"The Indian Home Is Undone"

Anglo Intrusion, Colonization, and the Creek Nation, 1867–1907

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The era 1867 to 1907 has typically been interpreted as a time of problematic attachment to place for the Indian nations of Indian Territory due to the federal government's implementation of the policies of allotment and the dissolution of tribal governments. Dispossession, forced re-settlement, and the continued interference and meddling in tribal customs and politics by governmental agencies and officials seemingly restricted bonding with place. However, during the late nineteenth century the Creek Nation resisted attempts at colonialism and cultural imperialism.[1]

The development of a Creek sense of place centered around community and ceremonies that enabled the nation to identify and connect with its surroundings instead of disappearing as a viable ethnic group.

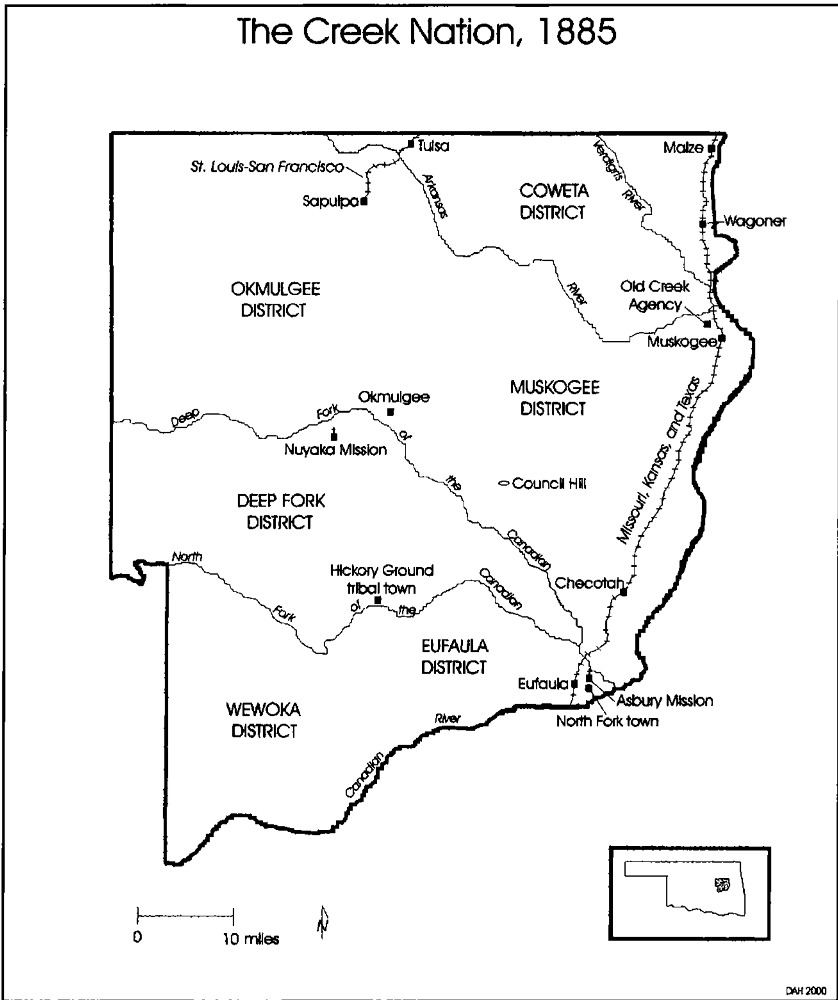
The Creeks' shaping of place contradicts commonly held beliefs about the ability of some American Indians to develop a heightened sense of place after dispossession. In fact, historical geographers have largely ignored American Indian attachment to land in Indian Territory.[2] This study hopes to illustrate how one dispossessed native group bonded with and attempted to maintain control of its territory. In the face of American colonialism and imperialism, recently removed American Indian communities did resist American interests, did modify their cultural and social traditions, and did shape their surrounding landscapes to best suit their needs as a community with a shared past and a common future. For the Creeks in Indian Territory, the years 1867 to 1907 exemplify those themes.

Anglo Intrusion

Prior to the American Civil War, Indian Territory served as an artificial barrier to westward expansion into the southern Great Plains, diverting potential homeseekers north or south of the area. However, Americans, motivated by the desire for fertile agricultural land, a quick profit, or promises of impending statehood, migrated into Indian Territory in increasing numbers after the Civil War. That frustrated tribal officials who wished to maintain a semblance of control over their jurisdiction.

The interior location of the Creek Nation within Indian Territory helped shelter the region from large-scale intrusion (map, p. 196). Most immigrants prior to the Civil War clustered along the Texas Road on the eastern periphery of the nation. The relative lack of intruders meant that few Anglo-style towns or central places existed in the Creek Nation. The largest urban area prior to 1870, North Fork Town, was merely a dense settlement of several hundred Creeks with a few stores on both sides of the Texas Road.[3]

Pressures associated with increasing white immigration, including illegal acts such as the clearing and homesteading of land, the opening of coal mines, and harvesting of timber, became notable to the Creeks by the mid–1870s. Removal of intruders and protecting the sovereignty of the Creek Nation became regular topics in tribal government debate. Even progressive Creeks recognized that if the intruder problem was not solved, they were in "danger of losing not



only our homes, but our dearest rights."[4] Creeks attempted to defend their threatened homes and tribal towns by removing trespassers and by monitoring their illegal activities. However, the immigration escalated after the mid–1880s, as progressive Creeks began to hire laborers to work their expanding agricultural and ranching operations or rented enormous acreages to Anglo cattlemen. Although traditional Creeks resented the increased presence of guest-workers, precedent was set.[5]

Expansion of the railroad network into Indian Territory quickly ended the Creek Nation's location on the periphery of the American

economic frontier. The first railroad completed across the Creek Nation was the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas (MKT or "Katy" in the vernacular in 1872. The MKT fulfilled the provision in the 1866 United States–Creek treaty for a north-south Indian Territory railroad. It connected the new Creek Nation towns of Mazie, Wagoner, Muskogee, Checotah, and Eufaula.[6]

Creeks realized the dangers inherent in railroad construction and political attempts to extinguish title to Indian lands as early as 1875.[7] Construction of additional railroads and the introduction of more intruders into Indian Territory would, in their words, result in a process where "*the Indian home is undone*" [emphasis in original] [8] Nevertheless, after completion of the MKT, an east-west railroad, the Atlantic and Pacific (St. Louis and San Francisco or "Frisco" in the vernacular), was built. Running southwest through the Creek Nation, it was completed in 1882 and connected the towns of Tulsa and Sapulpa. Railroad construction was not limited to two corridors, as implied in the 1866 treaty, as other lines were later surveyed and built.[9] Thus, railroads increasingly linked Indian Territory to surrounding regions. The expansion of the railroad network only furthered non-citizen agricultural settlement. Economic growth and railroad construction were cyclical forces that Creeks were not able to stop.

