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FORTY-SECOND
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE

BUREAU OF
AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1924-1925



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., September 4, 1925.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1925.

With appreciation of your aid in the work under my charge, I am,

Very respectfully yours,

J. WALTER FEWKES,
Chief.

DR. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

CONTENTS

REPORT OF THE CHIEF

	Page
Systematic researches.....	4
Special researches.....	15
Editorial work and publications.....	16
Illustrations.....	17
Library.....	18
Collections.....	18
Miscellaneous.....	19

ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy, by John R. Swanton.....	23
Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians, by John R. Swanton.....	473
Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast, by John R. Swanton.....	673
Indian Trails of the Southeast, by William Edward Myer.....	727

REPORT OF THE CHIEF OF BUREAU

FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

J. WALTER FEWKES, Chief

The operations of the Bureau of American Ethnology during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1925, were conducted in accordance with the act of Congress approved June 7, 1924, making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government, which act contains the following item:

American ethnology: For continuing ethnological researches among the American Indians and the natives of Hawaii, including the excavation and preservation of archæologic remains, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, including necessary employees and the purchase of necessary books and periodicals, \$57,160.

The policy of the Bureau of American Ethnology in the past has been that of a pioneer, but from necessity the field work of the staff has been both intensive and extensive, mainly reconnaissance. As a pioneer, the bureau has opened up new lines of research in the study of the ethnology of the American Indians and has blazed a trail for others in several fields. While contributing to science technical monographs on certain Indian tribes, it has at the same time prepared and circulated, through publication, articles of a popular character covering the whole subject. The object has been to furnish reliable data for students wishing accurate knowledge of the American Indians.

The aboriginal culture of our Indians is rapidly disappearing and being replaced by the white man's civilization. Certain tribes have already lost almost all their native customs, and others will follow rapidly until little of scientific value remains for ethnological field work. The older men among them, who in their prime knew the native cults and rituals, are passing away, and the younger generation of Indians who are taking their places are almost entirely ignorant of the significance of the rituals or ceremonials. Current fables

and metaphoric stories, mainly explaining the characteristics of animals, are now often claimed to be mythologic, although many of them have value as tales, not as myths. The Indian culture is passing away and soon will be lost. It is the intention of the Bureau of American Ethnology to record it before its extinction.

The excavation and preservation of archeologic remains, from which much valuable scientific material may be obtained, constitute a task which is only just begun. The bureau has for many years been a pioneer in this work, and in many areas it has been the only investigator. The first publication of the Smithsonian Institution was on an archeological subject, and with the passing years the bureau has followed this line of work with vigor.

It is a traditional, sound policy of the institution, as a result of the relatively small allowance for the field study of the Indians, to cooperate, rather than to attempt to compete with those who have a much larger income. This policy has been pursued by the bureau during the past year.

The chronicles of De Soto's wonderful trip through our Southeastern States introduced to the attention of historians a remarkable aboriginal American culture, one of the most advanced in North America outside of Mexico. It was, as has generally been the case, built on agriculture, and the dominant tribal religion of its civilization was a complex of Sun, Fire, and Great Serpent cults. From Tampa Bay to the Mississippi River, De Soto encountered numerous tribes, differing in language and in minor ethnological features, but all belonging to the same culture with a worship characteristic wherever agriculture served as a source of food. As time went by and renewed exploration brought Europeans into more intimate contact with the Indians of the Gulf States, historians and others published many articles on their ethnology, but as the tribes were moved west of the Mississippi and the opportunities for the field worker were diminished, the time came for the ethnologist to yield to the archeologist to make his contribution to the subject. Here lies a great field for further studies, with ample work for both the historian and the archeologist.

The two areas in aboriginal America north of Mexico in which agriculture reached its highest development were the Southwest, or that part of our domain bordering on Old Mexico, and those States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, including the mound builders from the Ohio River to the Gulf. The investigation of the southwestern or pueblo region is at present attracting many archeologists amply furnished with funds, but the Southeastern or Gulf States have been more or less overlooked. The bureau has begun an archeological reconnaissance, as far as its resources will allow, in Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee. Last year special attention was given to the Indian mounds at Muscle Shoals in Alabama. The work in Tennessee, southern Florida, and Mississippi, so auspiciously begun by the late Mr. W. E. Myer, has been continued by Mr. P. E. Cox, State archeologist of Tennessee. Mr. H. B. Collins, assistant curator, division of ethnology, United States National Museum, was allotted a small appropriation for preliminary investigations and reconnaissance along the Pearl River in Mississippi, the prehistoric home of the Choctaw tribe. The results of this work were very satisfactory.

Work on the Muskogean culture, or the antiquities of the Gulf States, promises important results in comparative ways, and will, it is hoped, shed light on the religion of aboriginal tribes of North America. We are able to reconstruct, in a way, from historical sources, the main outlines of the Gulf culture, but the documentary references to the material culture of the Muskogean tribes are incomplete. More information is needed regarding the ritualistic sacra, idols, ceremonial objects, and symbolism on pottery, before we can reconstruct the cultus. The material for this study is now buried in the soil, but intensive archeological work will bring it to light. In essentials, the culture of the prehistoric people of the Gulf States is such as we find universal among agricultural people in America emerging from savagery into barbarism, and the religion has much in common with that of the Pueblos.

SYSTEMATIC RESEARCHES

The chief spent several weeks in reconnaissance near Florence, Ala., making excursions to several mounds in that vicinity, especially those that will be submerged when the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals is flooded. Mr. Gerard Fowke, who had immediate charge of the excavations in two of these mounds, obtained a considerable collection containing unique objects, among which are three rare copper ornaments, the largest ever found in the valley of the Tennessee. His report will be published later.

The chief at that time visited Montgomery, Ala., where he was most hospitably received. While there he made an examination of the Graves collection, one of the most remarkable in the State.

The chief has given advice to the National Park Service of the Interior Department on the new National Monument near Flagstaff, Ariz., which is now called by the Hopi name Wupatki. This monument includes the well-preserved buildings near Black Falls on the Little Colorado, first described and figured by the writer a quarter of a century ago, at which time he recommended that they be made a National Monument, and this has now been done by proclamation of the President.

The most important collection of archeological objects received during the past year was contributed by Mr. J. C. Clarke, of Flagstaff, Ariz., custodian of the Wupatki ruin. It consists of about a hundred specimens of pottery, shell and bone implements, and other artifacts from a burial mound at Youngs Canyon excavated by workmen in the course of construction of a road near the city. These objects were received at a time when material from that region of the Southwest was particularly desirable. The chief has prepared an illustrated report on this collection in which he calls attention to its importance. The collection contains unique specimens and is accompanied by a good catalogue by Mr. Clarke. One of the most interesting of these is a black and white pottery ladle, the handle of which is molded into a cradle containing a clay figure. There is

also a finely incised head-ornament of bone, recalling those worn by the Bow priesthood at Zuñi, and suggesting similar ornaments of the Hopi idol of the war god. The collection shows evidence of cremation and urn burial.

The pottery objects are archaic, and the interiors of certain black and white food bowls are decorated with artistic figures similar to those on polychrome ware from Tokonabi, near Marsh Pass, in northern Arizona. It is probable from the pottery that the people who buried their dead at Youngs Canyon were related to a population antedating Pueblos, which was scattered over a great area in Arizona from the Little Colorado north to the San Juan, and from the western boundary of the State of New Mexico. This people had no circular kivas or ceremonial rooms like those at the Mesa Verde, or the San Juan area, but they were fine potters who decorated their ware with artistic geometrical designs.

The number of written requests for information on ethnological subjects the last few years has more than doubled, and the time of the chief, as well as of the members of the staff, is correspondingly absorbed.

During the past year Mr. Earl H. Morris, under the direction of the chief of the bureau, did necessary repair work on the famous tower of the Mummy Cave House in the Canyon del Muerto, Arizona, which once contained three rooms. All woodwork on the first ceiling has been torn out; only the haggled ends of a few supports remain embedded in the walls. The cleanly peeled poles which supported the second ceiling are in place, and the third ceiling, or original roof, is still intact. It is probably the most beautiful ceiling remaining in any ruin in the Southwest, its only rivals being the coverings of one or two rooms in the north side of Pueblo Bonito, and in Spruce Tree House, Mesa Verde.

This tower has been in a dangerous condition for a long time. There was originally a retaining wall below it, rising from the very brink of the ledge, which held in place the fill of loose rock and refuse upon which the House of the Tower stands. Eventually, through erosion, all but the eastern end of this wall collapsed, probably because of the insecure foundation afforded by the abruptly sloping rock,

and much of the material behind it washed over the cliff. Later, the not infrequent winds which sweep over the cave with unbelievable force blew out the dust and rock pebbles until the southwest corner of the tower was undermined more than 3 feet and the wall eastward weakened almost to the opposite corner.

The cracks in the west wall were wider in November, 1924, than they were a year previous. The removal of half a dozen shovelfuls from the unconsolidated mass of earth beneath the front would have loosened the large block just beyond its western end, which prevented the entire collapse of the masonry. In addition to the periodic action of the wind, each visitor who passed from the eastern to the western part of the cave trod this portion of the loose mass below the wall farther down the slope, and sent clods and pebbles rattling over the cliff. Before many years this block would have been loosened and the tower would have fallen.

During the repair work buttresses were built beneath and inclosing the large blocks under the west end of the tower, and under the undermined portion of the latter, continuing back to the limit of undermining, and extending well forward of the masonry. At the junction of the two, wedges were driven to knit the new work firmly to the old. From the east end of the buttress a retaining wall was built to connect with the remnant of the old one on the brink of the ledge, and the space behind it was filled, thus providing a platform instead of the former steep slope at the southeast corner of the tower. This repair work will temporarily preserve one of the finest gems of aboriginal architecture in the entire Southwest, but it should be supplemented by the addition of "turn-buckles" anchored to the cliff and by the rebuilding of the southeast corner, which should be bonded to the east and front wall to preserve it for centuries to come.

During the fiscal year Dr. John R. Swanton, ethnologist, discovered further material bearing on the social and religious life of the Creek Indians, and this was extracted and incorporated into his papers on those subjects which are now being prepared for publication by the editor. A study also

was made of the various smaller culture centers within the region covered by our present Gulf States, and a paper on the "Culture of the Southeast" was prepared as a result of this work. A short paper on the "Ethnology of the Chickasaw" was begun and carried nearly to completion, and the work of carding references to all words from the publications of early Florida missionaries in the now extinct Timucua language has been continued, and all of the words from three of the five texts and from more than half of the fourth had been extracted by the end of the year. An abbreviated handbook of the Indian tribes in the United States and Alaska was prepared to accompany a map of the same section.

Dr. Truman Michelson, ethnologist, prepared for publication a manuscript entitled "A Sauk and Fox Sacred Pack." He also wrote the Indian text of one of the great sacred packs of the Thunder gens of the Fox Indians and worked out the English version thereof. Doctor Michelson also prepared an Indian text, with English version, of the Owl dance which belongs to the Bear gens. He began translating a Fox text on the sacred pack named "Sagimawkawa" which belongs to the Bear gens of the Fox Indians and which was taken care of by Pushetonequa, the last chief recognized by the Government. He corrected the galley proofs and the first page proofs of the Fortieth Annual Report of the bureau, which made it possible to incorporate some additional material appurtenant to the White Buffalo Dance and Fox mortuary customs and beliefs. Doctor Michelson employed Horace Poweshiek to translate 1,000 pages of Fox texts which contain additional information on the Fox society known as "Those Who Worship the Little Spotted Buffalo." In June Doctor Michelson went to Tama, Iowa, to renew his researches among the Algonquian tribes of that State. He verified the new data on the Fox society named above and some Fox texts on the Buffalo Head Dance of the Thunder gens, obtaining much additional information of this dance and other information on the Thunder gens. A translation of the Fox texts on the Sturgeon gens was obtained, as well as certain information on the Wolf gens.

During the fiscal year Mr. John P. Harrington, ethnologist, was engaged in the preparation for publication of his material on the excavation and early history of the Burton Mound Indian village situated at Santa Barbara, Calif., the principal rancheria of the Santa Barbara Indians. The Ambassador Hotel, which had stood on the mound for many years, and had completely barred it to scientific investigation, was destroyed by fire in the spring of 1921. By joint arrangement with the Museum of the American Indian, a thorough excavation of this mound was made, and a large and attractive collection of artifacts was obtained, as well as a mass of archeological and historical material. Mr. Harrington completed the elaboration of this material and it was submitted for publication, including maps and numerous photographs.

The old Indian name for the Burton Mound village was Syujtun. Mr. Harrington's work revealed the interesting fact, not previously pointed out, that this rancheria is mentioned four times in the "Relación" of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, who discovered Alta California in 1542. Father Crespi, who kept the diary of the Portolá expedition, writing in 1769, describes this village in some detail. Other early accounts tell that Yanonalit, its chief, had under him 12 other villages besides the Burton Mound. After the Indian population was removed to the near-by Santa Barbara Mission, which was accomplished gradually after the establishment of the mission in 1782, the Franciscans erected a massive adobe warehouse on the mound, the old Indian canoe landing place in front of the mound having become "el puerto de Santa Barbara" (the port of Santa Barbara). Ships visiting Santa Barbara used to get water from the large spring on the southern slope of the mound. Joseph Chapman, a young Englishman who had been captured when pirates made a raid on the California coast, purchased the mound from the Franciscans in the early twenties and started a flour mill there. In the forties the mound became the property of George Nidiver, famous otter hunter and friend of General Fremont. In the sixties the mound property was owned by Lewis T. Burton, whose name it still bears. The hotel was erected on the site in 1901. The

shape and extent of the Indian village and graveyards was laboriously worked out by excavation and successive cultures traced, for the site proved to be very ancient.

In the cemetery plots most of the bodies were buried in hunched-up positions with the head to the north; that is, in the direction of the mountain range. Many of the graves had been lined with whalebone slabs, some fine specimens of which were obtained. A great variety of belongings, large and small, had been stored away with the bodies, and traces of matting, basketry, and wooden utensils indicated that the archeologist had been deprived of the richest treasures through decomposition in the ground. One complete wooden awl for basketry, such as is described by the early fathers, was recovered. Several of the graves contained caches of large and beautifully finished steatite bowls; these were manufactured at the steatite quarries on South Catalina Island and were brought up the channel for barter in Indian canoes. Screening the earth brought a surprising variety of shell and glass beads. The shell beads have been sorted and classified, and the kind of native shell used for each variety has been determined.

In 1924 the Burton Mound property was sold and subdivided. Extensive grading of the property for new streets and trenching for pipe lines of various kinds was carefully watched and reported on by Prof. D. B. Rogers and Mr. G. W. Bayley, who have cooperated with Mr. Harrington in this work, and yielded new information about the stratification of the mound and a collection of artifacts. A new hotel with cellar excavations is about to be built on the crest of the mound and observation of these operations will doubtless add still further data to that already presented in the report.

On completing the Burton Mound paper, Mr. Harrington prepared a report on the archeology of Santa Barbara County, dealing with the sites of the county along both historical and archeological lines. This is a virgin field of research and has already yielded important contributions to our knowledge of the culture sequences of the ancient California Indians of this region, which had the most special-

ized and highly developed culture of the State. This work illumines the fact that the early population of the channel was dense and that there were numerous wars and tribal shiftings. The section of the coast from which the islands were populated and the comparative ages of rancheria sites are also apparent from this work.

In October, 1924, Mr. R. O. Marsh brought to Washington a party of eight Tule Indians from Panama, who remained in the city until January, 1925. This afforded opportunity for studying the language, which is a peculiarly interesting one. Possessing only 18 letters and employing them both short and long, it sounds to the ear more like Finnish than like the average American Indian language. The language may be described as melodious, simple and flexible in structure, yet very rich and extensive in vocabulary. It is spoken, with slight dialectic differences only, by a very large body of Indians, who formerly held a strip of Caribbean coast more than 240 miles long between the Canal Zone and the south of the Rio Atrato, together with the numerous fertile keys off the coast. Lists were obtained of sociological terms, names of places, plants and animals, and designations of material culture objects. Songs and speech were recorded on the dictaphone.

The Indians have been called Tules, Cunas, Comogres, and San Blaseños. Of these names the first is preferable because it is the native name of the tribe. The word Tule means merely "Indian," it being understood that it refers to Indians of that peculiar kind and language. It is related to the word tula, meaning 20, that is, all fingers and toes, an entire Indian.

The collection of Tule ethnological objects donated by Mr. Marsh to the National Museum was examined with the Indian informants, and the native names of the objects were recorded, together with information about their use.

The best informant in the party was Chief Igwa, who is "capitán" over some 10 keys, and is one of the leading men in the councils of the tribe. He has traveled much about the Tule country and knows hundreds of places by name, being a good ethnogeographical informant. The chief prepared a large map showing these places.

Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, ethnologist, left Washington in May, 1925, for Brantford, Canada, to resume his researches among the Six (originally Five) Nations, or Tribes, of the Iroquois, the Mohawk, the Seneca, the Onondaga, the Oneida, the Cayuga, and the Tuscarora, and also among the Munsee of the Delaware Algonquian group of languages who dwell on the Haldimand grant on the Grand River in Ontario, Canada.

Here Mr. Hewitt took up the literary interpretation, revision, and textual criticism of previously recorded voluminous Iroquoian texts relating to the constitution of the League or Confederation of the Iroquois Tribes, embodying its laws and ordinances and the rituals of the council of condolence for the deceased, and the installation of new members of the Federal and the tribal councils.

With the aid of the two best Mohawk informants available who still retain some definite knowledge of portions of the ancient institutions of the League of the Iroquois, Mr. Hewitt made a free English translation of an important one of these rituals, in addition to the free rendering of the chant of "The Seven Songs of Farewell," and thereby recovered the symbolic reason for the very peculiar name of the former. This ritual is called *Kā'rhawěⁿ'hrā'toⁿ'* in Mohawk, and *Gā'hawěⁿ'hä'di'* in Onondaga, meaning, "Cast or Thrown over the Grand Forest." When used ceremonially both these chants are separated into two portions, and the four portions alternate in their rendition in such manner that part one of the one chant is followed by part one of the other; and part two of the first is followed by part two of the second chant. But when chanted "a veil of skins" (sbawls or blankets serve in modern times) must be hung across the place of assembly in such wise as to divide the mourning from the other side of the league.

Ceremonial or legislative action by the tribe or by the league is taken only through the orderly cooperation of the two sisterhoods of clans for the former, or of two sisterhoods of tribes for the latter. This dualism in the highest organic units of organization was originally based on definite mythic concepts. In either organization one sisterhood represented the female principle or the motherhood in nature, and the

other sisterhood the male principle, or the fatherhood in nature. This dualism is thought to be so important that the language of the rituals and of official courtesy employs terms embodying the ethnic and mythic significance of it.

By a searching study of all symbolic terms and phrases occurring in the chants of these rituals, which impliedly might refer to the highest dramatized situation revealed by these two divided chants, the parts of which are recombined as described above, Mr. Hewitt was able to identify beyond all reasonable question the phrase "the veil of skins" with the other phrase "the grand forest." The "grand forest" represents ritualistically the totality of the forests which intervene between the lands of the mourning side of the league and those of the other side, represented as symbolically intact in mind. It must not be overlooked that either the mother side or the father side may be the "mourning side"; the designation, of course, alternates between the two sides, depending on the fact of the loss of one or more of the members of the Federal council belonging to it at any given time.

The sisterhood of tribes functioned by the independent action of its constituent institutional units—every several tribe. In turn every tribe functioned through the organic units of its own internal organization—each several clan, to execute its prescribed part in the larger Federal action, which otherwise would not be authentic or authoritative; so that a clan or an individual in a clan, in special cases involving personal rights, might prevent vital Federal action. So personal rights were abundantly safeguarded.

Mr. Hewitt purchased a very fine specimen husk mask of the Corn Mother, with a short explanatory text.

Mr. Hewitt also made a reconnaissance trip to the Chippewa of Garden River, Canada, for the purpose of expanding and deepening his knowledge of certain Chippewa texts, recorded in 1921 by him from the dictation of Mr. George Gabaoosa, of Garden River, and also to obtain data in regard to the derivation of two very important proper names, Chippewa and Nanabozho (appearing in literature also as Nenabojo, Menaboju, and Wenaboju), and also to inform himself as to the ethnologic value to be placed on the fast-fading

remains of the ethnic culture of this and cognate tribes in like situations and antecedents. The myth of Mudjikewis, "The First-Born (on Earth)," commonly called the story of Nanabozho (i. e., *Inābi'oji'o'*), remarkable for beauty and comprehensiveness, details the circumstances which gave rise to the name "Nanabozho." In that recital the name appears as *Inābi'oji'o'* and means, "Created, or Formed, by the Look (of the Great Father Spirit)."

The name Chippewa appears in literature in no less than 97 variant spellings, with a half dozen or more unsatisfactory definitions. But to those who first gave the name Chippewa (in its native, not Europeanized, form) to these people picture-writing was ethnically distinctive and characteristic of them, as the well-known birchbark records of these people amply testify. So the name Chippewa signifies literally, "Those who make pictographs," and thus emphasizes one of the distinctive arts of these peoples.

The Seneca in Missouri and Oklahoma were visited for the express purpose of identifying them tribally, if the available information made this possible. Since the middle of the eighteenth century these Seneca have not been closely affiliated with the Seneca tribe of New York State and Canada. There has been expressed doubt that these western Seneca had the right to this name. But after visiting and interviewing many families of these western Seneca dwelling about Seneca, Mo., and Miami and Picher, Okla., Mr. Hewitt was convinced that they are mainly emigrants from the parent Seneca tribe of New York and Canada and from the Cayuga of these last-named places; naturally, there are also some families of other Iroquoian tribes, such as the Wyandot and possibly the Conestoga. A porcupine clan and a fox clan were reported. The last was a Conestoga clan.

Mr. Francis La Flesche, ethnologist, completed his paper on two versions of the child-naming rite of the Osage tribe. The first version belongs to the In-gthon-ga or Puma gens, and the second to the Tsi-zhu Wa-shta-ge or Tsi-zhu Peacemaker gens. Each gens has its own version of the rite and no other gens can use it without permission. This paper

contains 201 typewritten pages and 20 illustrations. Mr. La Flesche spent a part of the month of May and all of June, 1925, among the Osages. In the early part of this visit he and his assistant, Ku-zhi-si-e, a full-blood Osage, undertook the laborious task of properly recording the gentile personal names used by the full-blood members of the tribe and by some of the mixed bloods. Superintendent J. George Wright, of the Osage Agency, kindly permitted them to use as a guide in doing this work an annuity pay roll of the third and fourth quarters of the year 1877, which was found in the files of his office. This roll contains about 1,900 Indian names, most of them misspelled. Besides correcting the spelling of the names, Mr. La Flesche and his assistant added to the name of each annuitant the name of his or her gens. Ku-zhi-si-e was much amused to learn that his boy name, "I-tse-tha-gthin-zhi," was carried on the pay roll as "E-stah-o-gra-she," and that the boy name of his friend Wa-non-she-zhin-ga was put on the rolls as Me-pah-scah, instead of "In-bae-sca," the correct name.

When the work of revising the names on the annuity roll was concluded, Ku-zhi-si-e drove over the hills on his farm with Mr. La Flesche and showed him many wild plants which were useful to the Indians as medicine or food. Some of these plants were woven into large mats for house covering, and into rugs to spread on the floor of the house to sit upon.

Wa-non-she-zthin-ga (the chief of the tribe) also took tramps among the trees on his farm with Mr. La Flesche, and showed him a number of trees and explained to him their uses, and gave to him their native names, which he recorded. This man pointed out a tree which he called "Zhon-sa-gi," hard wood. The saplings of this tree he said were used for the frames of the houses. When green the wood was easily cut with a knife or ax, but when seasoned it was very hard to cut. The chief cut a branch from a small tree and carried it with him when he and Mr. La Flesche returned to the house. The chief whittled off some of the bark from the branch and dipped the shavings in a glass of water and the water quickly became blue like indigo. Mr. Paul C. Standley identified this tree as the blue ash, or *Fraxinus quadrangulata*.

SPECIAL RESEARCHES

The following manuscripts of Indian music have been purchased during the fiscal year from Miss Frances Densmore: "War, wedding and social songs of the Makah Indians," "Songs connected with Makah feasts and dances," "Music and customs of the Tule Indians of Panama," "Songs and instrumental music of the Tule Indians of Panama," "Songs for children and material culture of the Makah Indians," and 17 mathematical group analyses of 167 Papago songs, according to the method of such analyses in previous work. This material (apart from the group analyses) comprises 150 pages of text, numerous photographic illustrations, and the transcriptions of 69 songs, together with the original phonograph records and descriptive and tabulated analyses of individual songs. The last named are the analyses from which the mathematical analyses are made, these showing the peculiarities of the songs of an entire tribe with results expressed in percentages. These in turn form the basis for comparative tables, which show the characteristics of the music of different tribes. Such tables of comparison in "Mandan and Hidatsa Music" comprise 820 songs collected among six tribes, and material awaiting publication will add more than 500 songs to this number, including songs of widely separated tribes. It seems possible that these tables may show a connection between the physical environment of the Indians and the form assumed by their songs, as interesting contrasts appear in the songs of different tribes.

The final paper on the Makah Indians included a description of the uses of 26 plants in food, medicine, and dye. Specimens of the plants had been obtained on the reservation, and their botanical identification was made by Mr. Paul C. Standley, of the United States National Museum. The Makah were head hunters and a detailed account of their war customs was presented. The caste system prevailed in former days and families of the upper class had wealth and leisure. The wedding customs were marked by festivity and by physical contests, the songs of which were submitted.

The presence in Washington of a group of Tule Indians from the Province of Colon, Panama, made possible a study

of forms of primitive music which, it is believed, have not hitherto been described. The Tule Indians are unique in that they do not pound on a drum, a pole, or any other object. Their favorite instrument is the "pan pipe" of reeds. Two men usually play these pipes, sounding alternate tones. The music of these pan pipes was phonographically recorded and transcribed as nearly as is possible in musical notation. An instrument which, as far as known, has not been previously observed, is a reed flute having two finger holes but no "whistle opening." The upper end of the reed is held inside the mouth, possibly touching the roof of the mouth, and for this reason the instrument is designated as a "mouth flute." A gourd rattle, conch shell horn, and bone whistle complete the musical instruments of these Indians.

The words of the songs narrate a series of events, such as the preparation for a wedding and a description of the festivity, or the illness and death of a man, followed by "talking to his spirit." Chief Igwa Nigidibippi, who recorded the songs, was a trained singer.

EDITORIAL WORK AND PUBLICATIONS

The editing of the publications of the bureau was continued through the year by Mr. Stanley Searles, editor, assisted by Mrs. Frances S. Nichols, editorial assistant. The status of the publications is presented in the following summary:

PUBLICATIONS ISSUED

- Thirty-eighth Annual Report. Accompanying paper: An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians, by Walter E. Roth. 745 pp., 183 pls., 341 figs.
- Thirty-ninth Annual Report. Accompanying paper: The Osage Tribe: The Rite of Vigil, by Francis La Flesche. 636 pp., 17 pls., 4 figs.
- Bulletin 78. Handbook of the Indians of California, by A. L. Kroeber. x, 995 pp., 83 pls., 78 figs.

PUBLICATIONS IN PRESS OR IN PREPARATION

- Fortieth Annual Report. Accompanying papers: The Mythical Origin of the White Buffalo Dance of the Fox Indians; The Autobiography of a Fox Indian Woman; Notes on Fox Mortuary Customs and Beliefs; Notes on the Fox Society Known as "Those Who Worship the Little Spotted Buffalo"; The Traditional Origin of the Fox Society Known as "The Singing Around Rite" (Michelson).

Forty-first Annual Report. Accompanying papers: Coiled Basketry in British Columbia and Surrounding Region (Boas, assisted by Haeberlin, Teit, and Roberts); Two prehistoric Villages in Middle Tennessee (Myer).

Forty-second Annual Report. Accompanying papers: Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy; Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians; Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast (Swanton); Indian Trails of the Southeast (Myer).

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS

The distribution of the publications of the bureau has been continued under the immediate charge of Miss Helen Munroe, assisted by Miss Emma Powers. Publications were distributed as follows:

Report volumes and separates.....	3, 426
Bulletins and separates.....	3, 458
Contributions to North American ethnology.....	38
Introductions.....	5
Miscellaneous publications.....	427
	7, 354

As compared with the fiscal year ended June 30, 1924, there was a decrease of 6,609 publications distributed. This was undoubtedly due not to a decrease in applications, but to the fact that only one publication was distributed during the year just ended, whereas four publications were issued in the preceding fiscal year and distributed to the mailing list.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Mr. DeLancey Gill, illustrator, with the assistance of Mr. Albert Sweeney, continued the preparation of the illustrations of the bureau. A summary of the work follows:

Illustrations mounted, retouched, and made ready for engraving.....	927
Drawings of objects, maps, etc., prepared.....	38
Portraits of visiting Indians (2 Kiowa, 8 Tule).....	27
Negative films from field exposures.....	54
Photostat prints from books and manuscripts.....	178
Negatives of ethnologic and archeologic subjects.....	273
Photographic prints for distribution and office use.....	1, 649

On account of the large amount of illustrative work, reclassification of the large collection of negatives has not progressed as rapidly as last year. About 7,000 negatives have so far been catalogued.

LIBRARY

The reference library has continued under the immediate care of Miss Ella Leary, librarian, assisted by Mr. Thomas Blackwell. During the year 480 books were accessioned. Of these 100 were acquired by purchase, 280 by gift and exchange, and 100 by binding of periodicals. The periodicals currently received number about 975, of which 40 are by subscription, the remainder through exchange. The library has also received 187 pamphlets. The aggregate number of volumes in the library at the close of the year was 26,101; of pamphlets, 15,512; also several thousand unbound periodicals. The Library of Congress, officers of the executive departments, and out-of-town students have made use of the library through frequent loans during the year.

COLLECTIONS

The following collections, purchased or acquired by members of the bureau or by those detailed in connection with its researches, have been transferred to the United States National Museum:

- 83522. Small collection of ethnologia purchased by the bureau from Miss Emily S. Cook.
- 84260. Collection of archeological material secured by Mr. D. L. Reichard for the bureau, from Berryville, Va.
- 84444. Small stone celt, and a lot of pottery bowl ornaments from Porto Rico, presented to the bureau by Mrs. Alice de Santiago, Barceloneta, Porto Rico.
- 85018. Collection of archeological material collected for the bureau by Gerard Fowke from mounds near Town Creek, Ala.
- 85019. Archeological material collected for the bureau by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, from mounds near St. Petersburg, Fla.
- 85319. Archeological material collected for the bureau by Gerard Fowke, from mounds near Town Creek, Ala., on the site of the Wilson Dam, Muscle Shoals.
- 85343. Stone bird pipe found near Hydes Ferry, on the Cumberland River, about 7 miles below Nashville, Tenn.

- S5344. Five complete skulls and fragmentary remains of about 12 crania collected by Gerard Fowke from Hog Island Mound, near Town Creek, Ala.
Five skulls collected by Earle O. Roberts, Harrah, Wash.
- S5780. Collection of skeletal material secured by Gerard Fowke at the Alexander Mound near Courtland, Ala.
- S5781. Collection of skeletal material which was unearthed $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles north of Boynton, Fla., and sent to the bureau by Mr. E. S. Jackson, of Palm Beach, Fla.
- S5824. Collection of archeological objects secured by Mr. J. O. Sanderson, of Courtland, Ala., and purchased by the bureau.
- S5856. Two pipes, one of steatite and the other of marble, collected for the bureau by Gerard Fowke from the Alexander Mound in Lawrence County, Ala.
- S7297. Collection of archeological material secured for the bureau at Youngs Canyon, about $18\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Flagstaff, Ariz., by Mr. J. C. Clarke, of Flagstaff.
- S3949. Human remains from Weeden Island, St. Petersburg, Fla., secured by the chief of the bureau during the winter of 1923-24.

MISCELLANEOUS

Clerical: The correspondence and other clerical work of the office has been conducted by Miss May S. Clark, clerk to the chief. Mr. Anthony W. Wilding, typist, has been engaged in copying manuscripts and in various duties connected with the office of the chief. Miss Julia Atkins, stenographer and typist, resigned October 15, 1924. Mrs. A. H. Kitchen was appointed temporarily December 13, 1924, for three months, the appointment terminating March 13, 1925. Miss Mae W. Tucker was appointed temporarily May 1, 1925, as stenographer and typist.

Respectfully submitted.

J. WALTER FEWKES,
Chief.

DR. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL
USAGES OF THE INDIANS OF THE
CREEK CONFEDERACY

By JOHN R. SWANTON

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CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction.....	31
Native legends dealing with Creek history.....	33
Origin legends.....	33
The first meeting between the Creeks and the white people.....	75
Prophecies regarding the fate of the Indians.....	77
Social organization.....	79
The household.....	79
The family.....	79
General remarks.....	79
Terms of relationship.....	80
Names and titles.....	97
Clans, phratries, and moieties.....	107
Native explanations of their origin.....	107
Description:	
Clans.....	114
Phratries.....	120
Moieties.....	156
General remarks.....	166
Distribution with reference to the land and the town.....	170
Seating in the ceremonial grounds.....	174
The town.....	242
Natural classification of Creek towns.....	248
Evolution of the Creek Confederacy.....	259
Government.....	276
Property.....	334
Crime and punishment.....	338
General customs.....	358
The vital cycle.....	358
Puberty and childbirth.....	358
Education.....	363
Marriage.....	368
Division of labor between the sexes.....	384
Burial.....	388
The diurnal cycle.....	398
The annual cycle.....	400
War.....	405
Agriculture.....	443
Hunting.....	444
Means of communication.....	446
Travel and greetings.....	447
Trade.....	452
Counting.....	453
Games.....	456
Bibliography.....	471
Index.....	859

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

	Page
1. Creek ehurehes and burials.....	190
2. Creek Ceremonial or Busk Grounds. <i>a.</i> General view of the Busk Ground of Chiaha Seminole, Seminole County, Okla., in 1912. <i>b.</i> The Square Ground of Pakan tallahassee near Hanna, Okla., in 1912. <i>c.</i> The North or Chiefs' Bed of Pakan tallahassee.....	212
3. Creek Ceremonial Grounds. <i>a.</i> The Square Ground of Eufaula (1912). <i>b.</i> The South (or Southeast) Bed of Tukabahechee. <i>c.</i> Tukabahechee Square Ground from the west entrance.....	212
4. Creek Ceremonial Grounds. <i>a.</i> Camp at ceremonial ground. <i>b.</i> The Chiefs' Bed at Hilibi, winter of 1911-12. <i>c.</i> Cabin for the ceremonial utensils, back of the Chiefs' Bed at Eufaula.....	224
5. Creek Ceremonial Grounds. <i>a.</i> Mound for the War and Buffalo dances in the old Tukabahechee Busk Ground near Melette, Okla. <i>b.</i> The Alabama Square Ground in the summer of 1912, looking northwest. <i>c.</i> The Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole in 1912, looking northeast.....	224
6. The Ceremonial Ground of Chiaha Seminole. <i>a.</i> The Chiefs' Bed, looking north. <i>b.</i> A view through the square, looking north. <i>c.</i> Camp sites near the square.....	234
7. Creek Ceremonials. <i>a.</i> A Seminole home in Oklahoma. <i>b.</i> Conjuring the medicine before a ball game. <i>c.</i> Ball players taking the medicine.....	234

TEXT FIGURES

1. A typical Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground, showing its relation to the town. (After Bartram).....	172
2. Ancient pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram).....	176
3. Later pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram).....	177
4. Structure of the roof of a Creek teokofa. (After Hitecock).....	180
5. One of the beds in the Alabama Square Ground as it appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century.....	187
6. Plan of the Talladega Square Ground.....	205
7. Talladega Ceremonial Ground (including Square) in 1912.....	206
8. Plan of the Abihka Square Ground (near Eufaula, Okla.).....	207
9. Plan of the Square Ground of Abihka-in-the-West.....	208
10. Plan of the Square Ground of Kan-teati.....	209
11. Conjectural arrangement of the Coosa Square Ground.....	210
12. Plan of a Creek Ceremonial Ground as given by Swan.....	211
13. Plan of the Oteiapofa Square Ground.....	211
14. Oteiapofa Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	212
15. Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Little River.....	213
16. Tulsa Little River Ceremonial Ground in 1911.....	214
17. Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Canadian.....	215
18. Plan of the Lutepoga Square Ground (I).....	216
19. Plan of the Lutepoga Square Ground (II).....	217
20. Plan of the Nuyaka Square Ground.....	218

	Page
21. Nuyaka Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	219
22. Plan of the Okfuskee Square Ground.....	220
23. Plan of the Abihkutei Square Ground.....	221
24. Plan of the Talmuteasi Square Ground.....	222
25. Plan of the Tcatoksofka Square Ground.....	223
26. Plan of the Pakan tallahassee Square Ground (I).....	224
27. Plan of the Pakan tallahassee Square Ground (II).....	225
28. Pakan tallahassee Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	226
29. Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (I).....	227
30. Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (II).....	228
31. Wiogufki Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	229
32. Plan of the Tukpafka Square Ground.....	230
33. The old Tukpafka Ceremonial Ground as it appeared in 1912.....	231
34. Plan of the Square Ground of Asilanabi.....	232
35. The Asilanabi Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	233
36. Plan of the Okchai Square Ground.....	234
37. Okchai Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	235
38. Plan of the Lalogálga Square Ground.....	236
39. Lalogálga Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	238
40. Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (I).....	239
41. Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (II).....	240
42. Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (I).....	241
43. Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (II).....	242
44. Plan of the Square Ground of Koasati No. 2.....	243
45. Plan of the Tukabahehee Square Ground (I).....	244
46. Plan of the Tukabahehee Square Ground (II).....	245
47. Plan of the Tukabahehee Square Ground (III).....	246
48. Tukabahehee Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	247
49. The old Tukabahehee Ceremonial Ground near Melette, Okla., as it appeared in 1912-14.....	248
50. Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I).....	249
51. Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II).....	250
52. Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (I).....	251
53. Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II).....	252
54. Site of the old Kealedji Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	253
55. Plan of the Laplako Square Ground (I).....	254
56. Plan of the Laplako Square Ground (II).....	255
57. The Laplako "rallying ground" used before ball games, as it appeared in 1912.....	256
58. Plan of the Liwahali Square Ground.....	257
59. Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground.....	258
60. Hilibi Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	259
61. Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (I).....	260
62. Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (II).....	261
63. Eufaula Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	262
64. Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (I).....	263
65. Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (II).....	264
66. Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (III).....	264
67. The Alabama Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	265
68. Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Hawkins).....	265
69. Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Gatschet).....	266
70. Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III).....	267
71. Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (IV).....	268
72. Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground.....	269

	Page
73. Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa láko) (I).....	270
74. Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa láko) (II).....	271
75. Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground.....	272
76. Plan of the Yuchi Square Ground. (After Speck).....	273
77. Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (I).....	274
78. Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (II).....	275
79. Plan of the Square Ground of Likateka or Broken Arrow.....	276
80. Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I).....	277
81. Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (II).....	278
82. Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (I).....	279
83. Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II).....	280
84. Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (I).....	281
85. Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (II).....	282
86. Plan of the Square Ground of Ochesee Seminole.....	283
87. Plan of the Square Ground of Okfuskee Seminole.....	284
88. Okfuskee Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	285
89. Plan of the Square Ground of Tallahasutei Seminole.....	286
90. Tallahasutci Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	287
91. Plan of the Square Ground of Hitchiti Seminole.....	288
92. Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Seminole.....	289
93. Eufaula Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	289
94. Plan of the Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole (I).....	290
95. Plan of the Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole (II).....	291
96. Liwahali Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	291
97. Plan of the Square Ground of Chiaha Seminole.....	292
98. Chiaha Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	293
99. Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (I).....	294
100. Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (II).....	295
101. Mikasuki Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912.....	296
102. Face painting used by the Tuskegee Indians. The spots in solid black represent red; the cross-hatched spots green.....	297
103. Head of a Creek warrior. (After Romans).....	406
104. Arrangement of players at the opening of the Creek ball game.....	462
105. Alabama method of recording scores in the ball game.....	464
106. Design marked upon a bear skin in preparation for an Alabama game resembling pachisi.....	469
107. Preparation of ground for the Creek game of Teato teálitcka.....	470

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL USAGES OF THE INDIANS OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

By JOHN R. SWANTON

INTRODUCTION

In Bulletin 73 I reviewed the history of the Indian tribes which constituted temporary or permanent parts of the Creek Confederacy, and extended consideration to some of the peoples beyond with which they had intimate dealings, the tribes of Florida, and the Chickasaw, even including a brief mention of the Choctaw. This work was mainly an objective study, based upon Spanish, French, and English documents—the story of these tribes as related by the Europeans who came in contact with them.

A similar history of the same peoples from internal sources is, of course, impossible, the nearest approach to it being in the so-called origin or migration legends which contain but few facts of real historical value and must be assumed to apply only to a relatively recent period. A substitute for them must be sought in the archeological record left by the tribes as interpreted through an intensive study of the ethnology of their living representatives.

I have incorporated all of the Creek origin myths which I have been able to collect into the present paper. The rest of the space is devoted mainly to a discussion of the social and political organizations of the Creeks and their general social customs and usages.

The greater part of the present material was collected within the limits of the former Creek Nation, Okla., between September, 1911, and May, 1912, and on several shorter trips during the years immediately following. In this connection I wish to render a most grateful tribute to George Washington Grayson, the most prominent and intelligent of all Creek Indians of his time, their representative in every important conference and at every crisis in their affairs, and at the time of his death chief of the nation. He was deeply interested in the history and ethnology of his people and did everything in his power to facilitate the work of all students of them. He rendered most valuable service to the late Albert S. Gatschet, and afterwards did everything in his power to assist the investigations of the writer, as well as to render his visits personally comfortable and intellectually delightful. For much of the included material Mr. Grayson is responsible, directly or indirectly, and the author wishes that it be con-

sidered in some degree a monument to him. Mr. Grayson had begun to compile a history of his life which would have been of the greatest interest to both the ethnologist and the historian, but unfortunately death intervened before it was well under way. By the courtesy of his family I have been able to incorporate a few items from that manuscript in the present work. I also wish to mention my indebtedness to Zachariah Cook, of Wetumka, Okla., also deceased, who acted as my interpreter during the greater part of my travels away from Eufaula, Mr. Grayson's home. Being interested in all of the matters under investigation, himself a former chief of Tukabahchee and hence presiding officer at the annual ceremonies, he proved of the greatest utility in many ways and was able to contribute largely from his own experience. Another leading informant was Jackson Lewis, a Hitchiti doctor who stood high in the estimation of both Indians and whites. Valuable material was obtained from Rev. William McCombs, a native Baptist missionary, who has ministered to Creek congregations for a great many years; from Legus Perryman of the old Okmulgee town, at one time head chief of the nation; from Judge James R. Gregory, also of Okmulgee; and from Ellis Childers, chief of Chiaha and formerly prominent in Creek national affairs. Many other Creeks and Seminoles contributed to the work directly or indirectly, among whom may be mentioned the following: Jim Star, Siah Gray, Jackson Knight, Alex Tecumseh, Barney McGillivray, John Goat, George Hill, Fulotkee, Billy Yahola, Koakotei, Yatihka Hadjo, George Hicks, Hannah Jones, Sanger Beaver, Wotkotei, Caley Proctor, Sawanok Hadjo, Nokosili, Pahoshobaiotei, Tal-muteas Hadjo, Sam Lashie, Pin Hadjo, Sarty Deacon, Tob Hill, Dave Harry, Silas Jefferson, Dave Cummings, Tom Culler, George Holaby, William Sullivan, Washington Riley, Sarty Cowee, Kasihta Yahola, Goliah Jones, Big Jack, Woksi Hadjo, John Baker, William Fish, Caesar Buckle, Jim Sapulpa, Will Sapulpa, Joe Wotko, Winey Tiger, Sam Haynes, John Spott, John Buck, Billy Tiger, William Berryhill, John Davis, Philip Marshall, Tob Tiger, Yonasi, Katea Holahtha, Teiban Hadjo, Billy Koker, George Colbert, Imala, Okusky Miller, Caesar Jones, and Nakteagotei. My data from the Alabama Indians living in Texas was obtained chiefly from two old people, George Henry and his wife Celissy Henry, and from my interpreter, Charlie Thompson. Some information on the Koasati Indians was secured from Jackson Langley, chief of the Koasati band in Louisiana, and from his mother, Salin Langley. The spelling of many of these names, particularly the native ones, is probably different from that which they themselves employed.

This material has been supplemented liberally by means of the older authorities on the tribes under discussion, particularly Adair, Bartram, Swan, Hawkins, Hitchcock, and certain anonymous French

writers, and this is particularly true of that part of the work dealing with customs like war which are now obsolete or obsolescent but could be made subjects of direct observation at the time in which they wrote. I have also made liberal use of the material published in recent years by Prof. Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, particularly his paper on "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town" (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, vol. II, pt. 2). His more extensive work on the Yuchi has been mentioned only incidentally, as the Yuchi are an alien tribe incorporated into the Creek Confederacy in comparatively modern times. Their culture, however, presents numerous features resembling that found among the Creeks, and Professor Speck's paper (Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, vol. I, no. 1) should be read in conjunction with the material here presented. The valuable and hitherto unpublished Hitchcock material was placed at the disposal of the Bureau of Ethnology through the kindness of Mrs. W. A. Croffut, General Hitchcock's niece.

The following peculiar phonetic signs are used: ʔ, unvoiced l; à, obscure a; tç, English ch; c, English sh; ¨, nasalization of the preceding vowel; x and ç (in Natchez), palatal and velar spirants; vowels generally have continental values.

NATIVE LEGENDS DEALING WITH CREEK HISTORY

ORIGIN LEGENDS

The origin myths of the Hitchiti and Alabama, minor components of the Creek Nation, have been given in Bulletin 73.¹ Here it is proposed to include the origin myths of the dominant tribe, that which constituted by far the largest portion numerically and from which came the crystallizing force which united them all into one political body. Who the Muskogee were and what towns they occupied has been explained in the bulletin above mentioned. The origin legend, or the origin legends, of these people differed to some extent in the several Muskogee towns, but there was a harmony between the various versions, perhaps brought on *pari passu* with the progressive unification of the confederacy. There are many references to this legend in very general terms, but several stories have survived, which, though usually fragmentary, shed most valuable light upon the nature of the original. The earliest of these legends is that given to Governor Oglethorpe by one Chekilli,² who is styled "emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks," and was probably a Kasihta. At any rate the legend seems to be from Kasihta sources. According to the American Gazetteer, as quoted by Gatschet, "This speech was curiously written in red and black characters, on the skin of a

¹ Swanton, Early Hist. Creek Inds., Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 172-174, 191-192.

² Perhaps from Tcalaki ilitci, "Cherokee killer."

young buffalo, and translated into English, as soon as delivered. . . . The said skin was set in a frame, and hung up in the Georgia Office, in Westminster.”³ Of course this means that pictures had been made on the blanket similar to those in the Delaware Walam Olum, to mark the various important events narrated by the speaker. It has unfortunately been lost, along with the accompanying English text, but a German translation of the English was preserved, and from this Doctor Gatschet had the legend rendered again into English and also into Creek for his “Migration Legend of the Creek Indians.” This version, including one or two corrections made by Doctor Gatschet in one of his personal copies of the work, is as follows:

“WHAT CHEKILLI, THE HEAD-CHIEF OF THE UPPER AND LOWER CREEKS SAID, IN A TALK HELD AT SAVANNAH, ANNO 1735, AND WHICH WAS HANDED OVER BY THE INTERPRETER, WRITTEN UPON A BUFFALO-SKIN WAS, WORD FOR WORD, AS FOLLOWS:

“[Speech, which, in the year 1735, was delivered at Savannah, in Georgia, by]⁴ Chekilli, Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks; Antiche, highest Chief of the town of the Cowetas, Eliche, King; Ousta, Head-chief of the Cussitaws, Tomechaw, War King; Wali, War-captain of the Palachucolas, Poepiche, King; Tomehuichi, Dog-king of the Euchitaws; Mittakawye, Head War-chief of the Okonees, Tuweehiche, King; Whoyauni, Head War-chief of the Chehaws and of the Hokmulge Nation; Stimelacoweche, King of the Osoches; Opithli, King of the Jawocolos [Sawokli]; Ewenauki, King; Tahmokmi, War-captain of the Eufantees [misprint for Eufalees?]; and thirty other Warriors.⁵

“At a certain time the Earth opened in the West, where its mouth is. The Earth opened and the Cussitaws came out of its mouth, and settled near by. But the Earth became angry and ate up their children; therefore, they moved further West. A part of them, however, turned back, and came again to the same place where they had been, and settled there. The greater number remained behind, because they thought it best to do so. Their children, nevertheless, were eaten by the Earth, so that, full of dissatisfaction, they journeyed toward the sunrise.

“They came to a thick, muddy, slimy river—came there, camped there, rested there, and stayed over night there. The next day, they continued their journey and came, in one day, to a red, bloody river. They lived by this river, and ate of its fishes for two years;

³ Gatschet, *Creek Mig. Leg.*, vol. 1, p. 236.

⁴ This bracketing is copied from Gatschet.

⁵ The following transliterations and translations of a part of these names were furnished by the late G. W. Orayson and A. S. Gatschet: Anatitei, to wound; Ilitei, to kill, or putting something down; Osta, four (?); Tometca, (a number of creatures) flying; Wali, from wahali, south (though Gatschet suggests the name of the coast province of Georgia, Guale, see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 80 et seq.); Poepitce, to cause to win; Hoyahani, to pass by; Stimelakoetci, somebody having caused something to come; Hlopili, fog.

but there were low springs there; and it did not please them to remain. They went toward the end of this bloody river, and heard a noise as of thunder. They approached to see whence the noise came. At first they perceived a red smoke, and then a mountain which thundered; and on the mountain was a sound as of singing. They sent to see what this was; and it was a great fire which blazed upward, and made this singing noise. This mountain they named the King of Mountains. It thunders to this day; and men are very much afraid of it.

“They here met a people of three different Nations. They had taken and saved some of the fire from the mountain; and, at this place, they also obtained a knowledge of herbs and of other things.

“From the East, a white fire came to them; which, however, they would not use. From Wahalle [the South] came a fire which was blue; neither did they use it. From the West, came a fire which was black; nor would they use it. At last, came a fire from the North, which was red and yellow. This they mingled with the fire they had taken from the mountain; and this is the fire they use to-day; and this, too, sometimes sings. On the mountain was a pole which was very restless and made a noise, nor could any one say how it could be quieted. At length they took a motherless child, and struck it against the pole; and thus killed the child. They then took the pole, and carry it with them when they go to war. It was like a wooden tomahawk, such as they now use, and of the same wood.

“Here they also found four herbs or roots, which sang and disclosed their virtues: First, *Pasaw* [pasa], the rattlesnake root; second, *Micoweanochaw* [miko hoyanidja], red-root; third, *Sowatchko* [sowateko], which grows like wild fennel; and fourth, *Eschalapootchke* [hitei laputeki], little tobacco. These herbs, especially the first and third, they use as the best medicine to purify themselves at their Busk. At this Busk, which is held yearly, they fast, and make offerings of the first fruits. Since they have learned the virtues of these herbs, their women, at certain times, have a separate fire, and remain apart from the men five, six, and seven days, for the sake of purification. If they neglected this, the power of the herbs would depart; and the women would not be healthy.

“About this time a dispute arose, as to which was the oldest, and which should rule; and they agreed, as they were four Nations, they would set up four poles, and make them red with clay which is yellow at first, but becomes red by burning. They would then go to war; and whichever Nation should first cover its pole, from top to bottom, with the scalps of their enemies, should be the oldest.

“They all tried, but the Cussitaws covered their pole first, and so thickly that it was hidden from sight. Therefore, they were looked upon, by the whole Nation, as the oldest. The Chickasaws covered

their pole next; then the Atilamas [Alabamas]; but the Obikaws [Abihkas] did not cover their pole higher than to the knee.

“At that time there was a bird of large size, blue in color, with a long tail, and swifter than an eagle, which came every day and killed and ate their people. They made an image in the shape of a woman, and placed it in the way of this bird. The bird carried it off, and kept it a long time, and then brought it back. They left it alone, hoping it would bring something forth. After a long time, a red rat came forth from it, and they believed the bird was the father of the rat. They took council with the rat how to destroy its father. Now the bird had a bow and arrows; and the rat gnawed the bowstring, so that the bird could not defend itself, and the people killed it. They called this bird the King of Birds. They think the eagle is also a great King; and they carry its feathers when they go to War or make Peace; the red mean War; the white, Peace. If an enemy approaches with white feathers and a white mouth, and cries like an eagle, they dare not kill him.

“After this they left that place, and came to a white footpath. The grass and everything around were white; and they plainly perceived that people had been there. They crossed the path, and slept near there. Afterward they turned back to see what sort of path that was, and who the people were who had been there, in the belief that it might be better for them to follow that path. They went along it to a creek called *Coloose-hutche*, that is, Coloose-creek, because it was rocky there and smoked.

“They crossed it, going toward the sunrise, and came to a people and a town named Coosaw. Here they remained four years. The Coosaws complained that they were preyed upon by a wild beast, which they called man-eater or lion, which lived in a rock.

“The Cussitaws said they would try to kill the beast. They dugged a pit and stretched over it a net made of hickory-bark. They then laid a number of branches, crosswise, so that the lion could not follow them, and, going to the place where he lay, they threw a rattle into his den. The lion rushed forth in great anger, and pursued them through the branches. Then they thought it better that one should die rather than all; so they took a motherless child, and threw it before the lion as he came near the pit. The lion rushed at it, and fell in the pit, over which they threw the net, and killed him with blazing pine-wood. His bones, however, they keep to this day; on one side, they are red, on the other, blue.

“The lion used to come every seventh day to kill the people; therefore, they remained there seven days after they had killed him. In remembrance of him, when they prepare for War, they fast six days and start on the seventh. If they take his bones with them, they have good fortune.⁶

⁶ This war medicine is also mentioned by Hawkins. See p. 429.

“After four years they left the Coosaws, and came to a river which they called *Nowphawpe*,⁷ now *Callasi-hutche*.⁸ There they tarried two years; and, as they had no corn, they lived on roots and fishes, and made bows, pointing the arrows with beaver teeth and flint-stones, and for knives they used split canes.

“They left this place, and came to a creek, called *Wattoola-hawka-hutche*,⁹ Whooping-creek, so called from the whooping of cranes, a great many being there; they slept there one night. They next came to a river, in which there was a waterfall; this they named the *Owatunka-river*.¹⁰ The next day they reached another river, which they called the *Aphoosa pheeskaw*.¹¹

“The following day they crossed it, and came to a high mountain, where were people who, they believed, were the same who made the white path. They, therefore, made white arrows and shot at them, to see if they were good people. But the people took their white arrows, painted them red, and shot them back. When they showed these to their chief, he said that it was not a good sign; if the arrows returned had been white, they could have gone there and brought food for their children, but as they were red they must not go. Nevertheless, some of them went to see what sort of people they were; and found their houses deserted. They also saw a trail which led into the river; and, as they could not see the trail on the opposite bank, they believed that the people had gone into the river, and would not again come forth.

“At that place is a mountain, called *Moterell*, which makes a noise like beating on a drum; and they think this people live there. They hear this noise on all sides when they go to war.

“They went along the river, till they came to a waterfall, where they saw great rocks, and on the rocks were bows lying; and they believed the people who made the white path had been there.

“They always have, on their journeys, two scouts who go before the main body. These scouts ascended a high mountain and saw a town. They shot white arrows into the town; but the people of the town shot back red arrows. Then the Cussitaws became angry, and determined to attack the town, and each one have a house when it was captured.

“They threw stones into the river until they could cross it, and took the town (the people had flattened heads), and killed all but two persons. In pursuing these they found a white dog, which they slew. They followed the two who escaped, until they came again to the white path, and saw the smoke of a town, and thought that this

⁷ See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 245.

⁸ A misprint for Tallasi-hutche.

⁹ *Watula*, sandhill crane; *haki*, sound, noise; *hatchee*, creek, river.

¹⁰ Owatámka River.

¹¹ Cf. *afuswa*, thread; *fesketá*, to sprinkle, scatter out.

must be the people they had so long been seeking. This is the place where now the tribe of Palachucolas live, from whom Tomochichi is descended.¹²

"The Cussitaws continued bloody-minded; but the Palachucolas gave them black drink, as a sign of friendship, and said to them: 'Our hearts are white, and yours must be white, and you must lay down the bloody tomahawk, and show your bodies as a proof that they shall be white.' Nevertheless, they were for the tomahawk; but the Palachucolas got it by persuasion, and buried it under their beds. The Palachucolas likewise gave them white feathers, and asked to have a chief in common. Since then they have always lived together.

