

American Studies 123H, Fall 1995  
Class times: TTh 2:00-3:45 p.m.  
Classroom: Oakes College 222

James Treat, Assistant Professor  
Office hours: W 2:00-4:00 p.m.  
Office: Oakes College 203, x3849

## Native American Tribal Histories

*There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States of America, and all the individuals, towns and tribes of the Upper, Middle and Lower Creeks and Semanories composing the Creek Nation of Indians.*

*Treaty of 1790*

*The vitality of our race still persists. We have not lived for naught. We are the original discoverers of this continent, and the conquerors of it from the animal kingdom, and on it first taught the arts of peace and war, and first planted the institutions of virtue, truth and liberty. The European Nations found us here and were made aware that it was possible for men to exist and subsist here. . . . We have shown that what they believed were arid and desert places were habitable and capable of sustaining millions of people. We have led the vanguard of civilization in our conflicts with them for tribal existence from ocean to ocean. The race that has rendered this service to the other nations of mankind cannot utterly perish.*

*Pleasant Porter, 1906*

*oklahoma will be the last song  
i'll ever sing*

*Joy Harjo, 1979*

*As we, the Muscogee (Creek) people, face the challenges of the twenty-first century, it is important that we remember our history and band together against forces which will seek to destroy the existence of the tribal government. If we stand together as one--and let me tell you now that we will need to--we can overcome any crisis together.*

*Principal Chief Bill Fife, 1992*

Like people in all human communities, members of every Native American society have conceived of themselves as being independent and unique in some way, as having their own particular identity in a world of human diversity. Today many Native American tribal nations continue to assert their political sovereignty and cultural autonomy within the context of contemporary American society. This course is based on the premise that studying the history of a single Native American tribal nation is as worthwhile and interesting as studying the history of any modern African, American, Asian, European or Island nation-state.

The course is organized around an in-depth case study of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation of Oklahoma, which has the third-largest population of any federally recognized tribe in the United States and a long history of public and private relations with other tribal and European nations. We will read a wide range of literature drawn from the fields of ethnography, history, ethnohistory, and political science, as well as journalistic accounts, legal documents, reference works, tribal publications, Creek language texts, speeches, autobiographies, poetry, short stories, oral traditions, art, photographs, and maps. In the classroom we will also learn from guest speakers and make use of multimedia resources including videotapes, audiotapes, and slides. Our primary goal in this case study will be to answer the question, "Who are the Creeks?" This is not so much a course on tribal history, at least not in the sense that it is limited to the study of a unilinear chronology of documented and remembered events, as it is a course on the nature of tribal identity and on the different ways in which tribal members, outside observers, and academic scholars attempt to understand and to interpret this identity in the context of American society.

The case study will provide us with the opportunity to consider a wide range of theoretical and methodological questions about Native American tribal histories. Some of the themes we will discuss include: nationalism and ethnicity; social constructions of "tribe" and "history"; cultural perceptions of historiography; authorship, authority and authenticity; oral traditions and documentary history; worldview and interpretation; and representations of cultural identity. Students will employ insights gained from the case study as they engage in their own tribal history research projects.

This is not an introductory-level course; enrollment preference will be given to students who have completed American Studies 80B (The Native American Experience) or comparable course work in Native American studies, or who have had significant first-hand experiences living in or working with Native American communities.

### Course Objectives

Students in this course will:

- (1) consider theoretical and cross-cultural perspectives on the notion of "history" and learn research methodologies useful for writing community, tribal, ethnic, and national histories;
- (2) learn about Native American history and culture by focusing on an in-depth case study of one particular tribal nation, the Muscogee (Creek) Nation of Oklahoma;
- (3) develop skills in textual criticism while reading a wide range of historical source materials on Muscogee tribal history;
- (4) participate in collaborative learning experiences in the classroom and outside of class;
- (5) conduct academic research by working with documentary resources, scholarly interpretations, multimedia materials, and oral testimonies; and
- (6) interact with tribal representatives in preparing materials for use in education and public relations.

### Course Requirements

Each student in this course will be required to:

- (1) complete the assigned readings, attend class regularly, and participate in class and small group discussions and exercises;
- (2) initiate and complete an original, substantive research project on a Native American tribal history, and submit all research project assignments in a timely fashion; and
- (3) collaborate with several other students in developing a group presentation on an important topic or theme in the study of Native American tribal histories.

Each student will be evaluated on the basis of her/his class participation (preparation, attendance, discussion), research project (including eight written assignments), and group presentation.