Reports in newspapers and magazines about the "Indian Eden" encouraged Anglo intrusion.[10] Prior to railroad construction, the federal government estimated that 6,000 United States citizens lived within the boundaries of the Five Tribes in eastern Indian Territory. Until 1880, only two Anglo families were reported living in a sizable area of the Creek Nation southwest of Eufaula. By the early 1890s, the number of Anglo settlers, often called an "alien flood" by Indians, had increased to sizable proportions.[11] Suddenly, the Creeks were engulfed by "a constant stream of emigrants through the reservation in all directions."[12] In particular, whites in large numbers began to inhabit the Muskogee and Eufaula Districts in the southeastern quadrant of the Creek Nation.[13]

National advertisements attracted many settlers to Indian Territory. Businesses such as the Doneghy Investment Company, publicized as the "largest owners of Creek land in Indian Territory," aggressively promoted purchase of individual Creek allotments from its office in Muskogee. Doneghy flyers advertised more than 100 farms, encompassing more than 14,000 acres, for sale with legal and natural vegetation categorizations to describe each property. The company characterized the Creek Nation as "a sure success for

farming," without drought or crop failure, with a beneficial climate, rich soil, and modern railroad facilities to move crops to markets. To aid its boosterism, Doneghy claimed that Anglo "farmers who work make more money here than any place we have ever seen."[14]

Many Americans believed the statements of land companies and railroad boosters. The number of Indian Territory immigrants rapidly increased from 6,000 in 1881 to 200,000 in 1894 to 650,000 in 1903. By the end of the allotment period, an estimated 800,000 whites resided in Indian Territory, outnumbering the Indian population by ten to one. Of that total, approximately 126,000 Americans resided in the Creek Nation. Most of the immigrants were Upper Southerners, with settlers from Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri the largest contributors to the new population geography.[15]

The Union agent to the Five Tribes and other government officials did little to stop the exponentially increasing immigration through an unwritten, unofficial policy of "masterly inactivity."[16] The annual reports of the Indian agents, with the exception of Robert L. Owen in the mid– to late–1880s, explicitly supported pro-allotment forces by condemning communal land ownership and supporting the transition to private property in Indian Territory.[17] Clearly, the government became a catalyst for allotment instead of supporting the popular will of the Creeks.

Intruders claimed land that appeared unused and available. By 1876 an estimated 75 percent of the Creek Nation was under tillage.[18] The region became economically tied to the continental economic system with local sources of lumber, coal, and agricultural goods exchanged for finished products from the East Coast and the Midwest. Increased pressure to open additional land to expand agricultural production, for example cotton cultivation, followed.[19] Anglo settlement in Indian Territory began to resemble that of their former homes in Missouri, Kansas, or Tennessee. The influx of additional settlers and the creation of Anglo landscapes seemed to reinforce commonly held American notions of progress and economic gain at the expense of traditional Creek beliefs and efforts at community maintenance.

The railroad influence was paramount in the transportation of an American urban design to the Creek Nation. As soon as railroad officials announced their decision to place a siding and depot at a specific location, a small city formed overnight. Beginning in the early 1870s, Wagoner, Muskogee, and Checotah became railroad stops, adopted entrepot functions, and quickly became American instead of Creek cityscapes. Rapid urban growth continued, and by

1888 forty-nine Anglo-style towns, the vast majority along railroad transects, functioned in the Creek Nation.[20] A disparate group of people, including white entrepreneurs, converted unsettled sites or small Creek towns into trade and export centers. A change in morphology from Creek to American places followed as many traditional Creeks left the railroad corridors to Anglos and enterprising Creek progressives. In the largest, newest cities of the Creek Nation, traditional regional identity was being undermined by a national architectural design and emphasis on a capitalistic economic system.

Muskogee became the most prosperous town in the Creek Nation, located in a fertile agricultural valley on the MKT Railroad that built switch yards and other servicing facilities in town. Originally settled by Creek freedmen, Muskogee before 1872 was a small collection of houses near the junction of two major roads. After construction of the MKT, Muskogee moved more than a mile to the railroad right-of-way in 1872, became the Creek Nation's major trading center for Anglos and Indians, and hosted 70 percent of the licensed traders of the nation.[21] Furthermore, Muskogee became the de facto political capital of Indian Territory after the Union Agency (a combining of the formerly independent agents for each of the Five Tribes) was established just northwest of Muskogee in

In 1900 Muskogee's architectural style was decidedly American and had little resemblance to a traditional Creek tribal town (Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society).

1874. In addition to its role as a trading center, Muskogee became the focus of federal–Five Tribes business. People were drawn to Muskogee and its immediate hinterland, and the town became a multicultural city with significant numbers of Indian, white, and black residents (legal and illegal). In 1890 Muskogee had a population of 1,200, and the urban area was considered predominantly Anglo because it was largely constructed and promoted by the MKT, businesses were operated by Anglos, and the area was a hotbed of "boomer" activism for the alienation of Indian land and dissolution of tribal governments.[22]

The combination of railroad connectivity and the discovery of oil transformed the tribal town of Tulsa. Once a collection of Creek houses dispersed around a ceremonial ground that overlooked the Arkansas River, Tulsa grew rapidly after 1885. In 1900 the city had 1,930 residents, and by 1907 the town boasted a population of 7,298.[23] Growth was so rapid during that time that forty acres set aside for the Creeks as an Indian Fair Grounds were soon overrun with Anglo houses.[24] Before the discovery of oil south of Tulsa, the town acted as a economic node for the Creeks and the Sac and Fox Indians who came to trade and purchase goods. After railroad construction and the discovery of oil, Tulsa became a regional metropolis, seemingly divorced from its Creek origins.

Of all the railroad towns in the Creek Nation, Eufaula retained the greatest amount of Creek identity. After the MKT was constructed, most traders and inhabitants of the formerly prosperous North Fork Town migrated to Eufaula for the town's newly found advantageous economic connectivity. Although Eufaula was a small town with approximately 500 residents in 1890 and consisted of a cluster of frame buildings and stores, it managed to retain the identity of an "Indian town" until allotment.[25] Eufaula did not host the social, ceremonial, or historical significance of tribal towns, but its formation and growth as a new type of Creek urban space signaled the expansion of the Creek concept of place to include urban commercial nodes. Creek progressives and traditionals were confronted with the meaning of new railroad towns.[26] Although traditional Creeks in particular did not embrace the new places, railroad towns such as Eufaula—the best location for goods, services, and trading opportunities—could not be ignored either.