"Some settled on one side of the river, some on the other. Those on one side are called Cussetaws, those on the other, Cowetas; yet they are one people, and the principal towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Nevertheless, as the Cussetaws first saw the red smoke and the red fire, and make bloody towns, they cannot yet leave their red hearts, which are, however, white on one side and red on the other. They now know that the white path was the best for them: for, although Tomochichi was a stranger, they see he has done them good; because he went to see the great King with Esquire Oglethorpe, and hear his talk, and had related it to them, and they had listened to it, and believed it."¹³

Doctor Gatschet has already discussed the Kasihta line of migration as unfolded by Chekilli in the above narrative.¹⁴ I will merely review it briefly. The muddy river spoken of early in the narrative might well have been the Mississippi, for "Muddy River" was a name given to it by the Creeks. If this is so, however, the red river which they afterwards reached could not have been the Red River of Louisiana. In later versions of the legend the origin of the Creeks is traced to the historical Red River, and perhaps this may be the result of an attempt to localize the red river of the Chekilli legend. The first place to which a name is given is "Coloose-hutche," but the interpretation contained in the text, "because it was rocky there and smoked," is not traceable to any known Muskogean tongue. "Hutche" is of course the Creek *hâtcî*, "river," but the balance of the word has a striking resemblance to a common abbreviation of the Choctaw *Oka lusa*, "Black Water." For this reason Brinton has suggested that the name referred to the Black Warrior River of western Alabama, though the Black Creek of Walker and Winston Counties, a tributary of the Black Warrior, would correspond more

¹² Tomochichi was chief of the Yamacraw tribe, settled where Savannah now stands when Oglethorpe established his colony. See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 108-109.

¹³ Gatschet in Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 41-51. An earlier translation had appeared in Brinton's Lib. Aborig. Lit., vol. iv, pp. 244-251.

¹⁴ Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 93-103.

closely provided the former name has an Indian origin. With this name should probably be correlated that of the "Caluça" tribe mentioned by Ranjel. Biedma and Elvas speak of a Caluç or Caluça province, but this was west of the Mississippi and evidently had nothing to do with the one to which Ranjel refers, though the chroniclers themselves may have confused the two. The latter was in the neighborhood of the Chickasaw, and the Chickasaw chief gave the Spaniards guides to take them thither. It was said to be "a place of much repute among the Indians," and was described as "a province of more than 90 villages not subject to any one, with a savage population, very warlike and much dreaded, and the soil is fertile in that section." Unfortunately we have no intimation as to the direction in which it lay with reference to the Chickasaw. I believe that the tribe mentioned in these terms was identical with a comparatively insignificant body of Indians of the same name found by the French Louisiana colonists of 1699 and after, westward of the lower Mississippi and described by Du Pratz.¹⁵ They were associated with the Houma Indians, who were a branch of the Chakchiuma, Ranjel's Sacchuma.¹⁶ Both were in the same general region in De Soto's time.

The next point reached by the Kasihta was "Coosaw," evidently the old Coosa town on the river which still bears its name, between Talladega and Tallahassee Hatchee creeks. Afterwards they came to a river called "Nawphawpe, now called Callasi-hutchee." Gatschet rightly identifies this with a creek known as Naufawpi which runs into Uphapee Creek, an eastern affluent of the Tallapoosa, but he fails to notice that "Callasi-hutchee" is evidently a misreading of "Tallasi-hutchee" ("Tulsa Creek"), this region having been occupied by the Tulsa Indians. "Wattoola-hawka-hutche," "Whooping Creek," is a small northern affluent of Big Uchee; a larger one farther east is still called Wetumpka; and "Aphoosa pheeskaw" must have been a small creek between Wetumpka Creek and the Chattahoochee. The next river encountered, although unnamed, was evidently the Chattahoochee itself, and the Creeks followed this down to the falls at Columbus. Near the latter place they are supposed to have crossed and destroyed a town occupied by people who flattened their heads. Afterwards they went on down to the place below the falls where the Apalachicola were living in the year in which this speech was delivered, 1735, and they made peace and formed an alliance with the Apalachicola tribe.

The astonishing thing about this entire narrative is the closeness with which the movement can be followed. As we know positively that the Kasihta had then been in the country over 200 years we must either suppose that the line of migration had been relocalized by later

¹⁵ See Swanton, *Ind. Tribes of Lower Miss. Valley*, Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 302 and 365.

¹⁶ Ranjel in Bourne's *Narr. of De Soto*, vol. II, p. 132.

story tellers or that the Creeks were able to record historical events in some relatively permanent manner. The first would at the outset appear the more probable explanation, but we know from several sources that these tribes had mnemonic devices similar to quipus, and it is therefore possible that the movement took place along the line laid out. Certainly this earliest narrative localizes much more closely than any of the legends recorded later. Gatschet missed much of its value by thinking of the Kasihta and Coweta as two among 40 or 50 coordinate bodies, while in fact Kasihta and Coweta represented, in early times, the entire Muskogee element among the Lower Creeks, and the Abihka and Coosa the bodies of Muskogee from which most of the Upper Creeks originated.¹⁷ This legend therefore involves the origin of the greater part of the Muskogee people.

Adair speaks several times of Indian traditions of a western origin, but usually he has in mind the Chickasaw. However, he says in one place that the Muskogee "believe their original predecessors came from the west, and resided under ground,"¹⁸ and by "predecessors" here he evidently intends ancestors.

Another long version of the legend is contained in a work by Gen. Milfort,¹⁹ who claims to have lived among the Creeks from 1776 to 1796, and to have been made "tastanégý ou grand Chef de guerre de la nation Crëek."²⁰ We know that there was no such position as "grand war chief of the Creek nation," every town having had its own *tástánágis* and its head *tástánági*. Still, under McGillivray, with whom Milfort claims to have been associated, a kind of despotism existed under which a friend of the Creek leader might have been advanced to considerable power. Though Milfort's work is written in an intensely egotistical vein and contains numerous exaggerations and misstatements it is evidently founded on fact. The migration legend which it reproduces is probably correct in fundamentals, but Milfort has identified rivers and other geographical features in such a reckless manner that he carries the Creeks over a large part of the central United States and into places where the nation was scarcely known even by name. The legend is probably a form of the version current at Otcia-pofa, McGillivray's home town, and has especial interest for that reason. It is as follows:

"When the Spaniards conquered Mexico everyone knows that this fair country of North America was inhabited by a gentle and peaceable people which, having no knowledge of firearms, was easily subjugated. It had only courage and numbers to oppose to the murderous arms of its enemies; in a word, it was defenceless; for

¹⁷ See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 215-254.

¹⁸ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 268.

¹⁹ *Mémoire ou Coup-d'Oeil Rapide sur mes différens voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Crëek*. Paris, 1802.

²⁰ On the title page of Milfort's work.

what availed a bow and arrows against the artillery of an army, feeble in numbers indeed but warlike, intrepid, and led on by an insatiable thirst for gold, which this too trusting people had been unfortunate enough to display to their eyes.

“Montezuma reigned then in Mexico; seeing that it was impossible to arrest the progress of the Spaniards, he called to his assistance the peoples which were neighbors to his states. The nation of the Moskoquis, known now under the name of Creeks, who formed a separate republic in the northwestern part of Mexico, and who had numerous warriors, offered him assistance, formidable for any enemy other than a disciplined army, such as that of the Spaniards commanded by Fernan-Cortéz.

“The courage of this warlike people resulted, then, only in its more prompt destruction, and was not able to save Montezuma, who lost his life and his empire, which was almost entirely depopulated. After the death of Montezuma and many other chiefs, the Moskoquis, considerably weakened by this terrible war, which they were no longer in a condition to maintain, determined to abandon a country which offered them in exchange for their past happiness only the most terrible slavery, to search for one which would secure to them the abundance and peace of which the Spaniards had just deprived them.

“They directed their march toward the north, and ascended in fifteen days as far as the source of Red River, that is to say a distance of about a hundred leagues. This river throws its waters into the northern part of America, across immense prairies, a fact which fixed their determination to follow its course. They traveled therefore eight days in this direction through a plain brilliant with the most beautiful flowers, and covered with wild animals, which offered them all the resources necessary for their existence. This country would have attracted them to settle in it for all time on account of its richness in every respect; but, fearing still for their safety, in a country which did not offer them any natural defense, they continued their journey. In the different excursions which they made along this river, they did not discover any other, not even a stream joining it; but they often found lakes and ponds, many of which had salt water; these were generally covered with aquatic birds of all kinds, notably such as are met along the shore of the ocean. The prairies were alive with partridges, hares, rabbits, turkeys, and other animals. There are such great quantities of this sort of game in these countries, that, when it is pursued from different points at the same time, and is forced to flee, the air is obscured and the land covered with it.

“After having traveled thus for many days they found some groves where they made a halt. The young warriors were sent in different directions by the old men to examine the face of the country. At the end of a month they returned announcing that they had discovered a forest, on the edges of which, and at the same time along Red River, were fine subterranean dwellings. The entire nation set out; and, when they arrived near these caves, they discovered that they had been dug by bison, or wild oxen, and other animals who inhabited them because the earth there was a little salty.

“The Moskoquis found in this country the peace and quiet which they needed in order to repair the considerable losses which they had suffered in the Mexican wars. The colony having brought along a little corn which was left to it, it was planted immediately in order to assure them a means of subsistence. As they lacked the necessary utensils with which to make a settlement they made use of sharp stones, instead of axes, to cut and sharpen sticks of wood which they afterward hardened in the fire and used in cultivating the ground.

“When the Moskoquis had thus performed the first labors connected with their new settlement, they marked out a field, as large as was necessary for the common needs of the colony, and they surrounded it with old pieces of wood and stakes planted in the earth, in order to guard against the incursions of bison and other wild animals, which are very fond of corn. They then allotted to the families the ground contained in this enclosure, and sowed it for their sustenance. The young people of both sexes worked the ground together while the old men smoked their pipes. In this manner they lived for many years, enjoying perfect tranquillity, living by hunting and fishing, and on the products of their land, and regretting little their separation from the country where they had suffered so much. They would no doubt have remained there permanently if the unhappy fortune which seemed to pursue them had not compelled them to undertake a second emigration.

“They were discovered by the Albamos or Alibamons, who killed many of their people. Then the old men, the natural chiefs of the nation, called together the young warriors, and sent them on the trail of the murderers, but without success, because there was no unity in their operations, and they lacked a common chief; they then felt the necessity of selecting one. The old men of the nation assembled and chose the one among them who had rendered the greatest services to the fatherland, and they named him their Tastanégy or grand war chief. . . .

“The Moskoquis are very warlike and are not cast down by defeat; the day after an unsuccessful battle, they march to meet the enemy as courageously as before. It was after this arrangement that they resolved to continue their course toward the northwest. After

having marched in this direction for some time, and crossed immense plains, they stopped in a little forest on the banks of the Missouri. There they encountered the Alibamons, whom they had pursued for a long time. They made preparations for the combat. The Tasthanégy, or great war chief, arranged the march in the following order: The family of the Wind, from which he had been chosen, crossed the river in the first line; it was followed by the family of the Bear, and then by that of the Tiger [Panther], and so on. When this river was crossed, as the entire nation was on the march, it was necessary to take measures to avoid a surprise on the part of the enemy; and, in case of an encounter with the enemy, to protect all those who were unable to fight. For this purpose, the young people, with their war chiefs, formed the van; the old men the rear guard; those of an age less advanced were on the flanks; the women and the children in the center. They marched in this order until the moment when they encountered the enemy. Then the young men advanced alone with their Tasthanégy at their head, and left the main body of the nation in a place of safety, and under the protection of the old men. By a stealthy and well planned march they surprised their enemy, and reached the caves which the Alibamons inhabited, before the latter were warned; and, not allowing them time to rally, they made a great slaughter. The fright into which such a surprise threw the foe caused them to abandon their dwellings; they fled along the Missouri, and rallied on the banks of this river, while the Moskoquis were gone to rejoin their countrymen, in order to march again on the trail of the enemy. The Alibamons, fearing a new surprise, had made their old men, women, and children march in advance, the young warriors forming the rear-guard; then they continued for some time to descend this river on its right bank. The Moskoquis, following their trail, caught up with them, and defeated them many times. The Alibamons, seeing they were thus pursued, had made the body of their nation pass over to the left bank of the Missouri, and had given them time to get some distance in advance, by delaying the march of the enemy by various skirmishes. But, fearing that they would be unable to resist their attacks, they took advantage of the darkness one night to rejoin their fathers, the Moskoquis not observing them. The latter not finding any enemy when day came and suspecting the course they had taken, crossed the river in order to pursue them again. After a march of some days they again encountered them, and forced them to accept a general battle in which the Alibamons were defeated and fled to the banks of the Mississippi. The Moskoquis, pursuing them with fury, forced them to throw themselves into the river, where a very great number perished. The young Moskoqui warriors, having thus weakened their enemy considerably, ceased to pursue them until they had been rejoined by the body of the nation,

which followed by short stages. They remained eight days on the bank of this river in order to rest.

“During all this time the Alibamons had marched rapidly and gotten far in advance. The Moskoquis, trying to catch them, buried themselves in an immense forest which is on the left bank of the Mississippi; they camped, but, as there appeared to be no advantage in establishing themselves there, the old men decided to continue the march, and, for this purpose, to send the young warriors in pursuit of the enemy. They marched many days without meeting them; but at length, having discovered their tracks, they returned to report to the council of old men who decided that they would go in pursuit. They advanced again; and, after a march of some days, they came to the river Ohio, which the French call Belle-Rivière. They went up along the banks near the Wabash; and, perceiving that the Alibamons had crossed the Ohio, they also crossed it. When they were on the other side, finding a region with a very beautiful climate, and very rich in all kinds of game, they determined to establish themselves there, and fixed their dwelling in what is known as the Yazau country. As the season was much advanced, they ceased their pursuit, and contented themselves with sending some young warriors to try to discover the route which the Alibamons had taken. The Moskoquis, profiting by some caves which they found and some which they made, took possession of the Yazau lands, where they passed many years, and where the caves which they excavated exist to this day.

“The Alibamons had advanced as far as the banks of the river Coussa; not seeing themselves pursued, and finding themselves in a fertile country, they stopped there; but as they were always in fear of some surprise they sent youths to find out what had become of the Moskoquis and whether they were still pursuing them. Although the war which the Moskoquis waged at this time on the Alibamons had originated in an aggression on the part of the latter, who had killed Moskoqui warriors, the youths who had been sent to discover the Moskoqui had the imprudence to kill the first whom they met. The old men, having been informed of this new aggression, had them march against the Alibamons. The Moskoqui warriors, having learned that the country which their enemy inhabited was toward the rising sun, in a region where the rigors of winter are little felt, and where a great quantity of game of all kinds is to be found, resolved to pursue them a third time, and to populate that country, which is between the two Floridas. With this object in view they crossed the river Cumberland and the Tennessee,^{20a} and followed from the north the river Coussa, on the banks of which the remains of the Alibamons had established themselves. The latter, having learned of the march

^{20a} It is, of course, nonsense to speak of crossing the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in going from the Yazoo country to the Coosa.

of the Moskoquis, did not think it well to await them; they abandoned their position and scattered. Some went to seek an asylum among the Tchaetas, and the rest repaired to Mobile, under the protection of the French, who had then just taken possession.

"The Moskoquis, no longer finding enemies to fight, took peaceful possession of the country which they had just conquered. They established themselves on the rivers *Coosa*, *Tallapoosa*, *Chattahoochee*, *Flint*, *Ocmulgee*, little and great *Oconee* and *Ogechee*, and pushed their settlements as far as the river Savannah in Georgia, where the city of Augusta is now built.

"After having taken possession of this immense territory in this manner and having established their settlements, the youths were sent as far as Mobile in pursuit of the Alibamons; but, as they had placed themselves under the protection of the French, the French commandant endeavored to obtain peace for the Alibamons from the chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors. The chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors, not wishing to take it upon themselves to make a treaty without the consent of their nation, referred the matter to the decision of the council of old men; and, while awaiting this decision, they consented to a suspension of hostilities, promising not to kill any Alibamon before they had received the reply of their council, to which they even promised to recommend their enemies, on the express condition that the Alibamons, on their side, would equally respect the Moskoquis, and would avoid as much as possible frequenting the hunting grounds where they must pass the winter, marking out for both separate territories. This truce lasted six months, at the end of which time the old Moskoqui men went down to Mobile with their warriors; and, not only was peace made between the two nations, in presence of the French commandant, but the Moskoquis also agreed to unite the Alibamons with themselves; and, to induce them to do this, they gave them a piece of land on the river of Mobile, which is still called river of the Alibamons. The latter accepted the proposition, under the condition that they might preserve their customs and their usages. Then all of the separated portions were reunited and came to establish themselves on the river which has received their name, and form one little town which bears the name *Coussehaté*;^{20b} and, since this time, they have formed an integral part of the Moskoqui nation, which took at this period the name of Creek nation. This name signifies source river, and is derived from the situation of the country which they inhabit, which, as has been shown above, is surrounded or cut by a great number of good sized rivers.²¹

^{20b} The *Coussehaté* (Kosati) really constitute an independent tribe, though related, it is true, to the Alabama.

²¹ For the real origin of this term see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 215.

“About the same time an Indian tribe which had been almost destroyed by the Iroquois and the Hurons came to ask for the protection of the Moskoquis, whom I will now call Creeks. The latter received them among themselves and assigned to them a territory in the center of the nation. They built a town which is now very considerable, which is named Tuket-Batchet from the name of the Indian tribe. The great assemblies of the Creek nation, of which it is an integral part, are sometimes held within its walls. The warlike reputation of the Creeks, and knowledge of the good reception which they had given the Alibamons and the Indian tribe of which I have just spoken, rapidly spread among the other savage people of North America; and those among them who were too weak to resist the attacks of an enemy, came at once to beg for their help. The Tasquiguy and the Oxiailles [Okchai], who had experienced from their neighbors the same fate as the Tuket-Batchet, having learned of the good treatment which the latter had experienced from the Creeks, came to ask of them an asylum and protection. They were both received into the nation; lands were given them to cultivate, and they [the Tasquiguy] established themselves at the junction of the rivers *Cosa* and Tallapoosa, where they made a village which still bears the name Tasquiguy. The Oxiailles went ten leagues to the north and established their dwelling in a beautiful plain on the banks of a little river; they formed a town there to which they also gave their name.

“A short time afterward the remains of the little Udgi [Yuchi] nation, which had been partially destroyed by the English, also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who assigned them lands on the banks of the river Chattahoochee. A part of the Chickasaw nation also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Yazau, at the head of the river of the Wolves [the Neshoba]. They built their settlements there, extending them as far as the mountains of the Cherokee, behind which runs the Tennessee River, which takes its rise in these mountains, near Tougoulou, back of South Carolina, at a short distance from the source of the Savannah in Georgia.

“The immense extent of territory of which the Moskoquis, now Creeks, had taken possession after the flight of the Alibamons, provided them with means of receiving in this manner all of the peoples who asked the favor of them, and giving them lands to clear. They thus augmented their reputation and their means of sustaining it.

“Although the nations received by the Creeks became integral parts of them encounters took place in which they alone were concerned; but, in case of defeat, they were allowed to claim the protection of the Creeks who aided them either by their arms, or their mediations . . .”

[Here follows an account of the Natchez and their incorporation into the Creek confederacy; it contains little new information. Milfort also speaks of the admission into the confederacy of the Seminole, whom he treats as having been originally Florida Indians and Apalachee.]

"A short time after the American revolution, a part of the Savanhaugay nation, which inhabits the upper part of the river Savanah, which has taken the name of this nation, retired to the north to the banks of the Ohio, near Quintoekey [Kentucky]; the other part retired among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Tallapoosa, near the Alibamons. This nation established itself there and has built a little town, and follows its own peculiar usages and habits, which differ much from those of the Creeks, a fact which does not prevent perfect agreement between them. Their interests are common; they go hunting together, and on the same territory; in case of war their warriors march together, and obey the same grand chief. However, when a Savanhaugay marries a Creek woman, he is obliged to follow the laws, customs, and usages of the Creek nation; which does not happen when a Creek marries a Savanhaugay woman.

"The Creek nation, being thus augmented by a great number of emigrations from neighboring nations, has acquired a unity which makes it now very powerful and capable of putting on foot a very strong and very warlike army. Finding itself the most powerful on the continent, it is that fact which regulates every year, in the grand council of the old men, the conduct which shall be pursued during the year, not only by the different nations of which I have spoken which compose it, but also that of the savage nations of almost all North America."²²

The narrative given by Swan is very much disordered and is worth little, the origin of the Seminole, for instance, being set down as antedating that of the Creeks. Perhaps this part of the story contains a reminiscence of an original occupancy of southern Georgia by the Creeks and their subsequent retirement to the Chattahoochee and even to the Tallapoosa. His account runs thus:

"Men of the best information and longest acquaintance with these Indians give the following account of the rise and progress of the nation.

"Tradition, handed down from one generation to another, has established a general belief among them (which may be true), that a long time ago some strange, wandering clans of Indians from the northwest found their way down to the present country of the Seminoles; there meeting with plenty of game, they settled themselves in the vicinity of the then powerful tribes of the Florida and Appa-

²² Milfort, *Voy.*, pp. 229-284. The true circumstances involved in the incorporation in the Creek Confederacy of the several tribes mentioned, so far as these are known, have been given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

lachian Indians: that for some time they remained on a friendly footing with each other. The new-comers were styled Seminolies (signifying wanderers, or lost men).^{22a}

“These wanderers from the north increased, and at length became so powerful a body as to excite the jealousy of their Appalachian neighbors. Wars ensued, and finally the Seminolies became masters of the country. ‘The remnants of the Appalachians were totally destroyed by the Creeks in 1719.’²³

“In the process of time, the game of the country was found insufficient to support their increasing numbers. Some clans and families emigrated northward, and took possession of the present district of the Cowetas; having established themselves there, other emigrations followed, and in time spread themselves eastward as far as the Oakmulgee river, and other waters of Georgia and South Carolina, and westward as far as the Tallapoossee and Coosa rivers, which are the main branches of the Alabama. Here they were encountered by the Alabama nation, whom they afterwards conquered; and by restoring to them their lands and river, gained their attachment, and they were incorporated with the Creek nation. The Creeks became famous for their abilities and warlike powers; and being possessed of a well watered country, were distinguished from their ancestors (the Seminolies of the low barren country) by the name of Creeks or Muscogies.

“The kind soil, pure water, and air of their country being favorable to their constitutions as warriors, has perhaps contributed to give them a character superior to most of the nations that surround them.

“Their numbers have increased faster by the acquisition of foreign subjects than by the increase of the original stock. It appears long to have been a maxim of their policy, to give equal liberty and protection to tribes conquered by themselves, as well as to those vanquished by others—although many individuals, taken in war, are slaves among them; and their children are called, of the slave race, and can not arrive to much honorary distinction in the country on that account.²⁴

“The Alabamas and Coosades are said to be the first who adopted the ceremonies and customs of the Creeks, and became part of the nation. The Natchez, or Sunset Indians, from the Mississippi, joined the Creeks about fifty years since, after being driven out of Louisiana, and added considerably to their confederate body. And now the Shawanese, called by them Sawanes, are joining them in large numbers every year, having already four towns on the Tallapoossee river, that contain near 300 war men, and more are soon expected.”²⁵

^{22a} Properly people who camp at a distance from the large settled towns.

²³ Probably Swan's informants had in mind the dispersion of the Apalachee by Moore in 1704. By referring to Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 109-129, it will be seen that the destruction was by no means complete.

²⁴ There appears to have been little truth in this statement.

²⁵ Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 259-260.

In his paper in volume 3 of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society William Bartram states that the Creek nation in his time consisted of about 60 towns, "thirty of which speak the *Musco gulge tongue*, and are the progeny or descendants of a powerful band of a nation bearing that name, who, many years since (on their nation becoming very numerous, and filling their native country with inhabitants, by which the game and other necessary produce of their country became scarce and difficult to procure) were induced to separate themselves from, and go in search of, new and plentiful regions. They directed their migrations eastward, leaving with great regret and difficulty their native land, containing their relations and friends, which was on the banks of a large and beautiful river, called the Red River, from great quantities of red stone, of which they formed their tobacco-pipes.^{25 a} Their migrations continued a long time, and under great hardships and embarrassments, they being continually attacked by hostile Indian nations, till at length they arrived at the banks of the *Great River*, i. e., that which they crossed, when they began to think of establishing a permanent residence; but, being yet assaulted and disturbed by surrounding nations, they pushed eastward as far as the *Ockamulge*."²⁶ In the narrative of his travels Bartram covers the same ground in fewer words, and adds that "they were obliged to make a stand, and fortify themselves in this place [Ocmulgee], as their only remaining hope, being to the last degree persecuted and weakened by their surrounding foes. Having formed for themselves this retreat, and driven off the inhabitants by degrees, they recovered their spirits, and again faced their enemies, when they came off victorious in a memorable and decisive battle. They afterward gradually subdued their surrounding enemies, strengthening themselves by taking into the confederacy the vanquished tribes."²⁷

Nearer to the original is Hawkins's narrative obtained from Tussekiah Mic-có, evidently of the town of Kasihta:

"There are in the forks of Red river, (We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fus-kee),²⁸ west of Mississippi, (We-o-coof-ke, muddy water,) two

^{25 a} The Red Pipestone Quarry was in Minnesota and of course had nothing to do with the Red River of Louisiana.

²⁶ Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. III, p. 12.

²⁷ Bartram, Travels, p. 53.

²⁸ The Muskogee words used by Hawkins in this story and requiring explanation are the following: We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fus-kee (Wi teati háteí akfáski, "water red river forks"). We-o-coof-ke (Wi ogufki, "water muddy"). Hi-you-yul-gee (Hayuya + álgi, see footnote 29). Tote-kit-cau (totka itka "fire place," "where the fire burns," the busk fire). E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see (Isagita immisi "breath its holder or keeper"). Mic-co-ho-yon-ejau (miko hoyánidja "chief purgative"). Anche-nau (atcina "cedar"). Too-loh (tôla "sweet bay"). E-mau-li-ge-tuh (immaleigita "clan"). Noo-coose-ul-gee (Nokosi + álgi "Bears" or "Bear people"—i. e., "Bear clan"). Mic-ul-gee (Miko + álgi "Chiefs"). Is-tau-nul-gee (Isfani + álgi "Isfani (Spanish?) clan"). E-ne-hau-thluc-ul-gee (Henihá + láko + álgi "Big Henihás"). Thlot-lo-ul-gee (Lálo + álgi "Fishes," "Fish clan"). Au-tus-sau (Atásá "war-club"). Te-po-lux-o (tipolukso). E-cau-halpe (Ika halpi "head skin"). Itlo chate (Ito teati "red stick," "red wood," "red tree"). Cha-chu-see (teatcusi "my younger brother or brothers"). Chat-la-hau (teáláhá "my elder brother or brothers"). Um-mau-mau-yuh (probably áma' mayi "my tall, high, or grown people"; the ceremonial name of Coweta was Coweta ma' mayi, "tall Coweta"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 226). Tool-cau-hat-chee (Tukaba'tci). Au-lic-chul-gee (aliktea + álgi "doctors"). O-cheese-hat-che (Otcéisi háteí "Otcéisi River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 215). Chic-ke-tal-lo-fau-hat-che (Teiska tálofa háteí "Chiska-town River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 238). Sau-va-no-gee (Sawánóki). Tote-kit-cau humgoce (tôtka + itka + hámkusi "square-ground fire one only").

mounds of earth. At this place, the Cussetuh, Cowetuh, and Chickasaws found themselves. They were at a loss for fire. Here they were visited by the Hi-you-yul-gee,²⁹ four men who came from the four corners of the world. One of these people asked the Indians, where they would have their fire, (tote-kit-cau). They pointed to a place; it was made; and they sat down around it. The Hi-you-yul-gee directed, that they should pay particular attention to the fire, that it would preserve them and let E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, (master of breath,) know their wants. One of these visitors took them and showed them the Pas-sau; another showed them Mic-co-hoyon-ejau, then the Auche-nau, (cedar,) and Too-loh, (sweet bay.) (There are one or two other plants, not recollected. Each of these seven plants was to belong to a particular tribe (E-mau-li-ge-tuh).) After this, the four visitors disappeared in a cloud, going from whence they came.

“The three towns then appointed their rulers. The Cussetuhs chose the Noo-coose-ul-gee, (bear tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (mic-cos,) and the Is-tau-nul-gee, to be the E-ne-hau-thluc ul-gee, (people second in command.) The Cowetuhhs chose the Thlot-lo-ul-gee, (fish tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (miccos.)

“After these arrangements, some other Indians came from the west, met them, and had a great wrestle with the three towns; they made ball sticks and played with them, with bows and arrows, and the war club, (Autus-sau.) They fell out, fought and killed each other. After this warring, the three towns moved eastwardly, and they met the Au-be-cuh at Coosau river. Here they agreed to go to war for four years, against their first enemy; they made shields (te-po-lux-o) of Buffalo hides, and it was agreed that the warriors of each town, should dry and bring forward the scalps (E-cau halpe) of the enemy and pile them; the Aubecuh had a small pile, the Chickasaws were above them, the Cowetuhhs above them, and the Cussetuhs above all. The two last towns raised the scalp pole, (Itlo chate, red wood,) and do not suffer any other town to raise it. Cussetuh is first in rank.

“After this, they settled the rank of the four towns among themselves. Cussetuh, called Au-be-cuh and Chickasaw cha-chu-see (younger brothers). The Chickasaw and Aubecuhhs, called Cussetuh and Cowetuh, chat-la-hau (oldest brothers). Au-be-cuh, called the Chickasaw Um-mau-mau-yuh (elders, or people ahead of them). Chickasaws sometime use the same expression to Aubecuh.

“This being done, they commenced their settlements on Coosau and Tal-la-poo-sau, and crossing the falls of Tallapoosa above Tool-cau-bat-che, they visited the Chat-to-hoche, and found a race of people with flat heads, in possession of the mounds in the Cussetuh

²⁹ I have been told that Yahola and Hayuya were “very pure spirits” who presided over the annual ceremony or busk. Hi-you-yul-gee would be the plural of Hayuya. See p. 485.

fields. These people used bows and arrows, with strings made of sinews. The great physic makers (Au-lic-chul-gee) sent some rats in the night time, which gnawed the strings, and in the morning, they attacked and defeated the flats.³⁰ They crossed the river at the island, near the mound, and took possession of the country. After this they spread out eastwardly to O-cheese-hat-che (Ocmulgee), Oconee, O-ge-chee (How-ge-chuh), Chic-ke-tal-lo-fau-hat-che (Savannah), called sometimes Sau-va-no-gee, the name for Shaw-a-nee. They met the white people on the seacoast, who drove them back to their present situation.

"Cussetuh and Chickasaw consider themselves as people of one fire (tote-kit-cau humgoce) from the earliest account of their origin. Cussetuh appointed the first Micco for them [the Chicaksaw], directed him to sit down in the big Savanna, where they are now, and govern them. Some of the Chickasaws straggled off and settled near Augusta, from whence they returned and sat down near Cussetuh, and thence back to their nation. Cussetuh and Chickasaw have remained friends ever since their first acquaintance.

"During the late war between the Creeks and Chickasaws, Cussetuh refused her aid, and retained her long established friendship for the Chickasaws; and when the Creeks offered to make peace, their offers were rejected, till Cussetuh interposed their good offices. These had the desired effect, and produced peace."³¹

We now know that those versions of the legend which represent the Muskogee as having come as far east as the Georgia coast from which they were pressed back by the whites have better foundation in fact than was formerly supposed.³² Bolton^{32 a} has shown that the location of the great body of Creeks on Ocmulgee River prior to 1715 was ephemeral, but there can be no doubt that some Creek tribes were elements in the population of Guale on the Georgia coast.^{32 b} As we have seen, Swan brings the Creeks into Florida and Gallatin had obtained a similar legend, perhaps through Swan himself.

"Their traditions say that they emigrated from the Northwest until they reached Florida, when they fell back to the country between the headwaters of the Alabama and Savannah Rivers . . . Those

³⁰ Most Muskogee traditions recognize that the country into which they came was already occupied. Besides references in several of the myths here given, a contributor to Schoolcraft's first volume states that the "Creeks believed the land they occupied was held before their coming by another people of whom they had no definite knowledge, but not by other people than Indians and not by a more civilized people." They conquered these earlier occupants and the latter "wended their way south." This authority differs from many others in affirming that "the circular breastworks in their country they believed were built by themselves for protection." (Schoolcraft, *Am. Inds.*, 1, pp. 266-267.) Pope mentions a war waged by the Creeks with "a numerous Tribe of Seminoles, whom the Creeks after a long and bloody contest of 20 years exterminated, and re-peopled the deserted villages by slow emigrations from their own victorious tribes." He modestly places this event 10,000 years before his own time (Pope, *Tour*, p. 53).

³¹ *Oa. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. m, pt. 1, pp. 81-83.

³² See *Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, pp. 80-109.

^{32 a} H. E. Bolton, *Spain's Title to Georgia*, Univ. of Calif. Press, Berkeley, 1825, pp. 55-56.

^{32 b} *Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, loc. cit.

remaining in Florida were called the Seminoles, or Isti-semole (wild men). The nation became a confederacy of tribes, speaking other languages, modifying somewhat the original Muskogee, but who, nevertheless, numbered seven-eighths of their whole number."³³

A few references to this legend appear in the American State Papers and in other publications, but, with one exception, they add little or nothing to it, their value being purely confirmatory. The one exception is the statement attributed by Gallatin, to "the chiefs of the delegation, who attended at Washington in the year 1826," and who "agreed that the prevailing traditon amongst them was, that the nation had issued out of a cave near Alabama River."³⁴ Unless this was in reality the Alabama story³⁵ instead of that of the true Muskogee, it stands entirely by itself.

Practically all of the older Creeks retain some belief in a western origin.³⁶ The place from which they came they call "the navel of the world," and it is now supposed to have been at Ikána la'foni, "the backbone of the earth," a name they give to the Rocky Mountains. There is always mention of their having crossed waters, and of the course of their migration having been supernaturally guided by means of a stick which they set up in the ground and which bent of itself in the direction they were to take. This stick is said to have been a ball stick, and it is often spoken of as red.³⁷ One informant explained the color by saying that the pole was made of cedar. Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, told a somewhat different story. According to him, when the Muskogee came out of the navel of the earth near the Rocky Mountains they had a red arrow which they shot a long distance in advance, marching in the direction of its flight until they had reached it. They repeated this action every day until they found the arrow lying pointing backward. At that spot they halted and established their nation.

Legus Perryman, formerly interpreter for the Creek chief Pleasant Porter, and at one time chief of the Creeks himself, gave me the following versions of the migration legend, as told by the Tulsa and Coweta Indians, respectively:

"The people who were afterward known as Coosa or Tulsa Indians traveled eastward toward the rising sun until they came to a big water too wide to cross. They went back from this to a certain place and lived there a long time. By and by they came to the same water again but here it was narrow. The other shore was well wooded

³³ Gallatin, quoted in *Ann. Rept. Smithson. Inst.*, 1885, part II, p. 211.

³⁴ *Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, II, p. 95.

³⁵ For the Alabama origin myths see *Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, pp. 191-192.

³⁶ Early in the nineteenth century, according to the American State Papers (*Ind. Aff.*, II, p. 571), four Creek chiefs denied that their people had come from the West and obtained their lands by conquest, but a misunderstanding is quite possible, and, besides, this testimony concerned their title to the lands of the old Creek Nation in Alabama and Georgia, a fact which they very well knew.

³⁷ In the oldest legend, as we have seen, it is represented as a war club (see p. 35).

and pleased them, and they wanted to get over to it. Their leader, however, said: 'We ought to cross, but I am going to try an arrow.' If it landed on the other side he knew they could get over. He shot, therefore, and his arrow went into the woods. The people remained there until they had gotten together some boats and rafts on which they crossed in safety. Then they established themselves where they found quantities of game. After a while they began moving east again, and they did this at intervals, always in the same direction. At last they settled permanently, became very numerous, and established square grounds.

"One night, a long time afterward, a dance was held at which all persons were present except a newly married couple who were in some manner delayed. When these arrived at the square, late at night, they found nothing there but a lake. They remained on the shores of the lake watching and noticed that the birds which tried to fly across fell in and were drowned. One big crane, however, flew all the way over. It said 'koos, koos, koos,' and they thought that that was its name. As time went on this couple had children and their descendants formed another big town; and because the bird did fly over the submerged village in safety they named the town after it, saying 'We shall be called Coosas.' And in the town orations to-day their descendants, the people of Tulsa, begin by saying 'We are the Coosa people.'

"The Coweta say that they came out from under the earth and found the surface soft and muddy, difficult to travel upon. By and by it became dry and hard. They were on the top of a mountain from which they could see the setting and the rising of the sun. Then they debated whether to go toward the sunset or the sunrise but finally they agreed to go toward the sunrise. So they traveled eastward slowly, stopping a long time where the hunting was good and then going on again, until they came at last to a river. This river was very muddy and so wide that they stayed on its banks longer than anywhere else, and there they inaugurated the ball play. At last they made boats and crossed. Then they traveled on again eastward until they came to the ocean ('big water'). They found that the water of the ocean would come up and go out again, enabling them to collect oysters and other things good to eat, and they stopped there and lived on those products, being unable to pass beyond. They claim that they traveled side by side with the Kasihta, and some add the Abihka, which some deny. The place from which they started they call Hafoni, 'the backbone,' and they identify this with the Rocky Mountains."

The following version of the migration legend was told by Ispahihtea, of the Kasihta town, a former chief of the Creek Nation,^{37 a}

^{37 a} See p. 331.

to James R. Gregory, by whom it was repeated to the writer in May, 1912:

"Some people anciently lived together in the west. In course of time they became so evil that they could find nothing pure in the world except the sun, and they determined to travel eastward to find the place from whence it came. On the way they became separated into three bodies. The first of these were called Chickasaw because on the morning when they were to set out they were the first to see the sun rise and said *Teika ha'sà* [*hitcika hasà*], 'See the sun!' The second body said to the first *Kohasita*,^{37b} 'Where is the sun?' from which circumstance they received the name *Kasihta*. The Chickasaw moved first, the *Kasihta* following them, but the third body of people had some difficulty in passing around a brier thicket and were left a long distance behind, so that the parties in advance began to call them *Ko-aoita*, 'Those that are following us,' whence the name *Coweta*.

"During their travels these tribes came to a great river which they crossed, and presently the Chickasaw entered upon a beautiful country where were small prairies abundantly supplied with strawberries and other wild fruits and having deep pools of water. Then the Chickasaw did not want to go any farther and said that they did not care where the sun came from. So they settled in that country, while the remaining bands held on their course. By and by the *Kasihta*, who were still in advance, crossed a river smaller than the first. On the other side they raised a mound, leaving a great chamber in the center in which to fast and purify their bodies. They left their women, children, and other noncombatants there and went on toward the east. Afterward, the *Coweta* arrived on the opposite side of the river and sent word over that they intended to cross and kill everyone in the place because the *Kasihta* warriors had not waited to have them join in the expedition. But among the *Kasihta* women was one who had a magic white stone or pebble, the mate to which was in the keeping of her husband among the warriors. By means of this stone she informed him of the serious state of affairs, and the *Kasihta* warriors immediately retraced their steps, cut switches, and, passing over to the *Coweta* warriors, whipped them severely. But they did not strike them with a weapon of war. They then told the *Coweta* to take charge of the mound, and, gathering together their own noncombatants, they went eastward once more.

"After the *Kasihta* had left, the *Coweta* made medicine and went inside of the great mound in order to purify themselves, but while they were there a Cherokee war party attacked the camp. Great was their surprise, however, when the *Coweta* warriors poured up

^{37b} *Kô* is not the usual word meaning "where?" but is probably an exclamatory particle.

from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws.

“In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white.”

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

“It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breath-holder (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

earth being created, the second thing is water, the third the trees and grass, and the fourth the things having life.' Even down to the smallest things they were created.

"And, continuing, he said: 'A last day will come.' That is what he said to him. Continuing, he said: 'Fire will destroy this world, and when it comes the dead people will arise out of the earth and fearful things that were existing within it will arise out of it. Everything will gather together in the interior of the earth. At that time there will be no more death.

" 'When that occurs I too will come.' he said. 'I shall come to seek those who have not killed anyone, and those who have not told a lie, people who are really humble, those who love people much, and persons who are unselfish, and persons who abase themselves. And when I take them up, "Take me up, too," the others will say, holding their hands up. Then those left on that day which is bright and hanging will be lost together.'³⁸

"And when he departed they stood still looking about, and when they saw the rising sun, they wanted to see the place from which it came, and they started thither. And while they were on the way, they considered, supposing the sun to be hot, how they should light a fire with it. Then they took a stick of wood dried in the sun's heat and bored into it with another dry stick *... it ...* at fire. Then they named the wood with which they had *... re* 'the slimy wood' (afo's'lipa'kfa—the slippery elm). *... e war*

"Afterward they remained there four years, fasting for *... days* [each year?]. When the four years were completed, providing themselves with the fire, they again set out toward [the sun]. And while they were still traveling east the Chickasaw stopped saying, 'My moccasins are worn out, and I will stop to mend them; even if you go on I will catch you.' 'All right,' he [Kasihta] said. He made a spring for him, by sticking his elbow down into the ground and turning it around four times. Having made a big spring for him, he said 'Stay here drinking this until you can go.' Then [the Kasihta] went away. But [the Chickasaw] settled there for good.

"When they came to the end of the dark grass they continued to obtain things for themselves.

"Whenever they stopped they remained there for four years; they marched with an advance guard moving about in front. When they saw the ocean and found that they could not go farther they stopped there. They rested by a large river. Then they learned that some people were living on the other side. They wanted to know what sort of people were living there and went near, when a fog covered them so that they were moving about in it and so stopped

³⁸ The material in the latter half of the first paragraph and in paragraphs 2 and 3 is, of course, from Christian sources.

not able to see anything. They discovered that the strangers had something which smelt very good and they wanted it, and they considered how they could get it.

"While they were considering over it they made a long mound and another round mound. They said that this action would give them help. When they were ready they caused a wind to blow on the people covered with fog living there, and the fog was cleared away. Then they killed [part of the stranger people] and took many captive and exterminated that town.³⁹ They built a town there of their own. While doing this they were in the habit of sending out guards. They made the guards go out for one year, and when those returned [who had been away during the war] and found that [stranger] people had been killed, they said 'You did not save any for us,' and they wept in anger at having been deprived of the opportunity to kill. The two men were projected across the river, hanging to the ends of arrows, and going along the stream they trailed [their enemies]. Presently they found two persons lying asleep who had been throwing up the earth into mounds. They killed them there and by so doing wiped away their tears. Then the locality was named 'Shoveling place.' After four years [the Kasihta] left their women and children together in that place and set out to get scalps. Not anticipating any danger the men all started out. The women continued to live there alone. Afterwards the Coweta people, following their trail, came to the big river and camped on the nearer side. Then they sent out scouts who reported that people were staying near by. Then they said 'We had better kill them,' and they said 'Watch them closely.' Watching them closely they discovered that only women were in that place. Then they went near and spoke to them. And they said to them 'What has become of the males?' They answered 'They went away to war a long time ago. It is now nearly four years since they left.' And [the new comers] answered 'They can not be alive.' But an old woman said 'The men are still alive.' Then they (the Coweta) said: 'Being an old woman she tells lies.' When it got dark that old woman put a stone into the fire, and when it was red all over she took it out and laid it down pointing in the direction in which the Kasihta had gone, and she stood upon it; and after she had stood there for a while she came back and said 'The men are alive.' Although she said so they did not believe her. And when they said 'She is lying' some of the women thought 'It is probably so,' and finally some married these men. The little old woman tried to dissuade them, and many obeyed her. After a time she said 'Now the warriors are near,' but they did not believe her. 'Now they are close by,' she said, 'Fix your-

³⁹ From a note these people would appear to have been considered Yuchi.

selves. Comb yourselves.' She kept on encouraging the whole town. When the warriors had gotten near to the town she went out to their camp and said 'Things have been thus and so while we have been settled here,' and she informed them about all that had happened. But when people had been to war it was their custom not to enter the town on their return too hurriedly. Therefore they waited some time to attend to [i. e., purify] themselves and then passed into the town. Then they held a council and said 'What shall we do with these men? If we kill them it will be of no benefit and they may be of use to us.' And while they were sitting in council they gathered the male Coweta together. Then they built a large fire and made them dance, pushing them down into the fire so that they jumped over it to escape. They did this for some time. They also took sticks and beat them on the front parts of their calves, and they cut off their ears, and they made a law of this.^{39a}

"Then they continued to play tricks on the Coweta by putting strings of dog excrement around their necks. They said 'It shall be our law that if a man cohabits with a married woman his ears shall be cut off and also his nose. And if a person is whipped inordinately and he dies the leader of the whipping party shall be killed. And if a man cohabits with a married woman in the middle of the summer at the time of the big harvest when the busk is over, and the aggrieved party finds it out, if the man runs away and lives by himself for a whole year, in midsummer after the busks of all the towns are over, the man and the woman can not receive the penalty of the law.' Then they continued 'We have constructed a long mound and a round mound in order to protect ourselves. You must sit down and watch them.' So the tall Coweta were told. They also made a chief for [the Coweta]. And they used for this purpose the Fish clan. 'If you lose him by death you must consider for yourselves [how to replace him],' they were told. And there they made a tribe of the Coweta. Then they were told to live inside of the two mounds. And on top of these hollow mounds they drank *âsi* every morning. And when the *âsi* was cooked a great pan of it was set out before them at daybreak every morning. Every morning when it was taken they set it away for them. They established themselves there permanently as a tribe. They told each other what they had been doing. Then the Kasihta put a question to the Coweta, and they answered: 'We came along the trail on which others had gone. We came because we wanted to see what they were doing.' And the people said 'since it came (*awit*) afterward the tribe shall be named *Awita*,' and it was so named.

^{39a} Having reference to the Creek laws against adultery; see pp. 346-354.

“And, continuing, the Kasihta said ‘We came out of the center of the earth.’ The Coweta answered ‘We came out at the same place but, the root of a tree extending in front of us, we emerged only after a delay.’ Then they learned that they had been created one people. And they said ‘We shall have to return again the way we came, and when we reach the place of our creation we shall be annihilated.’ The names of the two rivers near that town were Big River (Hâteci Lâko) and Confluent River (Hâte Afa’ski).

“There was a place for killing fish at that point; it was found out that it was a place to which fish would come. The Kasihta having found it broke off a pine limb and laid it upon a rock. And the Coweta found it afterward and broke off a black weed called ata’k la-lasti^{39b} and laid it down in the same place. Then the Coweta said ‘I have found a fish-killing place.’ The Kasihta said ‘I found it first. I broke off a pine limb to mark it and laid it upon a rock.’ And the Coweta said ‘I, too, broke off a black weed and laid it there.’ They wrangled with each other about it. Then they said to each other ‘Let us examine the place.’ And when they went to see the marks they found two lying there. When they had examined the matter they found two fish-killing places close together and one was abandoned to the Coweta. Near by was their own fish-killing place where they lived catching and eating fish. They continued there, beginning and carrying on things for their amusement. There they built their big house.^{39c} They erected four structures which they called houses (teuko). They placed one to the west, another across from this,⁴⁰ another toward the south, another toward the east,⁴⁰ and another toward the north. They made the length [of each?] eighty times the length of a person’s foot and the breadth thirty times. And they made the measure of the arena between them eighty foot-measures each way. The round big-house stood toward the west.^{40a} They constructed it with a pointed roof, and they covered it with pine bark stripped from the trees. They made only one door, looking toward the east. And they built a fire exactly in the middle so that when it was raining or snowing they could dance there. And in the one of the four houses which stood toward the west the miko of the tribe sat with his vice-chief (apokta). It was called the house of the mikos (mi’kâlgi i’ntchuka). And those who sat in the house to the south were known as ‘the owners of the white (há’tki ipu’teasi).’ If the miko and vice-miko both died they appointed new ones. The one lying across toward the east was called the house of the women (hu’ktagi i’nteuka). And that on the north side was called ‘the house of the warriors’ (tâstânâgâlgi i’nteuka). They

^{39b} This has yellow flowers which appear at the time of the fall hunt.

^{39c} The ceremonial square.

⁴⁰ Probably by inadvertence the eastern structure is mentioned twice.

^{40a} The teokofa or town “hot house.”

were their war talkers (inhuḥupuna'ya). And behind the house, lying toward the south, they had what they called the tādjo. It was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.^{40b}

"And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited. They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hū'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obānga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance^{40c} (its obānga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obā'nga teā'pko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' ateu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obānga ateu'li) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.^{40d}

"[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting the ball' (puk' i'teita), holding two bent ball sticks with which they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

^{40b} See pp. 174-190 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.

^{40c} Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 609.

^{40d} For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 546-614.

time they stopped and the fourth time they retired and slept until daybreak. Then they went up to each other, undressed, and met. They wagered such things as horses, money, coats, handkerchiefs. The distance between them in either direction was two hundred yards. The sticks of the ball posts were planted in the ground side by side. Then the ball was thrown up, they ran after it, and they wrestled if they wished. They stood up twenty counting sticks against each other and whichever side first made twenty points won the game. They threw the ball between the posts which had been planted on each side. Afterward those who had won the wagers went off, taking them along.^{40e}

"The Muskogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Nokfila, Yamasee, Natchez, and people like them continued their mutual enmity. For some time they kept on killing one another. And one tribe, the Nokfila,⁴¹ was lost. The tribe was in part killed out and in part enslaved.

"The Yamasee were good people. They did not want to fight, but, being harassed, they walked deep into the water very humbly, singing pretty songs, and so that tribe was lost.⁴² The old people said that this happened because it was in the thought of God that it should be so.

"While that was taking place the mutual killing went on. And since it had to cease, finally it did cease. The peace that was first made came about in this wise.

"There was a man of the Kasihta tribe known as Good-child Chief, celebrated for his ability and praised on account of the awe which he inspired. His ears were split and his body marked with tattooings [of his war honors]. At intervals he would kill Cherokee, strip off their scalps, and carry them home. Upon one occasion he went out as usual to kill people and reached the land of the Cherokee. There he saw human footprints. Observing that they were fresh he followed them. And then he saw a deer having widely branching horns and he shot at it. Afterward it ran on and was lost in the distance. Then he thought 'It would be better to kill *people*,' and he went forward. He followed a stream until he came to a foot log lying across it. Then, seeing that the human tracks by it were fresh, he thought 'I will kill [the people] when they cross upon that log.' He saw a bush covered with leaves near the water, its branches reaching toward him, and, thinking 'I will hide in there and when they cross over I will kill them,' he sat down behind it.

"The people came, he saw them cross, and he pointed his gun at them but put it down again and they passed on leaving him sitting in the same place. Then it happened that he heard someone on

^{40e} See pp. 456-466 for a description of the ball game.

⁴¹ "Nokfila" is also given as an old Muskogee designation of the white people.

⁴² The character of this warlike tribe is here entirely misrepresented, and solely because in Muskogee *yámási* is the word meaning "gentle."

top of the bluff scolding at a dog in his own language. He became interested and went out. Presently he saw a Muskogee family sitting [by their dwelling] talking. When he got to the place he saw a great camp extending to the creek. The person to whom he went said 'Sit down' and he sat down. Then the Cherokee surrounded him and he sat still unable to do anything. They said to him 'What do you want?' and he answered 'I am here because I was directed to go and see the Cherokee chief. They said to me "When you reach Ikan tãpiksi (Level land), anywhere in that country you can obtain an interpreter.'" Then the Cherokee said 'The chief is living at a distance, but he will arrive four days after having been sent for.' Then he remained there as a prisoner.

"It was a custom of the Cherokee to send out scouts and as soon as they had come home ask each of them what he had learned concerning their enemies. They did so at this time, and he sat listening to them. And when the returning scouts had all gotten through they thought that nothing was the matter. While he was sitting there the returning scouts were all examined as to whether they had seen anything that might give concern to the town, and they finished. Then they examined them again saying 'Did you hear a shot fired?' and one said 'I heard one.' And each of the Cherokee said in turn 'I have not fired a gun.' Then they said to Good-child Chief who was sitting near 'Did you shoot?'

"He answered 'I did.' 'At what did you shoot?' they asked him. 'I shot at a deer' said he. 'Did you shoot near by?' they asked. 'I shot at him very near' he said, 'and I thought I hit him but I came here instead of going to see.' Then they said 'Let us go and see where you did this,' and they took him along. Presently he said 'I shot it here and it went on and died without going very far away.' Then they tried to find it and did so, and they brought it back. 'He has spoken the truth' they thought, and they watched him closely during the four days. At intervals the young men of the Cherokee came in whooping saying that the chief of the Cherokee was coming. On the fourth day he came and they prepared very large round sticks of wood. When all were in the house Good-child Chief and his interpreter were called in. Then his interpreter said to him 'Where the Cherokee are assembled to observe their customs sit still without paying any attention to them.' Then they said 'It (the council) is ready.' So the two went up and sat down. What the interpreter had said about the way they exercised their law was going to be carried out. One man danced the whooping dance holding the ax with which people were killed. He struck the ax into the ground between [the prisoner's] feet. After he had done this for a considerable time he twisted his breechelout to one side and pushed his buttocks toward the stranger's face. Although

Good-child Chief did not like this he could not resent it and remained seated. After the man had danced around for a while he stopped and sat down.

"Then they gave Good-child Chief permission to speak. 'Let him make known what he wants' they said. Then he said: 'Brothers, we have caused each other suffering for a long time. I was told to come and see the Cherokee chief.' [My people] said 'While our mother is the same and our father is the same we punish each other, and it has come to such a pass that even our children are inspired with terror. Hereafter it shall not be so. The white path shall extend from our doors,' my people said. 'Even if red is on that path we shall not think it is human blood,' they said, 'and even if we find blood near streams we shall not think it is human blood. We shall think thus. We shall think it is the blood of the many things that are to be found in the water,' they said. 'And afterward, if we find on the white paths that converge to our doors the blood of anything sticking, we shall suppose it is the blood of the many four-footed game animals that have it,' they said. 'And after this, if he (a former enemy) shakes hands with me he must smoke of my tobacco. If I shall see a cloud arising and hanging in the air, we will think, 'He is shaking hands with me,' they said. Then he handed to them white beads strung together which he had with him and said 'They said "This is the image of the earth island."'

"When this speech was ended the Cherokee chief agreed. And the Cherokee chief said to his men 'Take him to the place from which he came and leave him there.' And they conducted him thither and left him. Then he returned to his tribe. And he said: 'I have spoken to the Cherokee chief,' and he informed them what he had done. Then peace making spread and became general."

The old chief from whom the last two stories came informed Mr. Gregory that such traditions must be repeated in a certain manner word for word, for a mistake would cost blood. Yet, such a mistake has been committed either by the chief himself or by one of his interpreters, since we find some striking differences in detail. For instance, the item regarding the attack by Cherokee on the Coweta when they were living inside of the mound does not appear in Gatschet's version.

A curious modern note is introduced by one of my own informants who said that the Muskogee came from the west, out of "the navel of the earth," and moved eastward after the sun until they reached the ocean. Then it was said: "As long as you can't go all of the way around the earth you can not see the sun."

It is noticeable that all stories emanating from the Lower Creeks speak of their ancestors as having come up out of the ground at "the navel of the earth," the connection of the navel with birth

evidently having been responsible for this designation.⁴³ An old woman told one of my informants of the Okehai town that for a long time after mankind had come out of the ground great caves remained there. Once some Indians bearing torches entered these in search of bee martins. They found trails of human beings and could make out the marks of moccasins, but the cave people threw stones at them, they were afraid that their torches would be put out, and so they turned back. Another informant remembered a belief that men had come out of the water, but still others quoted "the old people" to the effect that mankind had come from above, and when we examine the matter we seem able to trace this type of origin myth to Tukabahchee. Alindja, an old and well-informed Tukabahchee Indian, told me the following legend:

"The Indians were sent down from the world above to some place in the west. They had with them the two principal busk medicines, the pasa and miko hoyanidja, and among them were seven mikos. They also had fire. Originally there were two camps of them, but after a while one camp decided that they would return. They kept their intentions to themselves, however, until toward night. Then they said 'We are ready. We are going,' and up they went into the sky. By that time it was so late that the people in the other camp, among whom were the seven mikos, said 'We will go tomorrow.' But before morning one of their number died, and, as they could not leave the body in this world or take it with them, they had to remain.

"After they had stayed in that place for a while they said 'Let us travel,' and they got up and started off. First they went toward the north, but after they had proceeded some distance they set a walking stick up in the ground. Forthwith it leaned toward the south and they said 'That must be the way we should go.' They set off toward the south, and presently they set up the walking stick again. This time it leaned toward the east, so they went east. They went on eastward for a time and set the stick up again. It remained exactly perpendicular and they said 'Here is the place,' and they settled there, having traveled across the whole world to reach it. The word is that our companions, our blood relatives, are in the world above. The chiefs who remained were to be the kings of this continent and they were the seven mikos of Tukabahchee town."⁴⁴

This story was paralleled in its main outlines by another informant.