## Research Project

This course is a research seminar; the primary course assignment is the research project. Each student will engage in a detailed study of one particular Native American tribal nation. Research topics will be determined by the fourth class meeting, when students will be organized into research groups focusing on historically, culturally, or geographically related tribal nations. Each research project will incorporate a range of bibliographic resources (primary documents, popular and scholarly interpretations, and non-literary "texts"); in addition, each student must conduct at least one conversation with an individual who is affiliated with the tribal nation in some way.

### Project assignment schedule:

October 10 Topic Statement (1 p.) due  
October 17 Preliminary Bibliography (1 p.) due  
October 24 Conversation Synopsis (1 p.) due  
November 2 Secondary Source Evaluation (2-3 pp.) due  
November 9 Primary Source Evaluation (2-3 pp.) due  
November 16 Group Presentation Outline (1 p.) due  
November 21 Historical Narrative (2-3 pp.) due  
December 5 Annotated Bibliography due  
December 7 Final Essay (5-7 pp.) due

## Course Texts

The following books are available at Bay Tree Bookstore, and the required course reader is available at the UCSC Copy Center. The books and reader are also on closed reserve at McHenry Library, along with several book excerpts that could not be included in the reader due to copyright restrictions; please make your own photocopies of these readings.

### Required:

Calvin Martin (ed.). The American Indian and the Problem of History. New York, NY: Oxford, 1987.

Michael D. Green. The Creeks. New York, NY: Chelsea House, 1990.

Optional:

Duane Champagne (ed.). Native America: Portrait of the Peoples. Detroit, MI: Visible Ink, 1994.

Frederick E. Hoxie (ed.). Indians in American History: An Introduction. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1988.

Duane K. Hale. Researching and Writing Tribal Histories. Grand Rapids, MI: Michigan Indian Press, 1991.

Course Schedule

September 28  
Course Introduction

October 3  
Native American Tribal Histories  
Community, Time, and Interpretation

Martin preface, 27-74, 84-105

October 5  
Native American Tribal Histories (cont.)

Martin 106-119, 128-91; Green 7-11

October 10  
Creek Nation, Creek People, Creek History  
Tribal Identity in American Society

Reader

October 12  
Muscogee Language and Culture  
Indigenous American Traditions

Reader

October 17  
Este Mvskoke, The Muscogee People  
Origins and Worldviews

Green 12-25, Reader

October 19

The Muscogees and European Colonialism, 1539-1783  
Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations

Green 26-35, Reader

October 24

The Emergence of the Creek National Council, 1783-1813  
Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism

Green 36-47, Reader

October 26

The War of the Redsticks, 1813-14  
Colonialism and Tribal Factionalism

Green 47-53, Reader

October 31

The Muscogee Removal, 1814-37  
Land Dispossession

Green 54-83, Reader

November 2

The Muscogees in Indian Territory, 1837-66  
Tribal Citizenship and U. S. Nationalism

Green 84-94, Reader

November 7

The Muscogee (Creek) Nation, 1866-1899  
Constitutional Government

Green 94-99, Reader

November 9

The Creek Nation and Oklahoma Statehood, 1899-1907  
Allotment and Dissolution

Green 100-13, Reader

November 14

The Muscogees in the Twentieth Century, 1907-71  
Political Accommodation, Cultural Resistance

Green 113-15, Reader

November 16

The Reemergence of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, 1971-95  
Tribal Sovereignty and Self-determination

Green 115-17, Reader

November 21

Contemporary Creek Literature and Art  
Tribal History and Tribal Survival

Reader

November 23 -- Thanksgiving Day -- NO CLASS

November 28, 30, December 5

Research Group Presentations

December 7

Course Evaluation

Native American Tribal Histories  
American Studies 123H  
James Treat, UCSC

## Course Reader

### Creek Nation, Creek People, Creek History Tribal Identity in American Society

Principal Chief Bill Fife, "A Time of Change," condensed version of Inaugural Address delivered January 4, 1992, Muscogee Nation News 21/1 (January 1992).

"1993 Festival offers more events and fun for everyone than ever," Muscogee Nation News, June 1993.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Setting American Straight: Creek produces radio series to counter Columbus hype," Muscogee Nation News 20/10 (October 1991), 1, 15.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Wild onion season upon us," Muscogee Nation News 20/3 (March 1991), 1, 10.

Robert Reinhold, "Bingo Issue Pits Creek Indians Against Oklahoma," New York Times, December 13, 1985, A16.

"Oklahoma Indians Win Injunction in Bingo Case," New York Times, December 22, 1985, A20.

Joy Harjo, "Family Album," The Progressive 56, no. 3 (March 1992), 22-25.

Angie Debo, The Road to Disappearance (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1941), vii-xv.

"Creek," Encyclopedia Britannica 6 (Chicago, IL: William Benton, 1959), 663.

"Creek," The New Encyclopedia Britannica Micropedia 3, 15th ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1991), 723-24.