As Indian Territory developed, few areas were removed from direct Anglo influence. Creek communities that did not relocate increasingly noticed the pressure of surrounding white settlement and development. Areas such as the Concharty Mountains in north-

eastern Okmulgee County that remained economically isolated because of a lack of roads and railroads attracted conservative re-settlement around Indian churches or ceremonial grounds.[27] Creek oral history compares the process to throwing a handful of arrows into the air. The arrows scatter, symbolizing the breaking of tribal towns and the ceremonial life of the Creeks.[28] Dramatic cultural change begat protests from many Creeks in defense of cultural, political, and numerical threats during an era of Anglo intrusion.

Territoriality and Allotment

Creek options to deal with the widespread Anglo intrusion were always limited in the post–Civil War era and grew increasingly so as Oklahoma statehood became a viable political option for the white majority. Historically, Creek traditionals tended to withdraw from politics when strategies that ignored consensus making were bypassed in an attempt to centralize power. However, Creek conservatives did not act as passive observers of the scene unfolding before them, but protested the actions of their government and those of the federal government. In one sense, increased interaction with Americans served to reinforce Creek identity as their very existence in "our sacred home" was threatened from without and within traditional Creek society.[29]

Creek conservatives contested nearly every tribal election held after ratification of the 1867 constitution. They objected to political centralization and the mounting subjection of the social and political roles of tribal towns. Many Creeks saw the elected tribal officials as little more than federally supported intermediaries. Until allotment, they often used militaristic methods and were often dismissed by the Creek government as insignificant "malcontents in the form of a small faction" who "had not sufficient intelligence" to forget traditional ceremonies and practices or adopt civilized behavior.[30] In reality, Creeks' resistance to their changing world was a real, continuing effort to reorient their society to what they believed was the foundation of Creek existence.

The completion of the first Indian Territory railroad and immigration of non-citizens in the early 1870s acted as catalysts for a traditionalist reaction against manifestations of modernization. In particular, railroad surveyors were targets for protests. For example, Creek citizens living in North Fork Town and Fishertown killed the first two surveying parties for the MKT. Other Creeks attacked surveying teams or harassed the crews by removing survey mark-

ers and cutting down trees to act as barricades to surveying and construction.[31]

Other layers of tension evolved as the pro-allotment and Anglo settlement forces increased pressure upon the Creeks and the federal government. In addition to intertribal councils, groups of Creek traditionals began protesting white settlement, particularly in the southeastern quadrant of the Creek Nation. Working in small groups, Creeks destroyed Anglo possessions, stampeded cattle, and directly threatened settlers. While acts of Creek territoriality continued, including the establishment of a conservative shadow "Snake" government, the momentum of American settlement increased to the point where the protests of the Indian Territory nations were largely ignored and merely set aside for inclusion in the historical record.[32]

Creeks did not let the dismissal of their protests deter them from continuing to lodge objections against the political, economic, and cultural trends occurring in Indian Territory. The manifestation of allotment on the landscape in the form of township and range surveys—a necessary precursor for the orderly settlement of private parcels of property—gave the Creeks a physical outlet of protest as individuals and small groups destroyed survey markers, posts, and cornerstones in order to slow the allotment process. While the Creek agent considered "the ring of the surveyor's ax   an echo of progress," Creeks clearly saw the survey and census of the nation as a threat to their existence.[33] Dissent grew to such levels that Congress was forced to pass an act penalizing those who defaced, re-

At Hickory Ground tribal town (above), federal and territorial officials arrested and jailed (p. 194) participants in the Creek "Snake" shadow government who had hoped to form a more conservative government to fight allotment and tribal dissolution (Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society).

moved, or altered township and range posts (survey section corner, quarter-section corner, or meander), emblazoned trees, or benchmarks.[34]

Impending allotment quickly mobilized opposition forces. The federal government gave familiar justifications for allotment and Anglo settlement of Indian Territory. In its view, Indians underutilized their land resources, tribes were not progressing fast enough to fill the mold of the Jeffersonian individual farmer, tribal citizens were superstitious and backward, and Indian reservations and treaty commitments were poor reasons to stop American manifest destiny.[35] Creek-American tensions were high and allotment became the defining political issue of the 1880s and 1890s as Creek politics revolved around the issues of maintaining Creek autonomy, preserving territorial boundaries and self-government, and avoiding allotment. At each of many public forums, the Creek polity expressed almost unanimous opposition to allotment.[36]

Allotment became official federal policy in 1887 with the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act), although the Five Tribes were excluded from the agreement. However, in 1893 the Dawes Commission (Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes) was appointed to negotiate with the Five Tribes for the extinguishment of their land titles and allotment in severalty. Hypothetically, a negotiated, voluntary agreement was necessary to end fee-simple communal land ownership and replace it with individual landholdings. In reality, the Dawes Commission directly stated its intended outcome of negotiations. Before an audience of 2,000 Creeks, commissioners said that if the Creeks refused to cooperate Congress would "by direct legislation in which the Indians of this Territory will have no voice, abolish the tribal governments of the several nations, allot their lands and create a state or territorial government over the country comprised in the Indian Territory."[37]

Creeks did not warmly receive those overtures. During their protests they emphasized their advancements in education, religion, and agriculture while noting their attachment to place and their ability to provide extended social services and support for tribal members. Tribal leaders also recognized the social effects of allotment at an early date. Creek delegations argued that, instead of solving the intruder problem, any change in land tenure would have devastating effects on their people. Isparhecher stated that enacting allotment would result in "breaking up the homes of my self and my people."[38] The extent of Creek dissatisfaction was so severe that the previously unelectable traditional candidate Isparhecher de-

feated the progressive Pleasant Porter in the 1895 election for principal chief based upon his platform opposing allotment, the end of tribal government, and the immigration of non-citizens to the Creek Nation.[39]

However, Creek arguments had little effect upon negotiations with the Dawes Commission. The end result of the Dawes Commission discussions was pre-ordained. By that time, the Creek government was forced into an entirely reactionary role to the intrusive policies of the federal government and had little ability to outline its own destiny and vision of the Creek Nation. In 1895 Congress decided to survey Indian Territory as a prelude to allotment. The next year, Congress authorized the Dawes Commission to compile a complete census of tribal members to determine who was eligible for allotment.[40] Creeks could do little to slow the process other than to refuse cooperation with the census takers. The census and survey of the Creek Nation were completed by 1897, and the pressure for the Creeks to agree to allotment increased.