As I have stated elsewhere,⁴⁵ the origin of Tukabahchee seems to have been distinct from that of the Muskogee proper. According to

⁴³ In his communication to Schoolcraft regarding the Chickasaw Indians the agent of that tribe says that they did not know the origin of the artificial mounds in their old country and called them "navels." "They thought that the Mississippi was the center of the earth, and those mounds were as the navel of a man in the center of his body." (Indian Tribes, I, p. 311.)

⁴⁴ See p. 283.

⁴⁵ Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 278. As also indicated in that work, the Tukabahchee had several special names. One of these was Isti ispokogi isti fátásiko toyayat, "Spokogi who deviate from the strict order or way of doing things." I have mentioned this in the place above indicated but unfortunately omitted the negative after fátca. Another name applied to them, according to Mr. Grayson's notes, was Sakáfáki Tástánági, Isti Ispokoki toyayat.

a migration story collected by Tuggle and given in Bulletin 73 they marched south instead of east and claim to have been in Georgia when the white people entered the country. The latter part of this tradition is confirmed by Nuttall,⁴⁶ and if it is correct, as seems to be indicated in the case of some constituent elements of the nation, it would account for a tradition remembered by Zachariah Cook to the effect that they had migrated from the east and had crossed a ditch on a footlog which they placed across it with the greatest difficulty. After they were once over they could not get back.

Following is the Tuckabahchee origin myth as related to me by Cook who had it from a Creek Indian, now dead, known as Judge Nokosi. Judge Nokosi told him that it was fragmentary, and that the last person to know it in its completeness was an old man named Napoleon Yahola, who died before the Civil War.

"In the beginning the Indians came pouring out of the earth like ants. Those who got out first looked back, saw in what crowds the others were coming on, and said 'It will not be good. It must be stopped.' And it stopped. In those days they laid down the towaka (logs) about the stomp ground. After they had arranged these and were seated upon them—they were then in the country where later they built their towns—up came the tall Coweta and found them. The Coweta said 'Who are you?' 'I am the little Tukabahchee.' 'What have you?' 'I have only the miko hoyanidja and my whoop.' The Tukabahchee miko held the miko hoyanidja in his right hand. 'Let us hear you whoop,' said the Coweta. 'No.' 'Yes, let us hear you whoop.' The Tukabahchee behaved very humbly and refused to whoop for some time but finally they agreed in order to please the strangers. Then their leader arose, stamped upon the ground, and whooped, and the earth quivered as if there were an earthquake. After the second whoop the Coweta leader said, 'My friend, that will do,' but, having started, the Tukahachee was obliged to complete the four cries. When he was through the Coweta chief said 'We will be friends. Here is my medicine; let us combine the two.' So they united the pasa (button-snake-root) of the Coweta with the miko hoyanidja of the Tukabahchee, and the combined medicine is the sawatcka.⁴⁷ Thereafter each used both.

"About this time two Ispokogis came down from above, approached the ball ground and saw that there were people there and that it was

⁴⁶ "The Creeks entertain a tradition of coming from the west side of the Mississippi, and that, too, at so recent a date, as to have heard of the landing of white people on the Atlantic coast soon after their arrival."—Nuttall in *Early Western Travels*, vol. xiii, p. 305.

⁴⁷ Alindja, one of the best informed Tukahachee, also stated that the pasa and the miko hoyanidja were the two standard medicines, although he said that the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska or spicewood. See below. Nevertheless, by others the sawatcka is given as a third medicine, and this is the statement of Hawkins. (*Oa. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. iii, p. 79.)

good, so they remained with the people. One of these Ispokogis made a dugout canoe, and, when it was completed, he got in and began floating up into the air. But, when it was some distance off, he looked back and saw all of the people standing still gazing after him. Then he said 'I can not leave them.' So he came back and, when he landed, the other Ispokogi lay down and died. The surviving Ispokogi remained with the people after that, and with reference to this event the word was 'There shall be a link of brothers, life without ending.' This meant that when one Ispokogi died there should always be another to take his place. Old Tukabahchee miko, who is known to have visited Washington, and who died on Red River about the year 1864, was the last Muskogee to preserve a knowledge of the identity of the Ispokogi. Theoretically there always is such a chief, but since the death of Tukabahchee miko the knowledge of him has become lost. This knowledge was anciently preserved by means of a certain council formed about the sacred fire in the busk ground."

Benjamin Hawkins had heard of this chief, for he says "They have, in this town, a Mic-co of another family, the Is-po-co-gee Mic-co, the ancient name of the town."

It is interesting to be able to add that we have some notes regarding the Ispokogi from that Tukabahchee miko above mentioned, recorded February 1, 1842, by Gen. E. A. Hitchcock. According to the story, as obtained from this source, seven persons of both sexes were sent down from heaven in very old times; later they attempted to return, but one of them, thought to have been a man, died, whereupon the others came back. They then sat down in a square and performed some ceremony which the Indians wished to learn. At first they were unsuccessful, but at last they discovered something about it, and the strangers then taught them how to make a fire and how to worship the Great Spirit. They also brought certain plates from heaven which they gave to the Creek chiefs. Colonel Hawkins, their former agent, said that these had come from the King of England, or at least from the British, but the Indians believed that they were from heaven and were to be worshipped.^{47a} The new comers told them to make a new fire once a year by friction, after having extinguished the existing fire, and to thank the Great Spirit for his blessing; at that season they were to exhibit the plates. When this happened the Indians were using bows and arrows and lived entirely by hunting, but after a time they found some white people and from them obtained knives and other useful articles. At a similar early period the Tukabahchee met the Coweta. They smoked the pipe of peace together and agreed to an eternal friendship which they have ever since maintained, and all of the other Indians are obliged to look up to them.

^{47a} Elsewhere Hitchcock says that some Indians had a tradition that they had been presented by a Spanish King, and this was probably not far from the truth.

This friendship between Tukabahchee and Coweta, the leading "Red towns" of the Upper and Lower Creeks, is woven into many stories which derive their importance from that fact. Alindja, the informant already mentioned, gave me another version, which runs thus:

"Anciently the Tukabahchee were at odds with all of their neighbors and were continually fighting but were uniformly successful. The Coweta heard of them, and, themselves being powerful, wanted to meet them in order to measure their strength. After a long time they heard that they were in their neighborhood and they sent some messengers to speak with them. When the messengers arrived they asked whether they had any chiefs. 'Yes,' they said, 'we have a few.' 'Where are they?' Then two small, insignificant looking persons were pointed out to them sitting with their heads bowed down. Then the visitors addressed the chiefs saying 'We hear that you have a very powerful medicine which enables you to conquer everybody, therefore we have come to learn about it. Have you any warriors?' 'Yes,' said they, 'we have a few.' 'Let us see them.' 'We must whoop four times in order to call them up,' they said. 'All right,' answered the Coweta. Then they sent a messenger who returned presently with something wrapped up in a white deerskin. They unrolled this and produced a short stick of miko hoyanidja. Holding this they whooped once and the earth trembled and it thundered and lightened. After they had whooped the second time, the Coweta said 'That will do. You need not whoop any more.' But the Tukabahchee answered that they must go through to the fourth now that they had begun and they did so. Then the Coweta said, 'Let us become friends and exchange medicines.' They did this and have been firm friends ever since. The Tukabahchee medicine was, as we have seen, the miko hoyanidja; the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska (spicewood)."^{47b}

Mr. Grayson, through whom, as interpreter, the above story was obtained, told the following incident in illustration of the friendship between these two towns. Although in his later years he lived among the Eufaula Indians, he himself actually belonged to the Coweta town. He was once clerk at an election for head chief of the Creek Nation and took exception to certain of the returns. For this a member of the election committee, the chances of whose candidate would have been injured by the exclusion of these, wanted him sent out. The chief of the committee, however, who happened to be a Tukabahchee, answered that this man (i. e., Mr. Grayson) was his friend from ancient times and for that reason he could not do it. Immediately everything quieted down and there was no further trouble.

^{47b} Note that the Coweta medicine, as here given, differs from that in Cook's version of the legend.

A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atasa). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

"After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilalgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land."

In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

"The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."⁴⁸

From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

⁴⁸ Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 515.

story is not, however, ancient, since it is a well-known historical fact that on the outbreak of the Creek-American war the Tukabahchee were hard pressed by other Upper Creek towns until the Coweta came to their assistance.

Undoubtedly there were once myths similar to those told about the Tukabahchee and Coweta, to account for the friendships and differences of all the principal groups of towns in the confederacy, but not many have come down to us. The following fragment tells of the relations between the Tukabahchee and the Liwahali, the latter probably the most ancient Red Town among the Upper Creeks. It was related by an old Indian named Kasihta Yahola, since deceased, who belonged to Laplako, a branch of Liwahali.

"The ancestors of the Tukabahchee and the Liwahali were once in a fog or vapor which prevented them from seeing each other. The Liwahali wanted to see the Tukabahchee very much, and finally the fog was blown away so that they could do so. For some time the Ispokogis (Tukabahchee Indians) would not speak to them. At last they said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'We are the Holiwahalis ("those who cut the war in two")'. Then the Liwahali asked in their turn who the strangers might be and they answered, 'We are the Ispokogis and Tukabahchee.' Then said the Tukabahchee, 'All right, you shall be our younger brothers.'"

The following is told regarding the Tukabahchee, Atasi, and Liwahali:

"Once, in ancient times, the Liwahali became angry with the Atasi and determined to destroy them. But the Tukabahchee said to the Liwahali, 'Don't do that. They might be of use to you in picking up spoons or something of that sort.' The Liwahali persisted in their determination, however, until the Tukabahchee said, 'If you destroy them, you will have me on your back,' when they gave it up."

This story was perhaps evolved to express or explain the friendship which grew up between Tukabahchee and Atasi. In later times the former called the Atasi, "the carers of our medicine."

Another set of myths deals with the ancient town of Coosa and its offspring, although the latter are mentioned but seldom, the myth usually confining itself to a mere account of the origin of the mother town and an explanation of its name. One of these stories has been given already in the Tulsa migration legend.^{48a} Another informant said that Coosa was called Taloksû'mgi ("Town-lost-in-the-water") by the Creeks, and that it had sunk into the water until nothing could be seen of it except the ball post. According to still another, the town was swallowed up by an earthquake. Two persons escaped by jumping into Coosa River and swimming to land. When they were found by people from other towns they were making little bows.

^{48a} See p. 53.

The place where this happened is said to be called "the rocky sunken place in the Coosa River." Owing to "some powerful attraction" no birds could cross at that point except one called the koskosa, and from this fact both river and town obtained their name. The last circumstance was also known to Jackson Lewis. A story related to the above was told by a Nuyaka Indian and is to the effect that the Coosa were a people found in the river of that name in vessels—which must have been canoes—carrying white flags at either end. They were taken out and made into a town by the Hickory Ground (Otciaopofa) people who protected them. Therefore they came to be considered as the offspring of Hickory Ground.

The longest and best version which I myself obtained was related by an old man of Hilibi named Woksi miko and runs thus:

"An unmarried woman in the town of Coosa (Kosa or Koza) went to draw water from the spring and was afterward found to be pregnant. When her child was born it was spotted. Then her brothers and some of her relatives thought this was the offspring of a water tiger (wi katea), which the Muskogee now identify with the leopard, became angry with her, and wanted to kill it. But she had some old relatives who opposed them and finally prevailed. The busk ground and 'hot house' where they councilled about this stood near the river, and the girl ran to the water tiger and said 'There is an effort being made to kill my child, but they have not killed it yet.' Then the water tiger said 'Let those who are disposed to defend the child move away from the rest.' The woman told these what the water tiger had said, so they moved away from the town, and that night the water tiger brought on a great inundation which covered Coosa, with its square ground and all, but for years after people could see there the main timbers that braced the old teokofa. The water tiger took the woman home to live with him. Then the few persons who were left alive came together and said 'We were once a great town but now there are very, very few of us and we are ashamed of having fallen off so in numbers (istá/kosi). Nevertheless let us get together and make another town for ourselves,' and they did so, establishing the town we now know as Tulsa (istalsosi).^{48b} Those who were engulfed in the river did not all die, and afterward people could hear a drum beaten there when they were dancing and having their good times. There is now a whirlpool on the site of the old town and close to the river. Sometimes people used to see beams whirling round in this eddy, and occasionally men sitting upon them. No bird could fly over the whirlpool, and those which tried always fell into the center of it and were drowned. But there is a small bird with a yellow breast which seems to say 'koskoza' and this could fly across

^{48b} The first word seems to be a contraction of isti álsakesi, "many people ashamed," while the second is isti alsosi, "one (or a few) ashamed." The first is a pun on Kosa; the second on Tulsa.

with perfect ease. Some maintained that the people beneath the water favored these birds and let them fly across. We name them from the noise which they make."

A version, differing from all of the above in certain particulars, was recorded by the late G. W. Grayson from Caley Proctor, one of the leading "reactionaries" among the Creeks at the present time, and I insert it here through the courtesy of the Grayson family:

"Cosa, according to this legend, was the original name of the Museogeas, two of whom, at a very early day, went away from home on a hunting expedition in the wild woods as was the habit of the people in those times. Having gone as far as they cared to travel the first day, they encamped near a stream of water. Near their camp stood a large tree, from a certain part of which the men noticed that drops of water occasionally fell. Regarding this as a rather strange phenomenon, one of the men determined to investigate it, and he climbed the tree to ascertain the cause, while his companion awaited the result below. He found the tree to be hollow at a certain point, containing a considerable quantity of water collected therein from rainfall, from which descended the drops of water they had observed. In this water were a number of fishes. With his hands he caught some of these which he brought down, cooked and ate against the protests of his companion, who said, 'We have always been counseled not to undertake to do anything unusual without the advice or consent of persons older than we and of greater experience, and I think you should not eat the fishes taken in so strange a manner lest something terrible befall you.' But the young man could not undo his rash act, and soon its effects began to show clearly; in a little while, that same evening, his human head and face changed into the head of an immense snake, while his arms and legs also changed, completing his metamorphosis into a large serpent of horrible appearance.

"Next morning he bewailed his plight to his companion, saying: 'You in all friendliness advised me not to eat of the fishes lest evil befall me, but, not regarding your friendly caution, I ate them and am now suffering the consequences of my obstinacy. Go now and inform my parents of my plight, tell them how it came about, and say to them, if they desire to see me, to come here. I will be in the creek near by. When they come let them discharge a gun as a signal of their arrival and I shall come out of the water to meet them.'

"So saying he entered the waters of the creek and disappeared, leaving his friend alone in camp. The latter thereupon returned to the town of Cosa, and to the parents and relatives of the now metamorphosed man he related all that had occurred and told how he had been deputed by his unfortunate friend to relate the story of his mishap and how they might once more see him if they desired.

“The parents and relatives and all others who had heard the story were greatly concerned and, assembling in full force, repaired at once to the place indicated where they discharged the gun as their friend had directed. On hearing this signal the snake man came forth from the creek and stretched himself affectionately across the laps of his parents as they sat in the midst of the assemblage. Upon this they gave way to their grief and set up a great *wahketa*,^{48c} expressive of sorrow for the loss of their son. The monster said sadly: ‘You see me in this pitiable condition, the circumstances of which have, I presume, been explained to you so that you understand how it came about. I now suggest that my relatives and friends return to their homes and on the fourth day from the present gather at the Teook-u’-thlocco (“Big House”—i. e., the Square Ground) where I will meet them later.’ Saying this, the snake-man returned to the water and his relatives and friends went back to their homes.

“On the fourth day the relatives and friends of the snake-man gathered at the Teook-u’-thlocco, as had been requested, and many others came near but remained on the outside. Presently the snake-man made his appearance, coming from the stream in which he had taken refuge, and he was followed by a stream of water. When he entered the grounds occupied by the public buildings they all sank, along with the people gathered there, and this was the origin of Coosa River.

“Those who did not enter the Square Grounds with the friends and relatives of the snake-man were not destroyed, but gathered themselves together and became what was subsequently known as Cosa town, the members calling themselves Cos-is-tugges, ‘people of the Cosa town,’ though the name is more properly Cos-ulgee. The residue of the Cosa people, having thus formed a town, bitterly lamented on account of the calamity that had thus robbed them of so many of their valuable citizens. In grievous distress they cried out, ‘Woe is our nation! We were the greatest of all the nations; our *tus-e-ki-yas* were numerous, reaching out and known and dreaded the world over. But it is not so now. We have lost even our *Tcook-u’ thlocco*, and a great number of our common people and great is the humiliation that has fallen on us. Shame and humiliation is now our portion. We can occupy only the place of the *e-yas-ke* (the humble, lowly, weak, unpretending).’ The Cosas indulged in other similar jeremiads and changed their name to Tulsee, *ulsee* signifying in the Museogee language ‘to be ashamed,’ ‘bashful,’ while from it may be derived *ul is ke ta*, ‘shame,’ ‘disgrace,’ but how the letter *t* could have become prefixed to *ulsee* is neither explained nor conjectured.”

^{48c} *Wahketa*, a lamentation for the dead.

The supposed derivation of the name Tulsa is, of course, fanciful. The story of the man turned into a serpent is well known among the southeastern Indians and I have several versions of it, but this is the only one in which it appears as explanatory of an historical event or social custom.

Legus Perryman and other informants told me that Kos istāgi is the old name of the Tulsa people; that it was used frequently in speeches on the busk ground; and that names beginning with Kos were common among them. One informant stated that the term was applied, not to the entire people, but to one of the two moieties, perhaps the Whites. The same terms were used by the Okfuskee, and, although some informants knew nothing of a connection between these towns, it is practically certain.

There is a story, the origin of which I do not know, to the effect that the Tulsa were once captured by the Tukabahechee.

Of course the native explanations of the names Coosa, Tulsa, and so on are the results of later reasoning. I met with two interesting cases of this linguistic phenomenon in which the English language was haled in to give point to the story. One affirms that there was once a great feast at which the Coweta Indians consumed so much more than any body else that they came to be called "Cow eaters." The other amounts to a myth built up to explain the name Eufaula and was related by as competent an authority as Jackson Lewis.

"In very early times the Eaufaula lived on one side of a certain stream and some Choctaw, with whom they were at war, lived on the opposite side which had a high bank. Every now and then a party from each would creep over to the other side, take a scalp, and, after their return, celebrate the event in the usual manner. Finally the Eufaula formed two bands of warriors which crept around back of the Choctaw town, one on each side, made an attack upon it and drove its occupants over the bluff, compelling them to jump into the water. From this circumstance that place came to be called "Where the people jumped down in" (*isti aktaski*) or "Where the people fell down in" (*isti aklatki*), and the Eufaula are said to have gotten their name from that circumstance. These names do not resemble the term Eufaula, but it is thought that that term is an English translation of them."

The French memoir which I have assigned conjecturally to about the year 1755 contains the following curious story purporting to be the origin myth of the Creek Indians, or at least of that part of them living on Tallapoosa River. As it seems to emanate from Fort Toulouse, perhaps it should be still further restricted to the Alabama-speaking Indians about that place. The apparent European elements which it contains—for instance, the production of human beings from

stones reminiscent of the Greek story of Deucalion and Pyrrha and the objective illustration of the "in union there is strength" aphorism—render it doubtful how much we should credit to a purely Indian origin. At any rate it stands apart from all the stories above reported.

"They pretend that their first father having escaped with two male children from a universal deluge, for they all declare that there was one, went to consult the oracle. This told him to ascend a designated mountain covered with stones, some white and others black, collect as many of both kinds as he could before sunset, he and his two children, and carry them over their lands, and the next day they would find as many men and women as they had carried stones; and that one of his little sons would become chief of a great nation made up of the fragments of many others, rendered fugitives by wars. The truth of the prediction of the oracle was demonstrated next day by the number of men and women they saw around their cabins, of whom they formed many villages. The good father finding himself on his deathbed, exhorted his children to live in a firm union; he had a bundle of canes brought which, having fastened together, he told them to break, which they could not do. But having detached these canes and given them out one after the other they broke them easily. Upon this he told them that so long as they were united, their enemies would not be able to destroy them, but they must take care not to separate, or they would infallibly fall into slavery. While these things were taking place there arrived a beautiful Indian woman, almost white, who by her fine face and noble bearing showed that she was not of the lowest rank. She told them that she had come from a distance, that she had left her village when it was on the point of falling into the hands of enemies, and asked of them an asylum. This they generously granted, so much the more willingly as she began to move the affections of the eldest son very deeply. The father on his side encouraged his son to take her as his wife and had the pleasure of seeing her become his daughter-in-law before he died. But scarcely had he closed his eyes when the other brother, jealous of the possession of such a beautiful wife by his brother, disputed with him over the leadership, and raised a part of the people who were in his interest. A war followed in which the elder brother was killed. Immediately after his death a white bear made its appearance. As there were only black bears in that country, this appeared astonishing. This bear was followed by a number of black bears, which waged a cruel combat against the white bear in the presence of the people, but it remained victor after causing a general carnage among the black bears, and disappeared immediately. When everyone had recovered from his astonishment, the victorious brother went to find his sister-in-law but he could not discover her

anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.

"In regard to the oracle of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death."

THE FIRST MEETING BETWEEN THE CREEKS AND THE WHITE PEOPLE

This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihita yahola, an Indian of the Lăplăko town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis-

possessed by these newcomers. Another informant said that the Indians were believed to have come out of the earth, and therefore they own it and are to go back into it. The white people, on the other hand, were created later out of the foam of the sea. They first begged to put one foot on shore to rest themselves a little, and the Indians consented, but afterward the newcomers complained that it was tiresome to stand on but one foot and they asked to be allowed to set the other ashore. This also was granted. Next, the whites wanted to buy from the Indians as much land as could be covered with a hide, and when the Indians agreed they cut the hide into strips and made it surround a large area. In this way the Indians were gradually dispossessed. The Indians were also given a prophecy at that time to the effect that the whites would come and preach to them and the preaching would move westward.

Here we have the famous "cowhide purchase" myth, which dates back as far at least as Virgil, reinjected into Indian thought, apparently from a modern schoolbook. The most remarkable interweaving of schoolbook and other latter-day elements into a kind of Indian neo-philosophy is, however, the following from a decidedly reactionary Creek of Hilibi town:

"When Columbus reached America the first thing he saw was an eagle with a bunch of arrows in one claw and some leaves in the other. The arrows had been shot by the Indians and the eagle had caught them. Then Columbus and his people landed, but, being at first unable to open communication with the natives on account of their shyness, they resorted to a stratagem. They set a barrel of whisky ashore, laid a cane by it, and then withdrew. Afterward the Indians found the barrel and got drunk so that the white people were enabled to capture one of them. The rest managed to get away. They took the man they had captured and taught him "English" and through him they gradually became acquainted with the rest. Then they began to make treaties. To illustrate the gradual encroachments of the newcomers and how they dispossessed the Indians the following parable is told. Seventy Indian chiefs sat on a log which had fallen toward the west, and every time the whites came to make a treaty with them they would move up on it a little. They kept hitching up until at last the end man was shoved off. Then he said: 'There it is. I told you that is what you would do with me.' The white people induced them to make a treaty granting them as much ground as could be covered with a cowhide, and afterward they cut the hide into strips and treated them in the way already related. More white people kept coming and trouble arose, so that part had to go back. The remainder, however, promised that they would treat the Indians right as long as the streams ran and the water lasted."

This curious mixture contains an attempt to explain the eagle on our national seal, and includes a version of the "cowhide purchase," reference to the American Revolution, a story said to be drawn from the life of Tecumseh, and the treaty by which the Creeks were deeded their lands west of the Mississippi. The episode of the whisky barrel—which of course could not have been a whisky barrel—gives significant prominence to a potent source of Indian misfortunes. An old Tukabahchee informant had the following to say:

"It was predicted by the great Ruler that the Creeks were to be at the doorway of this continent and that the white people were to come there and treat with them. And the coming of the white people was in this manner. The Indians, looking out upon the ocean, thought that they saw a duck floating there. It came nearer and nearer and proved to be a boat. When the Indians saw people get out of this boat they became frightened and ran away to hide behind trees from which they could watch the strangers. Then they saw the strangers bring some barrels ashore and drink from them. Afterward the whites withdrew to a distance and the Indians came to the barrels to examine them. Finding that the stuff which they contained had a pleasant odor they drank some of it and became tipsy. Then the white people ran forward and tried to capture them but they got only one. The others called to them to bring their companion back but they would not let him go until he had learned to speak their language. Then they sent him back to them and he told them that the strangers talked fair but wanted land. For a time the Indians refused to sell any, but the whites were so insistent that the ninety native chiefs finally agreed to treat with them and let them have some. The word given to the Indians by the white people at that time was 'I will be the father of your tribes,' and consequently the Indians call a white man 'white father.' "

Some amusing things are told of the uses to which these primitive Indians put the articles which the white people gave them. On receiving some flour, for instance, they mistook it for white paint and painted their bodies with it.

PROPHECIES REGARDING THE FATE OF THE INDIANS

Besides the very general prophecies regarding their fate which contact with the whites naturally brought out, there were prophecies which seem to have belonged in part at least to the original body of myth of the tribe. As we have seen, one informant supposes that the Indians having come out of the earth will go down into it again, which indeed happens with each individual's body at death. According to another man this disappearance was to take place just where their emergence had occurred, at "the navel of the world." Preceding this "the busk would begin to suffer from neglect, the people refuse

to obey orders, and the whole ceremony come to an end." According to yet another story the destruction was to be brought upon the Creek people by the loss of their women, who were to be taken away to an island, though by what agency is not stated. An old man of Tukabahahee, now long dead, is quoted by Zachariah Cook as having said that at the end of all things the world would shrivel up to "the mother of trees," which was at or identical with "the navel of the world," and then all of the people would be destroyed except four, who would be carried up to Ibofanga (The-one-above) on a block of wood.^{48d}

Again it was said that by and by the Creeks would come to sing the Kilisto (Christ) song, and that would be an indication that as a distinct tribe they were to come to an end. Or according to another version, when the Kilisto song came to be adopted by the Creeks the old tradition would be driven away, the busk would fall into disuse, and then the Indians would decline in numbers. When the last of the Indians had disappeared their land would disappear also, presumably under the waters of the ocean.

The Indian agent who supplied Schoolcraft with information regarding the Chickasaw was told that at the end of all things the world would be destroyed by fire, and that then or shortly before it would "rain down blood and oil." This notion would appear to be in part at least from Christian sources.⁴⁹ In another place Schoolcraft gives the following information regarding the Muskogee, furnished by Mr. D. W. Eakins:

"They have no cycle, or fixed or stated period, at the end of which they believe the world will come to a close. But they say it will be destroyed by fire; and when this period arrives, the earth will be filled with war; and a body of people will appear among the Indians, and they will be destroyed; and then the Great Spirit will destroy the earth, to keep others from getting possession of it. They do not believe that the Indian priests cause its renewal."⁵⁰

The rain of blood was also known to Hitchcock's informants:

"Before the world comes to an end there is to be a general peace of all peoples, white and red (the blacks they seem to take no account of). After the peace, for a time it will rain blood and when trees are cut the sap will be blood. After that it will be seen that the world will be coming to an end and all people will go to one place to die.

"The old people used to say that those who are to be saved will go up, that the others will have towns under the earth. (Here he [the Indian informant] explained, as if anxious to impress it upon me, that this was what the old people had told him.)

"There will be but a few that will go up, the good people; the bad people will go below."⁵¹

In this last, Christian influence is very evident.

^{48d} Tuggle heard that at the end of the world all things would be swept to one place from the four corners of the earth. See next paper, p. 487.

⁴⁹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, 1, p. 310.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁵¹ Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, *Ms. notes*.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE HOUSEHOLD

Geographical, economic, consanguineal, and religious factors all entered into the evolution of the Creek confederacy. They took concrete shape in the household, family, clan, phratry, clan moiety, town, and town moiety.

Women owned the houses and were permanent occupants, moving only as new houses were built for them or as the entire group to which they belonged migrated seasonally or permanently. These houses were also the homes (*hûti*) of the nearest male blood relations, those whom the women called "uncles," "brothers," and "sons." They, however, normally went to the homes of their wives as soon as they were married, besides spending much time in the public square and in the *teokofa*. On the other hand, aged men, whose wives had died and whose children were grown up and scattered, might come back to the homes of their childhood, or, as frequently happened, they might spend their last years moving from house to house among the women of their own clan connection—never, however, among those of the clan connection of their wives.

A typical Creek home would therefore consist of a man and woman, their children, one or more sons-in-law, some grandchildren, some aged or dependent individuals of the same clan group, and perhaps an orphan or two or one or more individuals taken in war. These last, though somewhat looked down upon at first, were rapidly assimilated with the tribe which had captured them and soon came to be appreciated in accordance with their proven merit. There was nothing that may properly be called a slave system among the Indians of the Southeast. Where polygamy existed the wives were generally own sisters and usually inhabited the same house, though there were cases in which a man had wives living in two or more distinct houses.

THE FAMILY

GENERAL REMARKS

A fairly accurate clue to the Muskogee conception of the "family" is furnished by the terms of relationship. These consist of a number of root words, not now analyzable, and words formed from these which it is natural to assume are secondary in importance. Many terms are of the "classificatory" type, covering a number of individuals who to our way of thinking bear quite distinct relations to the speaker. Theorists have tried to maintain that this collective use preceded the special or individual use, but so far as the Muskogee are concerned the evidence points to the special application as having been, if not the original, at least the typical or primary. Secondary or derivative

applications are frequently indicated by means of the diminutive suffix or some qualifying word, though we find that this may sometimes be omitted. In the tables which follow I have given merely the stems of the terms of relationship, but it must be understood that in actual use they never occur without the appropriate pronominal prefixes. For each of them there is an English term the use of which approaches so closely to that of the Indian that it may be employed—as I have in fact employed it—as typical of the relationship in question.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP USED BY A MAN

I. TERMS DETERMINED BY BIRTH

1. *potca* (grandfather). Applied: (1) to the father's father and the mother's father; (2) to the brothers of these, their fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and their brothers; in short, to all of the male ancients of the groups from which the speaker traces his origin; (3) to the father's sister's husband and to the husbands of all her female descendants in both the male and the female lines; (4) to husbands of the more remote *posi* mentioned below. It was bestowed on anyone whose wife was called *posi* and given as an honorary term to any old man. A man called the clan (or exogamous group?) of his father's father *teapotca lāko*, "my great-grandfather."

2. *posi* (grandmother). Applied: (1) to the father's mother and the mother's mother, sometimes distinguished as "the real *posi*"; (2) to the sisters and female ancestors of these individuals in the same extensive manner as was the case with the preceding term; (3) to the father's sister and all of her female descendants in both the female and the male lines; (4) to more remote female descendants of all *posi* on the father's side. The husbands of all women called by this term were known as *potca*.

3. *lki* (father). Applied: (1) to the father; (2) to the father's brother; (3) to the father's sister's male descendants in both male and female lines; (4) to all other male descendants of the women on the father's side who are called *posi*; (5) to the husband of the mother's sister; (6) to the stepfather; it carries the idea of "second father." All of these individuals except the true father are usually distinguished by having applied to them the diminutive form of this term, *lkutei*.

4. *teki* (mother). Applied: (1) to the mother; (2) to the mother's sister; (3) to the father's brother's wife; (4) to the wives of the male descendants of the father's sister and the more remote relations upon the father's side who are known by the preceding term; (5) to the stepmother. And, as in the case of the preceding term, it usually takes the diminutive suffix in all usages except the first.

5. pawa (uncle). Applied: (1) to the mother's brother; (2) to the older men of the mother's exogamous group and at times to the younger ones also since it is said that an old man would sometimes call a small baby thus. Each exogamous group had an "uncle" par excellence who was its leader and instructor.^{51a}

According to Morgan⁵² this term was also applied to the mother's mother's brother's son and to the mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son, the children and grandchildren of these individuals receiving the same terms as the children and grandchildren of the mother's own brother. It is evident that the first of these can not belong to the same exogamous group as the mother's brother, because his father belongs to that exogamous group, while the second may or may not belong to it according as his father had married into that exogamous group or into another. If Morgan's informants were correct and he made no mistake himself, this would remove almost the last term from the number of those which might have had an application coterminous with an exogamous group.

6. laha (elder brother). Applied: (1) to the elder brother; (2) to the older male child of the father's brother; (3) to the older male child of the mother's sister; (4) to a number of men of corresponding age in the exogamous group of the speaker.

7. teusi (younger brother). Applied like the preceding but to younger brothers and younger males of the same groups.

8. wánwa (sister). The feminine term parallel to the last two. Loughridge and Hodge⁵³ give wánwa for elder sister and teuste for younger sister, but I am inclined to think that this distinction was not commonly made. According to Morgan⁵⁴ the stepsister was known by the same term.

9. kputei (son). Applied: (1) to the son; (2) to the son of the elder or younger brother; (3) to the sons of all of those called laha or teusi; (4) to the male children of those called pawa (uncle). The stepson was called teákputci haki, "like my son."

10. techusti (daughter) (see 22). Applied: (1) to the daughter; (2) to the daughter of the elder or younger brother; (3) to the daughters of all those called laha or teusi; (4) to the female children of those spoken of as pawa (uncle). The stepdaughter was called teatchusti haki, "like my daughter."

11. hopwiwa (nephew). Applied: (1) to the sister's son; (2) to all sons of those called wánwa; (3) to the younger men of the same exogamous group more remotely related. The plural form of this term, hopwitálgi, is used for the persons constituting this category and the next taken collectively.

^{51a} See pp. 122-123.

⁵² Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, pp. 355, 366.

⁵³ Loughridge and Hodge, *Dictionary*, entry "sister."

⁵⁴ Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

12. *hākpati* (niece). Applied: (1) to the sister's daughter; (2) to all daughters of those called *wānwa*; (3) to the younger women of the same exogamous group more remotely related, and extended, it is said, not merely to all of the young women of the group but to its entire female membership.

13. *osuswa* (grandchild). Applied: (1) to the grandchild of either sex by persons of either sex; (2) to the grandchildren of the brothers and sisters; (3) to the grandchildren of the uncles (mother's brothers); (4) to the grandchildren of all called by the same terms as the brothers, sisters, and uncles; (5) to the descendants of all of these. In other words it seems to take in all of the coming generations generally except for the descendants of the women of the father's exogamous group and those related through it, who are all known as "little fathers," and grandmothers (*posi*).

II. MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIPS

14. *hewa* (wife). This term was never employed by the man himself "because it was thought that husband and wife are too closely related." Instead he usually called his wife *hoktāli* (old woman). *Hewa*, or a term very closely resembling it, was given to me as a synonym for *hācawa* (see No. 18). Morgan,⁵⁵ however, who gives it in the form *ehiwā*, enters it as one applied by a woman to her brother's wife and, as might have been expected, to her mother's sister's son's wife. It is perhaps significant that it then takes the possessive pronominal prefix, indicating less direct connection, while the word for wife takes the direct pronominal prefix.

15. *mahe* (father-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's father; (2) to his brothers and his and their male antecedents generally, as also probably to the older men of the father-in-law's exogamous group. Morgan says two fathers-in-law applied the term reciprocally.

16. *hoktālwa* (mother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's mother; (2) to the sisters and female antecedents of all these women, and probably to the older women of the mother-in-law's exogamous group. Morgan says that two mothers-in-law applied the term to each other. This word carries the meaning that the person so designated has become "the old woman of the house."

17. *kaputci* (brother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's brother; (2) to the wife's sister's husband; (3) to all of the younger males related through the wife.

18. *hācawa* (sister-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's sister; (2) to the wife's brother's wife; (3) to all of the younger females related through the wife; (4) to the wife of the uncle (*pawa*) and all of those women married to the persons called *unele*. According to Morgan⁵⁶ it is also used for the brother's wife instead of *teukowāki*

⁵⁵ Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, pp. 341, 381.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

(kawa) and this would seem to be more natural, since in that case *hâteawa* would prove to be the term for all of the women married into a man's family in his own generation, while *teukowáki* would be the corresponding term for all of the males. Still all my own informants disagree with Morgan on this point. As was to have been expected in any case, Morgan also applies it to the father's brother's son's wife and the mother's sister's son's wife.

19. *teukowáki* (called by Morgan *kawa*) (sister-in-law, brother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the sister's husband; (2) according to my own informants to the brother's wife (see 18); (3) to the husbands and wives (?) of those called elder brother, younger brother, and sister; (4) to the sister's daughter's husband. It is possible that the term *hátisi* may sometimes have been used instead of this. In accordance with the expected we find Morgan⁵⁷ applying it to the father's brother's daughter's husband and the mother's sister's daughter's husband. The word means "he who lies down at (my) house" and thus becomes a member of my family.

20. *hátisi* (son-in-law, daughter-in-law). Applied: (1) to the son's wife; (2) to the daughter's husband; (3) to the wives and husbands of all of those called "sons" and "daughters."

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP USED BY A WOMAN

These are the same as the terms used by a man except as below indicated:

The terms *laha* and *teusi* are applied to the elder sister and younger sister respectively instead of to the elder and younger brother, and they are extended to corresponding female groups. Morgan states that the former term was bestowed upon the stepsister.

21. *teitwa* (brother). Applied: (1) to the brother; (2) to male children of the father's brothers and those classed with him, and to the male children of the mother's sisters and those classed with her; (3) to the stepbrother. It is the reciprocal of the purely male term *wánwa*.

22. *tchuswa* (child).⁵⁸ Applied: (1) to own children of both sexes in place of the male terms *kputci* and *tchusti*; (2) to the children of the elder sisters and younger sisters; (3) to the children of all called by the same names as the elder and younger sisters. Sometimes the sister's children and more remote relations were distinguished by the use of the diminutive suffix (*tchuswutci*). The stepchild was called *teatchuswa haki*, "like my child."

Instead of employing separate terms for the nephew and niece, as did males, the women called them indiscriminately *osuswa* (grandchildren), and also gave this term to the children of the uncles (*pawa*).

⁵⁷ Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, pp. 317, 343. ⁵⁸ The word is said to be related to *teustaki*, "eggs."

Instead of applying the terms *tchuswa* or *tchuswutei* to the children of her father's brother's daughter and her mother's sister's daughter, Morgan states that a woman used the term *osuswa*. This is all the more remarkable as the mothers of these individuals are at the same time said to have been called by the same terms as the speaker's own sisters (*laha* and *teusi*). This is also given as the term for the mother's sister's daughter's children, and hence it presumably took in all of the children of those called *laha* and *teusi* except own sisters.

23. *he* (husband). A wife did not use this term herself; she called her husband "my old man."

A woman uses the same terms for her husband's father and mother that a man uses for his wife's father and mother.

24. *hâcawa* (brother-in-law, sister-in-law). According to my own informants, this is applied to all brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law—sister's husband, brother's wife, husband's brother, husband's sister, husband's brother's wife, and husband's sister's husband. As stated above (under 14), Morgan calls the brother's wife *ehiwâ*, while I was told that the latter term, or one nearly like it, was synonymous with *hâcawa* in all of its uses. The ordinary word for wife is *hewa* (or *haiwa*).

Where sex distinctions were not connoted by the terms themselves they could be indicated by adding to any term *honanwa*, "male," or *hokti*, "female."

SUPPLEMENTARY TERMS

25. *itetcayeta*, "the one next to whom I come" (or "the other brother"—Morgan⁵⁹) may sometimes be applied to the elder brother, but it is not necessarily bestowed on blood relations. Morgan gives this as a term for the father's brother's son and also for the stepbrother.⁶⁰

26. *saitca*, used to designate the men of the father's clan.

27. *pitahaiâlgi* (-âlgi plural suffix) is believed to have been applied to the female offspring of the father's brothers. This is from information furnished by the late G. W. Grayson.

28. *hisitagi*, a term applied to friendly clans not otherwise related.

29. *hupuitagi*, "children," a general term; the singular is obsolete.

30. *hunapsi*, "offspring."

31. *istutei* ("little person"), my child, referring to any single child; *hokosi* is a term for children in general.

32. *teipânâgi*, or *teibânâgi*, the younger men of the clan or exogamous group.

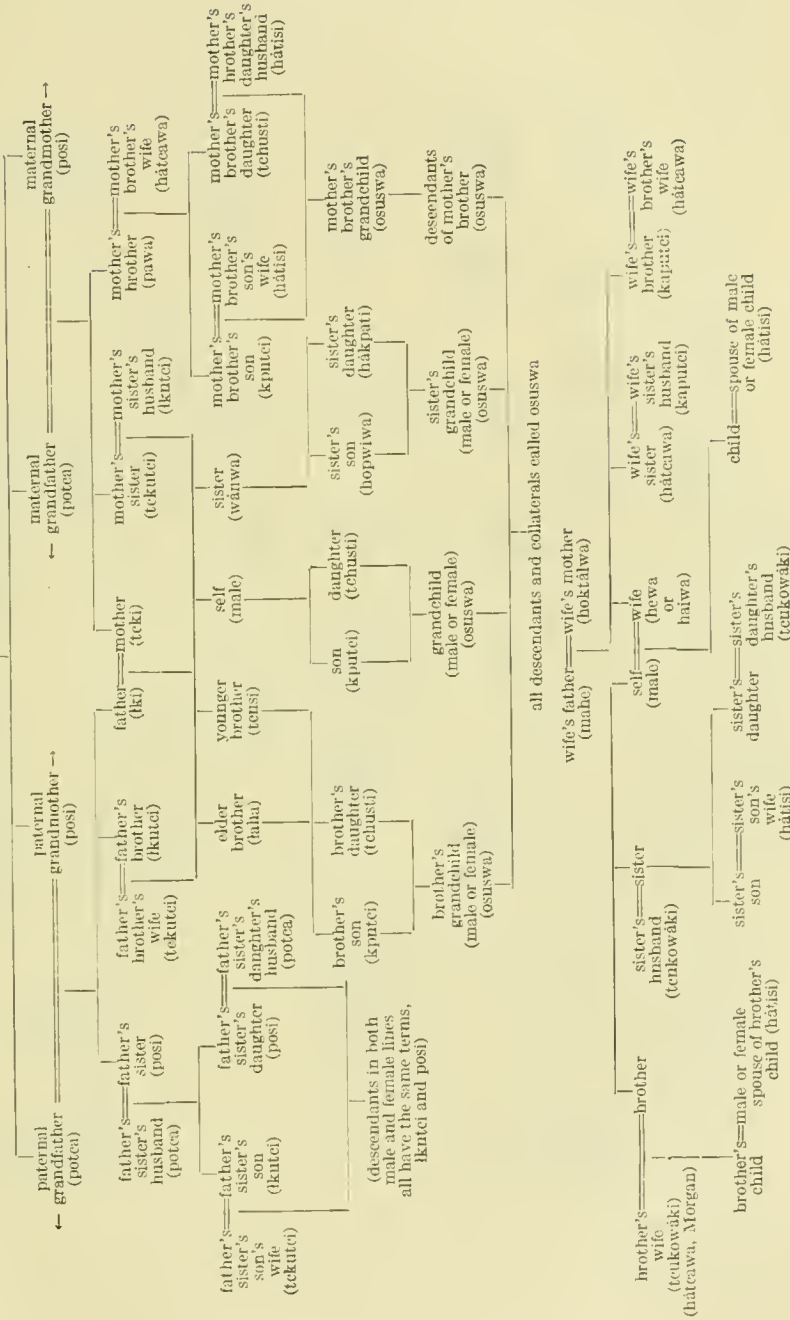
Many of these terms, especially as respects their more general applications, are now used only in jest, but anciently their use was a serious and sacred matter. The following tables present diagrammatically all of the essentials of the Creek scheme of relationship.

⁵⁹ Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, p. 314.

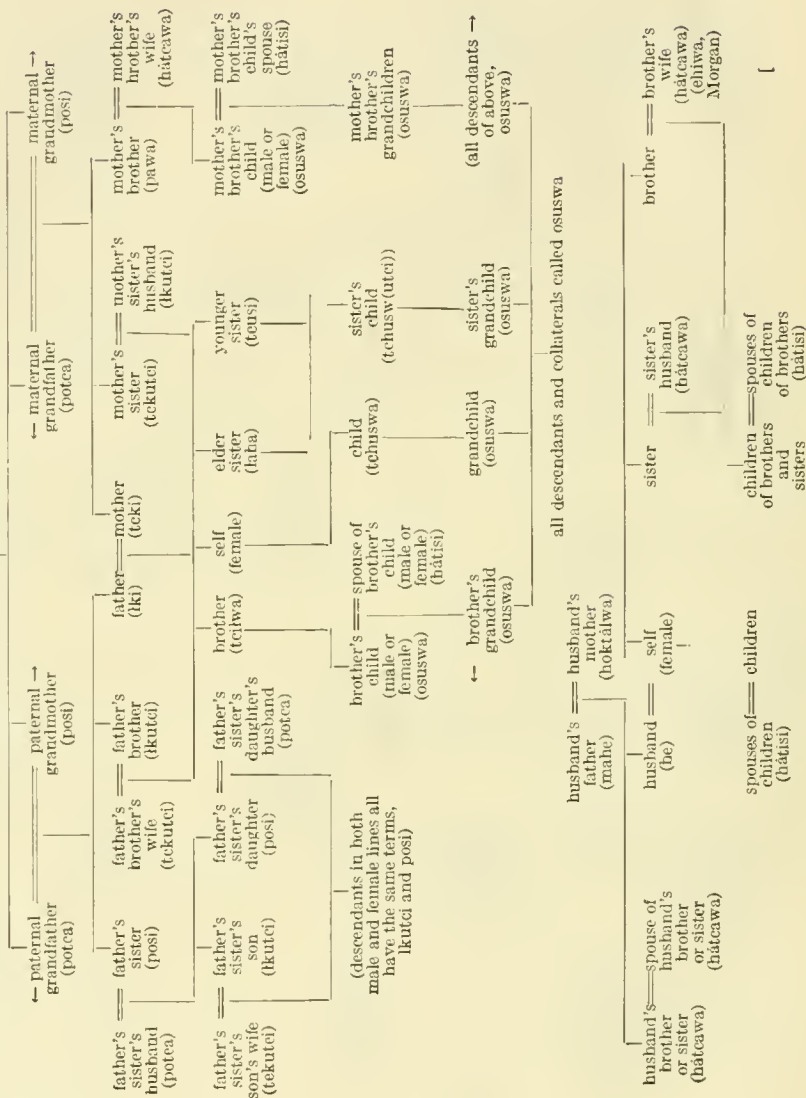
⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 314, 375.

MUSKOGEE—SELF MALE

Collaterals and antecedents all called potca or posti



MUSKOGEE—SELF FEMALE
Collaterals and antecedents all called potca or posi



Almost the only attempt by an early writer to give an idea of the nature of the Muskogee terms of relationship is by Stiggins, who says:

“All the men of the father's clan or family are called their father, the women are generally called their grandmother, all the men of the mother's family older than themselves are their uncles, being their mother's brothers. All of their own age and under are called their brothers, and all of the old women of their mother's clan are called grandmother or aunt.”⁶¹

This information agrees entirely with what has been presented above.

The ceremonial extension of terms of relationship to clans as a whole is also mentioned by Stiggins. We shall refer to this again when we come to speak of the clan system.

In spite of the emphasis which Stiggins places on clans in determining the application of terms of relationship, an examination of the usages assigned to them shows that all of the terms not individual (such as the ones used to designate husband and wife) cut across, or at least may cut across, the lines of the exogamous groups. This is, of course, patently true of those applied to grandfather, grandmother, and grandchild, and it is at once evident in the case of that applied to the father since it is used for all of the male descendants of the father's sister through both males and females. The term for “mother” may be bestowed upon a woman not of the mother's clan because it is given to the wives of the father's sister's male descendants, apparently without any clan limitations. Again, if we may trust Morgan, the term “uncle,” the mother's brother, is used for the mother's mother's brother's son who can not be of the same exogamous group as the mother's brother. “Brother” and “sister” are used, not only for the children of all of those called “mothers,” who are of the same exogamous group, but for the children of those called “fathers,” who may be of several distinct groups. The terms for the sister's children are not determined by clan lines because they may be used for the children of the father's brother's daughter. Still less is there an absolute association of the terms resulting from marriage and the exogamous divisions.

It is evident, in other words, that the determining factor in the use of these terms is the relation which the several persons to whom they are applied bears to self, not the relation which they bear to his clan or exogamous group. It is evident, also, that terms are applied to a class for the most part because the individuals composing it are connected with some individual, or small group of individuals, having special significance for the speaker. That this extension of the term is secondary is shown clearly in many cases by the employment of the diminutive suffix which evidently indicates greater remoteness in

⁶¹ Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, p. 28.

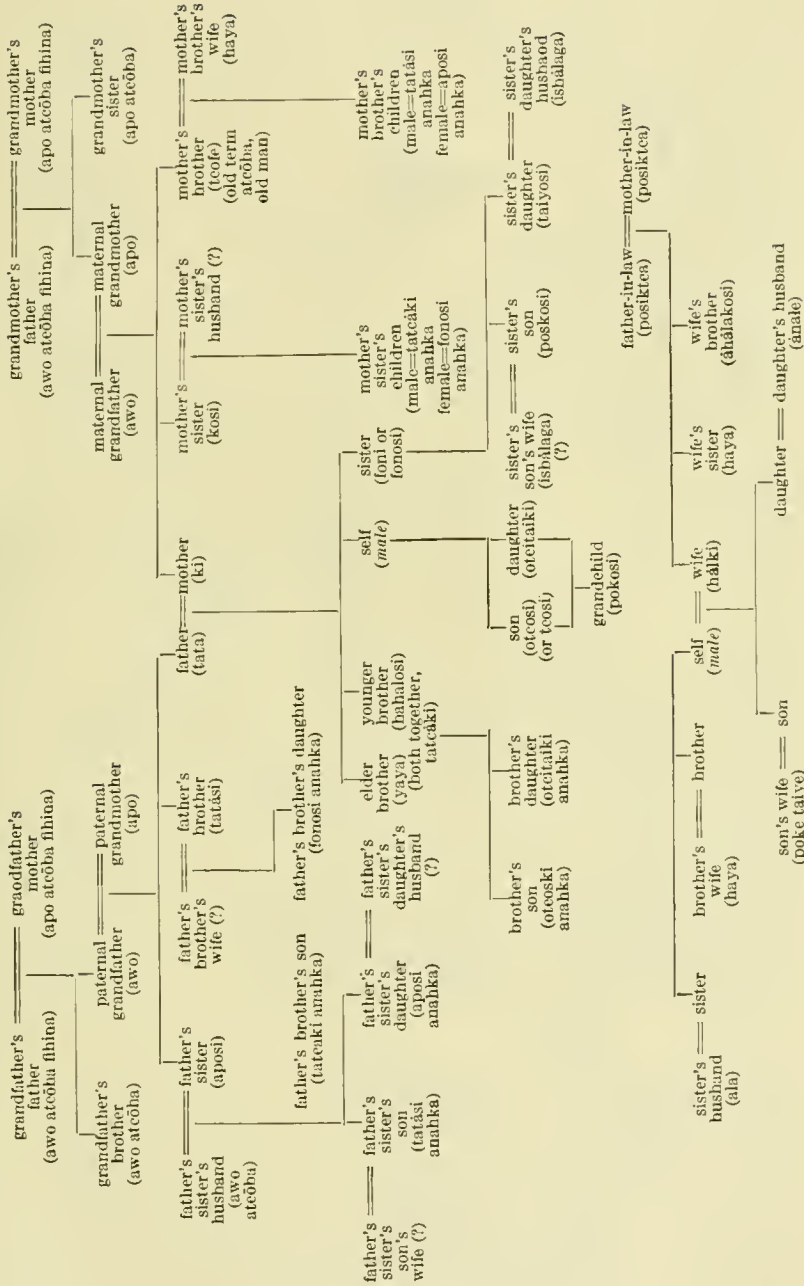
the connection. The *iki* or *ikutei* are connected with self through the primary *iki* or father; or because, through marriage, they have been brought in line with other *iki*. Much the same is true of the other relationships, and it becomes particularly obvious when we examine the associations due to marriage. The "typical" relations for a man appear to be: *potca*, grandfather; *posi*, grandmother; *iki*, father; *tcki*, mother; *pawa*, maternal uncle; *laha*, elder brother; *teusi*, younger brother; *wánwa*, sister; *kputei*, son; *tehusti*, daughter; *hopwiwa*, sister's son (or daughter); *hákpati*, sister's daughter; *osuswa*, grandchild; *mahe*, father-in-law; *hoktálwa*, mother-in-law; *hátcawa*, sister-in-law; *kaputei*, wife's brother; *teukowaki*, sister's husband; *hátisi*, spouse of child. The typical relations for a woman are the same except that the terms used by a man for elder brother and younger brother she applies to her elder and younger sisters, while she has a term, *teilwa*, not employed by a man, for all of her brothers, and one term, *tehuswa*, for a child of either sex. *Hátcawa* has a wider extension, and, according to Morgan, a new term, *ehiwa*, is used for the brother's wife, perhaps a mere modification of the word "wife" itself; *kaputei* is not employed. The tie between an individual and his mother's people is certainly far closer than that between him and his father's people, but the fact is not reflected in the terms of relationship to the extent one would anticipate.

Although no doubt the terms of relationship employed by the various tribes incorporated into the Creek confederacy differed somewhat not only in the forms of the words but in application it is to be suspected that, as we have them to-day, they have been brought into conformity with Muskogee usage. This should be found particularly the case with *Hitchiti* and to a somewhat less degree with *Koasati* and *Alabama*.

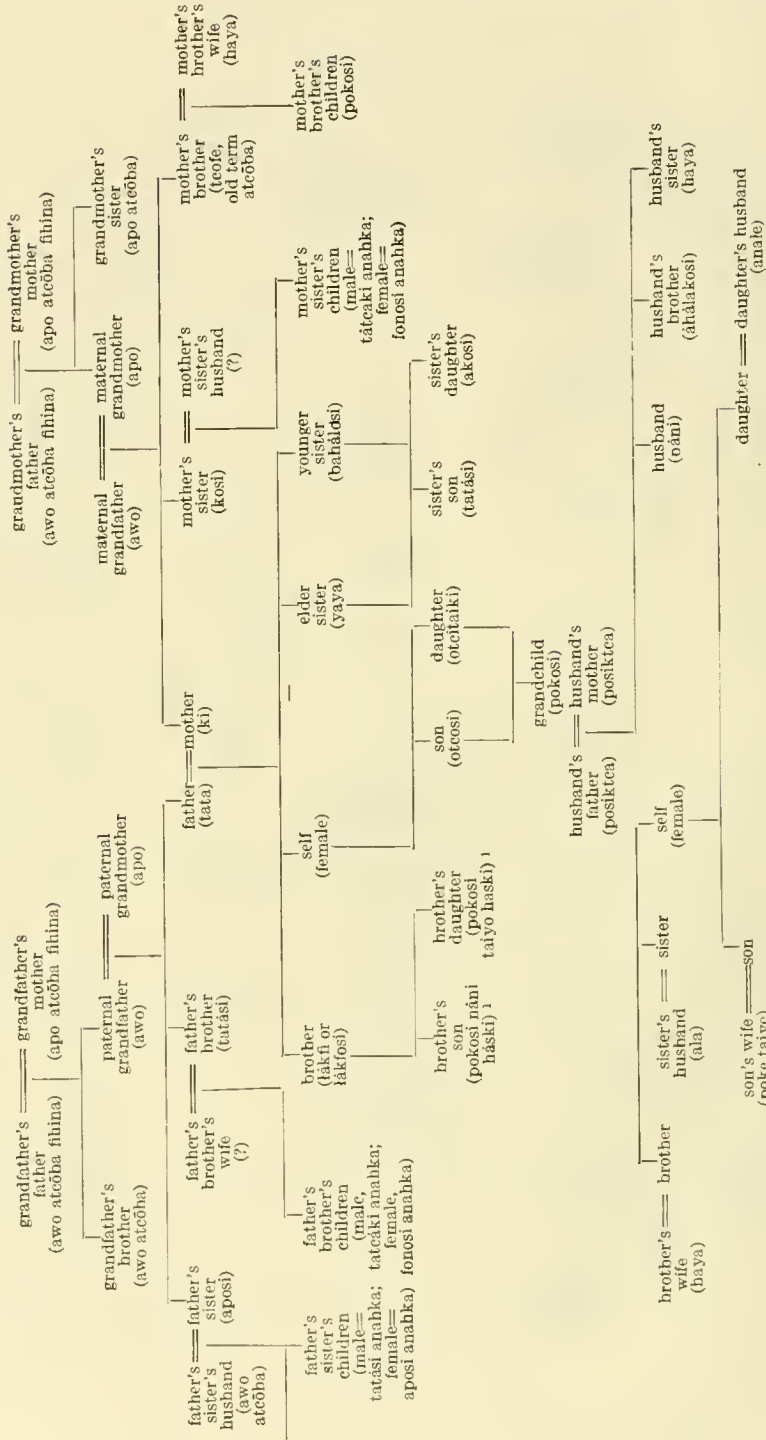
My list of *Hitchiti* terms is incomplete. It is as follows: grandfather, *fosi*; father, *iki* (in direct address by children, *tati*); mother, *hki* or *ki* (in direct address by children, *watei*); mother's sister, *hkosi* ("little mother"); elder brother, *teavi*; younger brother, *yakpítei* (or *yakposi*); elder sister (man sp.), *funki*; younger sister (man sp.), *otcabaka*; brother (woman sp.), *lákfi*; elder and younger sisters of woman, same terms as for elder and younger brothers of man; son, *hopui*; daughter, *ostaiki*; nephew (and niece?), *ohosotei*; wife, *hálki* (called by husband in direct address *hamuhtei*); husband, *nákáni* ("male"); mother-in-law, *katamoh*. The oldest sister was known as *hamuhtaka*.