Rennard Strickland, "Oklahoma Indians," in The Native North American Almanac, edited by Duane Champagne (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1994), 301-12.

### Muscogee Language and Culture Indigenous American Traditions

George Stiggins, Creek Indian History: A Historical Narrative of the Genealogy, Traditions and Downfall of the Ispocoga or Creek Indian Tribe of Indians, edited by Virginia Pounds Brown (Birmingham, AB: Birmingham Public Library, 1989), 13-25, 51-68.

John R. Swanton, "The Green Corn Dance," Chronicles of Oklahoma 10 (1932), 170-95.

Amelia Rector Bell, "Separate People: Speaking of Creek Men and Women," American Anthropologist 92 (1990), 332-45.



## Este Mvskoke, The Muscogee People Origins and Worldviews

Edgar Legare Pennington (ed.), "Some Ancient Georgia Indian Lore," Georgia Historical Quarterly 15 (1931), 192-98.

Louis Oliver, Chasers of the Sun: Creek Indian Thoughts (Greenfield Center, NY: Greenfield Review Press, 1990), 3-13.

George E. Lankford, Native American Legends: Southeastern Legends (Little Rock, AR: August House, 1987), 106-11.

Peter Farb, Man's Rise to Civilization as Shown by the Indians of North America from Primeval Times to the Coming of the Industrial State (New York, NY: E. P. Dutton, 1968), 191-97, 219-24.

J. Leitch Wright, Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1986), ix-xv, 1-20.

## The Muscogees and European Colonialism, 1539-1783 Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations

Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "Guardians of Tradition and Handmaidens to Change: Women's Roles in Creek Economic and Social Life During the Eighteenth Century," American Indian Quarterly 14, no. 3 (Summer 1990), 239-58.

E. Merton Coulter, "Mary Musgrove, 'Queen of the Creeks': A Chapter of Early Georgia Troubles," Georgia Historical Quarterly 11, no. 1 (March 1927), 1-30.

"Oglethorpe's Treaty with the Lower Creek Indians," Georgia Historical Quarterly 4, no. 1 (March 1920), 3-16.

## The Emergence of the Creek National Council, 1783-1813 Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism

Michael D. Green, "Alexander McGillivray," in American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity, edited by R. David Edmunds (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1980), 41-63.

John Walton Caughey, McGillivray of the Creeks (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1938), ix-xiii, 64-67, 362-63.

Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," Journal of Southern History 57, no. 4 (November 1991), 601-36.

## The War of the Redsticks, 1813-14 Colonialism and Tribal Factionalism

Joel W. Martin, Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World (Boston: Beacon, 1991), ix-xi, 114-68.

Carl Waldman, Atlas of the North American Indian (New York: Facts on File, 1985), 120-22.

"Treaty with the Creeks, 1814," in Treaties and Agreements of the Five Civilized Tribes (Washington: Institute for the Development of Indian Law, no date), 206-9.

### The Muscogee Removal, 1814-37 Land Dispossession

"Treaty with the Creeks, 1825," in Treaties and Agreements, 213-16.

Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Lee Compere and the Creek Indians," Chronicles of Oklahoma 42 (1964), 291-99.

"Indian Removal Act, May 28, 1830," in Documents of United States Indian Policy, 2nd ed., edited by Francis Paul Prucha (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1990), 52-53.

"Treaty with the Creeks, 1832," in Treaties and Agreements, 222-24.

Mary E. Young, "The Creek Frauds: A Study in Conscience and Corruption," Journal of American History 42 (1955), 411-37.

### The Muscogees in Indian Territory, 1837-66 Tribal Citizenship and U. S. Nationalism

W. David Baird (ed.), A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy: The Autobiography of Chief G. W. Grayson (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1988), xi-xvii, 3-11, 32-73.

John R. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," in Forty-Second Annual Report of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology, 1924-25 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928), 31-33, 242-47.

### The Muscogee (Creek) Nation, 1866-1899 Tribal Constitutional Government

Theda Perdue (ed.), Nations Remembered: An Oral History of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles in Oklahoma, 1865-1907 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1993), xi-xx, 85-96, 108-21.

Donald A. Grinde, Jr., and Quintard Taylor, "Red vs. Black: Conflict and Accommodation in the Post Civil War Indian Territory, 1865-1907," American Indian Quarterly, Summer 1984, 211-29.

L. M. S. Wilson, "Reminiscences of Jim Tomm," Chronicles of Oklahoma 44 (1966), 290-306.

John W. Morris, et al, Historical Atlas of Oklahoma, 3rd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1986), 40-41.

Alice M. Robertson, "The Creek Indian Council in Session," Chronicles of Oklahoma 11 (1933), 895-98.