The commission and the Porter-led Creek committee reached an agreement in September, 1897, pending ratification by the United States Congress and the Creek Nation. Congress accepted the agreement in 1898 by a majority vote, but the resistant Creeks did not bring the motion to a vote. Isparhecher characterized the moment as being "one of the most extraordinary crises that have ever confronted our people."[41] Impatient, Congress passed the Curtis Act later that year, essentially forcing the Creeks to accept allotment by unilateral federal decree instead of by consent and compromise. Isparhecher called a general election in response to the Curtis Act and the Creeks narrowly voted down allotment as a matter of principle. Avoiding allotment was no longer an option, and by late 1898 the Isparhecher administration conceded the fact that some system of allotment would be instituted in Indian Territory.[42]

As alienation of tribal lands became inevitable, the Creeks returned a progressive, Pleasant Porter, to the office of principal chief in 1900 to act as an intermediary between the Creeks and the federal government. Unable or unwilling to resist the dictates of the Curtis Act, the progressive-led Creek government surrendered to government negotiators and attempted to work out the most advantageous conditions to allotment and the end of the tribal government. Their efforts were unsuccessful at protecting tribal citizens from excessive land sales and speculation. The more resistant conservative population, abandoned by its own government in addition

When the Dawes Commission met with a Creek delegation at the Masonic Temple in Muskogee, the parties discussed allotment and tribal dissolution, but the Creeks had little negotiating power (Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society).

to the federal government, chose a path of passive resistance in order to maintain significant elements of their culture.[43]

The Curtis Act abolished all tribal governments effective March 4, 1906. The United States gained its objective of total jurisdiction over all Indian nations, including the distribution of all tribal money from the Department of the Interior. The Creek Nation's lands were to be allotted and held in severalty, with each tribal member receiving 160 acres. Even the division of land in 160–acre tracts was inequitable. If the total Creek land base had been divided in a per capita basis, each enrolled Creek would have received at least 203 acres.[44] Accidentally, the Curtis Act did much to promote tribal unity by at least temporarily reducing traditional factionalism, as attention turned to a new common enemy, compulsory allotment.

Few options were available to those who wished to avoid the effects of allotment. A faction that potentially numbered 5,000 traditional Creeks considered selling their allotments, emigrating to Mexico or Paraguay, and re-instituting traditional tribal town–based government on communal property. While Creek and Cherokee conservatives discussed the idea of voluntary emigration for more than a decade, it was neither a viable political option nor sup-

ported by a significant number of Creeks. As Pleasant Porter noted, by that time there was "no other course open to us [other than allotment] This is our last home as a people. There is no other home or country for the Creek people."[45] Instead of emigrating, the traditional Creeks decided to remain in Indian Territory and continue their cultural traditions in the best manner possible in a changing political and social world.

Allotment began in April, 1899, with the opening of a land office in Muskogee. The newly elected principal chief, Pleasant Porter, encouraged tribal participation in the process even as he admitted that allotment was taking away "the lifeblood of my people."[46] The registration, voluntary and involuntary, of allottees was incomplete in 1906, when tribal governments were to be dissolved, due to the resistance of a large segment of the conservative population. Porter captured the pessimistic tone of the period when he lamented, "[M]y nation is about to disappear."[47] Tribal rolls were closed on March 4, 1907, by the Five Tribes Act and allotment was complete, even if the implications of its actions were just beginning.

Landscape and Social Change

The settlement of Indian Territory by Anglos fundamentally altered the landscape and environment of the region, changing the geography of the area more rapidly than in any previous era. Fundamental landscape change began in the early 1870s, as Creek culture and terrain began to be undermined by American national popular culture. The process accelerated during the 1880s and 1890s until allotment was complete. In addition to environmental degradation owed to increased farming and settlement, allotment served to reorient the Creeks to a new spatial order.

The intensive settlement of Indian Territory by whites introduced significant, localized landscape change. Throughout the era, traditional Creek agriculturalists continued to maintain small subsistence farms that minimized environmental disturbances. Anglo settlement and the clearing of forests for agriculture, coupled with the ongoing expansion of railroad networks, had a notable environmental impact. Creeks such as Pleasant Porter described the environmental transformation of what he labeled the "pristine wilderness" of the Creek Nation to a humanized landscape created by "the energy and industry" of Anglo homeseekers and economic profiteers.[48]

Initial American settlement was concentrated in areas of prairie or bottomlands before expanding into oak forests that were cleared

for agriculture and pasturage. The oak forests of the region could not withstand the effects of intensive settlement and farming over time. In particular, the expansion of areas of cotton cultivation accelerated the erosion of the region's sandy soils, removing topsoil and creating sizable gullies on marginal lands.[49] The full implications of the environmental costs of Anglo settlement of the Cross Timbers and incorporation of the region into the American economic system would not be realized until the 1920s and 1930s when large-scale out-migration from the region became increasingly common. Then the human costs of white settlement of the Cross Timbers and alienation of Indian lands would be more readily apparent.

The grid-shaped ordering of the township and range land survey system governed allotment. Many believed that a rational land division would bring social order to the inhabitants of Indian Territory. Permanent settlement "will conform to the lines run under said survey, and [the residents of Indian Territory will] take their portions of the land in accordance with the established sections."[50] The Indian nations would be socially transformed, adopt the dictates of economic progress, and discard any remaining vestiges of their traditional ceremonial and religious beliefs. Anglos viewed allotment and the overthrow of tribal government as "the rosy dawn forerunning a more perfect day, when semibarbaric custom must go down before the advancing flood of a higher civilization."[51]

Prior to allotment, Creek lands took no geometric shape. Instead, Creek property and farms were a variety of irregular shapes, often conforming to the variations of the natural landscape. Roads angled cross-country and often detoured around agricultural fields and other obstacles. The township and range grid severed traditional diagonal avenues of social exchange as roads, barbed-wire fences, and private property boundaries followed the mile-long borders of the sections. The transition to the township and range system was slow and awkward, especially for the older and less educated Creek.[52] Many Creeks had difficulty in understanding the new system and chose unintended allotments. Some allottees ignored the one-mile intervals by fencing or tilling over section lines, which triggered a rash of complaints to the agent. Other Creek citizens made official complaints that roads were being moved, ignored historical transportation routes, and rigidly conformed to section lines without the permission of the local residents most affected by the changes. By 1904 the government advances plans to ensure that all section lines in the Creek Nation were opened for public highways. All other

non-section-line public roads had to be approved by the Union agent before they could be constructed.[53] The privately owned square-grid landscape of rural Anglo-America was essentially a private one, not conducive to the social maintenance of communities. In future, section-line roads dictated the direction of travel and social interaction.

Social connections for the Creeks became increasingly difficult. In addition to the issue of mobility, some section lines and allotments divided Creek places such as tribal towns and ceremonial grounds. In at least one instance, allotment divided the ceremonial ground of a conservative tribal town. The town continued to use the full extent of its former grounds, legally infringing on the private property rights of a non-town member who owned a portion of the land.[54] The place quickly became contested as American legal rights were pitted against Creek ceremonial tradition.

