

Native American Tribal Histories

American Studies 123H
Spring 1994
TTh 4:00-5:45
Oakes College 222

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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 Semanolies 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

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/Pacific, or European 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. 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.

Please note: the structure of this course has been revised since the original catalog description was submitted; we will, however, still be considering all of the themes suggested in that description.

Course Objectives

Students in this course will:

- (1) consider theoretical and cross-cultural perspectives on the idea of "history" and learn research methodologies useful for writing tribal/ethnic/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 (critical response essay, progress reports, chronology and bibliography, final essay), 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 end of the second week of the quarter, 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/interview with an individual who is affiliated with the tribal nation.

Project assignment schedule:

April 7	Critical Response Essay (2-3 pp.) due
April 14	Topic due
April 21	Progress Report 1--Preliminary Bibliography (1-2 pp.) due
April 28	Progress Report 2--Interview Synopsis (1-2 pp.) due
May 10	Progress Report 3--Secondary Sources (1-2 pp.) due
May 17	Progress Report 4--Primary Sources (1-2 pp.) due
May 24	Progress Report 5--Historical Interpretation (1-2 pp.) due
June 9	Chronology (2-3 pp.) and Bibliography (2-3 pp.) due
Final	Final Essay (5-7 pp.) due

Course Texts

This course has one required course text (below), which is available at Bay Tree Bookstore, and one required course reader, which is available at the UCSC Copy Center. The text (but not the reader) is also on reserve at McHenry Library.

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

Course Readings

April 5

Course Introduction

April 7

Native American Tribal Histories

Community, Time, and Interpretation

Calvin Martin (ed.), The American Indian and the Problem of History (New York: Oxford, 1987), Preface-97.

April 12

Native American Tribal Histories (cont.)

Martin, 98-220.

April 14

The Muscogee (Creek) Nation Today

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, "Kv'be Cv'fke: Mvskoko grandmother carries on dying tradition," Muscogee Nation News, April 1992.

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

James H. Howard, Oklahoma Seminoles: Medicines, Magic, and Religion (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1984), xv-xxiv, 122-66.

April 19

Este Mvskoke, The Muscogee People

Origins, Traditions, Worldviews, Languages

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

John R. Swanton, "Tokulki of Tulsa," in American Indian Life, edited by Elsie Clews Parsons (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1922), 127-45, 393-94, 416.

"Lullaby," in The Sacred Path: Spells, Prayers and Power Songs of the American Indians, edited by John Bierhorst (New York: William Morrow, 1983), 26.

R. M. Loughridge and David M. Hodge, English and Muskokee Dictionary (Okmulgee, OK: Baptist Home Mission Board, 1964 [reprint]), 92-93.

W. S. Robertson and David Winslett, Na kcokv es Kerretu Enhvteceskv (Muskokee or Creek First Reader) (Okmulgee, OK: Baptist Home Mission Board, 1963 [reprint]), 2-3, 13-15.

Henry O. Harwell and Delores T. Harwell, The Creek Verb (Muskogee, OK: Indian University Press, 1981), 2-7, 13-15.

William Harjo (Thomas E. Moore), Sour Sofkee (Muskogee, OK: Hoffman Printing, 1983), Preface-5.

April 21

The Muscogees and European Colonialism, 1539-1783
Britain, Spain, France, and the United States

Sharon O'Brien, American Indian Tribal Governments (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1989), xv-xviii, 20-23, 119-37.

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

April 26

The Emergence of the Muscogee Confederacy, 1783-93
Alexander McGillivray

Wright, 73-99.

R. S. Cotterill, The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1954), ix-x, 57-99.

April 28

The Muscogee Civil War, 1813-14
Red Sticks

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.

May 3

The Muscogee Migration, 1828-37

Removal to Indian Territory

Elizabeth Sullivan, Indian Legends of the Trail of Tears and Other Creek Stories (Oklahoma?: Elizabeth Sullivan, 1974), Introduction-7.

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

Michael D. Green, The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1982), xi-xiii, 174-87.

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.

May 5

The Muscogees and the U. S. Civil War, 1861-65

Loyal Creeks and Southern Creeks

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, 32-72.

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.

"Treaty with the Creeks, 1866," Treaties and Agreements, 239-44.

May 10

The Muscogee (Creek) Nation, 1867-1899

Constitutional Government

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

Pu Pucase Momet Pu Hesayecv Cesvs Klist En Testement Mucvsat (Muskokee New Testament) (New York: American Bible Society, 1979), 1-9.

Marilyn M. Hofstra, Voices: Native American Hymns and Worship Resources (Nashville, TN: Discipleship Resources, 1992), 12-13, 34-37, 40-41, 44-45.

Angie Debo, The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1941), vii-xiii, 285-323.

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

May 12

The Muscogees and Oklahoma Statehood, 1899-1907

Allotment and Dispossession

Angie Debo, And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes (Princeton: Princeton University, 1940), ix-xii, 92-158.

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

"The Plea of Crazy Snake," in A Short History of the Indians of the United States, Edward H. Spicer (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1969), 165-70.

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.

Waldman, 181.

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

May 17

The Muscogees in the Twentieth Century, 1907-71

Cultural Resistance

Donald E. Green, The Creek People (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1973), 88-99.

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

Gunter Wagner, Yuchi Tales, Publications of the American Ethnological Society 13 (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1931), viii-x, 188-203.

William Harjo, 14-21.

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.

"Creek Tribe Fights for Elected Tribal Government," Indian Voices, June 1965, 3-4.

Clifton Hill, "Creek Leader Makes Policy Statement," Indian Voices, December 1965, 16-17.

Stan Steiner, The New Indians (New York: Dell, 1968), 110-15.

May 19

The Reemergence of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, 1971-94
Tribal Sovereignty and Self-determination

Muscogee (Creek) Nation, an ancient partnership; the energy of the Soil . . . the energy of the Muscogee people . . ., 17 pp. brochure, ca. 1980.

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

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

Donald L. Fixico, "Sovereignty Revitalized," in Nabokov, 420-23.

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

May 24

Tribal History and Tribal Survival
Contemporary Creek Literature and Art

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), 3-13, 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).

Paintings by Joan Hill: An Exhibition, May 16-June 30, 1993, 6 pp. brochure (Anadarko, OK: Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center, 1993)

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

May 26, June 2, 7
Class Presentations

June 9
Course Evaluations