## The Creek Nation and Oklahoma Statehood, 1899-1907 Land Allotment and Political Dissolution

"Agreement with the Creek Nation, September 27, 1897," Treaties and Agreements, 248-52.

"Curtis Act, June 28, 1898," in Documents of United States Indian Policy, 197-98.

Alexander Posey, "Big Man's Rules and Laws," in Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992, edited by Peter Nabokov (New York: Viking, 1991), 263-65.

Alexander Posey, "Journal of Creek Enrollment Field Party 1905," Chronicles of Oklahoma 46 (1968), 2-19.

John Bartlett Meserve, "The Plea of Crazy Snake (Chitto Harjo)," Chronicles of Oklahoma 11 (1933), 898-911.

Waldman, 181.

Morris, 18, 23, 26, 33, 55, 59.

Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., and Lonnie E. Underhill, "The 'Crazy Snake Uprising' of 1909: A Red Black, or White Affair?" Arizona and the West 20 (Winter 1978), 307-24.

## The Muscogees in the Twentieth Century, 1907-71 Political Accommodation, Cultural Resistance

W. David Baird, "Are the Five Tribes of Oklahoma 'Real' Indians?" Western Historical Quarterly 21, no. 1 (February 1990), 4-18.

Morris Edward Opler, "The Creek 'Town' and the Problem of Creek Indian Political Organization," in Human Problems in Technological Change: A Casebook, edited by Edward H. Spicer (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952), 165-80.

Muriel H. Wright, "Yuchi," in A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1951), 264-69.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Veterans tribute: World War II prisoner recalls his sacrifice for freedom," Muscogee Nation News, November 1991, 6-7.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Muscogee war hero inducted into Broken Arrow Hall of Fame," "Seek, Strike, Destroy," and "Creek woman served in U.S. Navy WAVES," Muscogee Nation News, November 1992.

Willard Walker, "Incidental Intelligence on the Cryptographic Use of Muskogee Creek in World War II Tactical Operations by the United States Army," International Journal of American Linguistics 46, no. 2 (April 1980), 144-45.

Angie Debo, The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma: Report on Social and Economic Conditions (Philadelphia, PA: Indian Rights Association, 1951), ii-8, 24-28, 34-36.

Sharon A. Fife, "Baptist Indian Church: Thlewarle Mekko Sapkv Coko," Chronicles of Oklahoma 48/4 (Winter 1970-71), 450-466.

## The Reemergence of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, 1971-95 Tribal Sovereignty and Self-determination

The Muscogee Creek Nation Directory of Services 1993-94, 19 pp. brochure.

"Muscogee Council Election '93," Muscogee Nation News, ca. 1993.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Tribal towns appoint executive secretary, OK expense ordinance" and "About the Mvskokullke Etulwa Etelaketa," Muscogee Nation News, August 1990, 14.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Thlopthlocco elects its leaders," "'Standing votes' decide winners," and "The evolution of Thlopthlocco," Muscogee Nation News, February 1991, 6, 16, 17.

John H. Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma," Science and Society 52, no. 2 (Summer 1988), 163-90.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Ceremonial ground dig in Alabama on hold" and "Oklahoma Creeks oppose desecration," Muscogee Nation News, July 1991, 4, 14.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Poarch Band to begin mitigation of Hickory Ground," Muscogee Nation News, September 1992, 1, 12.

## Contemporary Creek Literature and Art Tribal History, Tribal Survival

Louis Oliver, The Horned Snake (Merrick, NY: Cross-Cultural Communications, 1982), 8-11, 16; Chasers of the Sun: Creek Indian Thoughts (Greenfield Center, NY: Greenfield Review Press, 1990), 20-21, 35-37, 41, 45-46, 48-49, 52-61.

Joy Harjo, "Ordinary Spirit," in I Tell You Now: Autobiographical Essays by Native American Writers, edited by Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1987), 263-70; What Moon Drove Me to This? (New York: I. Reed, 1979), 5, 14, 18, 35, 37, 46-48, 61, 64, 67; She Had Some Horses (New York: Thunder's Mouth, 1983), 25-26, 32, 40, 42-44, 63-64, 68-69; In Mad Love and War (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University, 1990), 1, 14-15, 30, 47-48, 57-58.

Jamake Highwater, Song from the Earth: American Indian Painting (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1976), 71, 97 (Acee Blue Eagle); 107, 164-68 (Fred Beaver); 108 (Jerome Tiger); 133 (Johnny Tiger); 128 (Joan Hill).

Arthur Silberman, "Tiger," Oklahoma Today 21, no. 3 (Summer 1971), 28-33.

Stephanie Berryhill, "Creek artist revives material Mvskoke culture," Muscogee Nation News 21/2 (February 1992), 1, 11.