In order to compensate for individual allotments and their associated social problems, many Creek traditionals attempted to select contiguous allotments. The strategy was partially successful as many family and tribal town members gained allotted land in the same area, often around their ceremonial ground or church. However, many allotments were dispersed throughout Anglo-owned property, restricting social interaction and increasing potential opportunities for cross-cultural conflict or social ridicule. Creek tribal towns, which had become increasingly dispersed since removal to Indian Territory, lost any resemblance to a clustered form and evolved into a distribution typical of an American rural community. Commonly, homes of tribal members were separated by more than a mile. Somewhere in the midst of the dispersed tribal town, land was set aside for a ceremonial ground on the allotment of a town member.[55] Town members wishing to continue their participation in Creek ceremonial life could not transfer their town membership to a closer tribal town, but had to return to the town of their birth. As distance between town members increased, Creek traditional social life changed.

Creek traditionals attempted to adjust to the realities of allotment in the best possible manner, but some difficulty in social adaptation was inherent. Creeks were forced to rethink their identity. What qualities determined membership in the Creek community—blood quantum, land ownership, or participation in a ceremonial ground or church community? Were Creek churches sufficiently traditional in their practices and doctrines to be considered "traditional" or were ceremonial grounds the only true outlet for tradi-

tional Creek beliefs? Were the progressive Creeks integrated in the commercial Indian Territory economy and social life authentic speakers of Creek culture and beliefs?

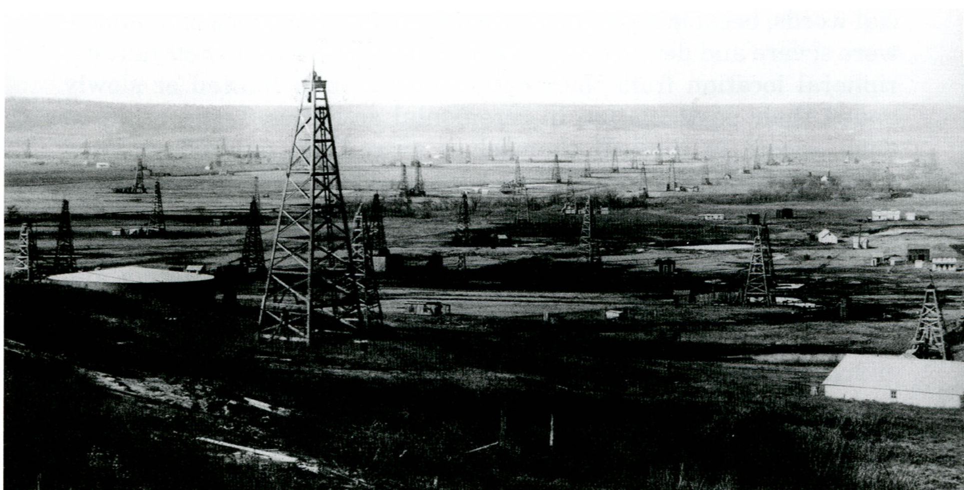
Some twentieth-century observers claim that the social life of traditional communities "stagnated" after allotment due to geographical isolation of its members.[56] Although the Creeks were able to keep the most compact landholdings of the Five Tribes, the negative social and ceremonial effects of allotment were visible in the steady decline of active tribal towns with ceremonial grounds during the period. Overall, Creek traditionals who chose not to orient themselves toward the American economic and political systems, but wished to center their existence in the Creek ceremonial and social words, became a people without a nation. The emotional effects were severe and devastating. Some Creeks found that their new peripheral location from their ceremonial ground limited or slowly ended their participation in ceremonial activities. Little could be done, except to reorient themselves away from Anglo-dominated towns and attempt to maintain an active rural community. However, practicing traditional ceremonies, observing busk and the Creek new year, playing stick ball, and participating in tribal town government helped to unify the traditional Creek population and furthered their separation from the Creek progressives.[57]

Creek progressives were better able to cope with the rapidly changing political and economic worlds of Indian Territory. Although their political actions may (or may not) have been in the best interests of preserving the tribal land base, sovereignty, and Creek identity, their cooperation with federal authorities indirectly weakened the community life of conservatives. Cooperation with the American political and economic goals for Indian Territory stripped the Creek Nation of its land base and political authority and rendered its traditional population to a state of economic despair. Only the tenacity of the ceremonial ground and church communities kept elements of traditional Creek culture alive.[58]

Following allotment the Creek land base quickly eroded through a variety of influences that included Anglo speculation, both legitimate and illegal. The number of fraudulent land sales and purchases below fair market value were staggering. Creek land sales to non-citizens and land companies began almost immediately after allotment, with some parties receiving written agreements to purchase Creek deeds as soon as they were issued.[59] The discovery of large oil reserves south of Tulsa in 1901 only heightened the pressure to acquire Indian lands by removing the restrictions on land

sales. Methodically, restrictions were lifted, opening hundreds of thousands of Creek-owned acres to sale. Large quantities of Creek property was transferred to Anglo hands quickly with the help of the Union agent. Sealed-bid allotment sales were held at the Union Agency, with hundreds of acres available for purchase by non-citizens each week.[60]

Anglo entrepreneurs and oil wildcatters rapidly created a landscape of commodification, labeled the "visible hand of improvement" by the agent.[61] In the areas with the greatest potential, rows of oil derricks and oil worker camps rose around Creek farms. Towns



An Anglo landscape of oil extraction marked the area of the Creek Nation south of Tulsa at Glenpool in 1907 (Courtesy Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Norman).

such as Glenpool and Cushing quickly were organized and grew into clusters of two-story brick and stone buildings. The alienation of Creek land—described in retrospect as "an orgy of plunder and exploitation probably unparalleled in American history"—continued after Oklahoma statehood so that by 1930 only about 10 percent of land in the former Creek Nation remained in Indian ownership.[62] The alienation of fullblood lands was even more rapid. By 1913, one observer estimated, fewer than 10 percent of the Creek fullbloods retained a significant portion of their allotment.[63]

Anglo-created towns, typically oriented around railroad transects, continued to evolve in an American, not Creek style. By 1907, the majority of today's railroads and towns had been constructed in the Creek Nation. As railroad and urban growth continued, Anglo influences reduced the extent of the Creek homeland so that the railroad towns in the eastern and northern sectors of the Creek Nation were barely in the sphere of the homeland and were viewed by Creeks as American places. Traditional Creek social and ceremonial life was so focused upon the rural landscape that cities provided little more than goods and services. Typically, only the progressive members of Creek society chose to live an urban life and attempted to integrate themselves into the dominant American urban society and economy. For some, individualism replaced community responsibilities that included accountability to a larger group.