The following diagram illustrates the *Koasati* terms of relationship, as they were obtained by me at the *Koasati* village in Louisiana:

KOASATI—SELF MALE



KOASATI—SELF FEMALE



1 Called sometimes anakfosi otosi to indicate to a stranger that they are not owo grandchildren

Most of the apparent differences between the Muskogee and Koasati systems disappear on closer examination, but a few divergencies are left which are rather striking. Thus Muskogee males call the children of the mother's brother by the same terms as the children of the own brother, while the Koasati give to them the terms employed for the father's sister's children. Again, the Muskogee have but one term for son-in-law and daughter-in-law, while the Koasati have a term for each.

So far as I have been able to determine, the Alabama system closely resembles that of the Koasati, but the words employed differ somewhat. These differences are as follows: Grandfather, *fosi*; maternal uncle, *mosi*; father's sister, *tcipo*; elder brother of man and elder sister of woman, *teatei*; younger brother of man and younger sister of woman, *báhlo*; daughter, *ostaiki*. Also, *ánale* (or *onali*) is used for both the son-in-law and the daughter-in-law, so that Alabama resembles Muskogee in this respect more than it does Koasati. In direct address an Alabama child calls its mother *pitci*.

A few Natchez terms of relationship were recorded by Albert Pike, Mrs. Robertson, and Dr. A. S. Gatschet from individuals belonging to those Natchez living among the Muskogee, but the more complete list obtained by the writer was secured from an Indian of the Cherokee branch of the tribe. No differences in usage have been observed between the two sections.

From the narratives of Du Pratz and other early writers we know that the ancient Natchez organization was highly complex and a considerable development of the relationship terminology was to have been expected. What has come down to us resembles in essentials the systems of the surrounding tribes, but there are a few peculiar features and some supplementary terms which suggest greater complexity in the past. The explanations which I obtained for some of these Natchez terms are contradictory, due no doubt in part to the fact that they were transmitted through a Cherokee interpreter, but most of them may be straightened out by reference to the other Muskogean systems. In the following list I have numbered them so as to conform as nearly as possible to the numbers in the lists already given.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP USED BY A MAN

1. *dedex* (grandfather). Applied to the grandfather on either side.
2. *icdu*, *yecdu*, *yecta*, *necte* (grandmother). Applied to the grandmother on either side, and to the father's sister. From the variant forms it is possible that the one used for the father's sister may have been slightly different from that used for the grandmother, but I think not. The secondary applications were probably like those in the other southeastern languages, though whether of the Muskogee or the Chickasaw type it would be impossible to say.

3. *ibic* (father). Applied to the father and the father's brother. The latter was also called *ibici'nu*, little father. The stepfather was called *ibic hānicū'ya*, which seems to mean "the made father." There is, however, another term said to have been applied to the father's brother, *habox*. In one place it is spoken of as if limited to the father's elder brother, in another it is given as a term for the father's sister, and in still another as a term for the mother's brother. In direct address the father was called *tatā*.

4. *ixgwāl* (mother). Applied to the mother and the mother's sister. The stepmother was known as *ixgwāl hānicū'ya* (see above). But just as there appears to have been a second term for the father's brother we seem to find a second term for the father's sister, *hapetse*. This was recorded by Pike in 1861 and may be assumed to belong to the older system. In direct address the mother is called *dzudzuha*.

5. *awex* (maternal uncle). I have no evidence of any secondary applications.

6. *gaga* (elder brother). Applied by a man to his elder brother. I have one statement to the effect that it was also applied by a woman to her elder brother, but this may be considered doubtful (see 21). It was not used by a woman for her elder sister. In a single place I find the term *uwana dzāxp' dādāni'ya* used for "my elder brother," the first part of this resembling the following term.

7. *wāna* (younger brother (m. sp.), younger sister (f. sp.)). Besides the applications indicated it is said to have been used for the younger children of clan brothers and sisters respectively.

8. *alowāts* (sister). Applied by a man to his sister older or younger.

9 and 10. *haxgwāl* (child). Applied by a man to his son or daughter; perhaps also by a woman, although this seems doubtful (see 22). The stepson or stepdaughter was called *haxgwāl hānicū'ya*. A man sometimes called his male child *tāmanū'nux*.

11 and 12. *hedzina* (nephew or niece). Applied by a man to his sister's child.

13. *hāmāhālic* (grandchild). Applied to the children of one's own sons and daughters, and probably with the same extensions as are found in other Muskogean languages. There is also a categorical statement to the effect that it was bestowed by a woman upon her brother's children.

14. *alu* (wife) (see 16). The term employed by a man for his own wife was simply *tamāl*, "woman."

15. *wāgāt* (father-in-law).

16. *hāctibi* (mother-in-law). This is also given by Gallatin in the oldest of all Natchez vocabularies as a term applied to the wife, but it is probably because, as in other southeastern languages, the

wife was often called by her husband "old woman" (*hãctip*), a word from which the term for mother-in-law is also probably derived.

17. *edudziya* (brother-in-law). Said to have been applied to the sister's husband and to have been used by both men and women; whether it was also bestowed by a man upon the wife's brother and the wife's sister's husband and by a woman upon her husband's brother and her husband's sister's husband is uncertain.

18 and 19. *hetala* (sister-in-law). Said to have been applied by persons of both sexes to the brother's wife. The wife's sister was called *heega*, and according to one statement the brother's wife was so called, but this is probably an error.

20. *ácowál*, or *icowál* (son-in-law, daughter-in-law). This was used, apparently by persons of both sexes, for the son's wife and the daughter's husband. Gatschet has *necegup* for daughter-in-law, but I find no confirmation of this and no explanation of the form he gives.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP USED BY A WOMAN

These were the same as those employed by a man with the exceptions already noted and the following:

As we have seen, a woman called her younger sister by the term which a man applied to his younger brother; her elder sister, however, she called *atãx*.

21. *gabina*, "male," is given as the term which a woman bestowed upon her brother, and she is said to have called her elder brother *gabina cila*, "big brother" (or "big male"). The identical word is also said to have been used for "husband."

22. As stated above (see 9 and 10) a woman is sometimes said to have called her children *haxgwál*, but the more usual term seems to have been *abixgwál*, also extended by her to her sister's children. A statement that she so denominated her brother's children is at variance with better testimony (see 13).

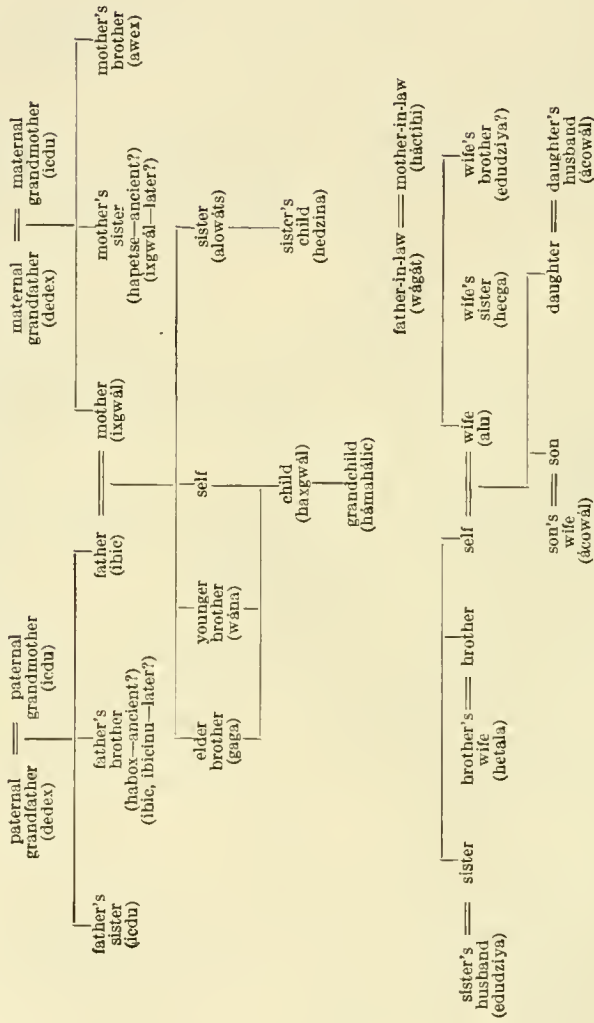
The term for husband corresponding to *alu* is unknown. The colloquial expression was simply *dom'*, "person."

SUPPLEMENTARY TERMS

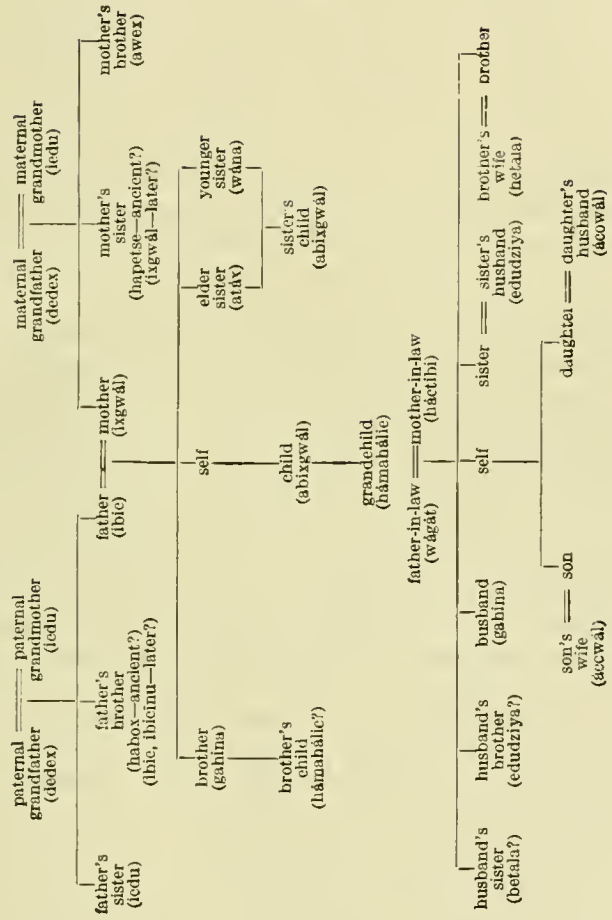
Children of the father's brothers and sisters and the mother's brothers and sisters are all said to have been called *icim gaha'wãx*. *Kitax*, later the general term for "friend," probably had at one time a special clan application. An orphan, or one who had lost a single parent, was known as *icim dzuyã'kdzup*.

Our knowledge of this system is admittedly fragmentary, and I give tabulations of it merely because they are easier to follow than a description.

NATCHEZ TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP—SELF MALE



NATCHEZ TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP—SELF FEMALE



In its main outlines this is like the better known systems already described. There are, however, two or three divergencies which would perhaps be of importance if we could be assured of the reliability of our data. One of these was the use of terms for the father's brother and the mother's sister having no etymological connection with the words for own father and own mother; another the employment by a woman of a term for elder sister distinct from the term used by a man for his elder brother. There is not a trace of the first of these anomalies in Cherokee any more than in the common Muskogean tongues. Cherokee and ordinary Muskogean usage do indeed diverge in applying terms to the brothers and sisters, but Natchez agrees with neither. Among the Cherokee there is one reciprocal term applied by a man to his sisters and by a woman to her brothers. A man has distinct terms for elder brother and younger brother, neither of which is, indeed, used by the woman, but, unlike Natchez, she has only one term for all of her sisters.

When we come to the discussion of clans we shall find that terms of relationship, particularly the terms "uncle" and "nephew," were sometimes applied to clans taken as a whole (see pp. 145-149). They were also extended to towns and foreign tribes. Thus Tuka-balchee has frequently been called "the mother town" (*tálwa iteki*), an appellation shared also by Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa, Abihka, and Otciafopa. Malatchi, head chief of the Creeks about the middle of the eighteenth century and probably a Kasihta Indian, speaks of the Chickasaw as his "younger brothers" and himself as their "elder brother."⁶² McGillivray informed Barton that the Cherokee had been longer in the east than the Creeks and therefore called the latter their "younger brothers."⁶³ Like so many other tribes, the Creeks called the Delaware Indians their "grandfathers" and they were called "grandchildren" by both Delaware and Shawnee.⁶⁴ Schoolcraft, who gives this information, also adds: "Their traditions assign them a medium position in the political scale of the tribes. Whether this relationship is sanctioned by the tradition of all other tribes is not known; but by some it is."⁶⁴ The French were formerly said to be the "fathers" of the southern Indians, and at the present day the same term is applied to the Americans.

The examination of these systems of relationship, particularly that of the Muskogee, makes it evident that they are based upon essentially the same factors as our own—blood, marriage, sex, relative age, social contact—although the fourth item has much greater prominence. To these the influence of the artificial exogamous group must be added, but it can not be too strongly emphasized that this factor merely gives a certain twist to a system by no means de-

⁶² Bosomworth's Ms. Journal, p. 89.

⁶⁴ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, I, p. 268.

⁶³ Barton, *New Views*, p. xlv.

pendent on it, a system which gives the impression of something already in existence before the artificial exogamous group was heard of. The family, then, as revealed by the relationship terminology, recognized all of the points of contact radiating outward from self through the affiliations of mother, father, brother, sister, wife or husband, child, nephew and niece, parent-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and all of the various connections brought about through these. It is true that the association was distinctly closer with the mother's people than with the people of the father's group, but there is no evidence that this was anything more than a specialization which under other circumstances might have taken an exactly contrary direction, or might have maintained a balance between the two sides of the house.

After devoting some space to a consideration of personal names, our next task will be to take up this special development and see what factors it adds to the family complex already considered.

NAMES AND TITLES

The customs of the Chickasaw and Creeks were so nearly alike in many particulars that an account of one will answer very well for the other, but there are exceptions, and one of these is in the matter of names, which differ not merely in the language in which they are couched but in the systems employed. Adair's exposition of Chickasaw naming is as follows:

"They give their children names expressive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumstances; a male child, they will call *Choola*, 'the fox'; and a female, *Pakahle*, 'the blossom, or flower.'⁶⁶ The father and mother of the former are called *Choollingge*, and *Choollishke*, 'the father and mother of the fox'; in like manner, those of the latter, *Pakahlingge*, and *Pakahlishe*; for *Iugge* signifies the father, and *Ishke* the mother. In private life they are so termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next surviving child, or if they have none, by their own name; and it is not known that they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, saying, 'the one that is dead,' to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and assume their names, in the manner already mentioned . . .⁶⁷

"When the Indians distinguish themselves in war, their names are always compounded—drawn from certain roots suitable to their intention, and expressive of the characters of the persons, so that their names joined together, often convey a clear and distinct idea of

⁶⁶ The name of the "turtledove" (by which is meant the mourning dove or passenger pigeon) was also applied to a female child. Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 26.

⁶⁷ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 191

several circumstances—as of the time and place, where the battle was fought, of the number and rank of their captives, and the slain. The following is a specimen: one initiating in war-titles, is called *Tannip-Abe*, ‘a killer of the enemy’; he who kills a person carrying a kettle, is crowned *Soonak-Abe-Tuska*; the first word signifies a kettle,⁶⁸ and the last a warrior. *Minggúshàtábe* signifies ‘one who killed a very great chieftain,’ compounded of *Mingo*, *Ash*,⁶⁹ and *Abe*. *Pac-Máshtàbe*, is, one in the way of war-gradation, or below the highest in rank, *Pae* signifying ‘far off.’⁷⁰ *Tisshu Mashtabe* is the name of a warrior who kills the war-chieftain’s waiter carrying the beloved ark.”⁷¹

Adair adds a wrong analysis of the name *Shulashummastabe*,⁷² “Red shoe killer,” known to the whites as Red Shoes. He gives also the names *Chetehkabe* or *Chetehkabesho*, “You are weary killer”; or “You are very weary killer”;⁷³ *Noabe*, “one who kills a rambling enemy”;⁷⁴ *Pas’pharáabe* (Pa^{as} falaya abi), “killer of a long haired person”; i. e., of a Choctaw; and *Yanasabe*, “the buffalo-killer,” given to one who has killed a distinguished enemy.⁷⁵

Speaking of the Creek Indians of Tuskegee, Speck says:

“A male child was given no name until he had been initiated, but was known by the name of his totem, *Fúswa* ‘bird,’ *Tcitto* ‘snake,’ or perhaps some other epithet derived from a personal peculiarity. Girls were not called by the totem name, however, but were generally addressed by the kinship term or named after some natural occurrence or object connected with their birth. This name they retained without change through life. Examples of female names are very rare.”⁷⁶

Mr. McCombs says that every male child was first called *teibá’ni*, “little boy,” which is natural enough. Later men and women both received names derived either from those previously used by the family connection or such as were made up on the spot. Generally the latter commemorated some war exploit which the child’s father, uncle, or other male relative had performed, and it is to be presumed that the same was true of the former, although many of them can no longer be interpreted. Their use was not strictly limited to one clan. Following is a list of common names applied to men furnished me by Zachariah Cook:

Adjū’li (“Old”?).

Áno’gitca, “Beloved.”

Iyágo’pki, “To squat,” “to hide.”

Koabai’gi, “To raise or rise.”

Lit’fká, “Shedding hair.”

Lú’ká.

Mahobá’ngi, “Spoiled” (meaning “the battle is spoiled since it is now begun”).

Máne’dji, “To help someone.”

⁶⁸ Byington has *asonak* for “kettle.”

⁶⁹ Or rather *a’sha*, “to sit.”

⁷⁰ Perhaps a Chickasaw word, wanting in Choctaw unless it is contracted from *hopaki*.

⁷¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 193.

⁷² Actually from *shulash*, “a shoe”; *humma*, “red”; *ima’sha*, “to have or keep something”; and *abi* “to kill.”

⁷³ From *teitikabi*, or *teitikabi ishta*; Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁷⁴ From *nawa*, “to walk,” “to ramble,” and *abi*, “to kill.”

⁷⁵ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁷⁶ Speck, *Mem. Amer. Anthropol. Assn.*, vol. II, p. 116.

Maowá'hí, "Near by something."
 Mate'tea, "Missed" (when one plans to meet another and fails).
 Měh'ndí (?).
 Midiwe'gí, "He throws him down for someone" (assisting in a fight).
 Míle'í, "Pointer."
 Motalě'stel.
 O'djudí.
 Otei'sí.
 Pahí'tcá, "To whoop and run upon the enemy."

Sáfuě'skí, "Tumbling someone into a ditch."
 Sma''gí, "To say."
 Tahokně'stel, "To make anything light."
 Těnganě'hí, "A trap (for you?)."
 Teo'tkí, "Small."
 Tiwe'gí, "He throws someone down by himself."
 Wása'sí, "Osage."

From other sources I have obtained the following:

Hítcifa'pa,^{76a} "Tobacco-eater."
 Hobo'yí hí'hí'láko, "Big handsome child."
 Hobo'yí láko, "Big offspring."
 Holibó'í, "He might kill (finish) all his enemies."
 Homata'igá, "He crossed first."
 Hoya'haní or Huya'hni "Passing by."
 A former head war-chief of the Chiaha and Okmulgee bore this name.
 Łatei'mahidjaigí, "Peeping at something (around a tree)." This was originally given because on a certain war expedition the father peeped

around a tree at his own people by the camp fire, and warned them that it was dangerous to stand where they were.
 Seletel (?) (applied to a person of either sex).
 Takusa (?) (a common name but given to persons of importance).
 Te-wahatki, "White hair with pieces of scalp."
 Tokukí, "They two run."
 Tomahí (?).

The following are from the notes of Dr. A. S. Gatschet:

Kotca'mi, (?).
 Ko'we, (?) (name for a man or woman).
 Ma'kale, probably meaning "to throw water on."
 Saga'hgi, "Two behind something," probably engaged in a fight; given to a man or woman.
 Sapinga'hli, "Taking away, abstracting, robbing."

Sawase'gi, "Left alone in it," probably a fight; given to a man or a woman.
 Simahitea'gi, "Taking aim," or "Getting sight of an object which is to be shot."
 Tei'ho, "A man of Chiaha town."
 Teuwatala'go, (?).

The following names applied to women were given me by Rev. William McCombs of Eufaula, Okla.:

Anā'hki, "Getting very near (the enemy) by stratagem."
 Anáthō'yí, "Two returning wounded."
 Folúthō'gi. It is implied in this word that it perpetuates the memory of two men who entered a country beset with dangers in order to locate the situation, numbers, and so on of the enemy, who performed this service by strategem or otherwise and returned safely to their own people.
 Homawilā'hki, "Two advancing in front" as scouts.

Isyolai'gi, "Two fell together" after having grappled with each other, depending only upon their physical strength.
 Lāsahō'yí, "We saw them at a distance chasing (the enemy)."
 Saho'hyi, "Two kept on after" the enemy, while the rest halted. This is given as the name of General Weatherford's mother.
 Wōlai'gi, indicates two special men have been sent out from an encampment to locate the enemy.^{76b}

^{76a} Perhaps this should be Hítcipapa.

^{76b} The daughters of Hobo-Hilayahola, the great Creek orator, are said to have been called Kisila and Asíhi (Smith. Misc. Colls., No. 53, p. 14).

Another feminine name, said to be very ancient, was recovered by Mr. Grayson and bestowed upon one of his own children. This name, T'sianina, can not now be interpreted. Two other names, Tsiní'a, "peeping," and Mitiwó'hli, which probably means "turning around," were given me by Mrs. Grayson.

The following feminine names were collected by Doctor Gatschet:

Fik'-huya'hni, "Heart passing by, about, or around."	Setakha'hgi, "(Fighting) in a line."
Isa-usái'ki (?) or Sahusái'ki, "One left (in war) with it."	Simíhi'li, "One getting attached to someone" (this may, perhaps, be used for a man).
Míhi'li, "One who likes somebody."	

Among the Alabama of Texas the war names have long since passed out of use, and most of the young people do not have Indian names of any sort, while the meanings of those still preserved are not known. Following is a partial list of Alabama names:

MEN

Ateuwaí'teí.	Patábi'.
Cí'málokai'teí'.	Sí'late.
Címatátáhge'.	Sínláhe'.
Cíyupí'ti.	Táfolo'hkě.
Conafti'teí.	Takohteí.
Cowai'yi.	Tcaí'iki.
Ĕ'lawěhteí.	Teáke'.
Holětke'.	Teámba'.
Homalě'hteí.	Teawě'hkí.
Kaláne'.	Tíkbaé'.
Kocpó'.	Tola'na.
Kone'.	Wai'hke.
Lone'.	Yága'hpi.
Pá'djo.	Yáhe'teí.
Pahe'teá.	Yaiyi'.

WOMEN

Apího'yě.	Okó'sl.
Awágahe'.	Pa'lusí.
Cámho'.	Sa'háwe'.
Címa'goiho'djí.	Sihoma'hki.
Cokyúhki.	So'nki.
Fála'iki.	Teúkla'hte.
Mocai'teí'.	Yúlho'hki.
Nocai'hki.	

Busk names should rather be called titles. In former days they were ordinarily given only on account of warlike exploits, especially the taking of scalps, but, as I have noted elsewhere, they could sometimes be secured by obtaining eagle feathers or killing many deer. In a few cases such titles were conferred upon women.⁷⁷ Each clan

⁷⁷ See Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 42; however, in an unpublished Hitchiti story collected by Doctor Gatschet, in recognition for a deed of heroism which one woman performed, a busk title was conferred, not on her but on her son.

had its own set of titles which were given to new aspirants after the death of the former holders. If at any time the titles belonging to a clan were entirely exhausted a name could be borrowed from the clan of the aspirant's father, but after the death of the holder it would revert to the clan from which it had been taken.

These titles usually contained two words, of which the second was commonly hadjo, fiksiko, yahola, imala, tástánági, or miko. The last three belonged properly to certain classes of functionaries to be described elsewhere, but in some towns they seem to have become hereditary in the clans; at least this is definitely affirmed for the term tástánági. It has frequently been reported that these titles were bestowed in a certain order. Thus one of my own informants said that a man would probably be given first a name containing hadjo, next one with imala, and finally one with tástánági. Another gave the order as hadjo, tástánági, and miko. Most of this is explained, however, by the fact that the names imala, tástánági, and miko were applied to officials. Nevertheless there seems to have been some tendency to use a name containing hadjo first and one with yahola later on. These two, together with fiksiko, are called "common names," which here mean merely that they did not carry official positions with them. Hadjo means "mad," "crazy," but more particularly "furious in battle." Fiksiko means "no heart," "heartless." Yahola refers to the yahola cry, a long-drawn-out shout uttered by the bearers of the black drink while the chiefs and warriors were taking it. Originally it may have been restricted to a class of criers but later it became "common." The tendency of these names to become "common" in course of time explains why Speck was told that hadjo, fiksiko, imala, and yahola were all of equal rank.⁷⁸

The first word in the title was derived from various sources, but there were two principal kinds. The most important set was based on the name of the totem animal, and in most cases it was the simple name of the animal itself, not a mere reference to it. Names of this kind were usually bestowed only upon persons belonging to clans having the same name, but sometimes they were allowed to those whose fathers belonged to that clan. Another considerable set was taken from names of tribes or towns, particularly those which composed the Creek confederacy. Sometimes they preserved the names of tribes or towns that otherwise would have been forgotten. On the other hand the names of Kán hátki, Okchai, Pakan tallahassee, Otcia-pofa, and Alabama seem not to have been used, or if so only rarely. Only a few cases of the use of the name of Muklasa can be recalled. It may be added that the name of the Toad clan, Sábáktálgí, also seems not to have been used. Jackson Lewis said that the non-

⁷⁸ Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthropol. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix *-utci*.

Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word *miko*, as for example *Tukabahchee miko*, *Tukpafka miko*. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, *Yuchi miko* was a name used in *Okchai* while *Hobayi miko* was a permanent name of the *Tukabahchee* chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names *Hobayi tástánági* and *Hobayi miko* were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title *hobayi* being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in *Tukabahchee* the leader of the *Imala lákálgí* was always called *Imala yahola*, the leader of the *tástánáragí* *Tástánák teápko*, and another of the latter group *Teiskale'íga*.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant *Jackson Lewis* grew to manhood he received the name *Teowasta'í tástánági*, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at *Eufaula*, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, *Ahá'lák tástánági*, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an *Isti átea'gági* (abbreviated into *I'sti teagági*)^{78a} he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a *heniha* according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the *yahola* cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when *Jackson Lewis* received his last name, one of *Mr. Grayson's* sons was named with him.

^{78a} See pp. 301-305.

Adair tells us that an unsuccessful Chickasaw leader might be stripped of all his war titles.⁷⁹ I was told that the Creeks did not do this, but in earlier times it may very well have happened.

The following list of war names was obtained from Zachariah Cook:

Aa hadjo.	Hilibi fiksiko.
Abali hadjo.	Hilibi hadjo. .
Abayáli hadjo.	Hilis fiksiko, "Medicine fiksiko."
Abi'ka fiksiko, "Abihka fiksiko."	Hilis hadjo.
Abi'ka hadjo.	Hobayí fiksiko](?), "Far away fiksiko."
Abi'ka yahola.	Hobayí hadjo.
Abi'kutei, "Little Abihka."	Hobayí yahola.
Abuyak fiksiko, "Putting-down fiksiko" (?)	Hobayutei.
Abuyak hadjo.	Hoboihili fiksiko, "Good child fiksiko."
Abuyak yahola.	Hoboihili hadjo.
Adji yahola, "Corn yahola."	Hoboihili yahola.
Adji hátei fiksiko.	Hobuis hadjo, (Hobuis from hobuiwa, "child," or hobili, "fog").
Adji hátei hadjo.	Hola'ta fiksiko.
Adji hátei yahola (?)	Hola'ta hadjo.
Ahalak fiksiko, "Potato fiksiko."	Hola'ta yahola.
Ahalak hadjo.	Hola'tutei.
Ahalak yahola.	Hotálgi fiksiko, "Wind fiksiko."
Ahalakutei, "Little Potato."	Hotálgi hadjo.
Ahotáligo, "Clear minded."	Hotálgi imala(?)
Akálpoisa hadjo, "Dipping-something-in-under hadjo."	Hotálgi yahola.
Akálpisa yahola.	Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."
Akfáski fiksiko, "Okfuskee fiksiko."	Imedjiska hadjo, "Butt-of-tree hadjo."
Akfáski hadjo.	Ina tástánági, "An ina warrior." (As a man went into battle he repeated a formula or song called "ina" which was supposed to preserve him from harm during the action.)
Aktayatei fiksiko, "Aktayatei-clan fiksiko."	Inlanis hadjo. ⁸⁰
Aktayatei hadjo.	Ispani fiksiko, "Spanish fiksiko."
Aktayatei yahola.	Ispani yahola.
Aktayateutei.	Itchas fiksiko, "Beaver fiksiko."
Ateifaháli hadjo, "Broken- (or rough-) eountry hadjo."	Itchas hadjo.
Báskáp hadjo, (Báskáp is perhaps the same as Paskofa, see below).	Itchas yahola.
Fus fiksiko, "Bird fiksiko."	Itchasutei.
Fus hadjo.	Iteo fiksiko, "Deer fiksiko."
Fus yahola.	Iteo hadjo.
Fus hátei fiksiko, "Bird-creek (?) fiksiko."	Iteo tástánági.
Fus hátei hadjo.	Iteo yahola.
Fus hátei yahola.	Iteo-ili hadjo, "Deer-foot hadjo."
Hahiposa hadjo, "Victor (?) hadjo."	Iteo kuteúgáni, "Short deer."
Halpata fiksiko, "Alligator fiksiko."	Iteo-yábi hadjo, "Deer-horn hadjo."
Halpata hadjo.	Iteutei, "Little deer."
Heniha tástánági.	Kaiamúlk hadjo, "Kaiamulgi hadjo."
Heniha teápko, "Long heniha."	Kán teat hadjo.
Henihutci, "Little heniha."	Kapitca fiksiko, "Lye-drip fiksiko."
	Kapitca hadjo.

⁷⁹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 388.

⁸⁰ See p. 116.

Kapitea yahola.	Liwahali hadjo.
Kapiteutei.	Mikoa hadjo, (An Alabama war name).
Kasi'ta fiksiko.	Muklasa. ⁸⁴
Kasi'ta hadjo.	Nabotei hadjo. ⁸⁵
Kasi'ta yahola.	Nokos fiksiko, "Bear fiksiko."
Katea fiksiko, "Panther fiksiko."	Nokos hadjo.
Katea hadjo.	Nokos yahola.
Katea hola'ta.	Nokosádji, "Bear's tail."
Katea yahola.	Nokosili, "Bear's foot."
Kateili, "Panther foot."	Oikás heníha, "Water (or Oil) heníha."
Kateilutei, "Little panther foot."	Okoski (?)
Kawita tástánági, "Coweta tástánági."	Oktahasas hadjo, "Sand-town hadjo."
Kinas hadjo, ("Dodging(?) hadjo"). ⁸¹	Okteán fiksiko, "Salt fiksiko."
Koakodji hadjo, "Wildcat hadjo."	Okteán hadjo.
Koakodji yahola.	Okteán hola'ta.
Koasat fiksiko, "Koasati fiksiko."	Osána fiksiko, "Otter fiksiko."
Koasat hadjo.	Osána hadjo.
Koha láko, "Big cane."	Osotei fiksiko, "Osochi fiksiko."
Koha láko hadjo, "Big cane hadjo."	Osotei hadjo.
Kolomi hadjo. ⁸²	Osotei yahola.
Kosa fiksiko, "Coosa fiksiko."	Oteí hadjo, "Hickory nut hadjo."
Kosa fiksikutei, "Little Coosa fiksiko." ⁸³	Oteís hadjo, "Oteesee hadjo."
Kosa hadjo.	Oteís teápko, "Long (or tall) Ochesee."
Kosa yahola.	Oteísutei, "Little Ochesee."
Kotecugáni, "Short."	Pahos fiksiko, "Pahosa fiksiko."
Kúnip fiksiko, "Skunk fiksiko."	Pahos hadjo.
Kúnip hadjo.	Pahos hobai.
Kúnip yahola.	Pahos yahola.
Kúnutei, "Little skunk."	Pahosutei.
Lata fiksiko (Distinct from Hóla'ta fiksiko).	Paskofa, "Ceremonial ground."
Lata hadjo.	Pin fiksiko, "Turkey fiksiko."
Lata mátaha.	Pin hadjo.
Lata teápko.	Sawanok fiksiko, "Shawnee fiksiko."
Lata yahola.	Sawanok hadjo.
Litif hadjo, (litifka, (any creature) "shedding hair").	Sawanok yahola.
Lodja fiksiko (Lodja is supposed to mean "turtle," though the word is not pronounced exactly like that applied to the reptile).	Tákosa fiksiko(?), "Mole fiksiko."
Lodja hadjo.	Tákosa hadjo.
Lodja yahola.	Tákosa yahola.
Lálo fiksiko, "Fish fiksiko."	Tál muteás fiksiko.
Lálo hadjo.	Tál muteás hadjo.
Lálo yahola.	Tál muteás yahola.
Lidjámí fiksiko.	Tálimás fiksiko, "Public (or common) fiksiko."
Lidjámí hadjo.	Tálimás hadjo.
Liwahali fiksiko.	Tálimás yahola.
	Tálip ^{85a} hadjo.
	Tálof hadjo, "Town hadjo."
	Tálsa fiksiko.
	Tálsa hadjo.

⁸¹ Teánasita means "to dodge."

⁸² This was the name of a great fire maker of the Tukabahchee.

⁸³ This was the name of Caley Proctor, a leader of the conservative element in the Creek nation.

⁸⁴ Mr. Grayson remembered an Alabama or Koasati Indian so called.

⁸⁵ Apparently referring to an extinct tribe called Napochies by the Spaniards; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 240.

^{85a} Probably from the name of a plant, tálewa; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 286

Tâlsa yahola.	Totka bahi, "To apply fire" (or "To add fire to fire").
Tâlwa hadjo, "Town hadjo."	Totka bahi hadjo. ^{85d}
Tâmi fiksiko.	Totka hasi, "Old fire."
Tâmi hadjo.	Totkis hadjo, "Fire hadjo." ^{85e}
Tâmi yahola.	Tukaba'tei fiksiko, "Tukabahechee fiksiko."
Tâpâsola hadjo (abbr. Tapâs hadjo), "Daddy-long-legs hadjo."	Tukaba'tei hadjo.
Taskik hadjo, "Tuskegee hadjo."	Tukaba'tei yahola.
Tâski heniha (abbr. Tâskiniha). ^{85b}	Tukolisi, "Spotted."
Tâskona.	Tukolis hadjo, "Spotted hadjo."
Teiaha hadjo, "Chiaha hadjo."	Wâtula teâpko, "Tall crane."
Teiloki fiksiko (?) ^{85c}	Wôksi hadjo.
Teiloki hadjo.	Wôksi miko (?).
Teiloki yahola (?).	Wôksi yahola.
Teito hadjo, "Snake hadjo."	Wotko fiksiko, "Raccoon fiksiko."
Teugati fiksiko (Teugati perhaps means "imprisoned.")	Wotko hadjo.
Teoska fiksiko, "Post oak fiksiko."	Wotko yahola.
Teoska hadjo.	Wotkotci, "Little raccoon."
Teoska heniha.	Yaha fiksiko, "Wolf fiksiko."
Teoska yahola.	Yaha hadjo
Teugati hadjo.	Yaha tâstânâgi.
Teugati yahola.	Yahola fiksiko.
Teugatutei.	Yahola hadjo.
Teula fiksiko, "Fox fiksiko."	Yaholutei.
Teula hadjo.	Yatâwa hadjo.
Teula yahola.	Yufala fiksiko, "Eufaula fiksiko."
Teuwastai hadjo.	Yufala hadjo. ^{85f}

Stiggins says that in the first attack on Fort Mimms a party of Creeks rushed into the very center of the fort, and all were killed except one man who afterwards had the name bestowed upon him by his town of "*Na ho mah tee o thle ho bo yer*, which is the foremost man in danger in time of battle."⁸⁶

Great numbers of Creek personal names appear in early documents and historical narratives dealing with the Southeast, but in many cases they are so badly misspelled or so unusual that they can not be translated. Sometimes it is impossible to say whether we have to deal with the boy's name or the war title. Among those that may be made out are the following:

Abi'ka miko(?)	Atâs miko, "Atasi miko."
Akfâski tâski heniha.	Faki lâsti hadjo, "Black earth hadjo," a Seminole chief.
Âlbama tâstânâgi, "Alabama tâstânâgi."	Fâlutki(?)
Asin yahola, "Black drink yahola."	

^{85b} Tâski probably has reference to war.

^{85c} See p. 156 et seq.

^{85d} This was the name of G. W. Grayson's father.

^{85e} The Creek name of Sam Moniac who figures in early Creek history and signed the treaty of 1790.

^{85f} The Indian name of Lewis Proctor, head of the "Snake" or conservative faction among the Creeks.

⁸⁶ Stiggins, Ms.: *Ho moh tee* is probably *homa'to*, "a chief or leader;" *o thle* or *holi*, "war;" and *ho bo yer hobayi*, "far away." Mr. McCombs gives Hôlibôya, "War Conqueror," as a very great title.

<p>Fus hâteci miko, probably "Bird creek miko," referring to the old town of Fus-hatchee, though the name is often translated "Bird Tail King," the words for "creek" or "river" and tail being much alike. An Indian of this name appears in the treaty of 1790 and another was a chief of Kasilhta.</p> <p>Fus hâteci tãstãnãgi.</p> <p>Heniha lãko, "Big heniha," a war title which goes back to 1733.</p> <p>Heniha miko.</p> <p>Hilibi hadjo.</p> <p>Hobayi, "Far away."</p> <p>Hobayi hadjo.</p> <p>Hobayi imala.</p> <p>Hobayi miko, "Far away miko," a signer of the treaty of 1790.</p> <p>Hobayi tãstãnãgi.</p> <p>Hoboihili, "Good child."</p> <p>Hoboihili hobayi.</p> <p>Hoboihil miko, "Good child chief."</p> <p>Hoboihili yahola.</p> <p>Hola'ta hadjo.</p> <p>Hola'ta imala.</p> <p>Hola'ta miko.</p> <p>Holiboyi hadjo.</p> <p>Holiboyi miko, "War killing (i. e. 'finishing') miko."</p> <p>Holihopoi, "War measurer."</p> <p>Holihopoi tãstãnãgi.</p> <p>Hotãlgi imala, "Wind imala."</p> <p>Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."</p> <p>Ifa tãski heniha.</p> <p>Ifa tãstãnãgi.</p> <p>Imala hãtki, "White imala."</p> <p>Imala lãko, "Big imala."</p> <p>Iua tãstãnãgi (see preceding list).</p> <p>Ispahihtea.</p> <p>Ispani hadjo.</p> <p>Ispokok hadjo.</p> <p>Kapitea miko.</p> <p>Kasĩ'ta miko.</p> <p>Kasĩ'ta tãstãnãgi.</p> <p>Kawita miko.</p> <p>Kosa miko(?)</p>	<p>Kosa tãstãnãgi.</p> <p>Lidjãni tãstãnãgi.</p> <p>Liwahali tãski heniha.</p> <p>Miko hobayĩ, "Far away miko."</p> <p>Okilisa.</p> <p>Opillo (= Opillãko) tãstãnãgi.^{86a}</p> <p>Pahos miko.</p> <p>Simomĩtei, "Doing-it-for-them."</p> <p>Tãlahãsi imala, "Old town imala."</p> <p>Tãlahãsi miko.</p> <p>Tãlwa lãko tãstãnãgi.</p> <p>Tamati hadjo.</p> <p>Tamati miko.</p> <p>Tãsikaia hadjo.</p> <p>Tãsikaia miko.</p> <p>Tãski heniha.</p> <p>Tãski heniha hãtki (hãtki, "white").</p> <p>Tãskigi tãstãnãgi, "Tuskegee tãstãnãgi."</p> <p>Tãstãnãgi hadjo.</p> <p>Tãstãnãgi hobayĩ.</p> <p>Tãstãnãgi miko.</p> <p>Tãstãnãgi teãpko, "Long tãstãnãgi."</p> <p>Tealaki iliteci, "Cherokee killer."</p> <p>Teiala miko, "Chiaha miko."</p> <p>Tokulgĩ, described as "emperor of the nation"—i. e., head chief of the Coweta at one period. (Cf. the common name Tokulkĩ, p. 99).</p> <p>Totka tãstãnãgi, "Fire tãstãnãgi."</p> <p>Tupa hãtki, "White bed."</p> <p>Waika teumpa, "Sweet spring."</p> <p>Wakokai miko.</p> <p>Wiwo'ka miko.</p> <p>Wóksi miko.</p> <p>Yahola.</p> <p>Yahola imala.</p> <p>Yahola miko.</p> <p>Yakinha miko, second chief under Moty Kennard and his successor. Yakinha is perhaps from ya'kita, "to shout," "to whoop."</p> <p>Yufala hobayĩ.</p> <p>Yufala tãstãnãgi.</p> <p>Yufala tãstãnãgi miko.</p> <p>Yutei tãstãnãgi (himself a Yuehi Indian).</p>
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While a few of these are different from any given in my list above, the greater number will be found there.

The following names are also extracted from early documents and it is probable that some of them are war names but it is impossible to say. The interpretations are from Doctor Gatschet's notes.

^{86a} Opillãko, "Big swamp," was a former Creek town; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 282.

<p>Figiya, probably meaning "to shake or tremble," a Chiaha war-chief living in 1733.</p> <p>Hammitci, called "Old Hammitci of Sutchapoka," probably Old Hammitci of Luceapoga.</p> <p>Hopaiitci, "One going to a distance" from houses, etc.</p> <p>Imistisigo, "Man who has no men" following him, a chief who fought against the Americans after the time of the Revolution.</p> <p>Lamhi teati, "Red Eagle," said to have been the name of William Weatherford, leader of the hostile Creeks in the Creek-American war.</p> <p>Lifagi, "One who punches (or stamps)" with his feet alternately, the name of a Creek chief who went to Texas at an early period.</p> <p>Mikonopi, or Miko unapa, "Chief on top of all" chiefs, the head-chief of the Seminole during the Seminole war.</p>	<p>Mitikayi, "Pushing down," a war-chief of the Oconee.</p> <p>Opototache (or Long Side), an Indian of Big Tulsa who signed the Treaty of 1790.</p> <p>Stimafateki, from afätiki, "glad"; a signer of the Treaty of 1790.</p> <p>Stinala'tci (shortened into Mala'tci; or "Malabee"), "One coming into something of his own" (?), a famous head chief of the Lower Creeks.</p> <p>Suta-milla, "Pointing toward the sky," a Chiaha war captain in 1733.</p> <p>Tamodjäidji, "Who makes one (bird) fly(?)," the famous Tomochichi.</p> <p>Timpuitei, "Coming near," Creek name of the Yuchi chief Timpuchee Barnard.</p> <p>Tuwidjedji, a chief of the Oconee Indians.</p>
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Parents sometimes took their names from their children, but in that case they did not give up their earlier names. Mr. McCombs told me of a case in which a woman adopted the names of three of her children in succession. The oldest, whose name she had taken, having died, she assumed the name of the next younger, and, that one dying some time later, she adopted the name of the third.

CLANS, PHRATRIES, AND MOIETIES

NATIVE EXPLANATIONS OF THEIR ORIGIN

The clan origin stories of the Creeks were of two kinds—stories attempting to account for the origin of the clan system as a whole and stories dealing with the creation of new clans.

Sometimes these last merely profess to explain how the exogamous prohibition between two linked clans came to be broken down and hence are not origin stories in the true sense of the term, but there is no clear line of demarcation between these and stories accounting for the existence of entirely new clans. If we could place any reliance upon these myths it would be easy to account for this confusion by considering that in all probability in many of them the name subsequently applied to the new clan would be assumed as having been already in existence.

In connection with the cutting apart of an exogamous group the expression is applied, "their fire (or light) was put out." Either this refers to a common myth told to account for these separations

or the myth itself has originated from the expression. I have heard it in several different places and in much the same form, which is as follows:

"A man and a woman belonging to different clans or groups happened to meet at some place away from the villages and decided that their proper relations towards each other should be those of brother and sister, of course in the Indian sense. Late one night, however, after they had been camping together for some time, the woman took a torch and went after water. The man followed her, extinguished her torch, and had intercourse with her. As they could no longer be brother and sister their clans or groups thereafter came to be considered distinct."

In Hilibi there was a story like this about a man and a woman of the Alligator and Turkey clans. When it was discovered what had taken place the people held a council and decided that henceforth these two clans should be one up to midnight but that at that time "their light should be put out" and they should be separate. The same thing happened in the case of some men and women of the Potato and Raccoon clans while they were watching the cornfields and their light was "put out" in consequence. Claim is made that these events were of recent occurrence in Hilibi but evidently the myth above related has merely been given a local application.

Formerly it is claimed that the Lidjāmi were one people with the Fox, Potato, and Raccoon, but an event of the same sort as that narrated above having occurred, a council was summoned which debated whether the penalties usual in such cases should be inflicted. They decided, however, that there was perhaps some occult reason for this particular infringement of the law and ruled that in future the Lidjāmi should be considered akin to the other clans only until noon.

Okusky Miller, head man of the square ground of Chiaha Seminole, claimed that the Raccoon and Fox "put out their fire" as in the preceding cases. The offense was overlooked on the ground that the Fox is "a roustabout who can not be prevented from rambling around at night at will." It was determined that the two clans should be considered one in the daytime but distinct at night.

According to Kasihta yahola, an old man of Laplāko, the Turkey, Bird, Beaver, and Alligator were anciently one clan but became incestuous and separated. He had the same story to tell of the separation of the Raccoon and Potato people in Tukabahchee as that given by the Hilibi Indians.

Of an intermediate type is the following story related by a Hilibi Indian on the authority of an old man "now (1912) long dead."

"The people of a certain Creek town came out of a mountain cave. At the mouth of this cave was a root extending across it in such a manner that egress was to be had on either side, and half of the

people emerged on one side, half on the other side. Those who came out on one side were the Aktayatei; those who came out on the other the Woksi. A part of the Aktayatei, who were behind the others, had horns, and for this reason those who had first emerged closed the hole in the mountain, shutting them in permanently.

"After the Aktayatei had gotten out they said 'We are the Potato people (Ahalaki),' presumably because of their origin. One of their women met a man in the outside world who said to her 'I belong to the Mud-potato people (Aha akliwahi),' and she gave him in return the new name which her people had adopted. 'Why,' they said, 'our names are nearly the same; we must be kindred.' When it was dark the woman lighted a fagot, and went to the creek after water. Then the same thing happened as in the cases already mentioned, and they said to each other: 'Our relationship is entirely ruined. Hereafter we must be enemies.' In consequence the Ahalaki and Aktayatei are said to be akin until noon and after that time no kin at all."

The actual origin of a new clan, not merely the further separation of already existing clans, is claimed as having resulted from the actions of two persons of opposite sex belonging to the Toad clan. It happened that the male offender was very much beloved, and the council summoned to determine what was to be done agreed that the thing was probably fated, and they erected a new clan for the woman which they called the Mole clan. It is true that the Mole and Toad usually formed an exogamous group, but this was not always the case, and if we were to allow ourselves to speculate we might suppose that a tradition of relationship, even though of a relationship which had been broken down, might give rise to a feeling of repugnance toward marriage between the two clans which would result in practically reestablishing the former exogamy.^{66b}

In this last story an important feature to be noted is the influence exercised by the personal popularity of one of the offenders on the collective decision. It is, of course, no new experience in human affairs that the esteem in which a lawbreaker or reformer is held has a pronounced bearing on his subsequent treatment and the success of his action. Indeed, it was presented to me as a thing known to have taken place on several occasions that a man had had sexual relations with a woman belonging to a part of his clan marked off in some way from the rest, or which he claimed to be so marked off, gave her a separate clan designation, and—especially if he were a person of standing—succeeded in having his arrangements accepted by the community. It was claimed that many of the smaller clans—among which were also mentioned the Eagle and Fish—had had just such an origin.

^{66b} See also p. 149.

Of an entirely different type is the following trivial tale which pretends to account for the separation between the Bear and the Wolf:

"There were two old women who were sisters, each having a great number of children and grandchildren. One time one sister said to the other: 'We have been together a long time and have many children; I will go this way.' The other said, 'And I will go this way.' All the children of the first were Wolves; the children of the second were Bears."

Regarding the origin of clanship itself, which is practically bound up with the origin of several of the larger clans, such as the Wind, Bear, Panther, Raccoon, Alligator, and Deer, there are several stories, some simple, some more complex, but all we have left is evidently only a fragment of the original mass of lore on the subject. While I was told, as a matter of common report, by certain very good informants that the people of each clan were descended from the totem animal,⁸⁷ such a suggestion is almost always lacking in the myths dealing with the subject, as, for instance, the Wolf-Bear myth just related. According to Legus Perryman, each clan, or, rather, each exogamous division, was descended from an eponymous female ancestor called Bird-woman, Panther-woman, etc. The female ancestor of the Bear clan was not, however, named from the common black bear, but from one called the Howling or Whooping Bear. The people now identify it either with the grizzly bear or the polar bear.

Doctor Speck's Tuskegee informant said that clans were "created in the beginning by the Master of Breath, deriving their animal characteristics from certain traits displayed by beings as they passed in review before him. He enjoined them not to marry their own kind lest they die out, and since that time they have observed the exogamous principle."⁸⁸

A Coweta Indian stated that in the beginning human beings and animals were coming across the ocean in a gar-skin boat. On the way the human beings named themselves after the different animals. One said "I belong to the Panther family," another, "I belong to the Bird family," and so on. They kept on this way until they were about to land, when all of the animals were used up. One man remained, however, and they said to him, "To what clan will you belong?" He answered, "To the clan of that which you hear making a noise above my head." He referred to the wind humming overhead, and therefore his family came to be called the Wind clan. According to another informant the people formerly came to a body of water,

⁸⁷ The descent of the Wind clan was explained by saying that it came from the Skunk, the Skunk clan being a branch of the Wind. Also see Speck in *Mem. Amer. Anthropol. Assn.*, vol. II, p. 115.

⁸⁸ Speck, in *Mem. Amer. Anthropol. Assn.*, vol. II, p. 115.

and they jumped into it one after the other. As they did so one said, "I'll be a Bird;" another, "I'll be a Bear;" and so on. In accordance with still another legend, people came out from a cavern in the earth, and as they emerged a man standing at the entrance bestowed their various clan designations. In fact, they seem to have been in animal forms or to have been accompanied by animals, for it is related that when the Beaver appeared he plunged into a near-by pond, and on a tree by the bank the Bird was sitting. Then the Bear came out so fast that he slid on into the water where was the Beaver. That is how the clans so named came to be together as Whites.^{88a}

The association of the White clans in this manner brings us to a series of stories which seem to be versions of some common myth detailing the origin of at least a part of the major clans. A man belonging to Eufaula Hobayi said that, according to the story he had heard, in the ancient times people were sitting about in groups enveloped in darkness. When light began to break in upon them they caught sight of animals, first one, then another. As the various groups saw these they called out successively, "I will be a Bear," "I will be a Deer," and so on, according to the animal which first met their gaze. Finally a wind arose "which swept the remainder of the darkness away"; therefore the last group called itself the Wind clan.

The following was told by Big Jack, a Hilibi Indian:

"The Bird, Beaver, Panther, and Wind people were enveloped in a fog. The Panther was chief (miko) among them; the Beaver was his *heniba*. The Panther undertook to parch some *asi* (*Ilex vomitoria*), stirring the mixture with his tail. His tail was scorched, however, and turned yellow, so he gave it up. The Beaver then used his tail, but it got too hot and he dived into the water. The Bear then took his turn, rooting about in the *asi* with his nose. In this way the ring was formed which is about the nose of the bear. Afterward Wind was sent to blow away the fog, and as it was sent to them part of the people adopted it."

This rather gives an account of the doings of the eponymous animals than the origin of the clans, but the intention is to show that the later association between these clans was founded on events which took place at that supposedly early date.

The following myth from the Tuggle collection is in part another version of the preceding, but it has additional interest as showing the relation of the Fish clan to the Panther and Wind. Tuggle entitles it "The origin of the Tiger clan."

"In the beginning a great fog covered the earth. In a certain valley there was a large fountain. Close to this fountain a tiger (Cooch-ar [really the panther, *Kateca*]) lived.

^{88a} See pp. 156-166.

"The Wind came to Coochah and said: 'What are you doing? It is dark and gloomy.'

"Coochah said: 'I am making my tea, my black drink,' and he stirred the tea, which he was parching, with his tail.

"The Tiger said, pointing to the fountain, 'There are my friends, my mates, the fishes. When I make my black drink they drink with me.'

"The Wind said: 'If you will make peace with me, I will blow the fog away and all will be bright.'

"Coochah consented to make peace with the Wind.

"The Wind blew the fog away and all was clear and beautiful.

"Coochah made his tea, and his mates, the fishes in the fountain, drank with him.

"They sang a song of joy and friendship, and since that time the Tiger clan has been at peace with the Wind clan, and Fish clan, and when trouble comes to one the others always give aid."⁸⁹

The ever present element of the fog driven away by the wind appears again in a myth related by William McCombs to the late G. W. Grayson and by him kindly placed at my disposal. It is as follows:

"When the Creek Indians came to know anything of themselves, it was to find that they had been for a long series of generations completely buried and covered as it were in a dense fog impenetrable to their powers of vision. Being unable to see, they were dependent on their other senses, especially that of touch, in their efforts to obtain subsistence.

"In their quest for food the people very naturally became separated, straying away from each other in groups, and each group was aware of the existence and locality of its neighbors only by calling to them through the obscuring fog, each adopting the precaution not to stray out of calling distance of some other of the scattered groups.

"After a great while there arose a wind from the east that gradually drove the fog from the land. The group of people who first saw clearly the land and the various objects of nature now rendered visible by the dissipating fog, were given the name of the Wind clan. It is related that, among the many things they were now able to see, the first animate objects observed by the people of the Wind clan were a skunk and a rabbit which appear to have accompanied them during their existence in the obscuring fog. While the people did not adopt either of these as their patronymic, they did declare them their nearest and dearest friends. So well is this understood by the full blood Creek Indian, that it is universally understood to be the duty of the sons of the Wind clansmen always to extend to these animals protection and defense from physical injury or ridicule, saying 'They are my fathers.'

⁸⁹ Tuggle Coll. of myths, Mss., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

"As the fog continued to recede and disappear before the driving east wind, other groups of people came to light; and, as each looked about, it adopted as the patronymic of the clan by which it would thereafter be known, the first live animal which had emerged from the fog along with it.

"In this manner three other clans—the Beaver, the Bear, and the Bird—were established, who, together with the Wind, have always been known as Hut-hak-ul-kee [Hathagálgi] (the Whites) and recognized as leaders in the establishment and maintenance of peace in the nation. The Wolf clan is kindred to the Bear clan, but without the political prestige of the latter. All the other clans, which are very numerous, were formed in the same manner, and are known as Tsi-loak-hok-ul-kee [Teilokogálgi] (speakers of a different language) as distinguished from the Hut-hak-ul-kee, or Whites."⁹⁰

There is a story in the Tuggle collection intended to explain the origin of the Bear clan specifically. It is as follows:

"At first the Indians had no horses and when they hunted they traveled in canoes, carrying their wives and children.

"One day they went up a stream and landed in a wide bottom or valley. They cut a trail through the woods with their knives. Then they sent the women and children to drive the bears towards this trail, and they took their stand near it so that they could see the bears when they ran across.

"One of the little girls while driving the bears was lost in the woods. The people hunted everywhere, but could not find her. An old she-bear met her and said 'Come and live with me.' She took the little girl home with her and kept her four years, treating her as her child.

"One day the old bear said to the little girl: 'The hunters are coming again with fire. They will kill me, but you must run to Cho [Deer] mountain. After the hunters have passed us a little shaggy dog will run to the place where we are standing and bark at us. Then all the other dogs will come. I will run away, but they will pursue me and kill me. You must escape and, when the hunters have gone, you must return. You will find a coal of fire which the hunters have left. Take this fire and return to your people. They will receive you and you will become the mother of the Bear clan. Name your first son "Bear."'

