current knowledge reveals little about barns, bunk houses, or bins. Yet they probably differed little from similar structures we associate with agriculture: early they were single story buildings constructed of logs; later they were fashioned from wood frame and siding, with some barns rising to two stories.

C. Commercial Establishments: Many Creek and Cherokee citizens, some of whom were intermarried, facilitated the market economy by operating commercial establishments. On the western frontier, some of the

more notable establishments were operated by non-Indians (like Jacob H. Bartles) but others were operated by the tribespeople themselves (Jesse or William Chisholm; George W. Stidham). Early on these operated out of the crude and temporary structures generally associated with the frontier--one or two pen log cabins. Our knowledge of this kind of facility is, however, sketchy at best.

We know more of the second phase of development that began after the Civil War. Most commercial establishments by then were wood framed with board-and-batten siding, rectangular and gabled but with the front gable covered by a square facade, and with a full-width porch crowned by a shed roof. It was the kind of structure that is always associated with a southern country store and might have been found at North Fork Town, Shieldsville, Fort Gibson or Tahlequah.

Toward the end of the tribal period and as the Cherokee and Creek country experienced the effects of the railroad and town development, Indian-owned commercial establishments operated along Main Street. Like the Sever block in Okmulgee, they were distinctly Prairie Commercial: rusticated native stone masonry, rectangular, single or double-story, flat roofed with

parapets, large plate glass store-front windows, and a double-door entry. The W. C. Rogers building in Skiatook was similar, although it was constructed of brick.

Some commercial structures were much more elaborate. The red brick Western Hotel in Vinita was three stories tall, had a flat roof with parapets, and was adorned by a pressed tin cornice, a decorative brick frieze, and windows with pediments and arches. The Berryhill building in Sapulpa, owned by a Creek allottee, was a five story building constructed of buff and red brick and was adorned by pilasters, friezes, and decorative shell designs.

D. Industrial Establishments: In northeastern Oklahoma industrial establishments were pretty much limited to grist and saw mill activities during the tribal era. Other than that one existed on Park Hill Creek near its confluence with the Illinois, we know little about saw mills. We know even less about cotton gins, although G. W. Gunter operated one in 1844 some fifteen miles above Fort Smith.

In contrast we know a good bit about grist mills. The Hilderbrand Mill in Delaware County, for example, was powered initially by a wooden over-shot water

wheel, which was replaced in 1907 with a water turbine. On the site was (and is) a four story, wood frame and clapboard sided mill house with a gable roof and ventilator. At the Bitting Springs Mill in Adair County, also powered by an overshot steel wheel, the mill house was wood framed and sided as well. Sadly it burned in 1983. But on the property was the miller's residence: a wood frame structure with clapboard siding, gable ends, and a full front porch. No grist mill sites have been identified in the Creek country.

Neither the site nor a description of the tobacco factory established by E. C. Boudinot and Stand Watie in the 1870s in present Delaware County has been established at this date. Doubtless its activity was confined to a single wood frame structure, probably indistinguishable from structures found on most Cherokee homesteads.

E. Natural Resources: The Creek and Cherokee domains were rich with natural resources that some citizens, and especially intermarried ones, exploited for profit. These ranged from salt springs utilized by the Vann Family in southern Muskogee county to subterranean oil pools that enriched tribal allottees like Nellie

Johnstone, Ida Glen and Jackson Barnett. Associated with these resources were structures that facilitated their exploitation. With the exception of petroleum producing activity, however, our knowledge of them is very limited.

Significance: Economic properties associated with the Native American theme in Management Region #3 are significant historically and economically. Farming and ranching facilities demonstrate that the Cherokees and Creeks were an agriculture people who produced for a market economy like other residents who lived on the American frontier, but unlike most other Native people. Since the cattle industry attracted white entrepreneurs, ranching properties also point to an activity that grew beyond the point that Indians could control it, a fact that challenged tribal sovereignty. In that many agricultural and ranching properties are still owned by Cherokees, Creeks and other tribespeople, they also illustrate that not all allottees lost their land at the end of the tribal period. Commercial properties also illustrate that the tribespeople were active participants in the market economy, that they were not passive pawns in the grip of white intruders.

Eligibility: To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Cherokee and Creek economic properties should retain integrity of design, setting, and materials. They must be associated with Indian people and located at sites where the tribespeople are known to have had their settlements and homesteads. All will have been constructed with private funds after 1830 and before 1941. They may vary in style and materials of construction, but commercial structures constructed after 1880 will reflect a Prairie commercial style.