For other more traditional Creeks, their existence remained centered in the community and their ceremonial life. They resisted further attempts at inclusion and assimilation and continued to maintain and elaborate their sense of place. Home in Indian Territory was clearly an existence close to friends and extended family. There, ceremonials could be practiced and Creek identity maintained through Indian church services or tribal town activities. Although Creek sense of place had changed between 1867 and 1907, a significant portion of the Creek, allowed their lives to remain centered in community and place.

Conclusions

Growing Anglo influences in the form of federal officials, especially the series of Creek agents, and incorporation of Indian Territory after the early 1870s into the continental economy, diminished the isolation of the Creeks. While a growing element of Creeks drew social, economic, and religious inspiration from their surrounding white influences, many Creeks maintained a more traditional worldview. Tribal towns and ceremonial grounds continued to be the social and religious core of Creek identity. Like other colonized people, they eventually reorganized their traditional ceremonies and social meetings to remove them from casual observation by outsiders. Creek identity was not necessarily weakened by making aspects of their social and ceremonial life more subtle, because it remained flexible and adaptable for those Creeks who continued to center their existence in people and place.

The years 1867 to 1907 illustrate the numerous American attempts to radically modify, suppress, and ignore Creek culture and

history. Those years highlight how the Creeks resisted the alteration of their identities and landscapes, created their own geography, authored their own history and future, and ultimately shaped a unique Creek cultural space in Indian Territory.

ENDNOTES

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[1] Studies of the Creek (Muscogee) Nation are subject to questions about language use. In both the historical and contemporary eras, use of the terms Creek, Muscogee, Muskogee, and Mvskoke vary. For example, many Creeks use the terms Creek and Muscogee interchangeably. This article uses the word Creek because the Euro-American construct Creek (and other constructs such as mixed-bloods, fullbloods, progressives, and conservatives) and outsider interpretations of the Creek Confederacy shaped the political and social history of the Creeks from European contact to the present day. The use of the word Creek for this article in no way attempts to illegitimatize other possible descriptors of the Mvskoke people or ignore the ethnocentric nature of the term Creek.

[2] An exception is Steven M. Schnell, "The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma," *Geographical Review*, 90 (April, 2000): 155–176.

[3] Joseph Sondheimer, July 30, 1937 in Indian-Pioneer History, ed. Grant Foreman, unpublished manuscript, 112 vols., 85: 439, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, (hereafter cited as IPH and WHC); Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road: Historical Places Along Highway 69 Through Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), 41–42; Michael F. Doran, *The Origins of Culture Areas in Oklahoma, 1830 to 1900* (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1974), 98–99.

[4] Message to Kings and Warriors, October, 1878, Ward Coachman Collection, Folder 1, Folder 3, WHC.

[5] Message of Samuel Checote, October 5, 1880, Samuel Checote Collection, Box C–2I, Folder 7 and October 18, 1883, Box C–2I, Folder 10, WHC; Wilson Clark, August 16, 1937 IPH, WHC, 18: 225. Creek protests against the Anglo intruders—colorfully labeled as "groveling parasites and barnacles contributed by surrounding states"—continued in other Creek administrations. See Inaugural Message to the National Council, December 5, 1883, Joseph M. Perryman Collection, Box 1, Folder 1, WHC.

[6] For the history of the MKT railroad, including the railroad building process and associated laborers, merchants, and intruders, see V. V. Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952). For observations on the ethnicity of railroad crews see H. L. Chancey, July 23, 1937 IPH, WHC, 17· 145, and W. Frank Jones, September 3, 1937 IPH, WHC, 49: 354.

[7] Message of Samuel Checote, October 5, 1875, Checote Collection, Box C–2I, Folder 5, WHC. Perryman noted in his 1885 annual address that railroad officials aggressively claimed legal right to certain sections of the Creek public domain and asserted the right to remove Creek citizens from what the railroad companies believed to be company-owned property. See Message of J. M. Perryman, October 15, 1885, J. M. Perryman Collection, Box 1, Folder 3, WHC.

[8] Ward Coachman and Pleasant Porter to Samuel Checote, n.d., Creek National Records, CRN 43, 35, 735, OHS.

[9] United States Department of the Interior, Census Office, *The Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory: The Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole Nations (Extra Census Bulletin)* (Washington, D.C.. United States Census Printing Office, 1894), map supplement.

[10] Theodora R. Jenness, "The Indian Territory," *Atlantic Monthly*, 43 (April, 1879): 444.

[11] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 330–331.

[12] John Q. Tufts, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.. Government Printing Office, 1883), 89 (hereafter cited as *ARCIA* with date).

[13] Leo E. Bennett, *ARCIA* (1889), 202; E. A. Hays to O. W. Stidham, Pleasant Porter, D. M. Hodge, n.d., Creek National Records, CRN 37 30, 948, OHS; Jim Rumsey, n.d.,, IPH, WHC, 79: 134–135. More than 70 percent of the Anglo settlers in the Creek Nation in 1890 lived in the Eufaula and Muskogee Districts. Black population was concentrated in the Cowetah District. The Creeks were fairly evenly dispersed, with the exceptions of a small population in the Cowetah District and a large population in the Muskogee District. The Muskogee District had the largest total population. See Census Office, *Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory*, 6, 68; Tufts, *ARCIA* (1880), 94; Doran, *Origins of Culture Areas*, 156–157

[14] Creek Nation Collection, Box 1, Folder 62, WHC.

[15] Tufts, *ARCIA* (1881), 104; Dew M. Wisdom, *ARCIA* (1894), 141, J. Blair Shoenfelt, *ARCIA* (1903), 162; Shoenfelt, *ARCIA* (1904), 183; Last Creek Council, October 20, 1905, Pleasant Porter Collection, Box 4, Folder 274, WHC; P Porter to J. Blair Shoenfelt, n.d., Creek National Records, CRN 37 31, 157 OHS. Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri contributed nearly half of the white population of Indian Territory in 1900. For a detailed chart of the origins of the white population of Indian Territory in 1900 see Doran, *Origins of Culture Areas*, 161–163; Michael F. Doran, "Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 53 (Winter, 1975): 513–514. The population geography of Oklahoma Territory in 1900 was vastly different with Kansas, Missouri, Texas, and Illinois providing the bulk of Anglo settlers. See Doran, *Origins of Culture Areas*, 171–173; Doran, "Population Statistics," 515.

[16] Wisdom, *ARCIA* (1896), 152.

[17] For examples of the pro-allotment viewpoints see Wisdom, *ARCIA* (1894), 142, and *ARCIA* (1897), 143; Shoenfelt, *ARCIA* (1903), 176.

[18] S. W. Marston, *ARCIA* (1876), 62.