"It happened as she had said. The hunters came and the old bear was killed. The little girl did as she was directed and escaped. She

⁹⁰ In 1924 Mr. McCombs himself told me this story and in much the same words. He expressed his belief that when these events took place the Muskogee were coming from the south, perhaps from South America, and that the fogs arose from the low, marshy countries near the sea. The first group of people to see the sunshine said: "We were the first to see the sunshine; therefore we shall be the first of the clans and shall own the wind, rabbit, and skunk." Another group saw a plot of wild potatoes and near by a raccoon and a fox, and therefore they had those things, and hence the Potato, Raccoon and Fox clans are one people.

found the fire, started to return to her people, and on her arrival they gladly welcomed her and she became the mother of the Bear clan."⁹¹

This last story stands in a class by itself and is comparable to those stories of the origin of crests common on the north Pacific coast. In the other tales, the remarkable point is that most of them profess to account for the origins of the relationships existing between White clans only. Mr. McCombs's reference to the Teiloki at the end of his narrative seems plainly an afterthought, and it is certainly surprising that, if extended myths accounting for the origin of the Teiloki were in existence, not a fragment has come down to us. The possible significance of this will be discussed later.

DESCRIPTION

CLANS

This subject may well be introduced with the following quotation from Stiggins, who was able to observe the Creek social organization when it was in a state of relative completeness:

"The strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families. By their observance of it they are so united that there is no part of the nation detached from another but [they] are all linked, harmonized, and consolidated as one large connected family, for by their family prescribed rules there is no part of the nation in which a man can not find his clansmen or their connection. . . . All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother, being of the same family as the mother, and can only take part with that family. The father and his clan or family are only the father family to the children and he and his clan or family have no legal say or interest in the children's family concerns."⁹²

The whole subject of clanship is not, however, entirely clear even yet, and some features of it probably never can be understood, owing to the death of those persons who were familiar with them and the breakdown of the entire institution. I have obtained the names of more than 50 clans, and further investigation might add to the number, but several of these occupy a doubtful position and may not be true clans. In the following list I have included not merely the clans known to the Creek proper or Muskogee, but those of the Hitchiti, Alabama, Natchez, Yuchi, Timucua, and Chickasaw.

⁹¹ Tuggle Coll., Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

⁹² Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Paraja)	Chickasaw
Bear.....	Nokosalgi.....	Nokosalí.....	Nita ayeksa.....	Tsogo owáts.....	Sag'g'.....	Ara hasomi (of the Bird phratry).	
Wind.....	Itoálálgí.....	Foblitcáhi.....	Mahale ayeksa.....	Náhi owáts.....	Godá.....	Chuhufíchi hasomi.....	Fowl.
Bird.....	Fuswálgí.....	Fosáhi.....	Fese ayeksa.....	Cogol owáts.....	Cagáw'.....		
Beaver.....	Itcháswálgí.....	Posafáhi.....	Ofáta a y e k s a (Noko ayeksa in Kousati).	Emet owáts.....			
Fox.....	Teolálgí.....	Teoláhi.....			Catiéné.....	Hane nayo hasomi (White Fox clan) (Bizzard phratry).	Cawl.
Raccoon.....	Wokálgí.....	Sawáhi.....		Enogol owáts.....	Djig'tiea.....		
Water Moccasin (?)	Aktayacálgí.....	Aktayacáhi.....					
Potato.....	Abahálgí.....	Ahahakáhi.....					
Alligator.....	Teowasrálgí.....	Teowasráhi.....	Teintemba ayeksa.....				Hatchontchúba (Morgan).
Turkey.....	Pinwálgí.....	Pinwáhi.....	Fito ayeksa.....		Wéte'á.....		
Toad.....	Tamálgí.....	Tamáhi.....					
Wolf.....	Pahosálgí.....	Pahosáhi.....	Waso ayeksa.....		Dalá.....		Nacoba (Morgan).
Bison.....	Yahálgí.....	Yahohozáhi.....					
Medicine.....	Yanasálgí.....	Yanasáhi.....					
	Hillsálgí.....	Hillsáhi.....					
	Teokotálgí.....	Teokotáhi.....					
Lye drip (?)	Kapitcálgí.....	Kapitcáhi.....					
Deer.....	Itcoálgí.....	Itcáhi.....	Itco ayeksa.....	Dza owáts.....	Wé'ya'.....	Homoso nayo (White Deer), Great Deer (Fresh Water and Potano districts).	Isl.
Toad.....	Sopaktálgí.....	Sánaktcáhi.....					
Mole.....	Takosálgí.....	Takosáhi.....					
Skunk.....	Konipálgí.....	Konipáhi.....			Yúsa'.....		Koni, or Hockoni.
Fish.....	Kátoálgí.....	Kátoáhi.....			Cú.....	Cuyu [kuyu] hasomi.....	Náhi.
Snake.....	Teitálgí.....	Teitáhi.....		Ulix owáts.....	Ca (?).....		
Rabbit.....	Tenfálgí.....	Tenfáhi.....			Cad'wané.....	Apíchi(ara) (?) (Fish phratry).	
Hickorynut.....	Oteálgí.....	Oteáhi.....					

English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speech)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Cane.....	Kohasakálgi (nr Kohosálgi).	Kohasáli.					
Salt.....	Oktémálgi.		Hape ayeksa.				
Daddy-longlegs.....	Tápohsálálgí.		Tápohsola ayeksa.				
Panther.....	Kutcálgi.	Kowáli.	Koe ayeksa.	Ictwada owáts.	Wétc'á'w'.	Yaraha hasomi (Acheha phratry).	Kó ictó.
Wildcat.....	Koakotcálgi.		Koatouse ayeksa.				
Eagle.....	Lámhálgi.				Cad'fané		Kó inteus.
Otter.....	Osanálgi.	Osanáli.			Cá'na (?)		
	Edjamálgí.				Cúhané.		
Mink.....	Okteüt'kálgi.						
Corn.....	Atcálgi.						
Fresh Land.....	Kantálálgí.					Uti hasomi (Earth phratry).	
Spanish moss (?).....	Asunálgí.						
	Noklanálgí (nr Nokfilálgí).						
Spanish (?).....	Istámálgí.						
Turtle.....	Lutcálgi.				Tábég' (Turtleise)		Sfani (or Spani).
Weevil (?) (or Eng- lish?).	Wevít' (or Eng- okúlsálgí).						
Arrow.....	Ljalgi.						
Pubes Hair.....	Intamsálgí.						
Long Dew.....	Sitcot'ap'kálgi.						
	Wahakálgí						
Raven.....	(Kakkálgí?)						
Red Paint.....	Sulálgí.				Yá'w'it'.	Aphohla hasomi.	
Buzzard.....	Owl.						
Muklasa.....	Mukhasálgí.						
Opossum.....							
Squirrel.....					Wétsigowa'w'		Fáni (Morgan).
Dog.....					C'áya.	E'faca hasomi (Acheha phrat.)	

To complete our survey of the clans of the southeastern area we may add those of the Cherokee. Within historic times they numbered seven, thus named according to Mooney: Ani'-Wa''ya (Wolf), Ani'-Kawí' (Deer), Ani'-Tsiskwa (Bird), Ani'-Wá'dí (Paint), Ani'-Sahá'ní (possibly an archaic name meaning "Blue People"), Ani'-Gatâgêwí (frequently incorrectly interpreted "Blind Savanna"), Ani'-Gilá'hí (Long-haired People).⁹³ Mooney believed that at an earlier time there were 14 clans, each of the seven of the later period having been formed by the fusion of two. He mentions as an instance the fusion of the Turtle Dove and Raven to form the Bird. In a very early document in the Library of Congress I find the following clans listed: Wolf, Deer, Bird, Paint, Blind Savanna, Long Hair, Thorn Bush, and Acorn. All of these are identifiable in Mooney's list except the two last, one of which may have corresponded to his Ani'-Sahâní.

The Wolf, Deer, and Bird were undoubtedly equated with the Wolf, Deer, and Bird clans of the Creeks, and it is quite possible that correspondences were found for the other Cherokee divisions among the remaining Creek clans. The only hint as to the manner in which this may have been worked out is contained in information which I received from a Natchez informant living among the Cherokee. He stated that the Ani'-Wá'dí corresponded to the Natchez Snake clan, the Ani'-Sahâní to the Panther clan, the Ani'-Gatâgêwí to the Raccoon clan, and the Ani'-Gilá'hí to the Wind clan.

There is fragmentary information regarding clans from the Siouan tribes of the east,^{93a} the Biloxi,^{93b} and the Chitimacha.^{93c} There were, of course, clans among the Tuscarora, Quapaw, Caddo, and some others who occupied a marginal position with reference to the Gulf area, but they need not be considered.

The Opossum appears only among the Yuchi,⁹⁴ and the Squirrel only among the Yuchi and Chickasaw, with the latter on the sole authority of Morgan.⁹⁵ A "Root clan" is referred to by Eakins, whose informants probably had in mind the Potato.⁹⁶ The Muklasálgí are recorded only by Gatschet.⁹⁷ As Muklasa was a former Alabama town among the Upper Creeks it is probable that the designation referred properly to the people living there, irrespective of clanship. North of Florida the existence of a Buzzard clan rests upon only one or two doubtful statements. Speck enters it as one of those clans among the Yuchi the existence of which was "not generally

⁹³ Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee*, 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 212-213, 508-509.

^{93a} Lederer in Alvord and Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674*, p. 144.

^{93b} J. O. Dorsey in 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 243-244.

^{93c} Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 349.

⁹⁴ Speck, *Ethnol. Yuchi*, p. 71.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*; Morgan, *Ancient Society*, vol. I, p. 163.

⁹⁶ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. I, p. 275.

⁹⁷ Gatschet, *Mig. Leg.*, vol. I, p. 156.

agreed upon" by his informants.⁹⁸ So far as the Muskogee are concerned the idea that there was such a clan may have arisen from the similarity between "Sulálgi" (Buzzard people) and "Teulálgi" (Fox people), although in his list of Tuskegee clans Speck includes both. However, its undoubted existence and important position in Florida render a northward extension among the Creeks not impossible. Hitchcock is our sole authority for an Owl clan and the intimate association of this bird with witchcraft renders its adoption as an emblem by a social group in the highest degree improbable. Stiggins states that the Red Paint was one of the nine principal clans of the Muskogee.⁹⁹ Since he himself had Muskogee, or rather Natchez, blood and grew up in the Creek Nation his authority ought to be good, but I am inclined to believe that he had borrowed this name from that of the corresponding Cherokee clan. Possibly the Cherokee division was identified with some particular clan among the Creeks which in consequence sometimes received its name. In that case it was probably identified with a different clan from that equated with it by the Natchez.¹ Adair is our only authority for a Raven clan,² and Gatschet our only authority for the Walakálgi.³ For each of the names Sitcoteápkálgi, Liálgi, Nokfahálgi, Asunálgi, Kantálálgi, and Hilisálgi, I have the authority of but one informant. The Sitcoteápkálgi was mentioned by an old Tukabahchee Indian, the Inlanisálgi, and Liálgi, by a Seminole; the Nokfahálgi, Asunálgi, and Kantálálgi by an informant who, although a Seminole by birth, had lived most of his life with the people of Luceapoga; and the Hilisálgi by an old Lapláko Indian now dead. The Lutcálgi (Turtle, or rather, Tortoise) was remembered by one or two of my informants, besides being mentioned by Adair,⁴ and, as may be seen in the table, it also occurs among the Yuchi.⁵ Several informants remembered Yanasálgi as the name of an ancient clan, and it is given by Adair and MacCauley.⁶ The Fish clan is referred to by Adair,⁷ was remembered by an old woman of the Texas Alabama and several Creeks of Oklahoma in 1912, and is given by Doctor Speck in his list of Yuchi clans.⁸ The writer also heard of it as a Yuchi clan, and formerly it seems to have been strong among the Lower Creeks.

⁹⁸ Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.

⁹⁹ Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

¹ See p. 118.

² Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 131. His remarks at this point are so general that it is uncertain who the people were among whom this clan existed. The same is true of his references to the Turtle and Bison clans. In the case of the Raven clan, he may have had in mind the former Raven clan of the Cherokee or the Blackbird clan of the Chickasaw, though the existence of this last is somewhat in doubt.

³ Gatschet, op. cit., p. 56. In his Ms. vocabulary he suggests an origin from the term *awalita*, to share out or divide, the word which also appears in *Holiwahali*.

⁴ Adair, op. cit., p. 15.

⁵ Speck, loc. cit.

⁶ Adair, loc. cit.; 5th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 507

⁷ Adair, loc. cit.

⁸ Speck, loc. cit.

One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, *típásaná'*, with that for daddy-longlegs, *tápohsálá*. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

PHRATRIES

It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation *Sawanogálgi*, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the *Aktayateálgi*, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the Potato. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of *Tukabahechee* belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name *Sawanogálgi* was assumed by the entire *Tukabahechee* tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the *Sawanogi*."

The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the *isfauna* (*Isfanálgi*) which is composed of many small clans."⁹ Today the *Isfanálgi* are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,¹⁰ and they are the *Kasihta* clan "Is-tau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of *Hilibi* town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.¹¹ Perhaps they were connected with the *Ishpani* or *Sfani* totemic division among the *Chickasaw* which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.¹² This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

⁹ Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, p. 28.

¹⁰ Gatschet, *Creek Mig. Leg.*, vol. I, p. 156.

¹¹ Hawkins, in *Ga. Hist. Soc., Colls.*, vol. III, p. 156; vol. IX, p. 31.

¹² Mentioned by Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 31.

thought the proper designation of the clan was Nokfilálgi, a name originally applied to a mythic animal but later given to the white people. We must be a little cautious about this, however, because some of Gatschet's aged informants told him that properly the Nokfilálgi were a native tribe which disappeared long ago.¹³ If the interpretation is correct we should naturally suppose that the clan originated in early intermarriages between Indians and Spaniards, but the purely conventional use of Sawanogálgi warns us against placing too much reliance upon such an hypothesis.

Clans were linked together into phratries in various ways. Many were small and were considered merely as minor branches of some large clan; others were coordinate in size and importance, though not necessarily of equal importance in every town. Some appear to have been almost entirely confined to certain villages, while others were represented nearly everywhere. Still more remarkable is the fact, hardly paralleled elsewhere, that the very same clans were often linked into a phratry in some towns and separated in others, sometimes even linked with different clans. The relationship of certain clans was recognized practically throughout the nation, but in the case of many others there was no such uniformity. We may divide the associations which we find into three classes: (1) The affiliations of obscure clans for which we have perhaps the authority of but one or two persons; (2) associations recognized almost universally; and (3) associations which varied from one town to another.

Of the first class were the Nokfahálgi, Asunálgi, and Kantálálgi, said to be Lower Eufaula clans affiliated with the Bear. A Seminole informant stated that the name Asunálgi referred to the ási or black drink; another maintained that it was from Spanish moss, *asunwa*. Both of these informants, however, agreed that this clan belonged with the Bear, and the former added that it was because the female bear, when she is going to bring forth her cubs, pulls down ási bushes for a bed; hence the ási was said to be the bear's grandparent. The Inlanisálgi were connected with the Bird clan. One of my informants knew an old man who claimed that he belonged to the Hilislálgí or Medicine clan. He classed himself with the Bird people and this was natural since the Bird was a White or Peace clan with which we should expect medicine to be associated. The Turtle clan (Luteálgi) is said to have been connected with the Wind. On one occasion, when a man belonging to the Wildcat clan was being tried in an Indian court, a prospective juryman presented himself who said that he belonged to the Liálgi or "Arrow people." As he claimed that this clan was connected with the Wildcat and Panther he was excused from service.

According to an old man, people were on one occasion about to kill the mink but he escaped into the cane, therefore the Mink clan

¹³ See p. 61.

claimed to be connected with the Cane. According to another old man, however, the Mink was akin to the Beaver. Jackson Lewis, one of the best of my informants, affirmed that the Cane clan was "kindred to and nearly the same as the Raccoon clan," while an old Seminole connected it with the Beaver and Potato. When we remember that the Raccoon and Potato were often classed together we see a reason for the association of this set of clans—Mink, Cane, Beaver, Raccoon, and Potato. According to another informant, the Cane clan in Kealedji was associated with the Mole, Raccoon, Potato, Fox, and Lidjámálgi clans, which agrees with the statement of Jackson Lewis; but I learned that in the Hitchiti town among the Seminole it was placed in one group with the Deer, Panther, and Pahosálgi. This would be an altogether different classification from that given by the others. According to Jackson Lewis, the Hickorynut clan was kindred to the Eagle. The Teowastálgi were either identical with the Potato clan or, what is more probable, closely associated with it. At some period in the not remote past the Fox and Daddy-longlegs clans are said to have united into one which afterwards received the name Raccoon. This did not involve the Texas Alabama, and in any case can only have meant that the Fox and Daddy-longlegs combined with an already existing Raccoon clan.¹⁴ The Yanasálgi are thought, for what reason I know not, to have belonged among the Teiloki clans to be discussed presently. Nothing more has been preserved regarding the connection of this clan, or the affiliations of the Atciálgi, Okilisálgi, Sidjoteápkálgi, or Walakálgi, while, as we have seen, those of the Sulálgi and Muklasálgi are in doubt. The name Okilisálgi is, uncertainly, said to refer to the weevil (*átci-suklaitcá*), but this seems rather far-fetched and Gatschet's suggestion that it was an attempt at "English" is attractive in view of the seeming identification of a Spanish clan.¹⁵

Before giving an account of the other clan associations—(2) and (3)—it will be necessary to explain a Creek institution which has an important bearing on this question. At the time of the annual ceremonial called the busk it was customary for each clan, or each set of clans considering themselves related, to hold a council and listen to an address from its oldest or ablest "uncle" (*pawa*), who reviewed the events of the preceding year, praised those who had done well, and reprimanded and even threatened those who had done badly. It sometimes happened, however, that a clan was too weak in numbers to maintain a council of its own, in which case it would examine the speakers of the different councils and, choosing one who appeared to be particularly good, its leaders would approach the leaders of that particular council and say, "We will be with you and join you in your councils." Children brought up together and catechised together in this manner usually considered themselves brothers and sisters and it was not thought right for them to intermarry, but the

¹⁴ See p. 154.

¹⁵ Gatschet, *Creek Mig. Leg.*, vol. 1, p. 155; Ms. vocab.

rule appears not to have been maintained with absolute rigidity in the cases of the large, well-recognized clans which might happen to be reduced sometimes to the necessity of resorting to this expedient. Nevertheless the institution tended toward the development of exogamous bodies differing considerably in composition in the different towns, and it is no doubt accountable for the peculiar inconsistencies among them already noted.

In the subjoined list I give the clan councils in all of the Creek and Seminole towns from which I was able to obtain information. Some towns are so nearly extinct that mistakes have undoubtedly been made, but the list embodies the best information to be had. Where two informants have been consulted and the testimony of these has differed considerably I have inserted the conflicting lists, numbering them (1) and (2).

CLAN COUNCILS BY TOWNS

UPPER CREEKS	Otcia-pofa—Continued.
<i>White towns</i>	
Talladega:	7. Bear.
1. Raccoon, Aktayatei.	8. Aktayatei.
2. Bear.	9. Raccoon.
3. Wind.	10. Deer.
4. Bird.	Tulsa Little River: ¹⁷
5. Alligator, Beaver. ¹⁶	1. Bird, Eagle.
6. Deer.	2. Deer, Pahosa, Panther, Kapi- tca(?). ¹⁸
7. Panther.	3. Wildcat.
Abihka-in-the-West:	4. Potato.
1. Bird, Alligator, Beaver.	5. Raccoon.
2. Bear, Panther, Wind.	6. Aktayatei.
3. Deer.	7. Wind.
4. Raccoon.	8. Bear.
Kan-teati:	9. Beaver.
1. Potato, Raccoon.	10. Otter. ¹⁹
2. Deer.	Lutcapoga (1):
3. Panther.	1. Potato, Raccoon.
4. Wind.	2. Alligator, Tâmi.
5. Bear.	3. Aktayatei.
6. Alligator.	4. Bird.
7. Bird.	5. Beaver.
8. Beaver (but perhaps placed with the Bird).	6. Bear.
Otcia-pofa:	7. Wind.
1. Panther.	8. Deer.
2. Potato.	Lutcapoga (2)
3. Tâmi.	1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Panther.
4. Wind.	2. Aktayatei, Kapitca, Eagle.
5. Pahosa.	3. Bear, Bird, Beaver. ²⁰
6. Beaver.	4. Wind.

¹⁶ The number of Beaver people in this town was very small.

¹⁷ The Turkey was also represented here, but its relations are unknown.

¹⁸ The classification of the Kapitca in this group seems very doubtful. One informant also separated the Pahosa from it, but with less reason, as may be seen if we compare the associations of the Deer and Pahosa in other places.

¹⁹ The presence of an Otter clan here depends on the testimony of one informant, although a very good one, who stated that in this town, unlike some others, the Beaver and Otter people intermarried.

²⁰ In the Tulsa towns, unlike most others, the Beaver and Bird seem to have preserved their independence and therefore informant 2 is probably wrong. Which informant is right regarding the Bird and Bear it is impossible for me to determine.

Okfuskee:

1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Bear.
5. Bird.
6. Beaver.
7. Wind.
8. Panther.
9. Aktayatei.

Abihkutei:

1. Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatei, Woksi, Eagle, Kapitea.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Bird, Beaver.
5. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
6. Deer, Pahosa, Mole.
7. Panther, Wildeat.

Nuyaka:

1. Bear.
2. Wind.
3. Bird.
4. Beaver.
5. Deer.
6. Panther.
7. Alligator.
8. Raccoon.

Pakan tallahassee (1):

1. Bird, Bear, Wolf.
2. Wind, Aktayatei.²¹
3. Panther, Wildeat.
4. Deer.
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey(?).

Pakan tallahassee (2):

1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatei.

Wiogufki (1):

1. Raccoon, Potato(?).
2. Alligator, Tâmi, Snake.
3. Bird, Pahosa.
4. Kapitea, Aktayatei.
5. Wind.
6. Beaver.
7. Bear.
8. Deer.

Wiogufki (2):

1. Bear, Beaver, Bird, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Aktayatei.
4. Wind.
5. Panther, Wildeat.

Asilanabi:

1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Deer(?).^{21a}
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Panther.^{21a}
4. Wind.
5. Aktayatei.

(Okchai and Łâlogâlga were probably the same as Asilanabi.)

Wiwohka:

1. Raccoon, Potato, Teowasta, Kapitea.
2. Panther, Wildeat.
3. Wind, Skunk.
4. Bear, Bird, Wolf.
5. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Snake, Beaver.
6. Deer, Pahosa.
7. Aktayatei.²²

Tuskegee:²³

1. Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi.
2. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatei.
3. Panther, Wildeat.
4. Bird.
5. Wind.
6. Bear.

Kosati No. 2:

1. Wind, Bear (and all Whites).
2. Raccoon, Alligator, Beaver, Bird, Panther, Deer, Aktayatei, Daddy-longlegs (and all Teiloki).

Red towns

Tukapahchee:

1. Panther, Wildeat, Aktayatei.
2. Raccoon, Eagle.²⁴
3. Potato, Fox.
4. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Woksi.
5. Wind, Skunk.
6. Deer.
7. Bird, Beaver, Otter.²⁵
8. Bear.

²¹ The association of the Wind and Aktayatei seems improbable.

^{21a} But see p. 149 for a probable Deer-Panther association at Okchai.

²² The Aktayatei perhaps belong in group 1.

²³ Speck notes in this town also the Deer, Fox, Mink, Snake, Buzzard, Skunk, and Rabbit clans.

²⁴ Some place the Potato in this group.

²⁵ There is some uncertainty as to the position of the Otter.

Atasi (very defective):

1. Alligator, Turkey.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird, Beaver (?).
5. Aktayatei.
6. Panther.
7. Deer.
8. Raccoon, Potato.

Kealedji:

1. Mole, Raccoon, Potato,²⁶ Fox, Hidjāmi, Kohasa.
2. Skunk, Wind.
3. Alligator, Tāmi, Turkey, Woksi.
4. Aktayatei.
5. Bear, Wolf.
6. Bird, Beaver.
7. Deer.
8. Panther.

Ĥapłako:²⁷

1. Pahosa, Deer.
2. Beaver, Bear, Bird.²⁸
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Aktayatei, Kapitea (?).
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tāmi, Turkey.
7. Wind.

Hilibi:

1. Raccoon, Potato.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tāmi.
3. Aktayatei.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Bird.
6. Deer.

Upper Eufaula:²⁹

1. Aktayatei, Potato, Raccoon.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf, Bird (?).
4. Panther.
5. Deer.
6. Tāmi, Turkey, Alligator.

Alabama (1):

1. Aktayatei, Deer.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Beaver.

Alabama (2):

1. Alligator, Wind, Bird, Turkey, Aktayatei.³⁰
2. Bear, Salt, Panther,³¹ Wildcat.³¹

Alabama in Texas:

1. Deer, Wolf.³²
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Bear, Salt.
4. Alligator, Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, Turkey.
5. Wind, Skunk.

LOWER CREEKS

*White towns*Kasihta:³³

1. Potato, Tāmi, Aktayatei, Alligator, Fox, Raccoon, Beaver.
2. Wind, Fish (?).
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Panther.
5. Deer.³⁴
6. Mole.

Hitchiti:

1. Pahosa, Mole, Deer.
2. Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Tāmi, Snake, Otter, Aktayatei.
3. Potato.
4. Panther.
5. Bear.
6. Wind

Okmulgee:³⁵

1. Tāmi, Alligator.
2. Deer, Panther.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Beaver, Bird.
5. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatei, Fox.
6. Wind.

²⁶ According to one informant the Potato belonged in group 3.

²⁷ There were also some of the Potato clan; associations unknown.

²⁸ An inferior informant classified the Bird and Bear separately.

²⁹ The Beaver clan was also represented here formerly; it sat with the Wind, Bear, Wolf, and Bird, but whether it was linked with any or all of these is uncertain.

³⁰ The association of Aktayatei and Wind seems improbable, but one other case of the kind has been noted (see Pagan Tallahassee).

³¹ There were very few representatives of these clans in Alabama.

³² The only representatives of the Wolf clan living in 1912 were descended from the Pascagoula tribe of Indians.

³³ The Bird clan was also represented in this town, but I did not obtain its linkage, though it sat with the Deer.

³⁴ Sat with 1 but could intermarry with them.

³⁵ Legus Perryman, probably referring to this town, said that the Raccoon, Aktayatei, and Alligator formed one council, a statement which, if true, would bring 1 and 5 together. The late David Hodge, who belonged to Okmulgee, declared that the Bird, Deer, and Aktayatei clans were all related, the women of those clans calling each other "sisters." This was denied by Perryman and seems improbable in the light of what we know of these clans elsewhere, although it is possible that the first two were so connected.

Apalachicola:

1. Panther, Wildcat, Deer, Mole, Toad.
2. Bird, Snake, Alligator, Turkey, Tami, Beaver, Kapitea.
3. Wind.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Raccoon, Potato.
6. Aktayatei.

Yuchi:

1. Bear, Wolf.
2. Deer, Wind, Skunk, Panther, Wildcat.
3. Alligator, Fish, Beaver.
4. Bird.

Red towns

Coweta (1):

1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tami, Aktayatei, Alligator, Turkey.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.

Coweta (2):

1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver, Wind, Bear.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tami, Aktayatei, Alligator, Turkey.

Lower Eufaula:

1. Wind, Otter, Skunk, Mole, Teokote, Toad(?).
2. Bear, Nokfaha, Wolf, Salt, Fresh-land, Asunwa.
3. Aktayatei, Kapitea, Snake, Alligator, Woksi.
4. Bird, Beaver, Tami.
5. Deer, Pahosa, Turkey, Panther, Wildcat.
6. Fox, Raccoon, Potato.

Chiaha:

1. Raccoon, Potato, Fox, Aktayatei.
2. Wolf, Bear, Deer(?).
3. Panther.
4. Bird.
5. Wind, Skunk, Fish.
6. Beaver.
7. Alligator, Tami.

Osochi:

(All that is known is that the Panther and Wildcat and the Bear and Wolf did not intermarry.)

SEMINOLE TOWNS

White towns

Ocheseec:

1. Aktayatei, Alligator, Snake, Kapitea.
2. Wind, Otter.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Potato, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon(?).
5. Panther.
6. Deer.

Okfuskee:

1. Bird, Beaver.
2. Bear, Deer, Pahosa, Potato, Raccoon.
3. Alligator, Snake, Kapitea, Aktayatei.
4. Panther.
5. Wind.

Tallahasutei:

1. Beaver, Potato.
2. Tami, Alligator, Turkey.
3. Aktayatei, Kapitea, Snake.
4. Wind (possibly with last).
5. Bear.
6. Bird.
7. Deer, Panther.

Hitchiti Seminole:

1. Wind, Skunk, Otter.
2. Bird, Aktayatei, Snake, Alligator, Tami.
3. Deer, Panther, Kohosa (Cane?), Pahosa.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Toad, Teokote, Mole.
6. Beaver, Potato.

Red towns

Eufaula:

1. Alligator, Tami, Turkey, Kapitea, Snake, Aktayatei.
2. Deer (probably including the Pahosa).
3. Raccoon.
4. Potato.
5. Panther.
6. Wind.
7. Bear.³⁶
8. Bird.³⁶

³⁶ There were a few people of the Bird clan and one belonging to the Bear which had not been definitely placed, perhaps because in recent years no occasion had arisen which demanded definite allocation.

Chiaha:

1. Wind, Skunk.
2. Raccoon, Fox.
3. Potato.
4. Bird.
5. Bear.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Alligator.
8. Deer.
9. Beaver.

Liwahali:

1. Beaver, Otter, Bird, Turkey,
Tami, Bear, Salt.
 2. Wind.
 3. Deer, Pahosa.
 4. Potato, Raccoon.³⁷
 5. Panther.
 6. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake,
Kapitca.
- Mikasuki: (Unobtainable.)

The facts are now before us; let us proceed to an analysis of them. In the following table I have recorded the number of times each association of any two clans takes place, and the number of times any two clans are recorded in each town unassociated. UC stands for "Upper Creeks," A for "Alabama," K for "Koasati," LC for "Lower Creeks," H for "Hitchiti," Y for "Yuchi," and S for "Seminole." To. = "Total."

³⁷ Another informant stated that the Potato and Raccoon clans were anciently classed with the Bird.

ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe							Number of disassociations in the same tribe								
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	T ₀	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	T ₀
Wind and Skunk.....								11						1		1
Wind and Fish.....	6	1		2	1		1									
Wind and Otter.....				1	1		1	3					1		1	4
Wind and Bear.....	1		1	1				3		2		4	4	1	6	35
Wind and Deer.....						1		1		17	3	1	4		6	35
Wind and Panther.....	1					1		2		18	2	1	4		5	34
Wind and Mole.....				1				1		2		1	3			6
Wind and Bird.....		1		1				2		18		1	3		5	31
Wind and Alligator.....		1						1		17	1	1	3	1	7	34
Wind and Turkey.....		1						1		11	1		2		3	18
Wind and Tookote.....				1				1					1			1
Wind and Toad.....				1				1					2			2
Wind and Raccoon.....													1	4	2	5
Wind and Beaver.....				1				1		19	2	1	3	4	1	5
Wind and Aktayatei.....	1	1						2		16	1	1	4	4	6	32
Wind and Potato.....										15		3	4		6	28
Wind and Tami.....										13		3	4		3	23
Wind and Pahosa.....										7		1	2		3	13
Wind and Eagle.....										4						4
Wind and Kapitca.....										6		1	1		5	13
Wind and Wildcat.....										7	2		2			13
Wind and Teowasta.....										2		1				3
Wind and Wolf.....										5	1		2	3	1	13
Wind and Fox.....										3		4	1		1	9
Wind and Nokfaha.....												1			1	1
Wind and Salt.....											2				1	4
Wind and Fresh-land.....												1			1	1

ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe							Number of disassociations in the same tribe								
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	T ^o	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	T ^o
Bear and Toad.....																3
Bear and Kapitea.....																5
Bear and Snake.....									6							13
Bear and Woksi.....									2							5
Bear and Eagle.....									3							4
Bear and Teowasta.....									4							4
Bear and Lidjami.....									2							2
Bear and Cane.....									1							1
Panther and Wildcat.....									1							2
Panther and Deer.....	6	2		3	2			13								1
Panther and Mole.....	1		1	2	3	1	1	9	15	1			2	1		23
Panther and Raccoon.....	1		1		1			1	2				1	2		5
Panther and Potato.....	1							2	18				4	2		28
Panther and Pahosa.....	1							1	13				4	4		26
Panther and Alligator.....	1			1	1			3	5				1			9
Panther and Beaver.....			1					1	16	2			4	4	1	32
Panther and Noktaha.....			1					1	18	1			4	4	1	32
Panther and Lidjami.....																1
Panther and Bird.....			1					1								1
Panther and Aktayatici.....			1					1	18	1			3	4		30
Panther and Salt.....	1		1					2	15	1			4	4		29
Panther and Turkey.....		1						1		1			1			3
Panther and Cane.....				1				1	11	2			1	1		18
Panther and Daddy-longlegs.....			1					1								1
Panther and Teowasta.....	1							1		1						1
Panther and Kapitea.....	1							1	4				1	1		11
Panther and Wolf.....									4	1			3	3	1	13

ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe							Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Deer and Fox.....								3			4	1		1	9
Deer and Otter.....								2				2		2	7
Deer and Skunk.....											2		1		3
Deer and Nokfaha.....											1				1
Deer and Salt.....									1		1			1	3
Deer and Fresh-land.....											1				1
Deer and Asunwa.....											1				1
Deer and Snake.....								2			1	3		5	11
Deer and Woksi.....								3			1				4
Deer and Eagle.....								3							3
Deer and Teowasta.....								1							1
Bird and Beaver.....	10		1	2	3			9			1	1			13
Bird and Snake.....					3		3	2			1			5	8
Bird and Alligator.....	4	1	1		3			16			3	1		6	26
Bird and Aktayatei.....		1	1		2		4	16			3	2		6	27
Bird and Turkey.....	3	1			1		6	10			2			2	14
Bird and Tami.....	3			1	3		8	12			2	1		2	17
Bird and Kapitca.....					1		1	6			1			5	12
Bird and Eagle.....	1						1	3							3
Bird and Wolf.....	3						3	3			2	3		1	9
Bird and Pahosa.....	1						1	5			1	2		3	11
Bird and Otter.....	1				1		3	1			1	1		1	4
Bird and Salt.....							1		1		1				2
Bird and Potato.....							1	14			3	4		5	26
Bird and Raccoon.....							1	2			3	2		4	28
Bird and Daddy-longlegs.....			1				1								
Bird and Wildcat.....							1	7			2	2			12

ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe							Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Beaver and Nokfaha.....											1				1
Beaver and Fresh-land.....										1					1
Beaver and Asunwa.....										1					1
Beaver and Woksi.....								3			1			2	4
Beaver and Pahosa.....								7			1	2			11
Beaver and Eagle.....								4							4
Beaver and Teowasta.....								2							2
Beaver and Lijjami.....								1							1
Beaver and Cane.....								1				1			2
Alligator and Tami.....	13			3	4		22				1			1	2
Alligator and Turkey.....	12	2		1	1		18				1				2
Alligator and Potato.....				2			2	13			2	4		6	25
Alligator and Aktayatei.....		1	1	3	2		4	15			1	2		2	20
Alligator and Fox.....				2			2	3			2	1		1	7
Alligator and Snake.....	2			1	3		4							1	1
Alligator and Raccoon.....			1	2			10				2	2		5	27
Alligator and Kapitea.....				1	1		6	4						1	5
Alligator and Fish.....						1	1				2				2
Alligator and Woksi.....				1			3								1
Alligator and Otter.....	2			1	1		3	1			1	1		2	5
Alligator and Eagle.....							1	2							2
Alligator and Teowasta.....								1							1
Alligator and Salt.....									2		1			1	4
Alligator and Daddy-longlegs.....		1	1				2								
Alligator and Wildcat.....								6	1		2	2		1	12
Alligator and Skunk.....								6	1		2	1		1	11
Alligator and Mole.....								2			2	3			7

ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe							Number of disassociations in the same tribe								
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	
Tami and Teowasta								1								1
Tami and Fish											2					2
Turkey and Snake	1				1		3				1			2		3
Turkey and Kapitea					1		2	3			1			2		6
Turkey and Woksi	2						2	1			1					2
Turkey and Pahosa				1			1	4						2		6
Turkey and Salt							1	1	2		1					3
Turkey and Aktayatei		1		1			3				1	1		2		16
Turkey and Raccoon				1			1	12			1	1		2		16
Turkey and Potato				1			1	10			1	1		3		15
Turkey and Otter							1	1			1					2
Turkey and Daddy-longlegs		1					1									
Turkey and Wildcat				1			1	5	2		1	1				9
Turkey and Skunk								6			1					7
Turkey and Wolf								5	1		1	1				8
Turkey and Mole								2			1	1				4
Turkey and Teokote											1					1
Turkey and Toad											1	1				2
Turkey and Nokfaha											1					1
Turkey and Fresh-land											1					1
Turkey and Asunwa											1					1
Turkey and Eagle								2								2
Turkey and Teowasta								1								1
Turkey and Fox				1			1	2			2					4
Turkey and Lidjami								1								1
Turkey and Cane								1								1
Aktayatei and Kapitea	4			1			5					1				3

Aktayatei and Woksi	1							1			2										2
Aktayatei and Snake								1	2		5										3
Aktayatei and Potato	3							3	1												21
Aktayatei and Fox	1							3	1												6
Aktayatei and Raccoon	4							1	3	1											1
Aktayatei and Eagle	2																				5
Aktayatei and Otter									1												2
Aktayatei and Wildcat	1																				1
Aktayatei and Daddy-longlegs																					6
Aktayatei and Daddy-longlegs								1													11
Aktayatei and Salt																					
Aktayatei and Skunk																					1
Aktayatei and Skunk																					3
Aktayatei and Mole																					1
Aktayatei and Mole																					9
Aktayatei and Pahosa																					7
Aktayatei and Pahosa																					3
Aktayatei and Teokote																					2
Aktayatei and Teod																					2
Aktayatei and Teod																					13
Aktayatei and Nokfaha																					3
Aktayatei and Nokfaha																					1
Aktayatei and Fresh-land																					1
Aktayatei and Fresh-land																					1
Aktayatei and Asunwa																					1
Aktayatei and Wolf																					1
Aktayatei and Wolf																					12
Aktayatei and Teowasta																					2
Aktayatei and Teowasta																					2
Aktayatei and Cane																					1
Aktayatei and Cane																					1
Aktayatei and Lidjami																					1
Aktayatei and Lidjami																					1
Aktayatei and Fish																					2
Aktayatei and Fish																					2
Raccoon and Fish																					2
Raccoon and Fish																					2
Raccoon and Potato	12																				5
Raccoon and Potato																					2
Raccoon and Woksi	1																				3
Raccoon and Woksi																					3
Raccoon and Eagle	2																				2
Raccoon and Eagle																					2
Raccoon and Kapiten	2																				10
Raccoon and Kapiten																					4
Raccoon and Mole	1																				4
Raccoon and Mole																					1
Raccoon and Fox	2																				1
Raccoon and Fox																					1
Raccoon and Pahosa																					10
Raccoon and Pahosa																					2
Raccoon and Daddy-longlegs																					10
Raccoon and Daddy-longlegs																					1

ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe										Number of disassociations in the same tribe									
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To				
Raccoon and Lidjami	1							1												
Raccoon and Cane	1							1												
Raccoon and Teowasta	2							2												
Raccoon and Wildcat									6			2	2			10				
Raccoon and Otter									1						2	4				
Raccoon and Skunk									6			2			1	9				
Raccoon and Salt												1			1	2				
Raccoon and Snake									2			2			4	8				
Raccoon and Teokote												1			1	1				
Raccoon and Toad												1	1		2	2				
Raccoon and Nokfaba												1			1	1				
Raccoon and Fresh-land												1				1				
Raccoon and Asunwa												1			1	1				
Raccoon and Wolf									6			3	2		1	12				
Potato and Fox	3			4	1			8							1	1				
Potato and Woksl	1							1	2			1			3	3				
Potato and Eagle	1							1	3							3				
Potato and Kapitca	2							2	3			1	1		5	10				
Potato and Pahosa							1	1	6			1	2		2	11				
Potato and Teowasta	2							2												
Potato and Lidjami	1							1												
Potato and Cane	1							1								1				
Potato and Skunk									5			2	1		1	9				
Potato and Wildcat									5			2	2		9	9				
Potato and Otter									2			1	2		2	7				
Potato and Mole	1							1	1			2	3		6	6				
Potato and Salt												1			1	2				

ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe							Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Wolf and Wildcat								3	1		1	2			7
Wolf and Skunk								4	1		2	1			8
Wolf and Mole								2			2	2			6
Wolf and Teokote											1	1			2
Wolf and Toad											1	2			3
Wolf and Pahosa								2			1	1			4
Wolf and Otter								2			1	1		1	3
Wolf and Kapitca								1			1	1		1	5
Wolf and Snake								1			1	2		1	5
Wolf and Eagle								1							1
Wolf and Teowasta								1							1
Wolf and Woksi								2			1				3
Wolf and Lidjami								1							1
Wolf and Cane								1				1			2
Wolf and Daddy-longlegs									1						1
Mole and Teokote				1	1		2								
Mole and Toad				1	2		3								
Mole and Pahosa				1	1		2				1	1			2
Mole and Wildcat	1				1		1				1				2
Mole and Eagle					1		1				1				1
Mole and Otter				1			1					2			1
Mole and Skunk				1			1					1			2
Mole and Lidjami	1						1								3
Mole and Cane	1						1								1
Mole and Nokfaha											1				1
Mole and Salt											1				1
Mole and Fresh-land											1				1

Mole and Asuwa.....														1
Mole and Kapitca.....								1						3
Mole and Snake.....														4
Mole and Woksi.....								2						3
Mole and Fish.....														1
Snake and Kapitca.....														2
Snake and Woksi.....			1	1	5	7	2							4
Snake and Otter.....			1			1							1	2
Snake and Pahosa.....							2						1	2
Snake and Wildcat.....							1							3
Snake and Skunk.....							1							3
Snake and Teokote.....														2
Snake and Toad.....														3
Snake and Nokfaha.....														1
Snake and Salt.....														2
Snake and Fresh-land.....														1
Snake and Asuwa.....														1
Snake and Teowasta.....								1						1
Snake and Cane.....														1
Kapitca and Eagle.....						2		2	1					1
Kapitca and Woksi.....				1										1
Kapitca and Teowasta.....								1	1					6
Kapitca and Wildcat.....									4					4
Kapitca and Otter.....									1				2	3
Kapitca and Skunk.....							2							3
Kapitca and Teokote.....														1
Kapitca and Toad.....													1	2
Kapitca and Nokfaha.....														1
Kapitca and Fresh-land.....														1
Kapitca and Asuwa.....														1
Kapitca and Salt.....														2
Kapitca and Pahosa.....						1		1	4					8

ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe							Number of disassociations in the same tribe									
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	T ^o	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	T ^o	
Pahosa and Cane.....					1			1									4
Pahosa and Wildcat.....				1				1									5
Pahosa and Otter.....												1	2		1		4
Pahosa and Skunk.....												1	1				2
Pahosa and Teokote.....												1	1				2
Pahosa and Toad.....												1	1				1
Pahosa and Nokfaha.....												1					2
Pahosa and Salt.....												1			1		1
Pahosa and Fresh-land.....												1					1
Pahosa and Asunwa.....												1					1
Pahosa and Woksi.....												1					2
Pahosa and Eagle.....												2					1
Pahosa and Teowasta.....												1					1
Eagle and Woksi.....	1							1									1
Eagle and Wildcat.....												3					3
Eagle and Otter.....												2					2
Eagle and Teowasta.....												1					1
Eagle and Skunk.....												2					2
Skunk and Fish.....				1				1									
Skunk and Otter.....				1		1		2									
Skunk and Teokote.....				1				1									1
Skunk and Toad.....				1				1						1			1
Skunk and Salt.....												1					2
Skunk and Wildcat.....												3	1				5
Skunk and Nokfaha.....												1					1
Skunk and Fresh-land.....												1					1
Skunk and Asunwa.....												1					1

Skunk and Woksi.....									4
Skunk and Iidjami.....						1			1
Skunk and Cane.....						1			2
Skunk and Nokfaha.....							1		1
Skunk and Teowasta.....								1	1
Skunk and Daddy-longlegs.....								1	1
Otter and Teokote.....	1								1
Otter and Toad.....	1							1	1
Otter and Salt.....			1						1
Otter and Wildcat.....									1
Otter and Fish.....						2			3
Otter and Nokfaha.....									1
Otter and Fresh-land.....									1
Otter and Asunwa.....									1
Otter and Woksi.....									1
Salt and Nokfaha.....	1								2
Salt and Fresh-land.....	1								
Salt and Asunwa.....	1								
Salt and Wildcat.....	1								2
Salt and Woksi.....									1
Salt and Teokote.....									1
Salt and Toad.....									1
Salt and Daddy-longlegs.....								1	1
Wildcat and Teokote.....									1
Wildcat and Toad.....			1						1
Wildcat and Nokfaha.....									1
Wildcat and Fresh-land.....									1
Wildcat and Asunwa.....									1
Wildcat and Woksi.....									1
Wildcat and Teowasta.....						2			3
Wildcat and Daddy-longlegs.....								1	2
Teokote and Toad.....	1	1							1
						2			

The Bear and Wolf were associated almost everywhere. The latter, while very much smaller, was, strangely enough, called the "uncle" of the former, which in turn was its "nephew." The Wildcat and Panther were also associated and again it was the smaller, the Wildcat, which was the "uncle."³⁸ This was also true of the Skunk, which was always reckoned as part of the Wind and was the "uncle" of it. Such a connection is remembered even by the Alabama in Texas. A well-nigh universal association was also formed between the Alligator, Tami, and Turkey. In this group the Tami were said to be the "uncles" by one informant and the Alligator by another. While the other associations appear to be natural, indicated by the related nature of the animals, one is at first puzzled to know what connection could have been found between the Alligator and the Turkey. The word tami suggests a large flying thing, hence the connection of Tami and Turkey is explicable. According to one informant the linking of the other two was because both the alligator and the turkey come from eggs, and if this was the real reason the Creeks had made one step toward determining those intimate relations which we now know to exist biologically between birds and reptiles. In connection with the use of terms of relationship for entire clans Stiggins's remark to the effect that "all grown women of the Wind family are to be called grandmother by all the other families" is of value. "All the families," he adds, "are connected as friends or some distant relation throughout the nation."³⁹ In his version of the migration legend Hawkins's Kasihta informant says that the Coweta Indians chose the Fish clan to supply their chiefs,⁴⁰ and in Gatschet's plan of the Kasihta square ground it occupies the northern half of the chiefs' arbor and is given as that from which the "vice-chief" was chosen.⁴¹ Jackson Lewis told me that it was kindred to the Alligator, and my Yuchi informant placed it in one phratry with the Alligator and Beaver. The Coweta and Kasihta Indians declared, however, that it was a minor branch of the Wind clan, and this seems to be the general opinion. It is borne out to some extent by Hawkins's statement quoted above, coupled with the fact that in later times Coweta chiefs were selected from the Wind. The same thing is perhaps indicated by the further fact that in Kasihta it seems to have shared the functions of heniha with the Wind. Some Creeks deny that there was a Rabbit clan, and explain the use of such a term as a mere joke, since the Rabbit was "trickster" among all southeastern Indians. Others, however, and apparently the better informed, affirm that

³⁸ In explanation of this association Mr. McCombs told me that all creatures with claws were considered kindred and hence the clans named from them were also akin, but this would apply equally to the Bear, Panther, Raccoon and others which were rarely brought together.

³⁹ Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, p. 28.

⁴⁰ Hawkins, *Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. III, p. 82; see p. 50.

⁴¹ Oatschet, *Mig. Leg.*, vol. II, p. 188.

there was really a clan of the name and that, like the Skunk and Fish, it was a minor division of the Wind. Among the Hitchiti-speaking people and the Lower Eufaula Indians were three small clans called Mole, Toad, and Teokote. The two former are uniformly said to have belonged together.⁴² According to one of my informants the Teokote was distinct, but those better qualified to pass an opinion declared that it belonged to the same group and one went so far as to state that Teokote was another name for the Toad clan. The way in which the Mole is said to have split from the rest has been already related. The Mole and Toad—and the Teokote also, if the majority of my informants are correct—usually formed one phratry with the Deer.

A most perplexing complex included the Fox, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatei. Some of the older people state that in their youth the Fox clan was much more prominent but declined in later years, while the Raccoon and Potato clans rose into prominence in its place. I have already mentioned the supposed origin of the Raccoon from the union of the Fox and Daddy-longlegs and my reasons for doubting it, but there can be no question regarding the close connection that existed between the two former, for in eight of the nine cases in which the Fox clan is mentioned in my lists it belongs to the same phratry as the Raccoon. The connection between the Potato and Fox was equally close; according to my records they were in separate phratries in only one town, and that a settlement of the Seminole. The Raccoon and Potato clans intermarried in Tukabahechee, at least in late times, but almost everywhere else they were considered to belong to one phratry. In Laplako the Raccoon people were denominated "uncles" by the Potato people. The only other exceptions which my lists contain are from towns where the information is least trustworthy. According to Legus Perryman the Potato clan had come from the Raccoon; in fact he gave this as an occurrence which "all admit." The same informant also stated, as a fact "well known," that the Aktayatei clan had come from the Fox, but this is in the highest degree doubtful, though it is true that in some towns the Aktayatei was linked up with the Fox as well as the Raccoon and Potato. In fact the Aktayatei is found in three different positions—*independent*, associated with the Raccoon, Fox, and Potato, or associated with the Alligator and their allies and the Snake. In Kasihta, Coweta, and one or two other towns the three groups are brought together in one phratry, this clan perhaps being the ground of the association. Among Seminole towns the association of the Aktayatei with the Alligator and Snake is especially marked, and this can be accounted for very well if the explanation of the name Aktayatei given me by an old Seminole is correct. He interpreted it to mean "something traveling about," reference being

⁴² Gatschet's informants and mine all agreed on this.

intended to the water moccasin. Knowing as we do how often secondary interpretations are given by primitive people to terms the actual meaning of which has been forgotten we can not feel sure that this explanation is the true one, but there is reason to believe that it represents the opinion of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles among whom the association took place and therefore it at least gives their justification for that particular association.⁴³ It also explains the association of the Aktayatei and Alligator. In 11 cases they are placed in the same phratry; in 20 cases they are separated.

It should be noticed that this linkage takes place principally in Lower Creek and Seminole towns, while the separation is mainly among the Upper Creeks. The Kapitea, a name which by some is interpreted "lye drip" or "ashes," also appear oftenest among the Seminole, though they are mentioned as well in six Upper Creek towns, one Lower Creek town, and one Hitchiti town. In all but 3 of the 13 towns in which they and the Aktayatei occur together the two are in the same phratry, and one of the exceptions is a town with an imperfect record. They are associated with the Snake clan in 7 out of 9 cases. The Woksi were a comparatively obscure clan not recorded from many towns. Jackson Lewis said that they were "almost the same" as the Aktayatei. They are in fact found in the same group with this clan and the Kapitea in Abihkutei and Lower Eufaula. In Kealedji they are separated and put with the Alligator, but, knowing the frequent association of the Alligator and Aktayatei, this is susceptible of explanation. The Daddy-longlegs is one of those clans most largely represented among the Texas Alabama, but it is barely remembered by the Alabama and Koasati of Oklahoma. According to a Koasati informant in Oklahoma this clan was "the same as the Aktayatei and Alligator," and his statement is important because it agrees with the classification remembered by the Texas Alabama in accordance with which they formed one phratry with the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver. The Lidjami was a small clan which seems to have been found principally in Tukabahechee, Kealedji, and some related towns. According to current report they were a branch of the Raccoon. Another clan connected with the Raccoon was the Eagle. One of my informants placed this with the Bird, a natural enough assumption, but that he was mistaken is shown both by the direct testimony of better informed individuals and by certain supplementary considerations. In the first place Jackson Lewis, whose evidence is always valuable, stated that this was the leader among the Teiloki clans, in the dual division to be explained presently. The Bird, on the contrary, was one of the

⁴³ The prefix ak- signifies motion into water or something down in the water and hence bears out the suggestion very well. Ayatei means "to travel about" but this leaves the t unexplained. Perhaps tayatei comes rather from tayat, abundant, sufficient.

leading clans on the opposite side, and, as a mark of this distinction, in the teitahaia, the so-called "feather dance," those who belonged on the Teiloki side carried eagle feathers^{43a} on their wands while those who belonged on the opposite side, the White side, carried white crane feathers. The leading position ascribed to the Eagle by Jackson Lewis is explained by Hawkins's statement to the effect that in his day the chiefs of Tukabahechee, the leading town of the Upper Creeks, were selected from it.⁴⁴ At the present time, however, Tukabahechee chiefs are selected from the Raccoon clan, a fact easily accounted for if the Eagle and Raccoon were closely related. Indeed, one of my best informants gave this very reason. In my lists the Eagle and Raccoon are found classed together at Abihkutci. At Lutcapoga it is said that the Eagle was placed with the Aktayatei and Kapitca, but, as we have seen, these were sometimes classed with the Raccoon and Potato. The Salt clan seems to have been particularly prominent in the Alabama tribe. Legus Perryman stated that it was a branch of the Bear, and he is confirmed in every one of the four instances in which the two names occur together in my lists. It is particularly important to observe that this association is preserved by the Alabama Indians in Texas. Jackson Lewis classed the Otter with "the Alligator and other water clans," and one might naturally expect it, but as a matter of fact in three of the seven cases which I have recorded it is placed in one phratry with the Wind and Skunk, while in three of the others it is with the Bird and Beaver. All of these clans are White clans; I am therefore of the opinion that the Otter was also considered a White clan and was attached to the others on account of some supposed resemblance to the Skunk and Beaver.

Native informants generally state that the Pahosa are the same as, a part of, or kindred to, the Deer, and this testimony is confirmed by my lists where the two clans are linked together in 11 out of 13 cases in which they are both mentioned, the two exceptions being probably due to imperfect information from the towns concerned. According to Kasihta yahola the Deer people called the Pahosa their "uncles" and the Pahosa called the Deer people their "nephews." The connection of the Mole, Toad, and Teokote with the Deer has been referred to. The Mole also appears once with the Wind and once with the Raccoon.

The position of the Beaver clan is somewhat peculiar. It was particularly prominent in the towns of the Tulsa group, where it usually supplied the chiefs, and in these towns it ordinarily occurs in a separate phratry. Elsewhere, however, it is so commonly associated with the Bird that many Creeks consider the connection axiomatic. The Beaver people are said to have called the Bird people their "uncles"

^{43a} And also, it is said, buzzard feathers.

⁴⁴ Hawkins in *Oa. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. III, p. 69.

while the Bird people called the Beaver people their "nephews." A saying of one of my informants apropos of this connection should be quoted, to the effect that "anything in contact with water is supposed to be akin to birds." Presumably the birds to which he referred were water birds, since white crane feathers were a symbol of the White clans. Where the Beaver is not linked with the Bird and where it does not stand by itself it is usually placed with the Alligator on account of this same association with water. Altogether it occurs thirteen times with the Alligator, nineteen times with the Bird, and eleven times separated from both. Its associations with other clans are not nearly so pronounced. One of my informants said that the Bird and Beaver "sometimes claimed the Potato were of one phratry with themselves," but this assertion receives comparatively little support from the tables, except perhaps in the case of the Beaver.

While the Panther clan ordinarily stands apart from all others except the Wildcat, in some towns an association exists with the Deer which is evidently more than accidental. Although the number of times this linking takes place totals only 9 as against 23 cases in which it is absent, the important fact is that wherever the Panther is linked with another clan—leaving out of consideration the Wildcat—that clan is almost always the Deer. It may also be significant that this linking is more pronounced among the Hitchiti towns—in three out of four—than elsewhere. This association was also confirmed by an Okchai Indian named Barney Leader, who said: "The story is that Panther and Deer lived together as friends, but at noon Panther jumped upon Deer and killed him. So the Panther and Deer clans are one until noon and after that separate. Until noon the same terms of relationship are extended over both clans." In Texas the Deer is linked with the Wolf instead of with the Panther and this happens twice among the Oklahoma Creeks. In consequence, one or two cases are found in which this clan is associated with the Bear.

The Bear clan usually stands clearly apart from all groups except as already noted. In some Upper Creek towns, however, particularly the group to which Pakan tallahassee, Fish Pond, and Wiwohka belong, there is an association with the Bird and Beaver, the Bear-Bird association occurring seven times out of twenty-one among the Upper Creeks and the Bear-Beaver five times out of twenty. This association is to be explained, I think, by the fact that these clans were all White clans. Although not even hinted by any of my informants, material which I collected from the Alabama and Koasati Indians in Texas and Louisiana seems to suggest a repugnance to marriage between persons of the Bear and Panther clans.

The Alabama have a town in Polk County, Texas, with scattering representatives throughout southeastern Louisiana, while the Koasati have a town in Louisiana, but a few relatives living with the Texas Alabama. I was able to secure a very satisfactory statement of the

clan affiliations of most of these Indians, the testimony of my several informants agreeing very well, and this information is included in the following tables. While there are undoubtedly some omissions, they include, on the other hand, as many deceased members of the two tribes as my informants could recall.