[19] Tufts, *ARCIA* (1880), 94; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 367· Gilbert C. Fite, "Development of the Cotton Industry by the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory," *The Journal of Southern History*, 15 (August, 1949): 351.

[20] Message of L.C. Perryman, October 13, 1888, Legus Chouteau Perryman Collection, Box P–21, Folder 2, WHC; Masterson, *The Katy Railroad*, 144.

[21] Ward Coachman to House of Kings and Warriors, n.d., Creek National Records, CRN 49, 38, 914, OHS; John Q. Tufts to Sam Checote, May, 1881, Grant Foreman Papers, Box 38, Volume 80, Thomas Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma (hereafter cited as GM).

[22] Brother Brackin to Grant Foreman, n.d., Foreman Papers, Box 16, Binder 3, GM, Jacob Rolland, April 28, 1937 IPH, WHC, 78: 13; Foreman Papers, Box 39, Folder 23, OHS; John Dowing Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma, Including the Counties of Muskogee, McIntosh, Wagoner, Cherokee, Sequoyah, Adair, Delaware, Mayes, Rogers, Washington, Nowata, Craig, and Ottawa* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Pub-

lishing Company, 1922), 341–343; Mary Jane Warde, *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation, 1843–1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 175–178.

[23] The population of Tulsa was about 150 when the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad was extended to town. See Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run. The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), 133.

[24] D. O. Gilliss, June 30, 1937 IPH, WHC, 34: 104–107· J. A. Abbott, November 18, 1937 IPH, WHC, 1. 7· Arthur Bynum, 1937 IPH, WHC, 14: 307–309.

[25] Census Office, *The Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory*, 10; Warde, *George Washington Grayson*, 96, 175.

[26] W. Frank Jones, September 3, 1937 IPH, WHC, 49: 350; R. B. Buford, October 29, 1937 IPH, WHC, 13: 82; J. W. Stephens, March 22, 1938, IPH, WHC, 87· 120; Lizzie Ireland Stidham, August 26, 1938, IPH, WHC, 46: 433; Richard Young Audd, n.d., IPH, WHC, 3: 292.

[27] Solomon Wilson, June 1, 1970, T–589–2, 9–10, Doris Duke Collection, WHC; Robert Johnson Perry, *Life with the Little People* (Greenfield Center, New York: Greenfield Review Press, 1998), 12, 99.

[28] The town of Broken Arrow, Oklahoma, received its name as a symbolic representation of this process of dramatic culture change. Prior to Anglo intrusion, a nearby Creek town had a Creek name. As immigration grew in the Tulsa-to-Sapulpa corridor, the town was moved and renamed Broken Arrow to commemorate the changes in Creek land and life. See Mildred Childers, October 29, 1937 IPH, WHC, 17· 416; Wilson Haynie, April 15, 1970, T–609, 2, Duke Collection, WHC.

[29] Act of the National Council, November 5, 1894, Grayson Family Papers Collection, Box G–22, Flap Folder 5, Folder 25, WHC. See also Morris Opler, "The Creek Tribal Towns of Oklahoma in 1937 " *Papers in Anthropology*, 13 (1972), 64.

[30] Legus C. Perryman and G. W. Grayson to H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 8, 1883, Grayson Collection, Box G–22, Flap Folder IV, Folder 1, WHC; John Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question in Oklahoma," *Science and Society*, 52 (Summer, 1988): 178. For details of each conservative protest see Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 230–235.

[31] W. Frank Jones, September 3, 1937, IPH, WHC, 49: 352–353; Sarah Odom, December 27, 1937, IPH, WHC, 68: 64; Jesse Doyle, March 3, 1938, IPH, WHC, 25: 416; Department of the Interior, Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, Grant Foreman Collection, Box 14, Folder 7 OHS; Foreman Collection, Box 27 Folder 3, OHS. Creek political protests and individual complaints about railroad construction are noted in Creek National Records, CRN 43, 35, 722–735, 883, OHS.

[32] Robert L. Owen, *ARCIA* (1887), 116–118, and *ARCIA* (1888), 124; Nancy Meadows, September 14, 1937 IPH, WHC, 62: 41–42; Morris Edward Opler, "The Creek 'Town' and the Problem of Creek Indian Political Reorganization," in E. H. Spicer, ed., *Human Problems in Technological Change: A Casebook* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952), 168.

[33] *ARCIA* (1874), 70; Wisdom, *ARCIA* (1895), 160; Thomas Jones, June 13, 1937 IPH, WHC, 49: 305–306. Not surprisingly, the United States Geological Survey officials in charge of the Indian Territory township and range surveys were proponents of allotment. See Henry Gannett, "The Survey and Subdivision of Indian Territory," *National Geographic*, 7 (1896): 112–115.

[34] W. Frank Jones, September 3, 1937, IPH, WHC, 49: 352–353; Sarah Odom, December 27, 1937 IPH, WHC, 68: 64; Jesse Doyle, March 3, 1938, IPH, WHC, 25: 416;

Commission to Five Civilized Tribes, Foreman Collection, Box 14, Folder 7 OHS; Foreman Collection, Box 27 Folder 3, OHS.

[35] Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American. White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1982), 245–246; Donald L. Parman, "Indians of the Modern West," in G. D. Nash and R. W. Etulain, eds., *The Twentieth Century West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 149; D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*, Volume 2, *Continental America, 1800–1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 182; Warde, *George Washington Grayson*, 122–124. One journalist of the era summarized the opening of Indian Territory as the refusal to allow "millions of fertile acres to lie in unproductive wilderness, a monument to mistaken governmental munificence, reproaching homeless labor to satisfy a vague sentimental Indian equity." See Rezin W. McAdam, "An Indian Commonwealth," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 87 (November, 1893): 884. For other contemporary Anglo interpretations of the necessity of opening Indian Territory to settlement see Foreman Collection, Box 21, Folder 8, OHS.

[36] Message of Isparhecher, September 2, 1897 Isparhecher Collection, Box 1, Folder 18, WHC; Isparhecher to the National Council, August 24, 1897 Grayson Collection, Box G–23, Flap Folder 7 Folder 26, WHC; Grayson Collection, Box G–21, Flap Folder 2, Folder 5, WHC; Isparhecher to Roley McIntosh and D. V. Anderson, n.d., Creek National Records, CRN 37 31, 142, OHS. According to published accounts, Moty Tiger (and possibly his sons) was the only Creek to initially publicly vote for allotment at public meetings in 1893. See Editorial, September, 21, 1899, Moty Tiger Collection, Box T–8, Folder 1, WHC; Biographical Sketch of Moty Tiger, September 20, 1907 Tiger Collection, Box T–8, Folder 2, WHC; Mary Grayson, August 3, 1937 IPH, WHC, 102: 98.

[37] Message of L. C. Perryman, April 12, 1894, L. C. Perryman Collection, Box P–21, Folder 8, WHC.

[38] Isparhecher to the National Council, August 24, 1897, Grayson Collection, Box G–23, Flap Folder 7 Folder 26, WHC. See also Message to the President and Congress of the United States from the Commissioners on part of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Muskogee Nations of the Indian Territory in International Council, Checotah, Indian Territory, February 21, 1894, Creek Papers, Folder 37 GM, Message of Isparhecher, September 2, 1897 Isparhecher Collection, Box 1, Folder 18, WHC; Messages of Isparhecher, October 14, 1897 Isparhecher Collection, Box 1, Folder 21, WHC.

[39] Proclamation of Isparhecher, July 25, 1896, Isparhecher Collection, Box 1, Folder 8, WHC; L. C. Perryman Collection, Box P–21, Folder 8, WHC; Letter of P Porter and A. P McKellop, January 18, 1894, Porter Collection, Box 1, Folder 7 WHC.

[40] *Indians of North America Historical Manuscripts and Documents Collection*, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 3, Special Collections, McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma (hereafter cited as ML); Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 32–33; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 346–348.

[41] Messages of Isparhecher, October 14, 1897 Isparhecher Collection, Volume 16, Number 7 Box 1, Folder 21, WHC.

[42] Message of Isparhecher, December 17 1898, Isparhecher Collection, Box 1, Folder 35, WHC; Dawes-Creek Treaty, June 1, 1899, Isparhecher Collection, Box 1, Folder 37 WHC; Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 32–33; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, 346–348. For the full text of the 1897 agreement between the Dawes Com-

mission and the Creeks see The Creek Agreement, September 30, 1897 Porter Collection, Box 1, Folder 13, WHC.

[43] Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 33–35. The Porter administration also opposed Oklahoma statehood, but took little action other than limited public posturing. See Resolution Opposing Statehood, Grayson Collection, Box G–21, Flap Folder 1, Folder 10, WHC.

[44] Creek allottees were identified by the Dawes Commission (1893) that compiled tribal rolls. It was calculated that 14,771 enrolled Creeks lived on 3,040,000 acres of the Creek Nation in 1898. Subtracting 30,000 acres for entities such as towns, railroad rights-of-way, schools, churches, cemeteries, and courthouses, 3,010,000 net acres were to be allotted. That would have provided 203–acre allotments, if distributed on a per capita basis. See Creek Nation Collection, Box 1, Folder 58, WHC.

[45] P Porter to Yarteka Harjo, July 13, 1900, Creek National Records, CRN 37 31, 156, OHS. See also Wisdom, *ARCIA* (1897): 141, Interview with L. C. Perryman and P L. Berryhill, March 8, 1906, L. C. Perryman Collection, Box P–21, Folder 32, WHC; Indians Hold Annual Dance, July 21, 1905, L. C. Perryman Collection, Box P–21, Folder 29, WHC; Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., "Utopian Dreams of the Cherokee Fullbloods: 1890–1934," *Journal of the West*, 10 (Fall, 1971): 404–427 One Five Civilized Tribes party negotiated with "a large syndicate controlling operation on 4,500,000 acres of land" in Chihuahua, Mexico, in the hopes of purchasing property and restoring their system of communal ownership. See Indian Colonization in Mexico: How the Five Civilized Tribes Will Answer the Allotment Proposition, December 21, 1897 Foreman Collection, Box 16, Folder 5, OHS.

[46] Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 34.

[47] Hamlin Garland, "The Final Council of the Creek Nation," in Lonnie E. Underhill and Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., eds., *Hamlin Garland's Observations on the American Indian, 1895–1905* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 190.

[48] Letter of P Porter and A. P McKellop, January 18, 1894, Porter Collection, Box 1, Folder 7 WHC. An Anglo settler characterized the typical Creek landscape as consisting of small farms without much farming. See D. B. Milam, April 19, 1938, IPH, WHC, 63: 64.

[49] Douglas A. Hurt, "'Vexations of Flesh and Spirit'· Environment and Culture in the Cross Timbers," *Oklahoma. Magazine of the Oklahoma Heritage Association*, 3 (1998): 29; Richard V. Francaviglia, *The Cast Iron Forest: A Natural and Cultural History of the North American Cross Timbers* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 143–144, 162–163.

[50] Wisdom, *ARCIA* (1894), 142.

[51] Wisdom, *ARCIA* (1897), 143.

[52] Message of P Porter, October 18, 1906, Porter Collection, Box 5, Folder 315, WHC.

[53] See Shoenfelt, *ARCIA* (1900), 247· Shoenfelt, *ARCIA* (1902), 194; J. Blair Shoenfelt to W. T. Harper, n.d., Creek National Records, CRN 37 31, 166, OHS; Shoenfelt, *ARCIA* (1903), 172; Second Annual Message of Pleasant Porter, October, 1901, Porter Collection, Box 2, Folder 92, WHC; Shoenfelt, *ARCIA* (1904), 184; Message of Pleasant Porter, October 4, 1904, Porter Collection, Box 4, Folder 217 WHC; Shoenfelt, *ARCIA* (1905), 220; P Porter to J. Blair Shoenfelt, January 5, 1904, Foreman Papers, Box 29, Binder 56, GM; Eliza Palmer, September 20, 1937 IPH, WHC, 69: 74; Jesse Doyle, March 3, 1938, IPH, WHC, 25: 414.

[54] P Porter to Theodore Roosevelt, August 14, 1902, Foreman Papers, Box 29, Binder 56, GM.

[55] Jimmie Barnett, August 10, 1937 IPH, WHC, 5: 378, 383; Linda Collins, January 13, 1938, IPH, WHC, 19: 395; Opler, "The Creek Town," 178; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 179.

[56] Angie Debo, *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma. Report on Social and Economic Conditions* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1951), 2.

[57] Fred Johnson, January 14, 1938, IPH, WHC, 48: 236; Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 127· Debo, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 4.

[58] For positive interpretations of progressive actions during this era see David W. Baird, ed., *A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy: The Autobiography of Chief G. W. Grayson* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); Warde, *George Washington Grayson*.

[59] Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 89, 182; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 179.

[60] Dana H. Kelsey, *ARCIA* (1905), 218–219; Kelsey, *ARCIA* (1906), 233; Creek Nation Collection, Box 1, Folder 31, WHC; Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma*, 166.

[61] Shoenfelt, *ARCIA* (1899), 193.

[62] Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 91.

[63] See Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 89, 114, 182; Moore, "The Mvskoke National Question," 179. Parman notes that approximately 90 percent of allotments were quickly sold after individuals gained title. See Parman, "Indians of the Modern West," 152.