ALABAMA

Clan	Living in Texas	Living in Louisiana	Total
Bear.....	53	11	64
Daddy-longlegs.....	42	5	47
Deer.....	36	6	42
Panther.....	34	3	37
Beaver.....	23	1	24
Salt.....	11	3	14
Wind.....	9	1	10
Wildcat.....	5		5
Total.....	213	30	243

KOASATI

Wildcat.....	6	20	26
Beaver.....	6	18	24
Turkey.....	2	19	21
Panther.....	2	4	6
Wind.....	4	2	6
Bear.....	3	1	4
Salt.....	1	2	3
Deer.....		1	1
Wolf.....	1		1
Alligator.....	1		1
Total.....	26	67	93

In the Alabama town were also three members of the Wolf clan, but they belonged properly to the old Pascagoula tribe and therefore are not listed. In the Alabama table most of the children are included and in the Koasati table most of them are left out. This accounts in part for the greater apparent population of the Alabama, although, as a matter of fact, the actual figures are somewhat in their favor.

The contrasts between these two tables are rather striking. Thus the three most populous Alabama clans, Bear, Daddy-longlegs, and Deer, are poorly represented among the Koasati, the second of them not at all. The Salt also seems to be rather an Alabama than a Koasati clan. On the other hand, the Wildcat, the leading Koasati clan, is represented by only five persons among the Alabama, and I have reason to believe that they are really Koasati. The Panther clan is very well represented in Texas, and the relationship between it and the Wildcat was considered so close that informants sometimes gave the affiliations of a person as Panther, sometimes as Wild-

cat. It is now impossible to say whether the Wildcat clan of the Koasati was originally distinct from the Panther clan of the Alabama, or whether the Koasati merely preferred to use the name Wildcat, the Alabama choosing rather that of Panther. The Beaver and Wind are the clans represented most evenly in the two tribes, though the representatives of the Wind among the Koasati are now deceased.

From the Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas and Louisiana I collected records of 95 marriages, exclusive of some unions between Indians and Negroes. This information is contained in the following list, the clan of the male being placed first. Individuals of the Koasati tribe are distinguished by the letter (K), and those of the Pascagoula tribe by the letter (P). The rest are Alabama.

Bear-Daddy-longlegs.....	5	Panther-Turkey (K).....	1
Daddy-longlegs-Bear.....	4	Panther (K)-Turkey (K)....	1
	9		2
Deer-Bear.....	4	Deer-Wind.....	1
Bear-Deer.....	2	Wind (K)-Deer.....	1
	6		2
Bear-Beaver.....	4	Panther (K)-Beaver (K)....	1
Bear-Beaver (K).....	1	Panther-Beaver (K).....	1
Beaver (K)-Bear (K).....	1		2
	6	Wolf (P)-Wind.....	1
Turkey (K)-Beaver (K)....	5	Wolf (K)-Wind (K).....	1
Beaver (K)-Turkey (K)....	1		2
	6	Bear-Turkey (K).....	1
Turkey (K)-Wildcat (K)....	4	Turkey (K)-Bear (K).....	1
Wildcat (K)-Turkey (K)....	2		2
	6	Salt-Wildcat (K).....	2
Deer-Beaver.....	1	Daddy-longlegs-Panther (K)	1
Deer-Beaver (K).....	1	Deer-Alligator (K).....	1
Beaver (K)-Deer.....	3	Wildcat (K)-Deer.....	1
	5	Wolf (P)-Panther.....	1
Deer-Panther.....	3	Bear-Wildcat (K).....	1
Panther-Deer.....	1	Wolf (P)-Daddy-longlegs....	1
	4	Wolf (P)-Bear.....	1
Deer-Daddy-longlegs.....	2	Salt-Wind.....	1
Daddy-longlegs-Deer.....	2	Salt-Turkey (K).....	1
	4	Daddy-longlegs-Turkey (K)	1
Bear-Wind.....	2	Beaver (K)-Lost Beaver (K)	1
Bear-Wind (K).....	2	Panther-Panther.....	1
	4	Wildcat (K)-Wildcat (K)....	1
Beaver (K)-Wildcat (K)....	1	Bear-Bear.....	1
Wildcat (K)-Beaver (K)....	3	Daddy-longlegs-Daddy-long-	
	4	legs.....	1
Beaver-Salt.....	2	Deer-Choctaw.....	2
Salt (K)-Beaver (K).....	2	Choctaw-Bear.....	2
	4		
Beaver-Daddy-longlegs.....	2		
Daddy-longlegs-Beaver.....	1		
	3		
Wind-Panther.....	2		
Wind (K)-Panther.....	1		
	3		

This includes 42 marriages in which both individuals were Alabama Indians, 25 in which both were Koasati, 20 between Alabama and Koasati, 4 between Alabama and Pascagoula, and 4 between Alabama and Choctaw.

Excluding unions with Choctaw, the number of marriages into which each clan entered is as follows:

Beaver.....	31	Panther.....	14
Bear.....	30	Wind.....	12
Deer.....	23	Salt.....	8
Daddy-longlegs.....	20	Wolf.....	5
Turkey.....	18	Alligator.....	1
Wildecat.....	15		

It will now be instructive to ascertain how the marriages of each clan were distributed among the other clans, and this is shown by the following tables:

Beaver-Bear.....	6 (A, K, A-K)	Daddy-longlegs-Bear ..	9 (A)
Beaver-Turkey.....	6 (K)	Daddy-longlegs-Deer ..	4 (A)
Beaver-Deer.....	5 (A, A-K)	Daddy-longlegs-Beaver	3 (A)
Beaver-Wildecat.....	4 (K)	Daddy-longlegs-Pan-	
Beaver-Salt.....	4 (A, K)	ther.....	1 (A-K)
Beaver-Daddy-longlegs	3 (A)	Daddy-longlegs-Wolf ..	1 (A-P)
Beaver-Panther.....	2 (K, A-K)	Daddy-longlegs-Turkey	1 (A-K)
Beaver-Lost Beaver...	1 (K)	Daddy-longlegs-Daddy-	
Beaver-Wind.....	0	longlegs.....	1 (A)
Beaver-Wolf.....	0	Daddy-longlegs-Wildecat	0
Beaver-Alligator.....	0	Daddy-longlegs-Wind..	0
	<u>31</u>	Daddy-longlegs-Salt...	0
		Daddy-longlegs-Alliga-	
		tor.....	0
			<u>20</u>
Bear-Daddy-longlegs ..	9 (A)	Turkey-Beaver.....	6 (K)
Bear-Deer.....	6 (A)	Turkey-Wildecat.....	6 (K)
Bear-Beaver.....	6 (A, K, A-K)	Turkey-Panther.....	2 (K, A-K)
Bear-Wind.....	4 (A, A-K)	Turkey-Bear.....	2 (K, A-K)
Bear-Turkey.....	2 (K, A-K)	Turkey-Salt.....	1 (A-K)
Bear-Wildecat.....	1 (A-K)	Turkey-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A-K)
Bear-Wolf.....	1 (A-P)	Turkey-Deer.....	0
Bear-Bear.....	1 (A)	Turkey-Wind.....	0
Bear-Panther.....	0	Turkey-Wolf.....	0
Bear-Salt.....	0	Turkey-Alligator.....	0
Bear-Alligator.....	0		<u>18</u>
	<u>30</u>	Wildecat-Turkey.....	6 (K)
		Wildecat-Beaver.....	4 (K)
Deer-Bear.....	6 (A)	Wildecat-Salt.....	2 (A-K)
Deer-Beaver.....	5 (A, A-K)	Wildecat-Deer.....	1 (A-K)
Deer-Panther.....	4 (A)	Wildecat-Bear.....	1 (A-K)
Deer-Daddy-longlegs ..	4 (A)	Wildecat-Wildecat.....	1 (K)
Deer-Wind.....	2 (A, A-K)	Wildecat-Daddy-longlegs	0
Deer-Alligator.....	1 (A-K)	Wildecat-Panther.....	0
Deer-Wildecat.....	1 (A-K)	Wildecat-Wind.....	0
Deer-Turkey.....	0	Wildecat-Wolf.....	0
Deer-Salt.....	0	Wildecat-Alligator.....	0
	<u>23</u>		<u>15</u>

Panther-Deer.....	4 (A)	Salt-Beaver.....	4 (A, K)
Panther-Wind.....	3 (A, A-K)	Salt-Wildeat.....	2 (A-K)
Panther-Turkey.....	2 (K, A-K)	Salt-Wind.....	1 (A)
Panther-Beaver.....	2 (K, A-K)	Salt-Turkey.....	1 (A-K)
Panther-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A-K)	Salt-Bear.....	0
Panther-Wolf.....	1 (A-P)	Salt-Deer.....	0
Panther-Panther.....	1 (A)	Salt-Daddy-longlegs...	0
Panther-Bear.....	0	Salt-Panther.....	0
Panther-Wildeat.....	0	Salt-Wolf.....	0
Panther-Salt.....	0	Salt-Alligator.....	0
Panther-Alligator.....	0		
	<u>14</u>		<u>8</u>
Wind-Bear.....	4 (A, A-K)	Wolf-Wind.....	2 (K, A-P)
Wind-Panther.....	3 (A, A-K)	Wolf-Panther.....	1 (A-P)
Wind-Deer.....	2 (A, A-K)	Wolf-Daddy-longlegs...	1 (A-P)
Wind-Wolf.....	2 (K, A-P)	Wolf-Bear.....	1 (A-P)
Wind-Salt.....	1 (A)	Wolf-Beaver.....	0
Wind-Beaver.....	0	Wolf-Deer.....	0
Wind-Daddy-longlegs...	0	Wolf-Wildeat.....	0
Wind-Wildeat.....	0	Wolf-Turkey.....	0
Wind-Turkey.....	0	Wolf-Salt.....	0
Wind-Alligator.....	0	Wolf-Alligator.....	0
	<u>12</u>		<u>5</u>
		Alligator-Deer.....	1 (A-K)

The data regarding the Wolf and Alligator clans is, of course, of no particular significance owing to the small numbers of representatives of each of these clans and the fact that three of the Wolf clan were Pascagoula Indians. Elsewhere there is an intimation that the Bear, Salt, and Wind may have belonged to the same phratry or clan moiety, and this is to some extent borne out by the above data, only one marriage between individuals of these clans—Salt and Wind—being given. However, the material would seem to indicate a feeling of repugnance to marriage between the Bear, Panther, and Wildeat. That the Panther and Wildeat were considered practically equivalent clans is certain, but it is not often that the Bear is found associated with these. In fact, were it not for the tables I should have had no suspicion of it, nothing of the kind having been suggested by any of my informants. The data bears out their contention that prohibition of intermarriage existed between the Deer and Wolf, the Panther and Wildeat, and the Bear and Salt, although it is too small in amount to be satisfactory. There is now no Skunk clan, and therefore we can not test native opinion that the Skunk and Wind were similarly allied. On the other hand the association which they declare to have existed between the Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, and Turkey is certainly no longer in evidence.

I have now touched upon practically all of the more important associations that can be shown with any certainty to have been established between Creek clans. Many others are recorded in my

lists as having taken place in from one to three towns, and undoubtedly some of these actually occurred, but, owing to the breakdown of the system and the chance for error in collecting information from so many informants of varying degrees of reliability, too much confidence must not be placed in them. Our analysis shows that the 50 or more clans, the names of which can in any way be recovered, fall for the most part into a small number of groups headed by a few clans more prominent than the rest. About nine such groups may be made out, headed, respectively, by the Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon, Alligator, Aktayatei, Deer, and Panther, although, as we have seen, associations are also found between several of these, as, for instance, the Bird and Beaver, Raccoon and Aktayatei, Aktayatei and Alligator, Beaver and Alligator, and Deer and Panther. Legus Perryman, one of my oldest informants, denominated these very clans, minus the Raccoon, "old original clans." It is interesting to compare this list with the clans mentioned by Adair, Bartram, and Stiggins, which, it is to be presumed, were those most prominent in the times in which they wrote, though in a few cases Adair mentions a clan in order to back up some argument. In various places he refers to the following: Eagle, Panther, Buffalo, Bear, Deer, Raccoon, Tortoise, Snake, Fish, Wind, Raven, and Sphane.⁴⁵ In one place he seems to distinguish between the Panther and "Tyger,"⁴⁶ but elsewhere he speaks of the "Panther or Tyger."⁴⁷ Five of the clans in his list, the Wind, Bear, Deer, Raccoon, and Panther, are among the nine principal clans recognized to-day; three more, the Eagle, Snake, and Fish, have, or are remembered to have had, considerable prominence; three others, the Buffalo, Tortoise, and Sphane, are known to have existed; and only one, the Raven, has vanished from life and from memory as well.⁴⁸ Bartram mentions, incidentally, the Wildcat, Otter, Bear, and Rattlesnake.⁴⁹ By the last he probably means the Snake clan. With this understanding all are well-known clans, though it happens that only one, the Bear, is of major importance. Stiggins says: "The nation consists of nine clans or families, viz, the Wind, the Bear, the Panther, the Bird, the Polecat, the Fox, the Potato, the Red Paint, and the Isfauna which is composed of many small clans."⁵⁰ The first four of these belong to the leading nine of to-day, and the Fox and Potato are connected with two others, the Raccoon and Aktayatei. I have spoken of the Red Paint already, also of the "Isfauna."⁵¹ The Polecat or Skunk is the only one this writer mentions which may be said to have been strictly a minor clan. It is not surprising that a clan with an uninterpretable name, such as the Aktayatei, should not have been selected by these writers

⁴⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 15, 31, 131.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴⁸ Consult, however, p. 119, footnote 2.

⁴⁹ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 451.

⁵⁰ Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, p. 28.

⁵¹ See pp. 119, 120.

in giving specimens of the clan names, and the Beaver we know to have had importance only in one or two localities. The omission of the Bird by Adair, however, and particularly the failure of any of these writers to notice the Alligator, is singular. Perhaps the Snake was representative of the Alligator group at that time. On the other hand, the Bird and Alligator may have arisen to prominence only at a very late period. Still, these early lists as a whole yield no proof of any violent change in the clan composition of Creek peoples.

In all of the cross grouping to which attention has been given it is remarkable to what an extent the Wind clan stands by itself. Out of 38 possibilities for association between this clan and the Bear—both of which it should be remarked are White clans like the Bird and Beaver—there are but 3 cases in which they fall together. Only 2 out of 36 are found between the Wind and Panther, 2 out of 33 between the Wind and Bird, 1 out of 36 between the Wind and Deer, 1 out of 35 between the Wind and Alligator, 2 out of 34 between the Wind and Aktayatei, 1 out of 36 between the Wind and Beaver, and in 31 possibilities there is not a single association between this clan and the Raccoon. The remaining clans rank, with reference to their independence, in about the following order: Panther, Deer, Bear, Raccoon, Aktayatei, Alligator, Bird, and Beaver. If, however, we consider the number of different clans with which associations were formed instead of the total number of associations we would have to set down the Bird and Beaver as more independent than the Raccoon, Aktayatei, and Alligator.

The following table illustrates in concrete form the connection of the various Creek clans in so far as it can be determined. The nine principal phratries are numbered, and all of the clans which occur under each are usually found in this association. The relationships which we find between the phratries themselves are indicated by arrows.

1. Wind, Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, Turtle.
2. Bear, Wolf, Salt, Nokfaha, Asunwa, Fresh-land.
3. Bird, Medicine, Inlanisi.
- ↑
4. Beaver.
- ↑↓
5. Alligator, Turkey, Tami, Daddy-longlegs.
- ↑↓
3. {Raccoon, Lidjami, Eagle, Hickory nut, Fox, Cane, Mink.
 {Potato, Teowasta.
- ↑
7. Aktayatei, Snake, Kapitea, Woksi.
8. Deer, Pahosa, Mole, Toad, Teokote.
- ↑
9. Panther, Wildcat, Arrow.

One of the difficulties with which this investigation is beset is that analogies between clan names, or the animals which gave their names to clans, have brought about certain mental associations and it is not always certain whether an alleged clan association may not have been assumed by the informant without having actually taken place. This fact also renders it very difficult to determine any genetic relationship between clans, even those most closely connected. For instance, an association was assumed by some of my informants between the Eagle and the Bird and also between the Turkey and the Bird, when, as a matter of fact, the Eagle is linked with the Raccoon and the Turkey with the Alligator. There is evidently a conscious tendency to find an association between the water animals. This explains why the Beaver is at times united with the Alligator, and the Alligator linked with the Aktayatei. For the same reason the Fish, Mink, and Otter are also sometimes said to be connected with the Beaver. Indeed the lack of intimate correspondence between clans named after water animals is rather marked when one considers the strength of the desire to unite them. As I shall have occasion to show more than once, Indians are most skillful in inventing reasons for institutions or customs already in existence. Native explanations of the association of the Bird and Beaver and the Bird and Alligator are examples.^{51a} There are other linkings which might seem beyond Indian ingenuity to account for, yet I believe that reasons for such associations would be discovered by them.

As nearly as can be made out from the information given by Pareja the Timucua of Florida had the following phratries:

White Deer, in some provinces called Great Deer (no linkages given).

Dirt (or Earth) (no linkages given).

Fish (including two minor divisions); Tucunubala, Irihibano; Apichi (Rabbit?).

Buzzard; a clan called Nuculaha (consisting of three coordinate or subordinate parts); Chorofa; Usinaca; Ayahanisino; Napoya; Amacahuri; White Fox; Amusaya.

Bird; Bear; Habachaca; and others.

Achela; Panther; Partridge; Dog (Efaca); Hobatine; Quasi; Chehelu.

MOIETIES

In addition to the linking of clan to clan, varying considerably as we have seen, from one town to another, there existed a dual division of clans to which allusion has several times been made. This did not run across clans like the Chiefs and Warriors societies of the Yuchi⁵² but separated clan from clan. One of these two

^{51a} See pp. 145, 149.

⁵² See Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi*, pp. 74-78.

moieties was called *Hathagálgi*, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as *Teilokogálgi*, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been *Sahanálgi*, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was *Laksafáskálgi*, which is, however, applied to the *tástánágálgi* or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pagan Tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves *Laslagálgi*, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term *Askā'málgi*, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word *Hola'tági* or *Hola'tálgi* was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua *hola'ta* meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the *Hathagálgi* were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called *Isti alumba*, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the *Isti teiloki*, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste.

One of the oldest of the Tukabaheee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans.

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and *Teilokis* began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the

TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Fox	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Otter	Teo-wasta	Tapa-sola
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)								
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kau-teati								
Oteciapofa								
Tulsa Little River					? (9)	Te (10)		
Luteapoga							? (1)	
Okfuskee								
Tentoksofka								
Abihkutei	Te (7)	Te? (7)	W (1)	Te? (5)	Te (6)			
Nuyaka								
Talmuteasi								
Pakan tallahassee			W (1)		Te (4)			
Wiogufki								
Tukpafka								
Asilanabi						W (2)?		
Okchai (probably same connections)								
Łalogalga								
Wiwohka			? (1)		? (5)		? (6)	
Tuskegee					Te (5)			
Konsati No. 2								Te (2)

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alli-gator	Deer	Pan-ther	Rac-coon	Akta-yatei
Tukabahchee	W (1)	W (2)	W (3)	W (3)	Te (4)	Te (5)	Te (6)	Te (7)	Te (6)
Atasi	W (1)	W (2)	W (3)	W (3)	W (4)	Te (5)	Te (6)	Te (7)	Te (8)
Kealedji	W (1)	W (2)	W (3)	W (3)	Te (4)	Te (5)	W (6)	Te (7)	Te (4)
Łapłako	W (1)	Te (2)	W (2)	W (2)	Te (3)	Te (4)	Te (5)	Te (6)	Te (7)
Łiwahali	W	W	W	W	Te?	Te	Te	Te	Te
Hilibi		W (1)	W (2)	?	Te (3)	Te (4)		Te (5)	Te (6)
						[W (4) (J. L.)]			
Eufaula (Upper)	W (1)	W (2)	W (2)	W (?)	W (6)	Te (3)	Te (4) ¹	Te (5)	Te (5)
Alabama	W (1)	W (2)	Te (3)	Te (5)	Te (3)	Te (4)	Te (2)		Te (4)
					W ²				
Alabama in Texas	? (1)	? (2)		? (3)	? (3)	? (4)	? (5)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tāmi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Tukabahchee		Te (8)		Te (4)		Te (7)	Te (4)	Te (8)
Atasi		Te (7)		Te (4)			Te (4)	
Kealedji	W (2)	Te (7)		Te (4)			Te (4)	Te (7)
Łapłako		Te (?)	Te (4)	Te (3)	Te (4)		Te (3)	
Łiwahali								?
Hilibi	W (1)	Te (5)		Te (3)			Te (3)	
Eufaula (Upper)	W	Te (5)		W (6)			W (6)	
Alabama							Te (3)	
Alabama in Texas	? (4)						? (3)	

¹ Formerly it is said to have been White.

² According to Billy Yahola.

TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued
LOWER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayati
Coweta.....	W(1)...	W(2)...	W(3)...	W(3)...	Te(4)...	Te(5)...	Te(5)...	Te(4)...	Te(4)...
Likateka.....	?.....	W.....			?.....	Te.....	?.....		?
Eufaula Hobayi.....	?(1)...	Te(2)...	?(3)...	?(3)...	W(4)...	?(5)...	?(5)...	?(6)...	?(4)...
Chiaha.....	W(1)...	W(2)...	W(3)...	W(4)...	Te(5)...	W(2?)...	Te(6)...	Te(7)...	Te(7)...
Osochi.....	?.....	?(1)...	?.....	?.....	?.....	?.....	?(2)...	?.....	?

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tami	Kapitea	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Coweta.....		Te(4)...		Te(4)...				Te(4)...
Likateka.....								
Eufaula Hobayi.....	?(2)...	?(6)...	?(5)...	?(3)...	?(4)...	?(5)...	?(6)...	
Chiaha.....	W(2)...	Te(7)...		Te(5)...				Te(7)...
Osochi.....	?(1)...	?.....			?			?

Town	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Lidjami	Fish
Coweta.....				Te(5)...				
Likateka.....								
Eufaula Hobayi.....	?(4)...	?(1)...	?(1)...	?(5)...	?(4)...	?(1)...		
Chiaha.....		W(1)...			Te?(3?)...			W?(?)...
Osochi.....				?(2)...				

Town	Toad	Cane	Teokote	Salt	Nokfaba	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Coweta.....								
Likateka.....								
Eufaula Hobayi.....	?(1)...		?(1)...	?(2)...	?(2)...	?(2)...	?(2)...	
Chiaha.....								
Osochi.....								

SEMINOLE TOWNS

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayati
Ochesee.....	W?(1)...	W(2)...	W(3)...	W(3)...	Te(4)...	Te(5)...	Te(6)...	(W)(3?)	Te(4)...
Okfuskee.....	?(1)...	?(2)...	?(3)...	?(3)...	?(4)...	?(2)...	?(5)...	?(2)...	?(4)...
Tallahasutci.....	Te(1)...	W(2)...	W(3)...	W(4)...	Te(5)...	Te(6)...	Te(6)...		Te(5)...
Hitchiti.....	?(1)...	?(2)...	?(3)...	?(4)...	?(3)...	?(5)...	?(5)...		?(3)...
Eufaula.....	?(1)...	?(2)...	?(3)...	?(4)...	?(4)...	?(5)...	?(6)...	?(7)...	?(4)...
Liwahali.....	W(1)...	W(2)...	W(2)...	W(2)...	Te(3)...	Te(4)...	Te(5)...	Te(6)...	Te(3)...
Chiaha.....	W(1)...	W(2)...	W(3)...	W(4)...	Te(5)...	Te(6)...		Te(7)...	Te(8)...
Mikasuki.....		?.....		?.....	?.....		?.....		

TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

SEMINOLE TOWNS—Continued

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox	Woksi
Ochesee	W(2)	W(3)			Tc(4)				
Okfuskee		?(2)	?(2)		?(4)				
Tallahasutei		?(4)		W?(5)	?(8)		?(5)		
Hitchiti	?(2)	?(4)	?(5)	?(3)					
Eufaula		?(8)	?(5)	?(4)	?(4)		?(4)		
Liwahali		Tc(6)	Tc(4)	W(2)	Tc(3)		W(2)		
Chiaha		Tc(9)						Tc(7)	
Mikasuki		?							

Town	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	SnaKe	Otter	Toad	Fish	Teokote	Salt	Cane
Ochesee				Tc(4)	W?(1)					
Okfuskee				?(4)						
Tallahasutei				Tc(8)						
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(6)		?(3)	?(1)	?(6)		?(6)		?(5)
Eufaula				?(4)						
Liwahali				Tc(3)	W(2)				W(2)	
Chiaha	W(1)									
Mikasuki					?					

On examining this list we find but one town in which the Wind are set down as Teilokogálgi. This is the Seminole town of Tallahasutei and I believe the statement to be an error. The Seminole towns were built up from several different Creek towns and do not represent an old organization. Among other changes this institution of Whites and Teilokis fell rapidly into decay, and for three of the towns I have been unable to get any information. Moreover, all of the old men of Tallahasutei are dead and, although I am sure that my informant tried to give correct information, he probably erred. The Bear occurs twice as Teiloki, in Eufaula Hobayi and Lapláko. In the first case not much reliance is to be placed on the information, since the town has long given up its square and my informant merely said in a general way that the Bear were the Teiloki and the Alligator the Whites. The information regarding Lapláko was, however, from one of my oldest informants and was furnished in a positive manner without hesitation. It is true that in the sister town of Liwahali the Bear is given as White, but my Liwahali informant was a comparatively young man, and the Liwahali square was given up much before that of Lapláko. In accordance with the history of the Creek towns, as worked out in another place,^{52a} Lapláko and Liwahali would seem to have represented a division more ancient than the Tukabahechee, Eufaula, or many other groups of towns upon the Red side, and it is quite likely that the assignment of the Bear to the Teiloki was peculiar to them. In the same towns

^{52a} Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 254-258.

the Bird and Beaver are White. This is their usual classification, but my lists show that they were Teiloki in Alabama, Koasati, Apalachicola and two of the Abihka towns. That they were actually Teiloki in Alabama is attested by several informants within and without that town, and one of my interpreters, himself a Tukabachee, recalled, as a subject of general amusement, that when a ball game was to be played the Bird clan in Alabama sided against the Whites. If the Bird and Beaver were Whites in Alabama they were probably Whites in Koasati also, the two towns having been close together and being related in language. It is also probable that this difference obtained among the Hitchiti. It is true that in Okmulgee the Bird appear as White and the Beaver as Teiloki and in Hitchiti proper the Beaver as White and the Bird as Teiloki, but my authorities for this were much younger than the one for Apalachicola and their squares were among the first to be given up. In two of the four Abihka towns the Bird and Beaver would seem to have been White and in two Teiloki. The information with respect to Talladega, in which the two are Whites, should have been the most correct, since that square is still maintained; since the Bird and Beaver seem to be Teiloki among the tribes incorporated into the Creeks, perhaps the disturbance in some Abihka towns may have been due to the Natchez who settled with them. The Beaver are also given as Teiloki in Otciapofa and Kasihta. In the latter place this seems to have been a late arrangement, due to the fact that there were no Birds, and the three Beaver were seated with the Potato clan and hence classed on the same side with them. Something like this may be the secret of the change at Otciapofa. Another reason is suggested by the case of Asilanabi, where the Beaver was also Teiloki although the Bird was White. My information was from the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łałogálga and is probably correct. It appears that the anomaly was due in part at least to the association of the Beaver with water animals like the Alligator.

But sometimes the association of the Alligator and Beaver seems to have worked in the opposite direction, the Alligator being placed among the Whites. From my notes this would appear to have been the case at Talladega, the old Abihka town near Eufaula, Oklahoma, at Pakan tallahassee, Wiogufki, Okchai, Atasi, Eufaula Hobayi, and Yuchi. While some of these cases do not rest on altogether satisfactory information there can be no doubt that such a classification occurred at times. We have no means of knowing whether it was characteristic of the Creeks in olden days or is a later innovation. The Deer clan is said, on the best authority obtainable, to have been reckoned a White clan in Chiaha, and this, according to an Indian of the neighboring Coweta town, was because it was there associated with the Bird. It might also be mentioned that in Tukabachee the

Deer were employed as henilas during the women's dance, and the henilas, as we shall see, were connected with peace. In Otciapofa the Pahosa are said to have been not merely Whites but the leading clan among the Whites, and as the Pahosa and Deer were uniformly linked together the condition noted in Chiaha may have been duplicated in Otciapofa. The Panther clan is given as White in Otciapofa, Little River Tulsa, Wiogufki, and Kealedji, the evidence in the last case being particularly good. Although the Panther is to-day almost always regarded as Teiloki some of my oldest and best informants, including Jackson Lewis and Big Jack of Hilibi, asserted positively that it was properly a White clan. According to the latter it was a White clan which had been turned over to the Teiloki to make their numbers even with the numbers of the Whites. Referring back to the origin myths it is seen that corroborative evidence may be adduced from that source.⁵³ If the Panther was anciently White it is to be presumed that the Wildcat was White also, but of this I have no certain knowledge. The Potato and Raccoon were said by one of my very best informants to have been reckoned as White clans in the Seminole town of Ochesee. While I am not prepared to deny the fact it would be so unique that I believe it must have been due to some later readjustment and does not represent an original condition. An informant reported that the Eagle was a White clan in Teatoksoska but this was probably due to a mistaken association of the Eagle and Bird clans such as I have mentioned elsewhere.

Summing up, then, we find that the Wind and Bear are almost always White, the Raccoon, Aktayatei, and Potato almost always Teiloki, the Bird and Beaver Teiloki occasionally but usually White, the Alligator, Deer, and Panther White occasionally but usually Teiloki. The clans linked with each of these so constantly as to be reckoned subdivisions were considered of the same moiety.

At first sight it would seem as though the connection of the names of the White clans with peace were very remote, but "where there's a will there's a way," especially when it comes to ex post facto explanations, and here is how my good informant, Jackson Lewis, solved the enigma in connection with four of these.

"The Wind is considered a peace clan because the wind can drive away clouds, fogs, and so on, and bring on clear, pleasant weather for mankind. The name of the Bird clan is understood to apply to birds with white plumage, such as the crane, pelican, spring crane, etc. Crane feathers were borne by dancers belonging to White clans at Tukabahchee, while those of the other side carried eagle feathers. The Bear is a peace clan because the bear is regarded as exceedingly watchful and therefore useful in the interests of peace. The Wolf, as a branch of the Bear, is a peace clan because the Wolf is a close

⁵³ See pp. 111-113.

observer, active and spare, and he forms a kind of outpost for the Bear."

An additional reason for the association of wind with peace is the myth that in the beginning of things, at the time when men were first separated into clans, it drove away the mists then enveloping them and revealed them to one another.^{53a}

These two divisions have not had anything to do with marriage regulations, at least in recent times. I was told that each formed an exogamous group in Koasati, but the Koasati are so reduced in numbers to-day that it is doubtful whether such information may be relied upon. More important was the statement of Jackson Lewis that anciently members of White clans did not intermarry. However, he did not affirm that the same was true of the Teiloki, and his assertion remains practically unsupported. I have a few cases in which exogamous groups are reported including clans belonging to both sides, though further investigation may show this to be an error. Thus in Abihka-in-the-West the Wind and Bear, reported as usual to have been White, are said to have formed one phratry with the Panther which was given as Teiloki. In Asilanabi the Bear and Bird, which were Whites, were united with the Beaver and Alligator, which were Teiloki. In Tuskegee the White Beaver are said to have united with the Teiloki Alligator. In Lapolako the Bear, Bird, and Beaver are said not to have intermarried, although the first is given as a Teiloki clan in this town and the other two as White clans. In Alabama the Bear and Panther are put together—the former a White clan, the latter a Teiloki. In Okmulgee and Hitchiti the Bird and Beaver are assigned to opposite sides but one phratry, though here, as stated above, I have reason to believe that they were both Teiloki. Among the Yuchi the Wind are said to have been Whites and the Deer and Panther Teiloki, while the three were in one exogamous group.

The White clans undoubtedly had to do with peace, while the others were "bearers of the red sticks" and hence were war clans, but the terms "peace and war" are not given to them as names, nor is the adjective red usually coupled with the Teiloki. There is reason to believe that this dual division had something to do with the dual division of towns to be considered presently, but it is now difficult to make out just what that connection was. At any rate they served one definite purpose, to determine the sides in practice games played within each town, the Whites and Teiloki always forming the two parties.

Among the Texas Alabama, where there has long been but a single town or one or two related villages, practice games were all that could be indulged in. It is to be supposed that in former times they had

^{53a} See pp. 111-113.

the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

As mentioned above, in the teitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Teiloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole.

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes.

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."⁵⁴ He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"⁵⁴ but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"⁵⁵ and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."⁵⁵

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly.

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.⁵⁶ At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind.

⁵⁴ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 184.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁵⁶ For ranking of clans see pp. 43, 212, 214, 222, and Bull. 73, p. 370.

Clanship had an important influence on the relations between men, extending into the smallest matters of everyday life, and much of Creek etiquette was based upon it. Thus a Creek could tell by the attitude of any two members of his tribe toward each other—whether they joked with one another and so on—in what manner they were related. Persons having parents of the same clan used to joke with each other. This “joking relationship” thus included the entire clan of the mother; it also included all of those whose fathers belonged to one’s own father’s clan and according to Jackson Lewis it included one’s own father’s father and those women who had married into the father’s clan. It was etiquette to talk disparagingly of one’s own clan, even in the presence of other members of it, what was said being understood in a contrary sense. On the other hand one must always back up his father’s clan and those belonging to it and must speak well of it and of them.

A similar etiquette extended to objects connected with the clan, particularly the animal from which it was named. I was told that if a person killed a totem animal the people belonging to the clan from which it derived its name would compel him to make them a payment. A man of the Bird clan would say to one who had been shooting birds, “You have killed my parents; you will have to pay me for it,” and the other would give him something. The duty of a member of the Wind clan to protect the skunk and rabbit from injury and ridicule has already been mentioned.^{56a}

Speaking of the Indians of Tuskegee town, Speck says:

“As descent is traced back to the totem animal itself, it is considered wrong for a man to kill or eat an animal having the form of his totem, as it would be the same as eating his own human relations. Such offenders are nowadays punished by fines which have to be paid to those of his clan who catch him in the act. Furthermore, should one person ridicule or belittle another’s totem, he is likely to be taken and fined for wrongdoing by the offended clan. The fine is believed to appease the totem.”⁵⁷

Although the infliction of fines is here spoken of as modern, my own information is to the effect that these observances have, in recent years, been viewed as subjects for jest rather than matters worthy of serious consideration, and it appears that animal names were matters of jest as far back as Adair’s time.⁵⁸ The custom must certainly have been little more than formal in some cases; otherwise the Deer and Bear clans would have been obliged to abstain from meat almost entirely and the rest of the nation would have been under constant tribute to them. The late Chief Grayson informed me that upon one occasion he killed a fawn and made a cap out of

^{56a} See p. 112.

⁵⁷ Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthropol. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

⁵⁸ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18.

its skin for one of his sons. Afterwards he met a man of the Deer clan who took him to task for this but was finally mollified by the assurance that it was so used, not out of disrespect, but because it was held in honor. A man was also supposed to see that proper respect was paid to the totem animal of his father's clan. An instance was related to me in which a man was called to account for having killed a wolf, by another man whose father belonged to the Wolf clan. It is from this clan association that the Creeks applied terms of relationship to animals. According to one informant the Bird people called the buzzards, and all other kinds of birds in fact, "my father," and he added that this form of address was usual with other clans. It is, however, more likely that the term given by way of illustration was applied by persons whose fathers were from the Bird clan. If they themselves had been Birds they would probably have said "my uncle."^{58a}

There appears not to have been the slightest objection to killing totem animals from veneration for them as such, and this was just as true in Adair's time. He says:

"The Indians, however, bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the species, when opportunity serves. The *wolf* indeed, several of them do not care to meddle with, believing it unlucky to kill them; which is the sole reason that few of the Indians shoot at that creature, through a notion of spoiling their guns . . . though, at the same time, they are so far from esteeming it a deity, they reckon it the most abominable quadruped of the whole creation."⁵⁹

We should perhaps add to this a taboo against killing the rattlesnake, but there appears not to have been the least connection between their unwillingness to kill this reptile and its eponymous character, and indeed the name of Snake clan is not certainly known to have been applied specifically to the rattlesnake.⁶⁰

When a formal council was opened in the *teokofa* Bartram says that the tobacco used was brought in in a skin usually taken from that animal from which the chief's clan derived its name.⁶¹

The Wind clan formed in some respects a privileged class. I have already mentioned the fact that women of this clan were called "grandmothers" by the other people, and we shall see later that, with the possible exception of the Bear, this was the only clan allowed to take up again the clubs with which adulterers were punished, after they

^{58a} See also pp. 145-149.

⁵⁹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 16.

⁶⁰ Consult, however, Bartram, *Travels*, p. 451; see p. 537 in following paper.

⁶¹ Bartram, *op. cit.*

had once been laid aside. According to one writer the Wind clan could take them up an indefinite number of times; according to another, four times. This privilege is well remembered. A single writer adds that people of the Bear clan were allowed to take the clubs up twice, but I have been able to learn nothing definite upon the subject from the living Indians. Local privileges connected with the busk ceremonial were, of course, enjoyed by other clans.⁶²

In other parts of America clan distinctions are indicated by means of face paintings or tattooings. With the Creeks, however, most of the latter seem to have had to do with war honors. I was told that members of the Raccoon clan painted circles about their eyes, but according to others this was done merely by doctors as a sign that they were able to see in the dark. Paintings used to indicate the towns of the persons using them will be considered presently.^{62a}

Another source of information regarding the position of clans in the tribe is still to be tapped, but in order to do this we must first set forth a description of the Creek ceremonial or busk ground, the religious and social center of every Creek community of consequence.

DISTRIBUTION WITH REFERENCE TO THE LAND AND THE TOWN

Both the Creeks and the Texas Alabama have told me that anciently clans lived apart, and in a Creek story of the origin of corn they are represented as scattered about in a number of different camps. Whether or not the major clans are descended from bodies of people which once lived in separate towns and lacked exogamy the local separation of the clans until very late times is an undeniable fact. I may note here the assertion of one of my oldest and best informants to the effect that in olden times the clans were not exogamous, but that upon one occasion a council was held and it was determined that afterwards they should be considered such. This is interesting as marking the native recognition of such a possibility, not as proving that the change actually took place. The Creek towns in the times when we begin to have knowledge of them consisted of a succession of villages or neighborhoods scattered through the woods and along the streams, and connected by a network of trails. The unit of such a town consisted of a group of houses owned by women of one clan and occupied by themselves, their husbands, and their young children. In practice it worked out something like this. A man, assisted by other members of his family or clan, might build a house in a new situation and clear the usual yard by hoeing up the surface weeds and grass for a considerable space about it. Now, when one of his daughters married her husband, drawn from some other, perhaps distant, locality, would build another house on part of the same

⁶² Cf. also Milfort, *Mém.*, p. 255.

^{62a} See p. 246.

cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.⁶³ By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (*hûti*) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's *hûti*, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's *hûti* was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (*hûti*)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not. Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

⁶³ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 17.

“The dwellings of the Upper Creeks [i. e., the Creeks proper, exclusive of the Seminole] consist of little squares, or rather of four dwelling-houses inclosing a square area, exactly on the plan of the Public Square. Every family, however, has not four of these houses; some have but three, others not more than two, and some but one, according to the circumstances of the individual, or the number of his family. Those who have four buildings have a particular use for each building. One serves as a cook room and winter lodging-house, another as a summer lodging-house and hall for receiving visitors, and a third for a granary or provision house, etc. The last is commonly two stories high, and divided into two apartments,

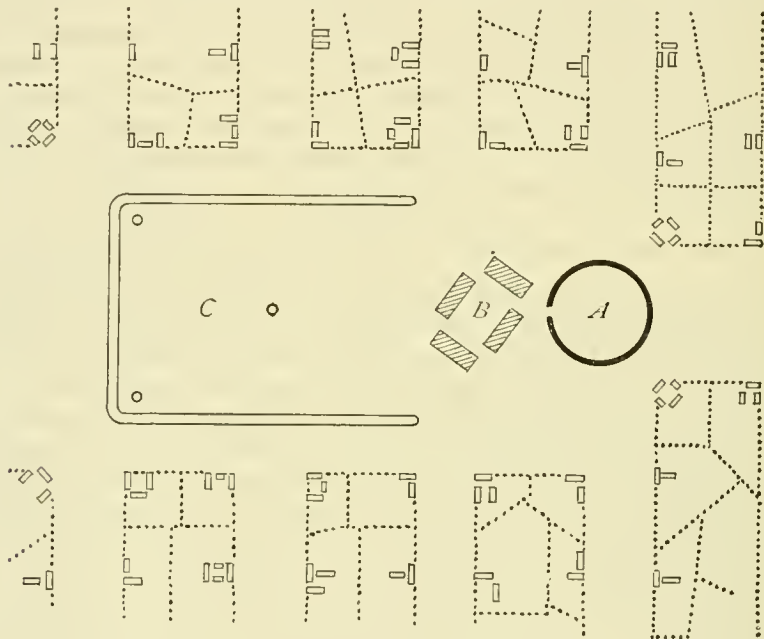


FIG. 1.—A typical Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground, showing its relation to the town.
(After Bartram.)

transversely, the lower story of one end being a potato house, for keeping such other roots and fruits as require to be kept close, or defended from cold in winter. The chamber over it is the *council*. At the other end of this building, both upper and lower stories are open on their sides; the lower story serves for a shed for their saddles, pack-saddles, and gears, and other lumber; the loft over it is a very spacious, airy, pleasant pavilion, where the chief of the family reposes in the hot seasons, and receives his guests, etc. The fourth house (which completes the square) is a skin or ware-house, if the proprietor is a wealthy man, and engaged in trade or traffic, where he keeps his deer-skins, furs, merchandise, etc., and treats his customers. Smaller

or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can.

"The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks.

"Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks."⁶⁴

Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A corner of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares."⁶⁵ In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer.

Among the Alabama the yard (*tā'āle*), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the

⁶⁴ Bartram in *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, pp. 54-56.

⁶⁵ Romans, *Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida*, p. 96.

household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually the case at the present day. The corner-crib was in one part of the yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks, houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing buildings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:

“The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong.”⁶⁶

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

⁶⁶ Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 300-301.

mounds, along with their ossuaries, as well as the town houses of the Cherokee, though 10 to 20 houses are rather too many to assign to them. The main fact is confirmed, however, by Biedma, who, in speaking of the cross set up at Casqui, says "it is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."⁶⁷ This mound at Casqui is also mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas.⁶⁸ Ranjel says that the Spaniards set up a cross on the mound of a small village under a chief called Ichisi, somewhere in southern Georgia.⁶⁹ Further on he tells us that the "house of worship" of Talimeco, near the lower Savannah, was "on a high mound."⁷⁰ In speaking of the town of Uçita, in Florida, Elvas states that "the chief's house stood near the beach, upon a high mount made by hand for defence."⁷¹ Plazas or squares are also referred to several times. Elvas speaks of the town yard of Napetaca, the town yard of Achese, and the town yard of Chicaça.⁷² When the Spaniards entered Athahachi to meet Tascaluca, Ranjel says "the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square."⁷³ These references show that at that time each town of any importance had a kind of public square and often a mound near by surmounted by public buildings or the residence of the chief. These references, but particularly the last, suggest the ancient arrangement of the Creek square ground as thus described by Bartram:

"The subjoined plan (fig. 2) will illustrate the form and character of these yards.

"A, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks.

"B, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda*, *Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose.

"C, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*.

"The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b, b, b, b*; *c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d, d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.'

"Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends, as shown in the plan, is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built, or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their *Rotundas* or *Public Squares*. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same

⁶⁷ Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 27-28.

⁶⁸ Ibid., vol. I, p. 120.

⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. II, p. 89.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 101.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 23.

⁷² Ibid., vol. I, pp. 44, 56, 103.

⁷³ Ibid., vol. II, p. 120.

positions in respect to it. They also retain the central obelisk and the slave-posts."⁷⁴

The use of the mound, while partly no doubt for defense and to add dignity to the structures placed upon it, was very often in order to protect the buildings from spring floods and the general dampness. Some earlier Spanish statements suggest that perhaps even in the sixteenth century not all public buildings were placed upon mounds. Yet by analogy with the Cherokee town house and the lower Mississippi temple we may consider it probable that the arrangement set forth by Bartram was actually a very ancient one. It would seem

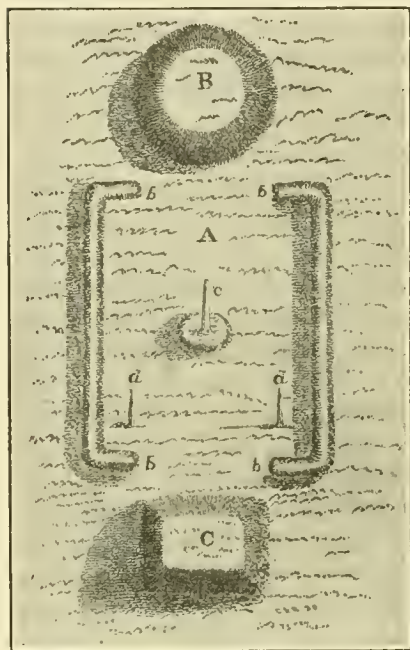


FIG. 2.—Ancient pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

likely that the building called by Bartram the rotunda was once the most important element and that the public square was merely a summer substitute suggested by a southern climate. Such an evolution of the Creek public buildings would bring them into line with those known to have existed among the Cherokee and the tribes of the Mississippi. A later evolution changed the relative position of the elements here brought together and finally resulted in an almost complete elimination of the mounds. We will continue with Bartram's description of the later square (fig. 3) which remained essentially as he represents it almost to the present day.

"This is the most common plan or arrangement of the Chunky-Yard Public Square, and Rotunda of the *modern* Creek towns.

"A, the Public Square or area.

"B, the Rotunda; a, the door opening towards the square; the three circular lines show the two rows of seats, sofas, or cabins; the punctures show the pillars or columns which support the building; c, the great central pillar, or column, surrounded by the spiral fire, which gives light to the house.

"C, part of the Chunky-Yard."⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Bartram in *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, pp. 51-53.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

But however the arrangement, it is to be noticed that the public grounds of the Creeks included three elements, the *A*, *B*, and *C* of Bartram. As already stated, I believe the building which he calls the rotunda to be the oldest element of all, although it is the one which has disappeared most completely. In construction it was similar to the winter house of the individual Creek Indian, differing little except in size and the uses to which it was put. Adair says:

“It is usually built on the top of a hill; and, in that separate and imperial state house, the old beloved men and head warriors meet on material business, or to divert themselves, and feast and dance with the rest of the people. They furnish the inside with genteel couches, either to sit or lie on, about seven feet wide, and a little more in length, with a descent towards the wall, to secure them from falling off when asleep. Every one takes his seat, according to his reputed merit; a worthless coxcomb dare not be guilty of the least intrusion—should he attempt it, he is ordered to his proper place, before the multitude, with the vilest disgrace, and bears their stinging laughter.”⁷⁶

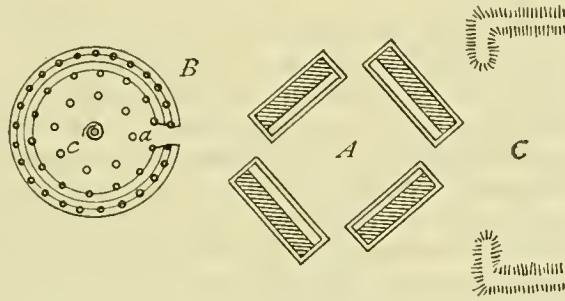


FIG. 3.—Later pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

Swan describes it as follows:

“The hot-house is a perfect pyramid of about twenty-five feet high, on a circular base of the same diameter. The walls of it are of clay, about six feet high, and from thence drawn regularly to a point at the top, and covered round with tufts of bark. Inside of the hot-house is one broad circular seat made of canes, and attached to the walls all around. The fire is kindled in the center; and the house, having no ventilator, soon becomes intolerably hot; yet the savages, amidst all the smoke and dust raised from the earthen floor by their violent manner of dancing, bear it for hours together without the least apparent inconvenience.”⁷⁷

Hawkins names this house the “chooc-ofau thluc-co”—Teokō’fa lā’ko, “house with a big room,” as obtained by myself—and he goes on to give the following description:

“This is near the square, and is constructed after the following manner: Eight posts are fixed in the ground, forming an octagon of thirty feet diameter. They are twelve feet high, and large enough to support the roof. On these, five or six logs are placed, of a side,

⁷⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 421.

⁷⁷ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, pp. 265-266.

drawn in as they rise. On these, long poles or rafters, to suit the height of the building, are laid, the upper ends forming a point, and the lower ends projecting out six feet from the octagon, and resting on posts five feet high, placed in a circle round the octagon, with plates on them, to which the rafters are tied with splits. The rafters are near together, and fastened with splits. These are covered with clay, and that with pine bark; the wall, six feet from the octagon, is clayed up; they have a small door into a small portico, curved round for five or six feet, then into the house.

"The space between the octagon and the wall, is one entire sofa, where the visitors lie or sit at pleasure. It is covered with reed, mat or splits.

"In the centre of the room, on a small rise, the fire is made, of dry cane or dry old pine slabs, split fine, and laid in a spiral circle."⁷⁸

The following account is from Bartram:

"The great council house or rotunda is appropriated to much the same purpose as the public square, but more private, and seems particularly dedicated to political affairs; women and youth are never admitted; and I suppose it is death for a female to presume to enter the door, or approach within its pale.^{78a} It is a vast conical building or circular dome, capable of accommodating many hundred people; and constructed and furnished within, exactly in the same manner as those of the Cherokees already described, but much larger than any I had seen of them; there are people appointed to take care of it, to have it daily swept clean, and to provide canes for fuel, or to give light."⁷⁹

Bartram's description of the Cherokee "rotunda," to which reference is made in the above account, is as follows:

"They first fix in the ground a circular range of posts or trunks of trees, about six feet high, at equal distances, which are notched at top, to receive into them from one to another, a range of beams or wall plates; within this is another circular order of very large and strong pillars, above twelve feet high, notched in like manner at top, to receive another range of wall plates; and within this is yet another or third range of stronger and higher pillars, but fewer in number, and standing at a greater distance from each other; and lastly, in the centre stands a very strong pillar, which forms the pinnacle of the building, and to which the rafters centre at top; these rafters are strengthened and bound together by cross beams and laths, which sustain the roof or covering, which is a layer of bark neatly placed, and tight enough to exclude the rain, and sometimes they cast a thin superficies of earth over all. There is but one large door, which serves at the same time to admit light from without and the smoak to escape when a fire is kindled; but as there is but a small

⁷⁸ Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 71-72.

^{78a} This is erroneous; see Swan's statement on p. 182.

⁷⁹ Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 448-449.

fire kept, sufficient to give light at night, and that fed with dry small sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smook. All around the inside of the building, betwixt the second range of pillars and the wall, is a range of cabins or sophas, consisting of two or three steps, one above or behind the other, in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sophas are covered with mats or carpets, very curiously made of thin splints of Ash or Oak, woven or platted together; near the great pillar in the centre the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and round about this the performers exhibit their dances and other shows at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year."⁸⁰

This writer is the only one mentioning three concentric rows of posts in addition to the central pillar.

Contemporaneous with Bartram's description is that of Taitt:

"The hot house is generally built at the north west Corner of the Square having the door fronting the South East. The one in this Town [Tukabahchee] is a Square building about 30 feet diameter rounded a little at the Corners; the walls are about four feet high; from these walls the roof rises about twelve feet, terminating in a point at top. The door is the only Opening in this house for they have no window nor funnell for the smoke to go out, there is a small entry about ten feet long built at the out side of the door and turned a little round the side of the house to keep out the Cold and prevent the wind blowing the fire about the House; they make a Circle of pitch pine Split small; or in lieu of the pitch pine they use small dry Canes, leaving a small space of the Circle Open where the fire is lighted, still keeping some person Employed to add pitch pine of Canes to one part of the Circle while the fire Consumes the other. In this house the Indians consult about the affairs of their Nation in the Winter Season and in their Square in Summer."⁸¹

Hitchcock's notes contain a short description of the Tukabahchee teokofa erected after the emigration of the Creeks to the banks of the Canadian. He calls this building "the Round house," and says:

"Considerable ingenuity has been employed in its erection."⁸² The main structure is supported upon *twelve* posts or pillars, one end sunk in the ground. They are disposed in a circle about 9 or 10 ft. apart, making a space within of about 120 ft. circumference, in the centre of which, upon the ground, is the sacred fire. The roof over this circle

⁸⁰ Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 366-367.

⁸¹ Taitt in Mereness, *Trav. in Am. Col.*, p. 503.

⁸² It seems that the architect was Tukabahchee miko, a well-known Upper Creek leader and at that time its leading medicine maker. After giving the dimensions of the building as "about 60 feet in diameter and 30 feet high," he says that Tukabahchee miko "cut sticks in miniature of every log required in the construction of the building, and distributed them proportionately among the residents of the town, whose duty it was to cut logs corresponding with their sticks, and deliver them upon the ground appropriated for the building, at a given time. At the raising of the house, not a log was cut or changed from its original destination; all came together in their appropriate places, as intended by the designer. During the planning of this building, which occupied him six days, he did not partake of the least particle of food."—*Smithson. Misc. Colls.*, no. 53, p. 12.

is a cone terminating in a point over the fire some 20 odd feet high. The rafters extend down from the apex of the cone beyond the twelve pillars, which are about 8 ft. high, to within 4 or 5 ft. of the ground, which space, of 4 or 5 ft., is closed entirely with earth. Between the pillars and the extreme exterior, a space of several feet, are seats of mats, like those of the sheds [in the Square]. The manner of constructing the roof is very remarkable for Indian work. Upon the alternate couples of the 12 pillars are first placed horizontal pieces, then upon the ends of these are placed other horizontal pieces between the other couples of pillars, then another series of horizontal pieces resting upon the second set, but drawn within towards the centre of the circle a few inches. Upon these again are other pieces still more drawn in. There are 4 tiers of horizontal pieces thus placed upon each other (fig. 4).

"A, b, c, d, are four of the twelve pillars. Pieces are first laid upon ab and upon ed, then a piece upon these and between bc, etc., etc. These horizontal pieces are strongly bound together by leather thongs of green hide. They are only carried up to the number of 4 sufficient for giving a direction and a foundation for the rafters, which are laid upon these, extending up to a point in one direction and in the other direction over [the] outside nearly to the ground.

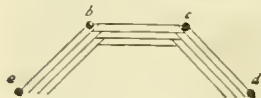


FIG. 4.—Structure of the roof of a Creek tookofa. (After Hitchcock)

The rafters are strongly bound by thongs and covered with ordinary rived boards for shingles. There is but one small entrance to the House which is next towards the angle of the square adjacent to which the Round House stands."⁸²

He adds that certain persons were appointed to preserve the buildings and that they were obliged to take the black drink every morning.

These descriptions, particularly that of Hawkins, agree with those I have myself obtained from old men who remember some of the hot houses that were built in Oklahoma. One had even heard that these buildings were anciently on mounds. In later times, however, the construction became much simpler. Some were made by resting poles on one end on an earthen wall and drawing the upper ends together at the center, the whole being covered with long boards. It is to be added that, although the seats ran all the way around this building on the inside, it was divided into separate "beds," maintaining the same general position as those in the "big house" out of doors. It was, as nearly as could be managed, an indoors version of the latter. During the Civil War most of these houses disappeared, and only one seems to have been built after that time, in this case by the people of Pakan tallahassee. One of the men who had participated

⁸² Hitchcock, Ms. notes. The overlapping of the horizontal pieces in the sketch is crudely indicated, suggesting an outward rather than an inward flare.

in the erection of this particular structure told me that the boards were made, and the materials brought to the spot, set up and fastened together—with grapevines instead of nails—all in 10 days. This hot house was used by the Laksafáski,⁸³ who are the *tástánágálgí*—in this town equivalent to the Deer clan. It was afterwards burned to the ground and has never been replaced, though the foundation, including the location of the large center post and the circular outline, was traceable when I visited the Pakan tallahassee busk ground in 1912. At Tukabahchee its place is still theoretically marked, and a fire made for it annually, in a circular area about 50 feet in diameter northwest of the square ground.^{83a}

The outdoors council ground or “big house,” as it is known to the Creeks, has also suffered degeneration, though not to such a marked degree as the *teokofa*. The best early descriptions are by Bartram, Swan, and Hawkins, and they are confirmed by allusions on the part of Adair and other writers. Hawkins says:

“Choo-co-thluc-co, (big house), the town house or public square, consists of four square buildings of one story, facing each other, forty by sixteen feet, eight feet pitch; the entrance at each corner. Each building is a wooden frame, supported on posts set in the ground, covered with slabs, open in front like a piazza, divided into three rooms, the back and ends clayed, up to the plates. Each division is divided lengthwise, into two seats; the front, two feet high, extending back half way, covered with reed-mats or slabs; then a rise of one foot, and it extends back, covered in like manner, to the side of the building. On these seats they lie or sit at pleasure.”⁸⁴

Swan's description is yet longer:

“The public squares, placed near the centre of each town, are formed by four buildings of equal size, facing inwards, and enclosing an area of about thirty feet on each side. These houses are made of the same materials as their dwelling-houses, but differ by having the front which faces the square left entirely open, and the walls of the back sides have an open space of two feet or more next to the eaves, to admit a circulation of air. Each of these houses is partitioned into three apartments, making twelve in all, which are called the cabins; the partitions which separate these cabins are made of clay, and only as high as a man's shoulders, when sitting. Each cabin has three seats, or rather platforms, being broad enough to sleep upon. The first is raised about two feet from the ground, the second is eight inches higher, and the third, or back seat, as much above the second. The whole of the seats are joined together by a covering of cane-mats, as large as carpets. It is a rule, to have a new covering to the seats every year, previous to the ceremony of the busk; therefore, as the

⁸³ Said by some to be a nickname for the *Teilokogálgí*; see p. 157.

^{83a} Some further notes on the *teokofa* will be found on p. 59.

⁸⁴ Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 68-69.

old coverings are never removed, they have, in most of their squares, eight, ten and twelve coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and south. The centre cabin, on the east side,⁸⁵ is always allotted to the beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side⁸⁶ is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cooking black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

"Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

"Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

"Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

"If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

⁸⁵ This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

⁸⁶ Or east side (?); see preceding note.

"Each square has a black-drink cook, and two or three young warriors that attend every morning when black-drink is to be taken, and warn the people to assemble by beating a drum."⁸⁷

Hawkins probably had the square of Kasihta more particularly in mind and Swan that of Oteiapofa. From Bartram we have two different descriptions, one more generalized, the other a particular account of the square of Atasi. The first and briefer of these runs as follows:

"The Public Square of the Creeks consists of four buildings of equal size, placed one upon each side of a quadrangular court. The principal or Council House is divided transversely into three equal apartments, separated from each other by a low clay wall. This building is also divided longitudinally into two nearly equal parts; the foremost or front is an open piazza, where are seats for the council. The middle apartment is for the king (*mico*), the great war chief, second head man, and other venerable and worthy chiefs and warriors. The two others are for the warriors and citizens generally. The back apartment of this house is quite close and dark, and without entrances, except three very low arched holes or doors for admitting the priests. Here are deposited all the most valuable public things, as the eagle's tail or national standard, the sacred calumet, the drums, and all the apparatus of the priests. None but the priests having the care of these articles are admitted; and it is said to be certain death for any other person to enter.

"Fronting this is another building, called the "Banqueting House," and the edifices upon either hand are halls to accommodate the people on public occasions, as feasts, festivals, etc. The three buildings last mentioned are very much alike, and differ from the Council House only in not having the close back apartment."⁸⁸

His description of the Atasi square is much longer:

"The great or public square generally stands alone, in the centre and highest part of the town: it consists of four-square or cubical buildings, or houses of one story, uniform, and of the same dimensions, so situated as to form an exact tetragon, encompassing an area of half an acre of ground, more or less, according to the strength or largeness of the town, or will of the inhabitants: there is a passage or avenue at each corner of equal width: each building is constructed of a wooden frame fixed strongly in the earth, the walls filled in, and neatly plastered with clay mortar; close on three sides, that is the back and two ends, except within about two feet of the wall plate or eaves, which is left open for the purpose of a window and to admit a free passage of the air; the front or side next to the area is quite open like a piazza. One of these buildings is properly the coun-

⁸⁷ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, pp. 264-265.

⁸⁸ Bartram in *Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc.*, vol. III, pp. 53-54.

cilhouse where the mico, chiefs, and warriors, with the citizens who have business, or choose to repair thither, assemble every day in council, to hear, decide and rectify all grievances, complaints and contentions, arising betwixt the citizens; give audience to ambassadors, and strangers; hear news and talks from confederate towns, allies or distant nations; consult about the particular affairs of the town, as erecting habitations for new citizens, or establishing young families, concerning agriculture, etc. This building is somewhat different from the other three: it is closely shut up on three sides, that is, the back and two ends, and besides, a partition wall longitudinally from end to end divides it into two apartments, the back part totally dark, only three small arched apertures or holes opening into it from the front apartment or piazza, and little larger than just to admit a man to crawl in upon his hands and knees. This secluded place appears to me to be designed as a sanctuary⁸⁹ dedicated to religion, or rather priest craft; for here are deposited all the sacred things, as the physic pot, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs and other apparatus of conjurations; and likewise the calumet or great pipe of peace, the imperial standard, or eagle's tail, which is made of the feathers of the white eagle's tail (*Vultur sacra*) curiously formed and displayed like an open fan on a sceptre or staff, as white and clean as possible when displayed for peace, but when for war, the feathers are painted or tinged with vermilion. The piazza or front of this building, is equally divided into three apartments, by two transverse walls or partitions, about breast high, each having three orders or ranges of seats or cabins stepping one above and behind the other, which accommodate the senate and audience, in the like order as observed in the rotunda. The other three buildings which compose the square, are alike furnished with three ranges of cabins or sophas, and serve for a banqueting-house, to shelter and accommodate the audience and spectators at all times, particularly at feasts or public entertainments, where all classes of citizens resort day and night in the summer or moderate season; the children and females however are seldom or never seen in the public square.

“The pillars and walls of the houses of the square are decorated with various paintings and sculptures; which I suppose to be hieroglyphic, and as an historic legendary of political and sacerdotal affairs: but they are extremely picturesque or caricature, as men in variety of attitudes, some ludicrous enough, others having the head of some kind of animal, as those of a duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf, buck, etc., and again those kind of creatures are represented having the human head. These designs are not ill executed; the outlines bold, free and well proportioned. The pillars supporting the front

⁸⁹“Sanctorum or sacred temple; and it is said to be death for any person but the mico, war-chief, and high priest to enter in, and none are admitted but by permission of the priests, who guard it day and night.”—Bartram.

or piazza of the council-house of the square, are ingeniously formed in the likeness of vast speckled serpents, ascending upwards; the Ottasses being of the snake family or tribe."⁹⁰

Taitt's description, referring particularly to Tukabahechee, is brief but to the point:

"The Square is formed by four houses about forty feet in Length and ten wide. Open in front and divided into three different Cabins each. The seats are made of Canes Split and worked together raised about three feet off the Ground; and half the width of the House, the back half being raised above the other about one foot; these Cabins serve for beds as well as seats in Summer."⁹¹

January 31, 1842, General Hitchcock visited the Tukabahechee Square, in what is now Oklahoma, and gives the following description:

"The *Square* consists of four shed roofs forming a rectangle 20 paces on a side within. Each roof is closed on three sides to the ground, the fourth or inner side being open for counsellors to sit in, where mats are spread made of cane for seats. The four sheds are separated on their angles 4 or 5 paces for entrance and egress and they are situated so that diagonals of the Square are nearly upon the meridian line and at right angles to it. The 3 sides of the sheds which are closed are closed with mud and are raised about 6 feet, the open front inside being a corresponding 6 feet. Each shed is divided into three parts by a partition raised only about elbow high to one in a sitting posture. Upon each partition there are two earth bowls about a foot in diameter in which live coals are placed during the council for the grave counsellors to light their pipes by.

"One of the sheds is appropriated, or two parts of the three into which it is divided, to the preservation of articles used in the preparation and drinking of the 'black drink.' The most curious part of the preparation at the Square is at the west angle a few feet from the angle outside."⁹²

Another description, probably applying to the Coweta Square, is furnished by Milfort and will be found in the chapter on Creek government.⁹³ Still another is contained in the Creek origin myth related to Gatschet by Ispahiltea of Kasihta and refers to that town. The dimensions given are greater than those included in the descriptions of Hawkins, Taitt, and Hitchcock. Adair gives the size of the central section of the west bed as 9 by 7, which would indicate that the entire bed was not more than 30 feet long.

Attention should be called to the inclosed space behind the chief's bed mentioned by Hawkins and Bartram, and also by Adair who styles it "the holy of holies" and says regarding it: "As the Jews had

⁹⁰ Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 452-454.

⁹¹ Taitt in Mereness, *Trav. in Am. Col.*, p. 503.

⁹² Hitchcock, *Ms. Notes*.

⁹³ See pp. 311-312.

a *sanctum sanctorum*, or most holy place, so have all the Indian nations; particularly, the Muskohge. It is partitioned off by a mud-wall about breast-high, behind the white seat, which always stands to the left hand of the red-painted war-seat; there they deposit their consecrated vessels, and supposed holy utensils, none of the laity daring to approach that sacred place, for fear of particular damage to themselves, and general hurt to the people, from the supposed divinity of the place.⁹⁴ Later most of the objects which had been preserved here were put up under the roof as was the case in the square described by Hawkins. In old Okchai they were up under the roof at the north end of the west cabin, where the Wind clan sat. In recent years, perhaps to protect them from desecration by the whites, they have in some towns built a small house about 4 feet each way in which the pots used at that time are stored. There is one at Eufaula just back of the chief's bed, one at Alabama southeast of the square, and one at Chiaha Seminole in the same relative position. Tukabahchee, where the busk vessels and appurtenances are kept in a small inclosed space just back of the center of the chief's bed, is the only town to preserve a relic of the more ancient custom.

In olden times there was in front of each front post in every bed a stick tapering to a point at the top, leaning outward, and provided on the outer side with two notches. The butt ends of the wands on which the feathers were tied used in the *tcitahaia* dance were stuck into the ground at these same points. The sticks were called *atásá*, like the smaller ones carried by the leaders of the women in the women's dance and the small ones given to youths when they were named, and in all cases they evidently refer to the old-fashioned war club (*atásá* or *atásu*). This description applies particularly to *Tukabahchee*. Other towns are said to have had sticks in the shape of axes instead of war clubs. Besides these sticks I am told that on the front of each post on the right-hand side of the center of each bed as you face the bed notches were cut called (*i*)ná'tásá ha'ki, "made like the *atásá*," and only men of great importance who could call councils sat next to these posts.

Jackson Lewis agreed with Hawkins in stating that in the old days when cane seats were employed there were generally only two tiers, but it is evident that the practice was different in different towns. Aside from the plan given by Swan the only attempt to represent any part of the square graphically was by a French artist who sketched what is probably the west bed of the Alabama ground in the early part of the eighteenth century. (Fig. 5.) This differs from all other illustrations and descriptions in showing four sections instead of three.

⁹⁴A. Dair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 80.]

From these descriptions it appears that the buildings of the square were anciently constructed somewhat after the fashion of a native house with a long porch. In Oklahoma they degenerated rapidly, especially after the Civil War. While I have seen one square in which the cabins were provided with a shingle roof, they are almost universally simple brush arbors. In those which retain the original idea most fully there are eight posts marking out the three ancient subdivisions, but in many grounds these have become reduced to six and in still others to four. Often, however, the tripartite division is theoretically maintained. The posts are forked at the top and bear a brush roof that is renewed every year at the time of the busk. The seats are usually of logs split in halves, laid with the flat surface uppermost. Two or three rows from front to back are made of these, but as a matter of fact many Indians, especially the principal

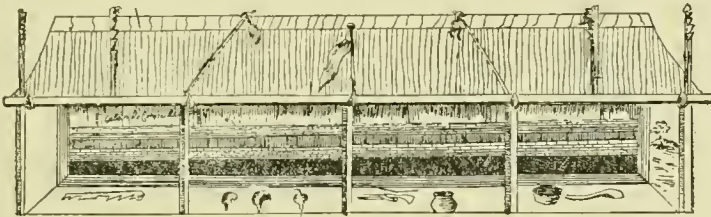


FIG. 5.—One of the beds in the Alabama Square Ground as it appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century. From a contemporary sketch. Medicine pots and spoons to right, on ground; gourd rattles to left; flag over the center pole; notched pole or atásá at either end and another pair some distance in from either end; a pole carrying a scalp at the top of each intermediate post; two full-length cane seats below. Near the left end, under the front of roof, are written the words "Caban de Conseille." (From an article entitled "Documents concernant l'Histoire des Indiens," by the Baron Marc de Villiers, in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n. s. vol. xiv, 1922, p. 136.)

men, now use wooden chairs brought from their camps. The well-nigh universal statement, on the part of earlier white writers and the modern Indians, is to the effect that the cabins, arbors, or "beds," as the Creeks themselves call them, should be laid out toward the four cardinal points, and this holds for almost all of the modern squares. Jackson Lewis said that they used the north star as a guide in placing them. On the other hand the great square of Tukabachee is somewhat askew, and one of my interpreters, who had formerly been the miko of that town, asserted that it was intended that the entrances should lie toward the cardinal points. This is confirmed by Hitecock.^{94a} Whether this was an established custom of some or all of the Creek towns it would now be impossible to say, but I am of the opinion that it was never universal. A change has also come about in the number of arbors. Anciently there appear to have been four without exception. At least there is no early mention of a smaller number among the Creeks proper.⁹⁵

^{94a} See p. 135.

⁹⁵ For the Seminole, however, see Bartram in *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 56.

With a falling off in population, however, and the conversion of many Indians to Christianity, it was found unnecessary to put up so many, and also too laborious for the workers available. Where four were preserved one or more came to be assigned to the women and children, although anciently they did not have seats on the square ground. We therefore find in many towns only three arbors, and in a few, like Alabama, only two. The ones dropped off were those which had been occupied by the boys, the visitors, and the less important officials. *Liwahali* Seminole presents an extreme stage in the decline of the busk, each arbor being represented by only a single split log entirely uncovered (pl. 5, c). The last relic of the public ground to survive, however, was the chunky yard, which we have yet to consider.

Not so much attention is paid to this chunky yard by our early authorities, Hawkins practically disregarding it, while Swan merely refers to "a May-pole, with a large circular beaten yard around it, at the southwest corner, which is called the chunky yard."⁹⁶ Bartram gives the fullest description of the ground to be found among older writers. Following is his account in full:

"The *Chunky-Yard* of the Creeks, so called by the traders, is a cubiform area, generally in the centre of the town, because the Public Square and the Rotunda, or great winter Council-house, stand at the two opposite corners of it. It is generally very extensive, especially in the large old towns,⁹⁷ is exactly level, and sunk two, sometimes three, feet below the banks or terraces surrounding it, which are sometimes two, one above and behind the other, and are formed of earth cast out of the area at the time of its formation; these banks or terraces serve the purposes of seats for the spectators. In the centre of the yard there is a low circular mount or eminence, in the centre of which stands erect the *chunky-pole*, which is a high obelisk, or four square pillars declining upwards to an obtuse point, in shape and proportion much resembling the Egyptian obelisk. This is of wood, the heart or inward resinous part of the sound pine-tree, and is very durable; it is generally from thirty to forty feet high, and to the top of this is fastened some object to shoot at with bows and arrows, the rifle, etc., at certain times appointed. Near each corner of the lower and further end of the yard stands erect a less pillar or pole, about twelve feet high: these are called the *slave-posts*, because to them are bound the captives condemned to be burnt, and these posts are usually decorated with the scalps of their slain enemies; the scalps with the hair on them, and strained on a little hoop, usually five or six inches in

⁹⁶ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 265.

⁹⁷ "The chunky yards are of different sizes, according to the largeness and fame of the town they belong to; some are 200 or 300 yards in length, and of proportionable breadth."—Bartram.

width, are suspended by a string six or seven inches in length round about the top of the pole, where they remain as long as they last. I have seen some that have been there so long as to lose all the hair, and the skin remaining white as parchment or paper. The pole is usually crowned with the white dry skull of an enemy. In some of these towns I have counted six or eight scalps fluttering on one pole in these yards. Thus it appears evidently enough that this area is designed for a public place of exhibition of shows and games, and formerly some of the scenes were of the most tragical and barbarous nature, as torturing the miserable captives with fire in various ways, and causing or forcing them to run the gauntlet naked, chunked and beat almost to death with burning chunks and fire-brands, and at last burnt to ashes.

"Inquired of the traders for what reason this area was called the *Chunky-Yard*; they were in general ignorant, yet they all seemed to agree in a lame story of its originating from its being the place where the Indians formerly put to death and tortured their captives—or from the Indian name for it, which bears such a signification.

"The Indians do not now torture their captives after that cruel manner as formerly; but there are some old traders who have been present at the burning of captives.

"I observed no *Chunky-Yards*, chunky-pole, or slave-posts in use in any of the Cherokee towns: and when I have mentioned in my journal, chunky-yards in the Cherokee country, it must be understood that I have seen the remains or vestiges of them in the ancient ruins of towns; for in the present Cherokee towns that I visited, though there were the ancient mounts and signs of the yard adjoining, yet the yard was either built upon or turned into a garden spot or the like.

"Indeed, I am convinced that the *Chunky-Yards* now, or lately, in use amongst the Creeks, are of very ancient date—not the formation of the present Indians. But in most towns they are cleaned out and kept in repair, being swept clean every day, and the poles kept up and decorated in the manner I have mentioned."⁹⁸

A footnote by Squier gives the true origin of the term chunky, viz, from the name of a game to be explained elsewhere and common throughout the Southern States in primitive times.^{98a} Bartram seems to have seen a chunky-pole compounded of four pieces, an unusually elaborate construction. Nothing of the kind is known at the present day.

After describing the Atasi square in his *Travels*, Bartram goes on to tell us that "in the midst of a large oblong square adjoining this town (which was surrounded with a low bank or terrace) is standing a high pillar, round like a pin or needle; it is about forty feet in

⁹⁸ Bartram, in *Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc.*, vol. III, pp. 34-36.

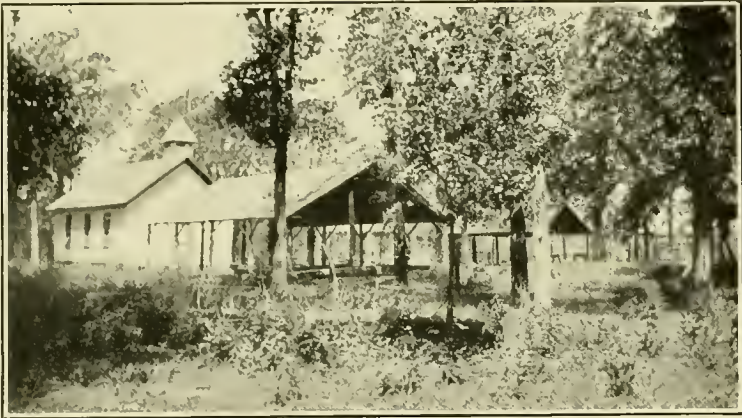
^{98a} See p. 466.

height, and between two and three feet in diameter at the earth, gradually tapering upwards to a point; it is one piece of pine wood, and arises from the centre of a low, circular, artificial hill, but it leans a little to one side."⁹⁹ He adds that the Indian traders knew nothing about this and the Indians themselves claimed to have found it in that same situation when their ancestors arrived in the country.⁹⁹ There can be no doubt, however, that this was nothing more than a chunk yard with its ball post, although it is possible that it belonged to an older town and was not in use in Bartram's time. It is at least interesting to note that according to our author's statement there was no pine of the kind used for this post then growing within 12 or 15 miles of the place.

The pole (Muskogee *pokábi*) is a simple straight stick, tapering to the top and about 30 feet high, at the summit of which is hung the skull of a cow or horse. In the Fish Pond towns a wooden fish is used, the idea being derived from the town name, and in Eufaula there is a wooden bird. The last is said not to have any particular significance unless it be that it is the American national emblem. The slave posts are barely remembered by the oldest people, but it is believed that they were made in the shape of *atásá* or "war clubs." The *chunkey* game is played no longer. Except during the *busk* this ground is employed by the Indians mainly in playing a game between the men and women which will be described later. During the *busk*, however, its bounds are within the sacred area, and some of the dances take place there. The *Okchai* town has two *pokábis*, one to the east and one to the west. At *Hilibi* there are two, one, the *pokábi* proper, within the prescribed bounds and the other beyond, to the south. The latter is used for purely social purposes, the situation of the former not being so well suited to the game. The fact that the latter is maintained distinct shows that there was a sacred character appertaining to the *chunkey-yard* and also that it was considered proper that it occupy a certain position. The ridges of earth to which Bartram refers as furnishing seats for spectators were made by successive cleanings, or rather scrapings, of the surface of the yard. At the present day these ridges (*tádjo*) are difficult to distinguish in some grounds, but in a few, such as those of *Tukabahchee* and *Okchai*, they have almost the appearance of earthworks. In some an inner and an outer *tádjo* may be distinguished, the former just outside of the four beds that form the square. This feature is, however, said to be purely accidental, due to cleaning out under the beds. Piles of trash are also left about the roots of trees and other obstructions.

Around the edges of each *busk* ground were a number of camps occupied by the families participating in the ceremony during the period of its continuance. The permanent parts of two of these are shown in Plates 4, *a*, and 6, *c*.

⁹⁹ Bartram. *Travels*, p. 455.



a



b



c

CREEK CHURCHES AND BURIALS

Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, *a* and *b*.)

The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and subsequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotta." He says:

"We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours."¹

As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek *tupa*), usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (*mikálgi* or *mikági intupa*) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (*tástánágálgi intupa*), and one the boys' bed (*tcibánágálgi intupa*), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the *henihas'* bed (*henihálgi intupa*) and was known

¹ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 302.

to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The *henihálgi* always acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a *heniha*. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.^a Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that *inili* in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). For our present purposes it is important to find out what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted the *mikálgi* or chiefs, and the *henihálgi* or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the *tástánágálgi* or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and *henihas* we find the following condition in the different towns:

Town	Chiefs	Henihas ¹
Talladega.....	Bear.....	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Eufaula).....	Raccoon or Bear ²	Bear or Raccoon (second chief). ³
Abihka-in-the-West.....	Panther.....	Raccoon.
Kan-teati.....	Bear.....	Do.
Otciafopa.....	Beaver.....	Wind.
Tulsa Little River.....	do.....	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian.....	do.....	Beaver (second chief).
Luteapoga.....	do.....	Bird ³ (Beaver, second chief).
Okfuskee.....	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis).....	Bear.
Teatoksotka.....	Bear.....	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkuci.....	do.....	Bird.
Nuyaka.....	do.....	Wind.
Talmutcasi.....	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon.....	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan tallahassee.....	(1) Aktayatci.....	(1) Wind; (3) Bird.
	(2) (Bear—J. Lewis).	
Wiogufki.....	(1) Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka.....	Aktayatci.....	Panther.
Asilanabi.....	Bear; Raccoon (later).....	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai.....	Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis) ⁴	Bird (Deer).
Eálógálga.....	Raccoon.....	Deer (second chief).
Wiwohka.....	(1) Panther ⁵ (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee.....	Wind or Bear ²	Bear or Wind. ²
Koasati.....	Raccoon.....	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee.....	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins).....	Wind. ⁶
Atasi.....	Bear ⁷	Do.
Kealedji.....	Raccoon.....	Do.

¹ In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the *heniha*'s clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 287.)

² The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

³ Legus Perryman seemed to think, however, that a *Teiloki* clan, perhaps the *Aktayatci*, furnished the *henihas*.

⁴ Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

⁵ Panther according to two informants.

⁶ According to *Kasihla yahola* the *Tukabahchee* use the Deer clan as *henihas* "during the woman's dance."

⁷ The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

Town	Chiefs	Henihās
Eplāko.....	(1) Bear.....	(1) Bird (second chief).
	(2) Raccoon.....	(2) Bear or Wind.
Liwahali.....	(1) Panther.....	(1) Deer.
	(2) Panther.....	(2) Aktayatei or Fox.
Hilibi.....	Aktayatei.....	Alligator, Turkey, and Tāmi.
Upper Eufaula.....	Aktayatei (anciently Eagle).....	Do. ⁸
Alabama.....	Bear ⁹	(1) Aktayatei.
		(2) Alligator, Bird, etc.
Kasibta.....	Bear ¹⁰ (Alligator—Gatschet).....	Wind (Isfani—Hawkins); (Alligator, second chief).
Hitchiti.....	Bird (Tāmi—Jackson Lewis).....	Deer.
Okmulgee.....	Bear.....	Wind (?).
Apalachicola.....	Wind (Deer, in last organization).....	Bear (Bird, in last organization).
Yuchi.....	(Passes from father to son irrespective of clan.)	
Coweta.....	Fish ¹¹ (Wind).....	Bird. ¹²
Ēikatka.....	Alligator.....	Wind (Bear, second chief).
Eufaula Hobayi.....	(1) Kapitca.....	(1) Deer (?).
	(2) Bear (second inf.).....	(2) Wind (second inf.)
Chiaha.....	(1) Raccoon, Potato, or Fox.....	(1) Bear or Deer.
	(2) Bear.....	(2) Bear.
	(3) Wind.....	(3) Aktayatei, Potato, Alligator, Tāmi, Raccoon, Fox.
Osochi.....	(1) Fox (Jim Sapulpa).....	(1) Wind (Jim Sapulpa).
	(2) Potato (Tob Tiger).....	(2) Panther (Tob Tiger).
Ochesee.....	Beaver.....	Bird.
Okfuskee Seminole.....	do.....	Bird (second chief).
Tallahasitci.....	do.....	Bird.
Hitchiti Seminole.....	Bird.....	Toad.
Eufaula Seminole.....	Kapitca.....	Panther. ¹³
Liwahali Seminole.....	(1) Bird.....	(1) Bear.
	(2) Potato.....	(2) Bird.
Chiaha Seminole.....	Bear.....	Wind. ¹³
Mikasuki.....	(1) Alligator.....	(1) Alligator (Panther, second chief; Potato, third chief). ¹⁴
	(2) Snake (anciently); Panther (later)...	(2) Panther (anciently); Alligator (later).

⁸ According to Jackson Lewis. Later the Bird clan seems to have occupied this position, though according to some Hilibi people the Wind once performed the function.

⁹ One of the last chiefs belonged to the Wind clan.

¹⁰ According to three different informants.

¹¹ Hawkins and Ispahitca (fide Gatschet) both give the Fish, which we may therefore assume to have been the chief's clan in ancient times.

¹² According to both my own informants and those of Doctor Gatschet (Creek Ms. vocab.).

¹³ These clans are called tāsānāgālgī but take the place of the henihālgī.

¹⁴ See Fig. 99.

Regarding the Texas Alabama I learned the following facts. Within the memory of living Indians the chieftainship has not passed down in a single clan. The first head chief held in remembrance was leader of the tribe before they came to Texas. His name has not been preserved but he was the grandfather of John Scott, the late chief, and he belonged to the Daddy-longlegs clan. The second head chief is remembered as "old man Antone." He belonged to the Bear clan, and the second chief under him was a Tawasa Indian of the Beaver clan named Celestine. Antone was succeeded by the late chief, John Scott, who was of the Deer clan. The second chief under him was formerly John Walker, a Bear.

By eliminating the Texas Alabama and the doubtful and less well-authenticated material in the above data and reducing all of the towns of each group under one head we obtain the following summary result. Alternative possibilities are in parentheses.

Town	Chief	Henihā
Abihka	Bear	Raccoon.
Tulsa	Beaver	Bird (or Wind).
Okfuskee	Bear	Wind (or Bird).
Pakan tallahassee	Aktayatci (or Bear)	Do.
Wiogufki	Aktayatci	Wind.
Okchai	Bear	Do.
Wiwohka	Panther (or Bird)	Do.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear	Bear or Wind.
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind.
Tukabahchee	Eagle (or Raccoon)	Do.
Atasi	Bear	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.
Laplāko	Bear	Bird (or Wind).
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator.
Eufaula, Upper	do	Do.
Alabama	Bear	Aktayatci.
Kasihā	do	Wind (or Tāmi).
Hitchiti	Bird (or Tāmi or Raccoon)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (or Deer)	Bear (or Bird).
Coweta	Fish (or Wind)	Bird.
Eufaula Hobayi	Kapitca	Deer (or Wind)
Chiaha	Fox or Potato	Bear.
Osochi	do	Wind (or Panther).
SEMINOLE TOWNS		
Ochesee	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee	do	Do.
Tallahasutci	do	Do.
Hitchiti	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula	Kapitca	Panther (tāstānāgi).
Liwahali	Bird (or Potato)	Bear (or Bird).
Chiaha	Bear	Wind (tāstānāgi).
Mikasuki	Alligator (or Snake)	Panther (or Alligator).

A study of this table yields certain very interesting facts. Taking the henihālgī clans first we find that with few exceptions these come from the White side. The Deer occurs twice, once in Hitchiti and once in Eufaula Hobayi, but in the latter case there is an alternative possibility, while the former applies simply to the last organization of the Hitchiti square. Nevertheless this clan is said to have been used at Tukabahchee as henihālgī during the women's dance. The old woman who gave me the data for Apalachicola said that anciently

the Hitchiti square was the same as in the Apalchicola town. On the other hand the Seminole Hitchiti had the Toad clan, generally considered akin to the Deer, as their *henihálgi*. The Deer was, however, considered a White clan in Chiaha, and Chiaha anciently spoke the Hitchiti language. It is therefore possible that the Deer was once a White clan among Hitchiti-speaking people. Again, the Alligator and their allies were the *henihálgi* at Hilibi and Upper Eufaula, perhaps also in the Mikasuki town; indeed an old Mikasuki Indian told me that the Alligator were considered the *henihálgi* among all Seminole. While this does not seem to agree with the statements of other Seminole Indians there may nevertheless have been truth in it, since the clans given as *henihas* among the Seminole are often those which furnished the second chief, and the old organization appears to have fallen to pieces. Possibly the position of the Alligator as *henihálgi* may have resulted from the influence exerted by the Eufaula band who formed a considerable body among the Seminole. The Alligator, like the Deer, was also sometimes a White clan, and much more frequently. The *Aktayatei* are given as *henihálgi* among the Alabama by one informant, but the Alabama town is small and the organization badly broken down, and, besides, another informant stated that the Alligator or Bird were the only *henihas*. Moreover, the *Aktayatei* in Alabama were said to form part of the same phratry as the Deer which is sometimes White. Only in the *Abihka* towns have we a well accredited case of a clan of *henihas* never reckoned among the Whites. But although the Raccoon clan there plainly performed the functions of the *henihálgi* one of the very men who gave me the information stated that the south bed was called "bed of the *henihálgi*" because the Wind clan sat there, and he added that "it was understood that in every town the Wind clan were the *henihálgi*." The chief of the Mikasuki said the same thing. This, of course, can only mean that in the *Abihka* town there has been a dislocation of the older usage.

An inspection of the table shows the Wind clan mentioned as *henihas* seventeen times, eight times without qualification. Next stand the Bird, mentioned ten times, and the Bear four times. There can be little doubt that it was the general opinion that the Wind should be *henihálgi*, and I am inclined to believe that anciently they were so to a greater extent than at present, but as far back as Hawkins's time we know that they were not *henihálgi* in a town as important as *Kasihta*; perhaps their enjoyment of this dignity was partly theoretical and never carried out in all cases. Nevertheless it is certain that almost invariably the *henihálgi* were a White clan, and this I believe once to have been universally the case, for the *henihas* were associated with peace and sometimes their bed was called the "white or peace cabin."

Turning to the chiefs, we do not find such a simple proposition. The chief was selected from the Bear clan in 8 and possibly 11 cases, from the Beaver in 4, from the Aktayateci in 3 and possibly 4, from the Raccoon in 2 to 4, the Bird in from 1 to 4, the Fox or Potato in 2 to 3, the Wind in perhaps 3, the Kapitca in 2 cases, and the Fish, Eagle, Panther, Tami, Deer, Alligator, and Snake in single cases. The Beaver clan furnished the chiefs in the Tulsa towns and in three Seminole towns which had probably drawn most of their population from the Tulsa towns. The Aktayateci led in Hilibi, Upper Eufaula, Wiogufki, and possibly Pakan tallahassee. The Raccoon is found in two towns traditionally related or closely connected, Tukabahchee and Kealedji, and in Koasati, a near neighbor. The Bird occurs in this position principally in Hitchiti and Hitchiti Seminole, the Wind in the Lower Creek towns, particularly Coweta, and in Tuskegee, the Fox and Potato in the related towns of Chiaha and Osochi, and the Kapitca in Lower Eufaula and in Eufaula Seminole. Of the isolated cases the Eagle is already explained as a branch of or now incorporated with the Raccoon, and in the same way the Fish was an old branch of, or has been incorporated into, the Wind.

The other single cases are all reported from towns that have long given up the busk or which are known to have been reduced very much in numbers and otherwise disorganized. They also occur sometimes where there is disagreement. The Bear clan is the only one that by the number of cases and their distribution suggests a position for the chieftainship similar to that of the Wind for the *henihálgi*. This is brought out more strongly by the discovery of several cases in which the Bear has been superseded by some other clan only in recent times. By several early writers we find it stated that the White towns were governed by chiefs and the Red towns by warriors. It is evident that *tástánágis* were never chiefs of towns; therefore all this statement could mean is that the chiefs of Red towns were drawn from Red clans. Examining our lists we find that, in fact, with two exceptions, all of the White towns about which there is unanimity of opinion were ruled by chiefs drawn from White clans. Of the two exceptions one, Wiogufki, claimed relationship with Eufaula and Hilibi, and is said to have been originally a Red town, while the other, Koasati, has long ceased to have busks, and the organization that is remembered is probably one that was adopted after the older form had been partly given up. There are a few other White towns which some hold to have been ruled by Red clans, but one of them, Wiwohka, was thought to be composed of refugees from all quarters, and it early became reduced and disorganized. Another, Pakan tallahassee, which now has the same head clan as Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula, has in late years been closely associated with those towns. Finally, Gatschet was told that the miko of Hitchiti was a Raccoon,

and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahehee, but it is confessedly difficult to explain. Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Laplako, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Laplako, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihās were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck.

We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position of the clans in the different beds or arbors. To prepare the ground for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihās' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw² teokofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable.

² Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw. See p. 590.

Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henahas' bed	Youths' bed
Talladega	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka-in-the-West	W	E	S	N (for visitors).
Kan-teati	W	S (west end)	E (north end)	N (wanting).
Otciapofa	W	E	N	S (wanting).
according to Swan	W ¹	S	N	E. ¹
Tulsa Little River	W	N	S	E (for visitors).
Tulsa Canadian (?)	W	S ²	S ²	N.
Lutcapoga	W	N ³ (S)	S ³ (N)	E.
Okfuskee	N	W	E	S.
Tcatoksofka	W	E ²	E ²	N and S.
Abihkutci	N	W	E	S.
Nuyaka	N	W	E	S.
Talmutcasi	N	E	W	S.
Pakan tallahassee	N	W	S	E (wanting).
Wiogufki (1)	W	S	(wanting)	E.
(2)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Tukpafka	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Asilanabi	W	N	S	E.
Okehai	W	N	S	E.
Lalogálga	W	N	S	E.
Wiwohka (1)	W	E	N	S (wanting).
(2)	W		S	N (wanting).
Tuskegee	W	E ⁴	N ⁴	S.
Koasati No. 1	S	E(?)	?	?
Koasati No. 2	W	N	S ⁵	N (wanting).
Tukabahchee	SW	NW	SE	NE.
Atasi (1)	N	W	E	S.
(2)	N	S	E	W.
Kealedji	W	N	E(?)	S(?).
Lapłako	W	N	S	E.
Liwahali	E	S	?	?
Hilibi	W	S(?)	E(?)	N.
Upper Eufaula	N	S	E	W (wanting).
Alabama	E	W	S(?) ⁶	N(?) ⁶
Kasihta ⁷	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Hitchiti	W	N	E	S.
Okmulgee	W	N	S	E.
Apalachicola	W	N	E	S.
Yuchi	W	N and S ⁸		

¹ Actually Swan transposes these two but, as I have already said (p. 182), I think we may fairly assume a mistake in the notes or in the transcription made from them.

² The warriors and the henahas occupied different parts of the same bed. There was no East bed in Tulsa Canadian.

³ According to two informants.

⁴ Speck, on the authority of Laslie Cloud, places the warriors in both the North and East beds, and it is true that the imala or warriors of the second class sat in the North bed.

⁵ In modern times the henahas actually sat with the chiefs in the West bed.

⁶ These two beds are now entirely wanting.

⁷ All authorities, including Hawkins, agree.

⁸ There was no East bed.

Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Coweta (1) -----	W -----	E -----	N -----	S.
(2) -----	W -----	S -----	N -----	E.
Likateka -----	W -----	S (east end) -	S (west end)	E. ⁹
Eufaula Hobayi -----	W -----	S -----	N -----	E.
Chiaha (1) -----	S -----	N -----	W -----	E.
(2) ¹⁰ -----	W -----	S -----	N -----	E.
Osochi ¹⁰ -----	W -----	N -----	S -----	E.
Ochesee -----	W -----	N -----	S -----	E.
Okfuskee Seminole -----	W -----	N -----	S -----	E.
Tallahasutei -----	W -----	N -----	S -----	E.
Hitchiti Seminole -----	W -----	N -----	S -----	E(?).
Eufaula Seminole -----	W -----	N (?) -----	S (?) -----	E (wanting).
Liwahali Seminole -----	W -----	S -----	N -----	E.
Chiaha Seminole -----	W -----	S (?) -----	N (?) -----	E.
Mikasuki -----	W -----	N -----	S (?) -----	E.

⁹ There was no name for the North bed.

¹⁰ According to two informants.

The chiefs' bed we find almost always to the west, and, excepting in one case, always to the west among the Lower Creeks and the Seminole. The town square which Adair describes, whether it was Creek or Chickasaw, also had the chiefs' bed to the west, and he tells us specifically that it lay to the west in the old town of Coosa which has long since vanished. The exceptions are in the cases of the Okfuskee towns,^{2a} Pakan tallahassee, Atasi, and Upper Eufaula, in which it was north; Liwahali and Alabama in which it was east; and "Koasati No. 1" and the early Chiaha square in which it was south. I do not feel thorough confidence in the data from Atasi, Liwahali, and Koasati No. 1, but the cases for the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, Upper Eufaula, and Alabama are proved by the existing squares. Chiaha and Koasati No. 1 may perhaps be explained by Tukabahchee in which the bed lies southwest and is said sometimes to lie west and again to lie south. Possibly the peculiar reverse arrangement among the Alabama is due to the fact that the Alabama were at one time adopted by the Okchai who told them that they might "sit on the other side of their fire." At that time, therefore, their chiefs may have occupied the east cabin, and they may have retained the same position after separating from the Okchai. In the case of the Okfuskee I can only say that, as their towns lay well to the north and east, they may have desired to face somewhat inward toward the rest of the nation. But this is purely conjecture. Turning to the warriors' bed we find that in about 23 cases it was to the north, in 12 to 16 south, 6 to 11 east, and 5 or 6 west. In Hawkins's description of

^{2a} Teatoksofka, which seems to constitute an exception, has long been abandoned and information regarding it is somewhat doubtful.

a Creek square it is placed to the north, but in those given by Swan and Adair to the south. Both positions were therefore relatively old, and there is no reason to doubt that the east and west positions may be old also, since the former is decisively characteristic of the Abihka towns while the latter is just as characteristic of the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, and Alabama. The bed of the henihias is on the south side 18 to 28 times, on the north 6 to 10 times, on the east 10 to 12, and on the west once or twice. I doubt the correctness of the cases in which it is reported on the west, but all of the other positions probably occurred. In many cases it is difficult to determine the henihias' bed with certainty, since the name applied to it changed more than that of any other bed and the henihias themselves were frequently seated in the same cabin as the chiefs. The least important of all the beds was that which I have called the youths' bed, also used for visitors, for mixing the medicine, for storing articles, and in later times omitted altogether. This bed, or the space marking its absence, was on the east between 21 and 25 times, on the south 8 to 14 times, on the north 6 to 8 times, and on the west once or twice. One of the last, it should be observed, occurs in one of the extant square grounds. The characteristic positions for these beds were, therefore, west for that of the chiefs, north for that of the warriors, south for the henihias, and east for the youths. However, the warriors' bed was often south or east, the henihias' east or north, and the youths' south. When the chiefs' bed was shifted out of the west it was almost always to the north. There is practically no native explanation for the different positions which the beds occupied in different towns. Big Jack of Hilibi recalled a belief that the chiefs were made to face those they opposed in the ball games, but this would not hold for one-half of the Creek towns.

The location of the four beds now being determined for each town as closely as the material will permit, let us proceed, using this as a guide, to place the clans in them. In the following table is given as complete a statement of their positions as possible. The capital letters indicate the cardinal point of each bed and the small letters in parentheses whether this belonged to the chiefs, henihias, warriors, or youths.

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer
Telladega.....	S(h)	W(c)			S(h)	E(w)
Atitka.....	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)S(h)	E(w)
Atitka-in-the-West	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)	E(w)
Kaiticati.....	S(?)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		E(?)
Otciapofa.....	N(h)	W(c)		W(c)		E(w)
Tulsa Little River	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		N(w)
Lutcapoga.....	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(—)	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	N(w)(S(h))	
Okfuskee.....	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)		S(y)	S(y)
Teatoksofka.....	E(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N, S	N, S
Abihkutchi.....	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka.....	E(h)	N(c)				
Talmutcesi.....	W(h)		N(c)			
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	W(w)
Wigoufki.....	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(S(h))	S(w)	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(—)	S(h), E(w)
Tukpafka.....	S(h)					W(c)
Asilanahi.....	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Okchai.....	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)
Łalogálga.....	W(c)					W(c)
Wiwohka.....	N(h)(W(c))	N(h)(—)	N(h)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(S(h))
Tuskegee.....	W(c)(W(c))	N(h)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h), W(c) (E(w))	N(h), W(c) (—)	
Koasati No. 1.....	S(c)	S(c)?	?	?	?	?
Koasati No. 2.....	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Tukabahchee.....	W(c)	W(c)(S(h))	W(c), S(h) (S(h))	S(h)	E(y)	W(c)
Atasi.....	S(h)(E(y))	W(w)&E (h)	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	N(c)
Kealedji.....	W(c)	E(y)	E(y)	E(y)	S(h)	W(c)
Łapláko.....	W(c)	S(h)(W(c))	N(w)	N(w)	E(y)	E(y)
Łiwahali.....						
Hilibi.....	E(h?)	E(h?)	E(h?)		W(c)	S(w?)
Upper Eufaula.....	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	(N(c))S(w)
Eufaula Hobayi.....	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	(N(h))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h)
Alabama.....	E(c)	E(c)(W(w))	E(c)		E(c)	E(c)
Kasihta.....	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti.....	N(w)	N(w)	W(c)	W(c)	E(h)	W(c)
Okmulgee.....	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)
Apalachicola.....	W(c)(N(w))	W(c)(N(w))	W(c), N(w) (N(w))	E(h)(W(c))	E(h)(W(c))	N(w)(W(c))
Yuchi ¹						
Coweta.....	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		
Łikatecka.....	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)	N(w)
Chiaha.....	(W(c))	W(h)(S(w))	N(w)(W(c))	(S?(w))	(N(h))	W(h)(N?(h))
Osochi.....	S(h)(S(h))	N(w)(W(c))	S(h)(N(w))	S(h)(—)	W(c)(N(w))	S(h)(—)
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochesee.....	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	N(w)
Okfuskee.....	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Tallahasutci.....	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Hitchiti.....	N(w)	W(c)	W(c)	N(W)?		N(w)
Eufaula.....	S(h)					N(w)
Łiwahali.....	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(w)	N(h)
Chiaha.....	W(c)	W(c)	N(w?)	N(w?)	S(h?)	S(h?)
Mikasuki.....		W?(c)		S?(h)	W(c)	

¹ The seating is not by clans.

Town	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayateci	Snake	Potato	Támi
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)	E(w)			
Abihka	S(h)	E(w)				
Abihka-in-the-West	W(c)	W(c)				
Kan-teati	S(w)	E(h)				
Oteiapofa	N(h)	E(w)	W(c)		N(h)	N(h)
Tulsa Little River		N(w)	N(w)		N(w)	
Lutcapoga	(N(w))	N(w)	N(w) and S(h)(S(h))		N(w)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(y)		S(y)			S(y)
Tcatoksofka	N, S	N, S				
Abihkutci	S(y)	S(y)	S(y)		S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka						
Talmutcesi						
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	W(w)	N(c)			S(h)
Wioqufki	S(w)W(c)	E(y), E(w)	W(c)		E(y, w)	S(w)(W(c))
Tukpafka	S(h)					
Asilanhí	S(h)	W(c)	(scattered)		W(c)	S(h)
Okchai		W(c)	S(h)			
Lalogálga		W(c)				
Wiwohka	W(c)(W(c))	E(w)(S(h))	E(w)(—)	W(c)	E(w)	N(h)
Tuskegee	E(w)(N(h), W(c))	(E(w))	N(h)(E(w))		N(h)	
Koasati No. 1	S(?)	?	?			
Koasati No. 2	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)			
Tukahachee	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)		E(y)	E(y)
Atasi	E(h)		E(h)			
Kealedji	E(y)	W(c)	S(h)		W(c)(S(h))	S(h)
Epláko	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)(S(h))		N?(w)(E(y))	E(y)
Liwahali	E(c)					
Hílibi		S(w?)	W(c)			W(c)
Upper Eufaula	S(w)(N(c))	N(c)	N(c)		S(w)(N(c))	E(h)
Eufaula Hobayi	N(h)	(N(h))	(N(h))		(N(h))	
Alabama			E(c)			
Kashta	N(w)	S(h)(and N(w))	N(w)(and S(h))		S(h)	N(w)(S(h))
Hitchiti	N(w)		E(h)			
Okmulgee	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	
Apalachicola	W(c), N(w)(W(c))			E(h)	E(h), N(w), W(c)	
Yuchi ¹						
Coweta	S(h)		S(h)		S(h)	S(h)
Likateka	N(w)		S(h)			
Chiaha	N(w)(S(w))	S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))		S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))
Osochi	N(w)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(—)		W(c)(W(c))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochesee	N(w)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	
Okfuskee	N(w)	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	W(c)	
Tallahasutci	N(w)		S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	N(w)
Hitchiti						
Eufaula	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)	
Liwahali	S(w)		S(w)	S(w)		
Chiaha		N(w?)	S(h?)		N(w?)	
Mikasuki	W(c), N(w)				W(c), N(w)	

¹ The seating is not by clans.

Town	Turkey	Pahosa	Kapitea	Wildcat	Wolf	Mole
Talladega						
Abihka						
Abihka-in-the-West						
Kan-teati						
Oteiapofa		N(h)				
Tulsa Little River	N(w)	N(w)				
Luteapoga						
Okfuskee	S(y)					
Teatoksotka	N, S					
Abihkutei				S(y)		
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	S(h)			N(c)		
Wiogufki	S(w)W(c)					
Tukpafka						
Asilanabi	S(h)					
Okchai						
Łalogalga						
Wiwohka		W(c)		W(c)		
Tuskegee						
Koasati No. 1						
Koasati No. 2						
Tukabahchee	E(y)					
Atasi						
Kealedji	S(h)				E(h)	
Łapłako	E(y)	E(y)		S(h)		
Łiwahali						
Hilibi	W(c)					
Upper Eufaula	E(h)					
Eufaula Hobayi			W(c)		(N(h))	
Alabama						
Kasibta				N(w)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti						
Okmulgee				N(w)	W(c)	
Apalachicola			E(h)	(W(c))	(N(w))	E(t)(W(c))
Yuchi ¹						
Coweta						
Łikateka						
Chiaha					(S(w))	
Osochi			(N(w))	N(w)(S(h))	N(w)(S(h))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochesee			S(h)		W(c)	
Okfuskee		N(w)	N(w)			
Tallahasutci	N(w)		S(h)			
Hitchiti						
Eufaula			W(c)			
Łiwahali		N(h)	S(w)			
Chiaha						
Mikasuki						

¹ The seating is not by clans.

Town	Skunk	Fox	Eagle	Woksi	Miscellaneous
Talladega.....					
Abihka.....					
Abihka-in-the-West.....					
Kan-teati.....					
Otcapofa.....					
Tulsa Little River.....			S(h)		
Luteapoga.....			S(w)		N(h) (Tcowastá)
Okfuskee.....					
Teatoksotka.....			W(c)		
Abihkutei.....	E(h)	S(y)	S(y)		
Nuyaka.....					
Talmutcasti.....					
Pakan tallahassee.....					
Wiogufki.....					
Tukpafka.....					
Asilanabi.....					
Okchai.....					
Łálogálga.....					
Wiwohka.....	N(h)				
Tuskegee.....					
Koasati No. 1.....					
Koasati No. 2.....					
Tukabahchee.....	W(c) (?)				
Atasi.....					
Kealedji.....		N(w)		S(h)	N(w) (Cane and Łidjámí)
Łapláko.....					
Łiwahali.....					
Hilibi.....					
Upper Eufaula.....					
Eufaula Hobayi.....		(N(h))			
Alabama.....		N(w)			(W(c)(S(h)) (Fish))
Kasihta.....					
Hitchiti.....					
Okmulgee.....		S(h)			
Apalachicola.....					W(c) (Toad(?))
Yuchi 1.....					
Coweta.....					
Łikatcka.....					
Chiaha.....	(W(c))	S(c)N(h)			(W(c)) (Fish)
Osotci.....		W(c)(-)			
SEMINOLE TOWNS					
Ochesee.....					S(h) (Otter)
Okfuskee.....					
Tallabasutei.....					
Hitchiti.....					S(h) (Toad and Teokote)
Eufaula.....					
Łiwahali.....					
Chiaba.....					
Mikasuki.....					W(c) (Otter)

¹ The seating is not by clans.

The following charts contain all the information that I have been able to obtain regarding the arrangement of the different square grounds, both from my own inquiries and from the writings of earlier investigators. They are of very unequal value and leave much to be desired, but represent about all that it is now possible to find out. In some cases I have given several charts based on the information of a

number of different informants; in others we are dependent upon the testimony of only one or two of the oldest people and not much reliance can be placed upon it. I give the Lower Creek squares first, then the Upper Creek squares, and finally the Seminole squares, the squares in White towns having precedence in each case. Names of White clans have been underlined when the native responsible for the plan in question furnished information on the subject.

The first plan (fig. 6) gives the square of Talladega.

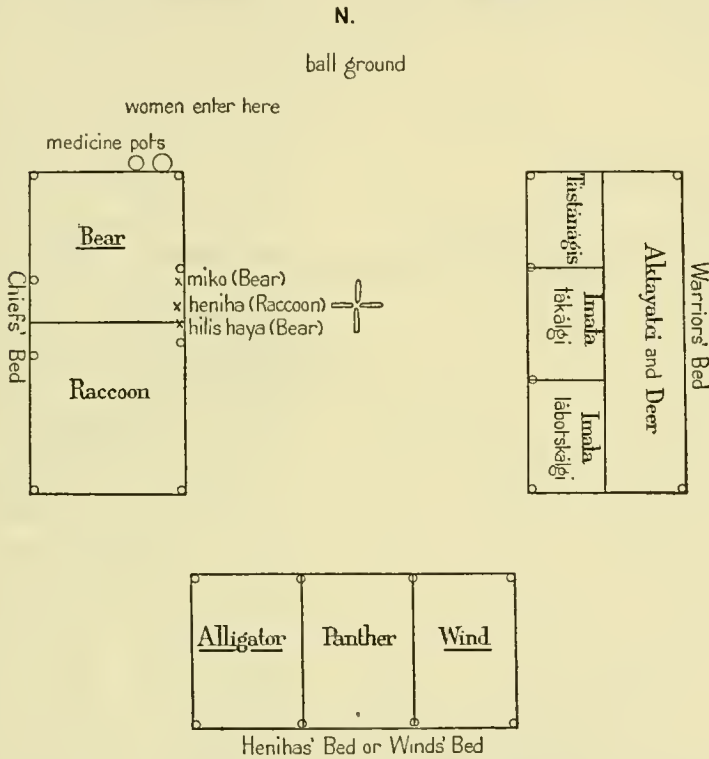


FIG. 6.—Plan of the Talladega Square Ground

This represents the proper theoretical arrangement. Actually the Bear and Raccoon people were mixed somewhat indiscriminately in the west bed. Although the Raccoon people are now the *henihálgi* it is understood that those of the Wind clan should fill that office, not only here but in every other town. The *hilis-haya* should be a Bear, as represented above, but in practice any qualified man might be selected, regardless of clan.

One medicine pot contained *miko hoyanidja*, the other a mixture consisting of may-apple roots, wormseed, *totka djuk-hisi* ("fire-bed moss"), *wio'fa fá'ki saigi'ngi* ("dirt snatched up"), *teato hátkutei* ("little white [granite] rocks"), and *totka hi'liswa* ("fire medicine").

These were for the ordinary stomp dances. At the busk a pot of pasa was added. There were about three *i'sti átca'gági* in each bed. There was no head man among the *tástánágis*; all were called in council by the *miko* when it was necessary to remodel the ground or undertake any other matter of the sort. The accompanying plan of the entire Talladega ground (fig. 7) was made by the writer in 1912.

Figure 8 shows the old Abihka ground near Eufaula, Okla.

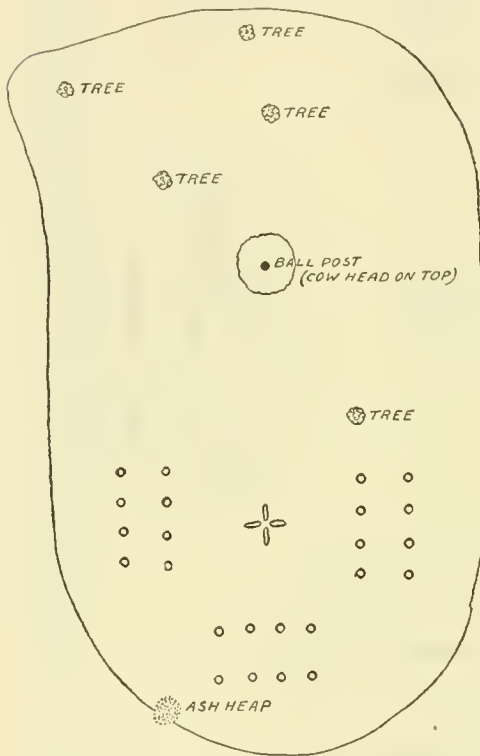


FIG. 7.—Talladega Ceremonial Ground (including Square) in 1912

each post in the Winds' bed. The *i'sti átca'gági* decided where and when a ball game was to be played. The *tástánágis* and *imaḥas*, at least the big *imaḥas*, had their own chiefs distinct from the *i'sti átca'gági*. There were no *teukolaidji*, male managers of the women's dance.

Figure 10 is Kan-teati.

The only information we have regarding the square ground of the ancient Coosa town is given by Adair, who says in a footnote: "I remember, in Koosah, the uppermost western town of the Muskohge, which was a place of refuge, their supposed holiest consisted of a neat house, in the centre of the western square, and the door of it was in the south gable-end close to the white cabin, each

The chieftainship in this town alternated between the Raccoon and Bear clans, the second chief being of the Bear when the head chief was from the Raccoon and vice versa. When the head chief died, the second chief took his place. This square ground was given up when my informant was a boy. He stated that here, or possibly at one of the other Abihka grounds, there was a *teokofa* toward the east.

Figure 9 gives Abihka-in-the-West. There were two pots of medicine, one containing 10 different ingredients. The cold medicine was left just where it was first prepared; the other was moved over to the north side of the fire. There were three or four *i'sti átca'gági* in the Warriors' bed and some at

on a direct line, north and south.”³ The passage to which this is appended contains the description of a square ground so generalized that it is impossible to say to what town or towns it applied specifically. Possibly it gives the old order of the Chickasaw square, but it is probable, in any case, that the Coosa square agreed with it, since that was one of those with which Adair was most familiar. It lay upon the trail between Augusta, Ga., and the Chickasaw country. His remarks are as follows: “Those of them [the American aborigines] who yet retain a supposed most holy place, contrary to the usage of

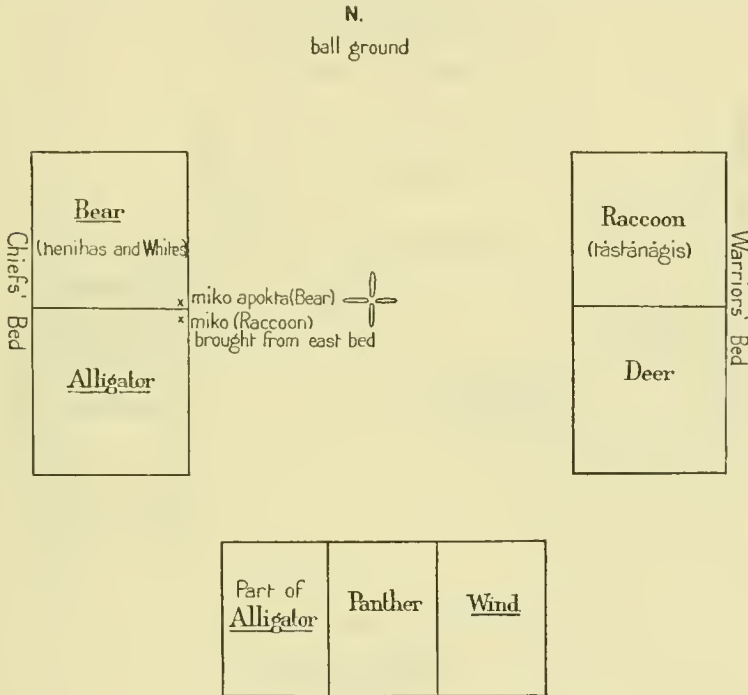


FIG. 8.—Plan of the Abihka Square Ground (near Eufaula, Okla.)

the old heathen world, have it standing at the west end of the holy quadrangular ground: and they always appoint those of the meanest rank, to sit on the seats of the eastern square, so that their backs are to the east, and faces to the west. The red square looks north; and the second men's cabin, as the traders term the other square, of course looks south.” It is to be noted that Adair uses the word “square” for each cabin or bed. Accepting this as the arrangement at Coosa, the square would be about as in Figure 11.

It is possible that Adair means by “looks north” and “looks south,” “lies north” and “lies south,” in which case the relative positions of the henihās' and warriors' beds would have to be trans-

³ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 112.

posed. Be that as it may, the description shows that the Coosa square was very similar to those of the Coweta and Kasihta, the other principal towns of pure Muskogee stock, and it seems to be confirmed by what we know of the daughter town Otcia-pofa. The inclosed place where the sacred vessels and other objects were kept may not have extended to the very front of the west bed as I have represented, but such a position is plainly indicated by the wording in Adair.

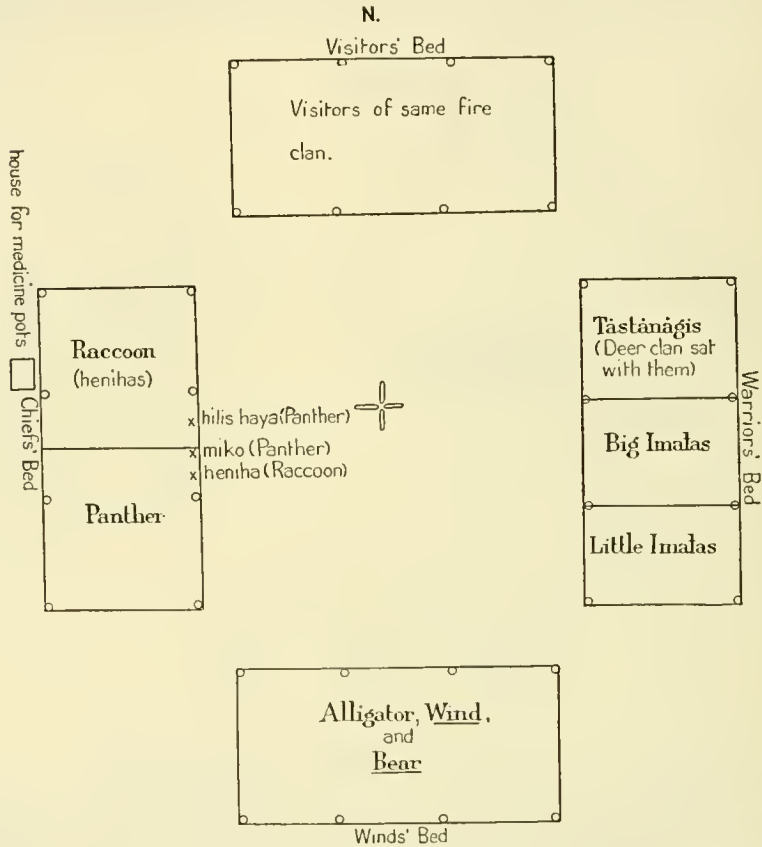


FIG. 9.—Plan of the Square Ground of Abihka-in-the-West

In Figure 12 is what is probably the Otcia-pofa ground, reproduced from Swan. Figure 13 shows the later plan of Otcia-pofa as described to me personally. Four isti atcagagis sat in each of these three beds; there was no south bed as far back as my informant could remember. The plan of the Otcia-pofa busk ground (fig. 14) was made by the writer in 1912.

In Figure 15 is shown the Tulsa Little River square.

There were very few of the Panther clan in this town, and but one or two belonging to the Kapitca. The old teokofa is said to

have lain to the west, probably in the same situation as that of Lutcapoga.

Figure 16 shows the square as it existed in 1911.

Figure 17 is from a rough native description of Tulsa Canadian.

Figures 18 and 19 show the arrangement of Lutcapoga according to two different authorities. The data for the first were given me by Legus Perryman, except that the east bed and the *teokofa* are added on the authority of his brother. The latter also stated that

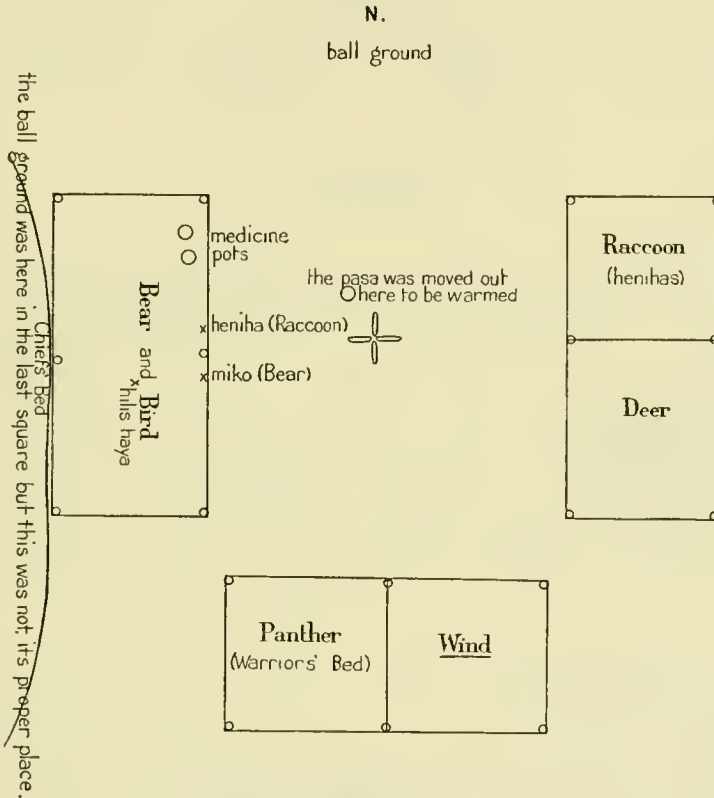


FIG. 10.—Plan of the Square Ground of Kan-teati

the Aktayatci were the *tästänägis* here, and that the *hilis-haya* sat in the front seat in the Bear's bed.

This town was founded because the Tulsa people had become so numerous that their square was overcrowded. The *tästänägi* was speaker for the *miko*, and the words "he says so and so" occurred over and over in his discourses. The *italwa miko* was assistant to the *miko*. The *täski henihä* was a leader in the women's dance, a "white dance" called *itcha obänga*.^{3a} There was another women's dance at the end of the ceremony which was a war dance danced by the Potato

^{3a} See p. 609 in following paper. Originally it seems to have been a war dance.

people (Ahalāgi). The Aktayatci had charge of and distributed the medicine, although the hilis-haya himself could belong to any clan.

The old teokofa was provided on the east side with a special seat for the women. It had a smoke hole.

The chief of Luteapoga about 1852 was a man named Hadji yāhola, who was succeeded by Teiyāha. This man died about 1857 and was followed by Tālsi fiksiko, who died in the winter of 1862.

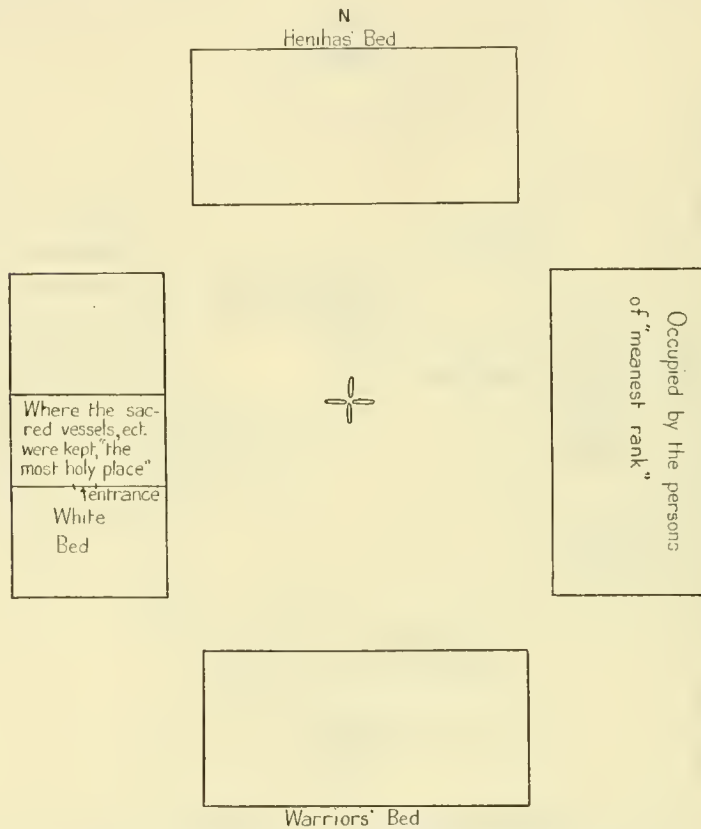


FIG. 11.—Conjectural arrangement of the Coosa Square Ground

Next came in succession Miko fiksiko and Itchāswa (Beaver). The last was living in 1912.

Figure 20 is Nuyaka. My informant stated that there were only two individuals belonging to the Panther clan in this town, and that no especial place was provided for the Deer clan. Figure 21 is a plan of the entire busk ground as it appeared in 1912.

Figure 22 is from a native description of Okfuskee.

There were very few in this town belonging to the Potato and Raccoon clans and they probably sat in the south bed. Besides the two isti āteagāgi in the east bed there was one in each of the others.

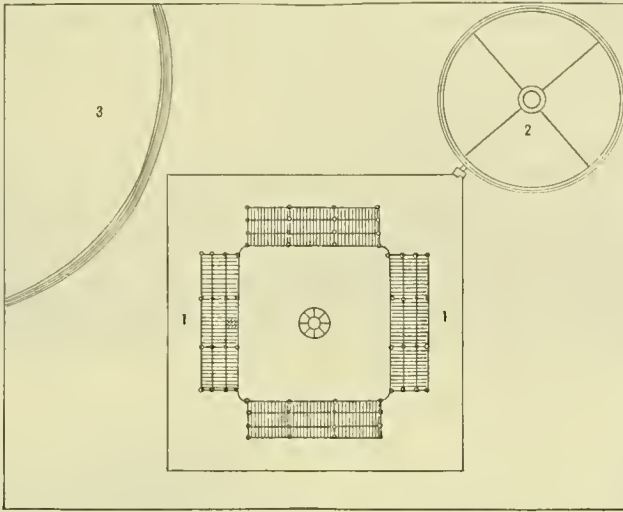


FIG. 12.—Plan of a Creek Ceremonial Ground as given by Swan. The top of this illustration is west instead of north. 1, Square; 2, Teokofa; 3, Chunkey yard

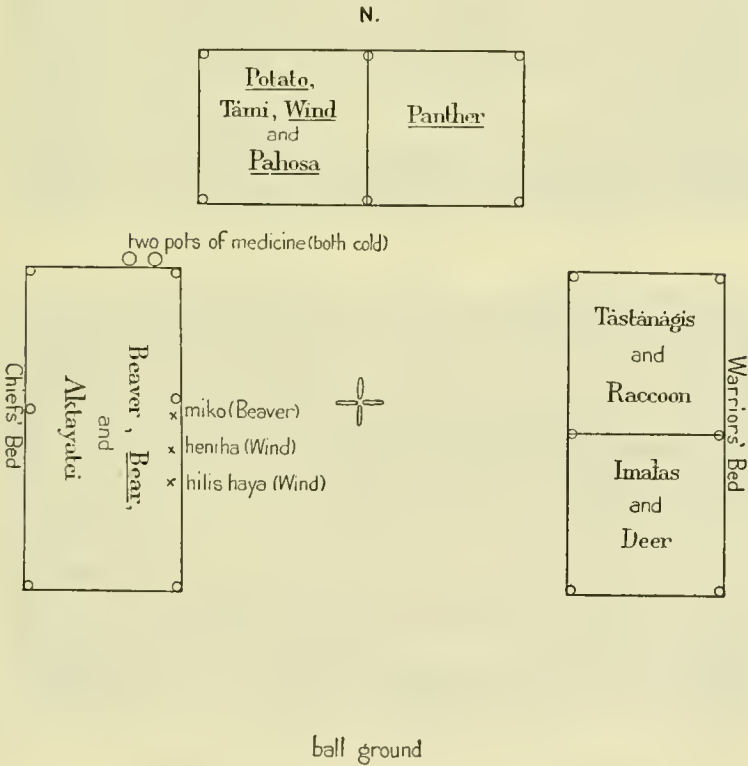


FIG. 13.—Plan of the Otelapofa Square Ground

In the adiloga medicine they used maypop root (obaha), totka hiliswa, wilana (wormseed), and totka djukhisi (fire bed moss). The miko hoyanidja did not go in with these.

Figure 23 is Abihkutei and Figure 24 contains all of the information I could obtain regarding Talmutcesi.

The younger brother of the woman from whom this information came gave a different description of the square, but it was so close to that of Tukabahchee that I believe it can not be relied upon, and that it was a deduction from the belief that all of the other squares were modeled on that of Tukabahchee.

The next (fig. 25) shows Teatoksofka. The rank of clans in the west bed is said to have been as follows: Bear, Beaver, Bird. Visiting chiefs were seated in the same beds as the chiefs of the town, visiting warriors in the same beds as the warriors, and so on. The occupants

of the Chiefs' bed took their medicine first, then those in the east bed, and finally those in the north and south beds. The two common medicines, miko hoyanidja and pasa, were used.

Figures 26 and 27 give the plan of Pakan tallahassee as recorded from two different informants. The numbers back of the beds indicate the order in which their occupants came out to take the medicine. According to one informant the third and fourth chiefs belonged to the Bear clan instead of the Panther clan as here given; another stated that the Panther people were not confined to a

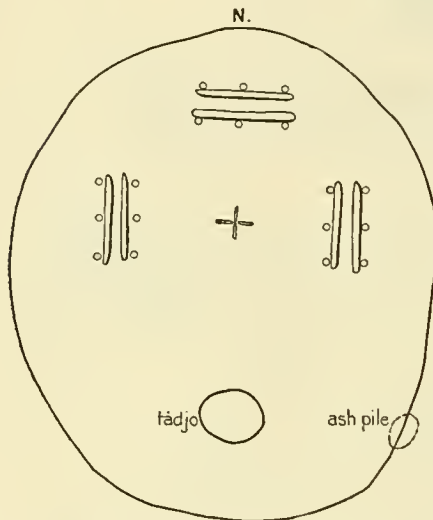


FIG. 14.—Otclapofa Ceremonial Ground in 1912

particular part of the Chiefs' bed but could sit anywhere. The bearers of the medicine consisted of two of the Bird clan, one of the Deer, and one of the Bear. The four leaders of the women were taken, one each, from the Wind, Deer, Bear, and Bird clans. They took their medicine at the northeast corner and fasted one day and one night.

My authority for the second plan stated that the people of the Bird clan were called isti atcagagi, and that imalas are not used any more.

The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 28) is from data obtained in 1912.

In Plate 2 is shown the Pakan tallahassee busk ground looking east (*b*) and the north or Chiefs' bed (*c*) as they appeared in the summer of 1912.



a. General view of the Busk Ground of Chiaha Seminole, Seminole County, Okla., in 1912



b. The Square Ground of Pakan tallahassee near Hanna, Okla., in 1912



c. The North or Chiefs' Bed of Pakan tallahassee

CREEK CEREMONIAL OR BUSK GROUNDS

Besides the clans enumerated above there were some Raccoon and Potato and in ancient times some Beaver. There were never any Alligator, Bear, or Bird. Two men sang for the women when they danced, one man carrying a white gourd rattle, the other a blue one.

Figure 33 is a rough diagram based on a study of the site of the last Tukpafka square ground. We now come to the Fish Pond Towns. Figure 34 shows Asilanabi.

Besides the clans given there were a few individuals belonging to the Aktayatei clan, but these sat anywhere. The Raccoon clan were leaders of the Teilokis and were followed in order of rank by

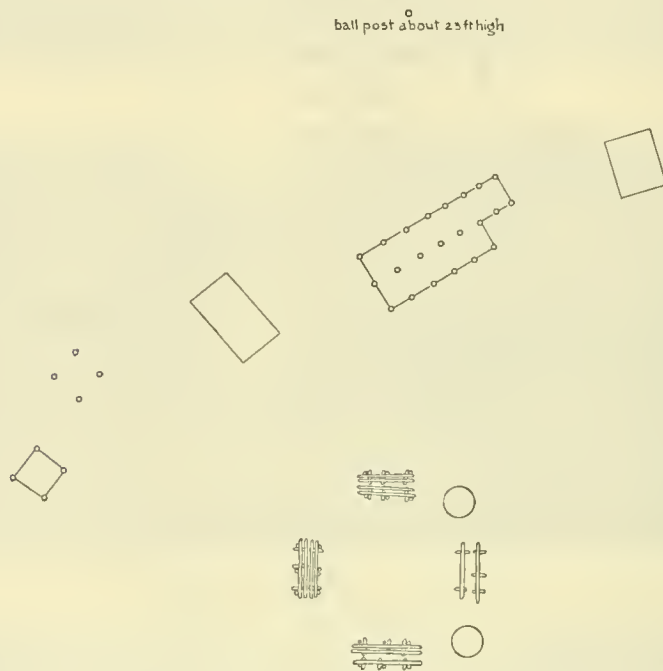


FIG. 16.—Tulsa Little River Ceremonial Ground in 1911

the Panther, Deer, Beaver, Aktayatei, and Alligator in succession. The old teokofa was placed as in the plan, to the northwest of the square, but after they returned at the conclusion of the Civil War, an old man who had preserved ashes from the teokofa throughout that contest said that it would not be good to use the old place again, so he deposited the ashes just east of the east bed. It does not appear, however, that a new teokofa was erected over them. It is said that in reality there ought to be three beds, each having eight posts, instead of the four with six posts. The one left out was probably that on the east. The accompanying plan of this square (fig. 35) is from data gathered in 1912 by the author.

Figure 36 is Okelhai. According to my informant, the Wind clan were known as *isti átcaġági*. He stated that the *tástánáġis* could overrule the *miko* sometimes on the ground that a thing was unconstitutional.

The plan shown in Figure 37 represents the square ground as it existed in 1911-12.

Figure 38 is *Lálogálga* or Fish Pond proper.

According to another informant—in whom I do not, however, place unlimited confidence—the east bed was used for visitors, and the north bed occupied throughout by the Deer clan. He placed the *Aktayatei* and *Támi* in the northern compartment of the west bed, the *Pahosa* and *Potato* in the middle section, and “old people” in the southern. The medicine pots were at the north end of the same bed, and the pot of medicine for the women and children was at the south end of this bed; the women also entered to dance at the latter place. In the south bed were the rest of the

clans, the *henihas* being in the easternmost section. In Figure 39 is a plan of the *Lálogálga* square as it existed in 1912.

Figures 40 and 41 show *Wiwohka*. The essential differences between these two plans of the square may be explained if we suppose that the second informant, or my interpreter, misunderstood the location of the north bed and placed it on the south side. The correctness of the first plan is confirmed by a third account which in other respects is inferior to either of those given. The only other discrepancy is in the position of the *Wind* clan which the first informant placed in the north bed and the second in the west bed. This was perhaps due to an assumption on the part of the second informant

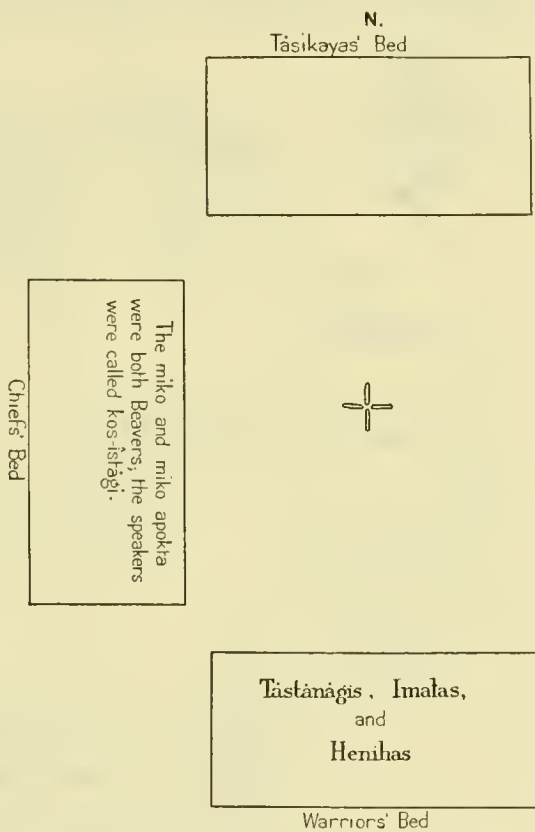


FIG. 17.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Canadian

that the henihās would be seated in the same bed as the miko's henihā. My third informant also committed an evident blunder in placing the Chief's bed to the east instead of the west. All three agreed in giving the Panther clan as that of the chiefs and the Wind clan that of the henihās.

In Figure 42 is a plan of Tuskegee by one of its former chiefs. One informant thought that the Potato were the henihās, but I

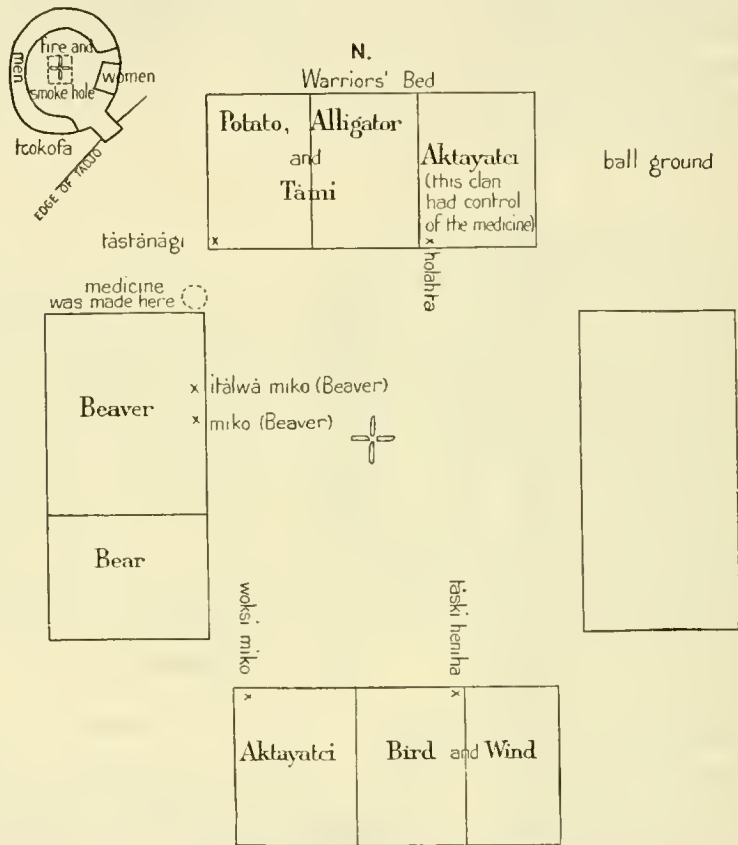


FIG. 18.—Plan of the Lucepoga Square Ground (I)

believe this to have been a mistake. It is probable that the Wind clan originally constituted the henihās but subsequently came to furnish the chiefs.

Figure 43 is the square ground of the same town as remembered by another informant. The plan given by Doctor Speck on the authority of Laslie Cloud confirms both of the preceding in the main in regard to the uses to which the various beds were put, and it confirms that of the first informant, Silas Jefferson, in regard to the position occupied by the medicine pots.⁴

⁴ Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112.

There were two groups of Koasati Indians in Oklahoma, each with its own square ground. The square of the first, called Koasati No. 1, was given up so long ago that not much can be recalled regarding it. David Cummings, who attended the busks at this ground when he was a boy, although he was not a Koasati himself, stated that there were four beds, and that the open space between them was entirely covered with an arbor. The Chief's bed, as he remembered, was on the south, and the miko himself of either the

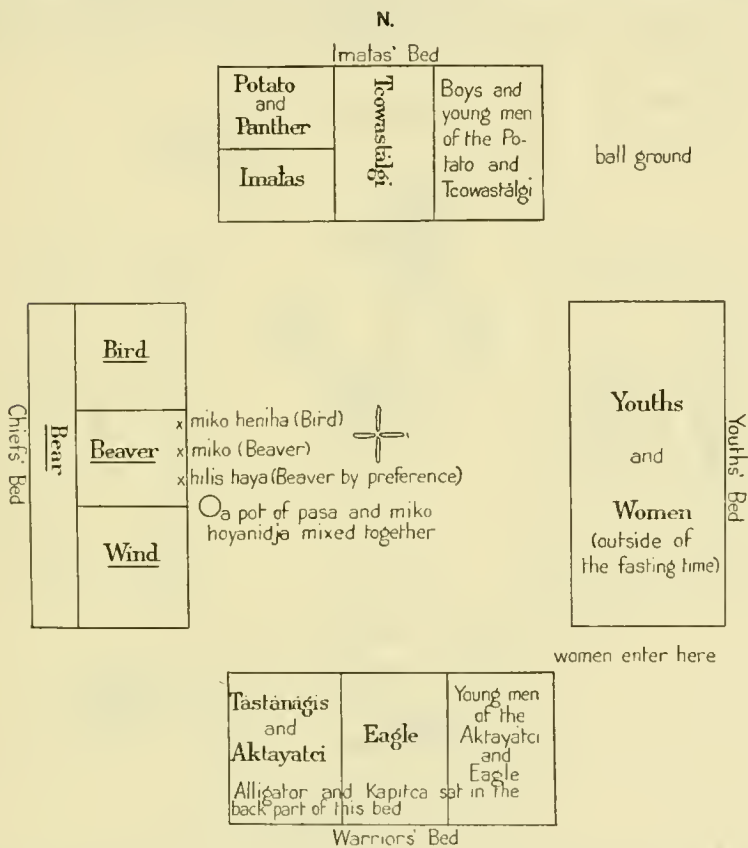


FIG. 19.—Plan of the Luteapoga Square Ground (11)

Bear or the Panther clan. The Wind clan sat at the east end of the Chief's bed and were probably the henihás, though of this he was not certain. The ball ground was on the east and the women entered at the southeast corner. The Warriors' bed was probably on the east.

The later square, Koasati No. 2, is shown in Figure 44.

Figures 45-47 are plans of the Tukabahechee square ground from as many different informants. The first said that if it were possible the hilis-haya was selected from the Raccoon clan; if that position is

filled from any other clan, the man so chosen is seated at the west end of the north bed. The *tcunuk hadjo* and the *holahta* in the Youths' section are the only officers who do not have *henihas*. One of the *tástánágis* was known as *Kosa Tástánági*. He belonged to the Wind clan, and his mate was a Raccoon called *Tukabahchee Tástánági*. The Youths prepared the feather wands for the feather dance just back of the central portion of the Chiefs' bed.

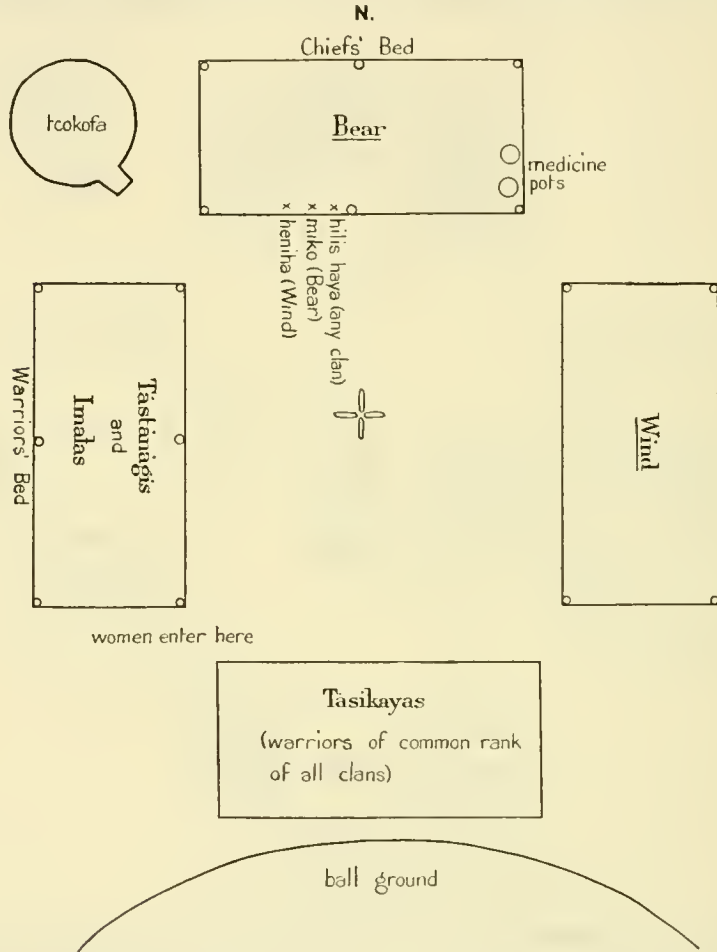


FIG. 20.—Plan of the Nuyaka Square Ground

According to the second informant the clans might change their positions in a bed but not the bed itself, and according to the third all of the clans in the north, east, and south beds were *Teilokis*.

Figure 48 is a plan of the busk ground made in 1912.

Figure 49 gives the arrangement of the old busk ground near Melette, Okla., as nearly as it could be made out in 1912-1914. Plate

3, *b*, shows the south or southeast bed of Tukabahchee and Plate 3, *c*, the square looking through the western entrance, between the beds of the Chiefs and Warriors. Plate 5, *a*, shows the mound where the buffalo and war dances were performed.

Figures 50 and 51 are based on the recollections of two of the oldest and best informed Atasi Indians. The father of the man who furnished me with the information on which the first is based was chief of Atasi; his war name was Fus hâtei miko.

Still another informant said that the Chiefs' bed was in the west and the Warriors' bed in the north, and that the medicine pots were

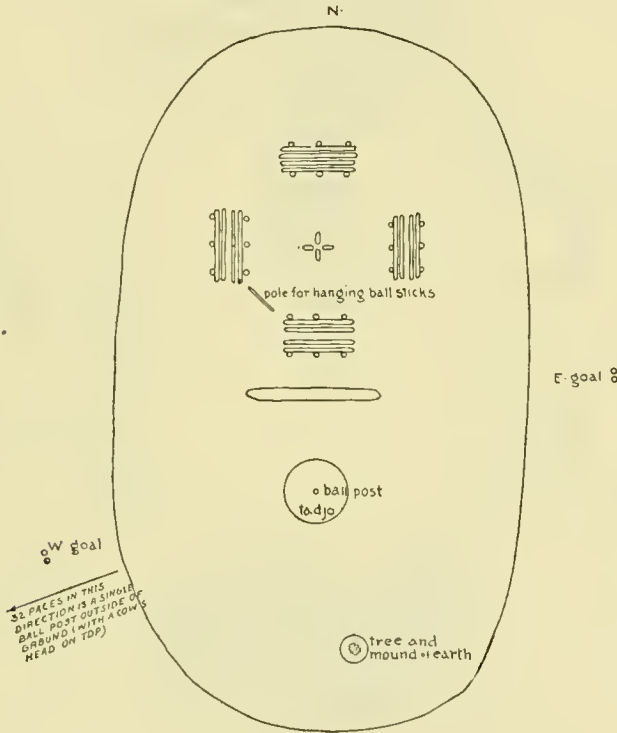


FIG. 21.—Nuyaka Ceremonial Ground in 1912

at the north end of the former. The details given thus agree exactly with the arrangement of Tukabahchee with which I believe the informant had confused it, since Atasi is supposed to have been a branch of that town. He said that the medicines were like those used at Tukabahchee, and that the last chief was of the Bird clan, the one before him of the Bear clan. According to another informant the last chief was a Raccoon, the one before probably a Bear; and he added that the last chief's heniha was a Bear, the one before a Deer.

Figures 52 and 53 embody two descriptions of the square of Kealedji. The isti atcagâgi sulga sat at the south end of the Chief's bed.

Accompanying is a rough sketch (fig. 54) of the first square ground used by the people of this town after they moved across the Mississippi River as it appeared in 1912 after having been abandoned a great many years.

The Łapláko square is shown in Figures 55 and 56. There were a few isti átcagági in the west bed.

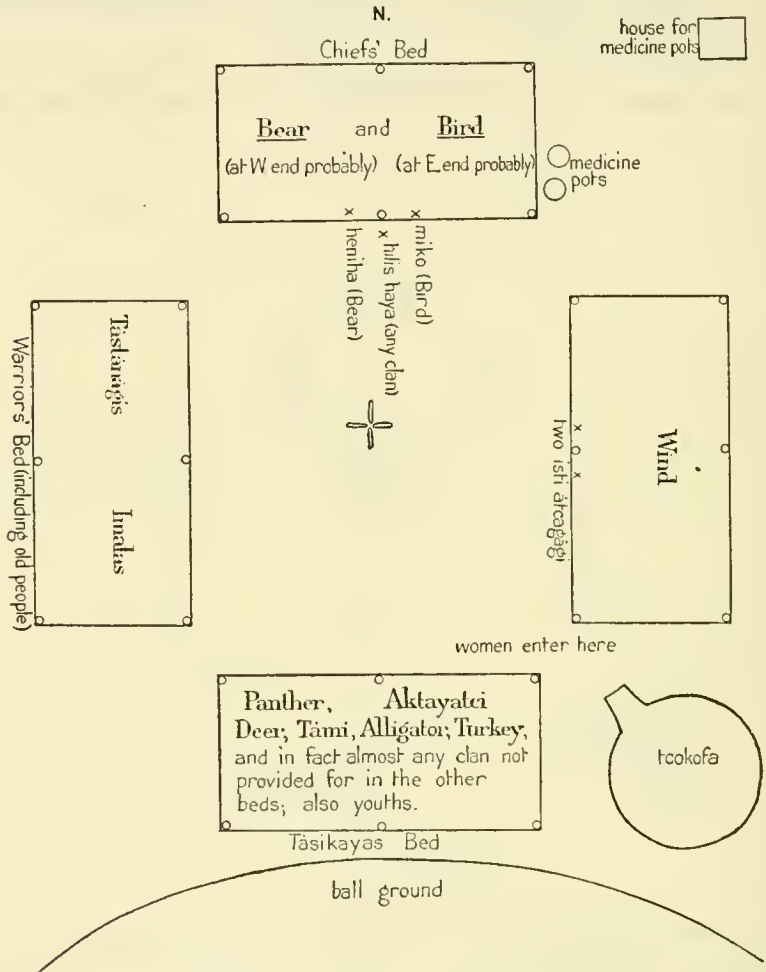


FIG. 22.—Plan of the Okfuskee Square Ground

According to my second informant eight men belonging to the Wind and Raccoon clans were appointed to procure the medicines and bring the water.

The discrepancies between these two plans may be accounted for largely by the fact that my second informant was a Tukabahchee who seems to have confused the Łapláko square with that of his own town to some extent. However, the arrangement of the Tukabah-

chee square was considered "standard" by many people, and it is probable that that of Laplako was modified in later times to agree with it. The second informant also stated that the Chiefs' bed was on the south, again in agreement with the Tukabahechee plan, although in fact the latter is rather southwest, the entrances between the beds being directed toward the cardinal points. Accompanying (fig. 57) is a rough plan of the ground where the people of this town met before a ball game.

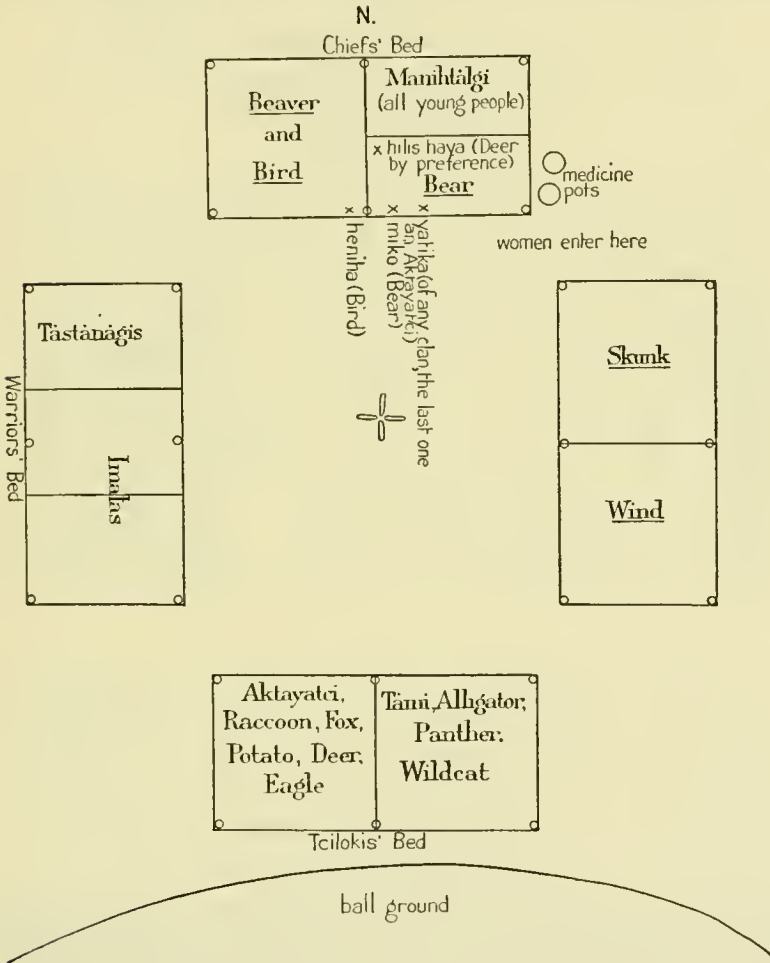


FIG. 23.—Plan of the Abihkutei Square Ground

Figure 58 shows the last organization of the Liwahali square just before it petered out. The hilis-haya was always of the Deer clan and sat with his own people. This ground, as here represented, was in the last stage of decline, and not much can be inferred from it. The old man who furnished me with the best data regarding Laplako,

a comparatively late offshoot from Liwahali, stated that the latter ground was originally identical with that of Łapláko except that the miko was a Panther and the heniha a Deer.

This town used several squares in succession before the Civil War, and two afterwards. My informant stated that the tástánágis were appointed from any clans occupying the south bed. If the miko had to leave the square for any reason the miko apokta took charge.

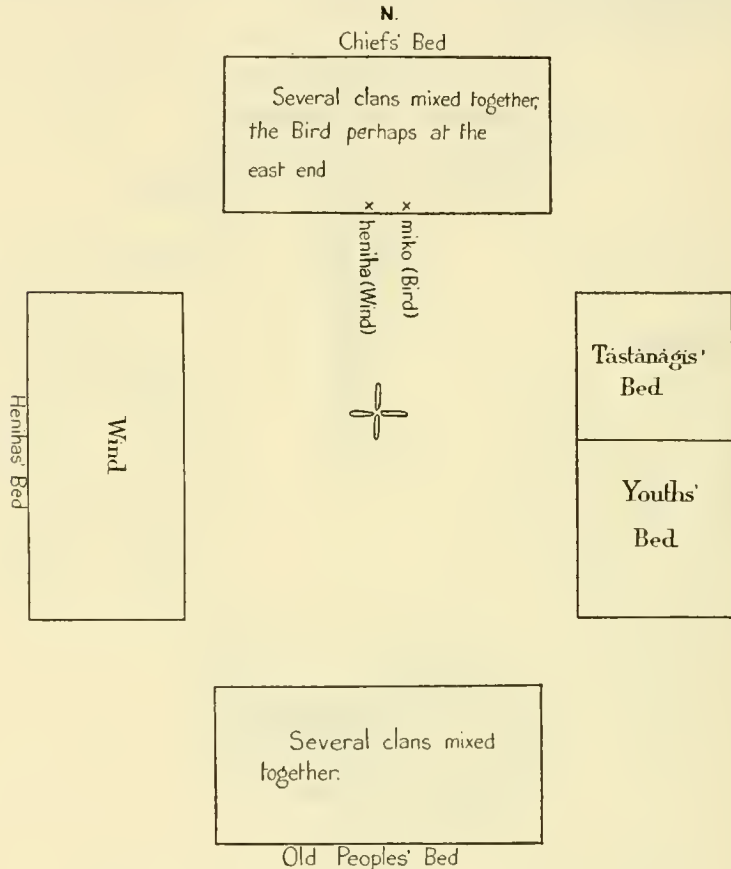


FIG. 24.—Plan of the Talmutcsi Square Ground

The ball ground was not close to the square but at some distance from it. He stated that the clans ranked thus: Deer, Aktayatei, Panther, Bird, Bear, Wind, Alligator. There was only one individual of the Wind clan and there were but few of the Bird, Bear, and Alligator.

The Hilibi square is given in Figure 59. Anciently there were eight posts to the bed instead of six. When I first visited the Hilibi square the north bed had not been built; it was put up last. The old men who sing for the women during their dance sit at the west

end of the Raccoon's section of the south bed. In taking medicine the west bed goes first, then the south, and then the east, but some men in the back part of all the beds go last of all. The accompanying plan (fig. 60) is from data collected by the writer in the winter of 1912 before the north bed was erected.

There were some eight camps about this ground. It was too new to have developed a *tâdjo* of any size, but that of the ground occu-

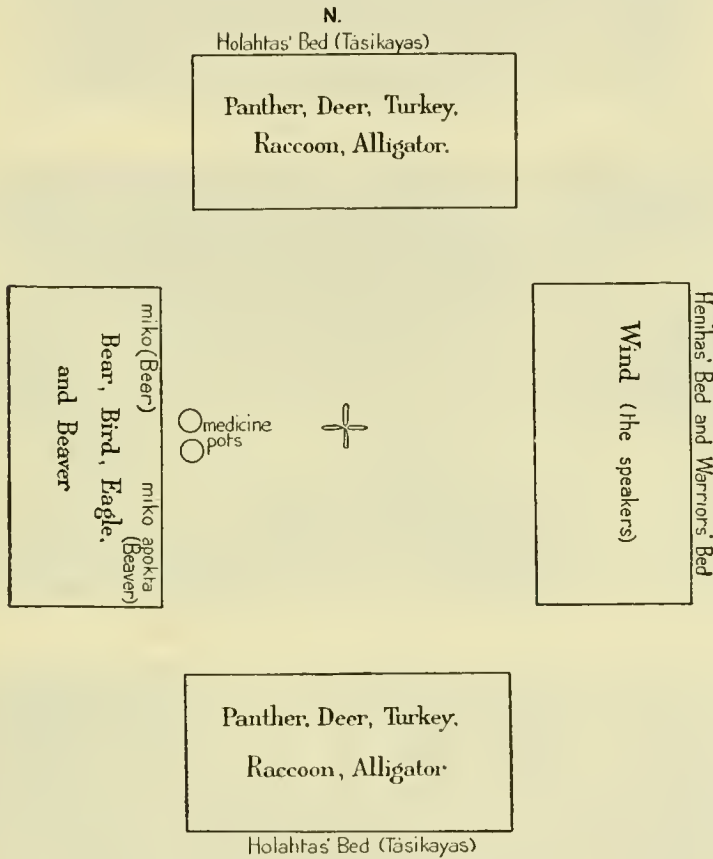


FIG. 25.—Plan of the Teatoksofka Square Ground

ped immediately before this was about 220 paces in circuit. If a *tcokofa* were to be erected it would be toward the east. Plate 4, *b*, shows the Chiefs' bed in 1912.

Figure 61 represents the Eufaula (or Upper Eufaula) square as it is supposed to have appeared anciently, my authority being Jackson Lewis.

Figure 62 shows the actual arrangement in modern times as explained by the *hilis-haya*.

There were said to be only seven Tami and three Turkey people in this town. The imalas should be of the Raccoon clan but there never were any in Eufaula, according to the second informant. He probably meant that there had been none there within his recollection. The Hathagälgi included the Wind, Bear, Bird, Turkey, and Tami. There is one of the isti ätcagägi belonging to the Bear clan in the north bed, one belonging to the Deer clan in the east bed, and one belonging to the Aktayatci in the south bed. These men give new

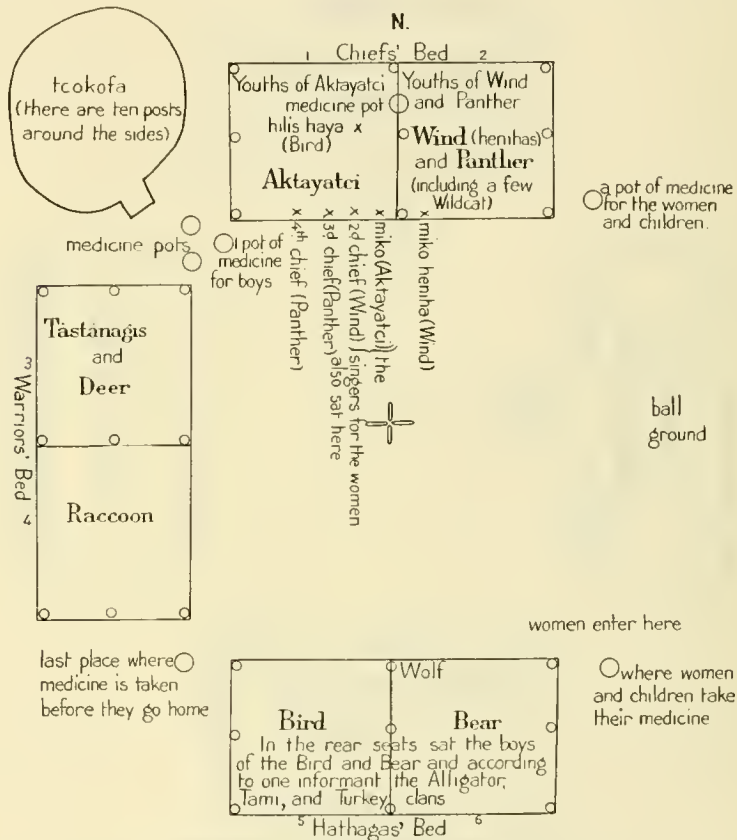


FIG. 26.—Plan of the Pakan Tallahassee Square Ground (1)

names to boys. A different authority from any of the above stated that the Eufaula chief was anciently taken from the Eagle clan. This might well have been, since the Eagle was reckoned a branch of the Raccoon which, as appears from these plans, sat in the bed of the chiefs. The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 63) represents it as it existed in 1912.

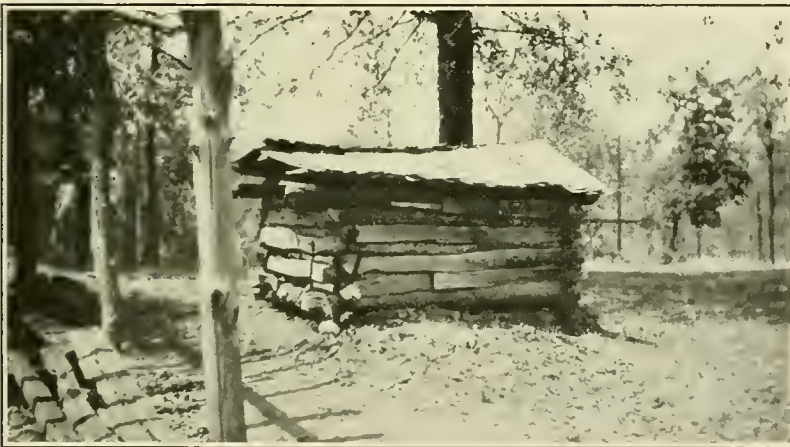
Plate 3, a, gives a general view of the ground, looking from the southwest, and Plate 4, c, is a nearer view of the small house in which the implements used in the annual ceremony were stored.



a. Camp at ceremonial ground



b. The Chiefs' Bed at Hulibi, winter of 1911-12



c. Cabin for the ceremonial utensils, back of the Chiefs' Bed at Eufania

CREEK CEREMONIAL GROUNDS



a. Mound for the War and Buffalo dances in the old Tukabahchee Pusk Ground near Melette, Okla.



b. The Alabama Square Ground in the summer of 1912 looking northwest



c. The Square Ground of Eiwahali Seminole in 1912, looking northeast

CREEK CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

Figures 64-66 illustrate three descriptions of the Alabama square ground. There were no isti átægági, the tástánágis taking their places. The medicine pots were kept outside of the grounds; ten different medicines were put into one of them.

The accompanying outline of the Alabama busk ground (fig. 67) was made from data collected in 1912.

In Plate 5, *b*, the Alabama square is shown looking from the southeast.

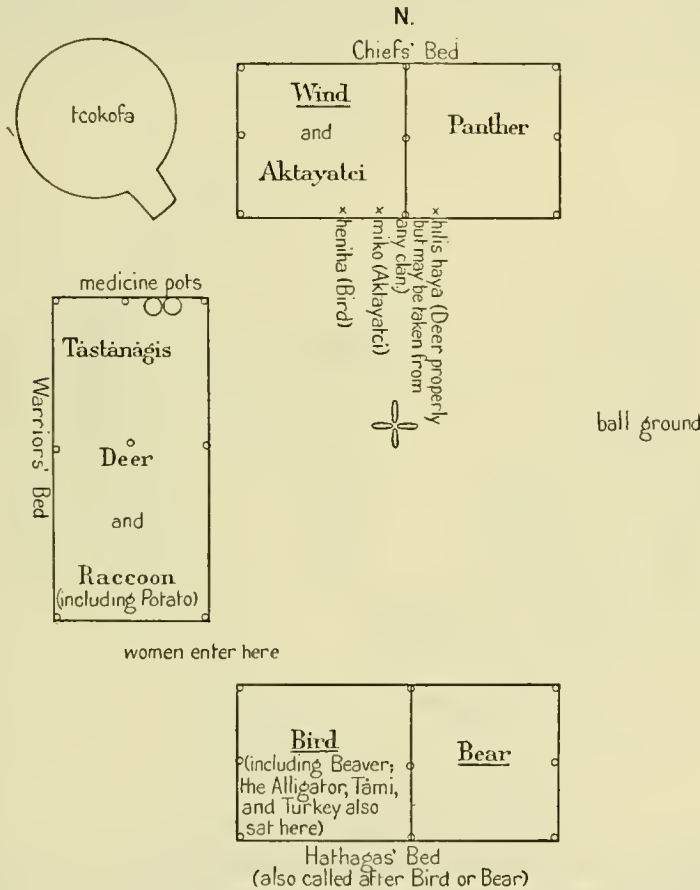


FIG. 27.—Plan of the Pakan tallahassee Square Oround (II)

Figures 68-71 show the Kasihta square on the authority of Hawkins, Gatschet, and two of my own informants. Gatschet's informant was probably the Kasihta chief, Ispahihtca. In the origin legend which Ispahihtca related to Doctor Gatschet he calls the west bed Mikálgi inteuka, Chiefs' House, the east bed Hoktági inteuka, Women's House, and the north bed Tástánálggi inteuka, Warriors' House. Those who sat in the south bed he calls Hátki iputcasi, "the owners of the white."^{4a}

^{4a} See p. 59.

The seat of the *hilis-haya* was not fixed; he sat with his clan. The two bearers of the medicine belonged to the Alligator clan. The official called *halisi tástánági* made arrangements for the ball games.

The plan of Okmulgee (fig. 72) is from information furnished by Judge James R. Gregory. He added that there were two rows of seats in each bed. Legus Perryman remembered some facts regarding this town which agree for the most part with those here given. He thought, however, that there were only three beds, and that the ball ground was to the northwest. The speechmaker (*yatika* ?), a man of the *Aktayatei* clan called *Woksi miko*, sat at the northwest corner of the south bed.

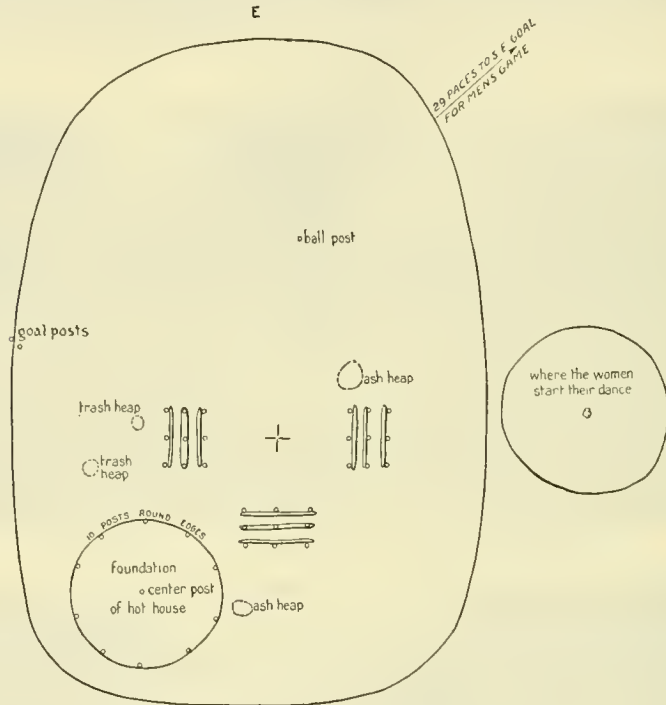


FIG. 28.—Pagan Tallahassee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figure 73 gives the oldest remembered organization of Apalachicola. My informant, one of the oldest women of this town, added that the Alligator and Beaver shifted about somewhat from one bed to another, while individuals made *imalas* or *tástánágis* moved into the Warriors' bed if they were not already there. She asserted that this was the "original foundation" (or plan) of Hitchiti, Sawkli, and the Lower Creek *Hátei teábá*, as well as of Apalachicola.

In Figure 74 appears the last organization of this town.

Figure 75 is Hitchiti. In an emergency the Deer *heniha* could be made *miko* and the Bird *miko henihá*. This was the last Hitchiti

square, and the plan was furnished to the Indians by my oftmentioned informant Jackson Lewis. The Deer and Bird clans were actually mixed together considerably, although the theoretical arrangement was as above. There were no women's dances on this particular ground. One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja; the other wilána (wormseed) and "okteun utcka," the last perhaps a Hitchiti term. The pots were not removed from the place indicated, though one might have been heated there. The tástánágis and imalas were used instead of isti áteagági.

N.
ball ground

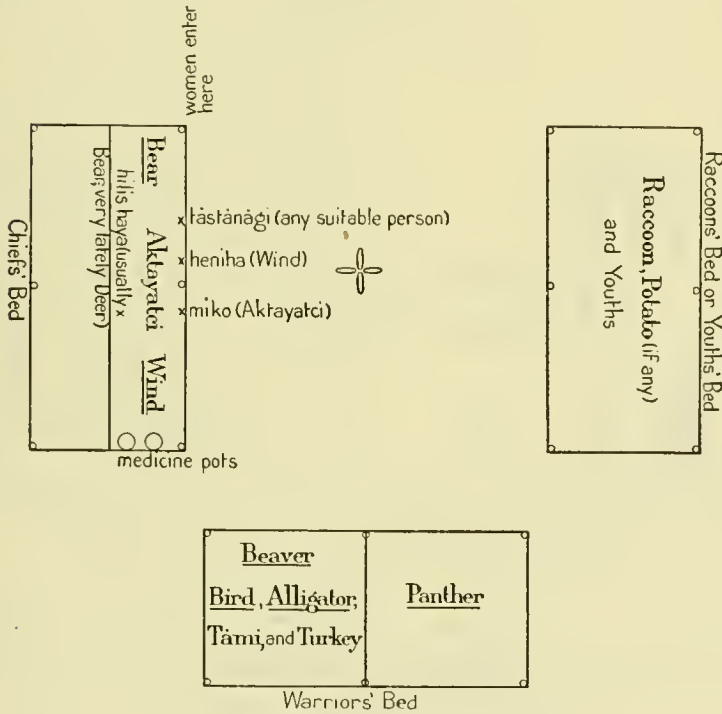


FIG. 29.—Plan of the Wigufki Square Ground (I)

Figure 76 gives the Yuchi ground as described by Dr. Frank G. Speck.

The information which I myself obtained agreed in almost every particular with that of Doctor Speck. Seats passed from father to son and in consequence the clans were mixed up in these beds indiscriminately. My informant added that the bearers of the medicine sat at the south end of the west bed, and that on the ball post were two cow skulls at different heights, the lower as a target for the women. He said that if there was no person in the west bed fitted

to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

Figures 77 and 78 give plans of Coweta, the second in this case probably representing the older organization. The main outlines of the first were confirmed by another old man. He added that two of the medicine bearers were selected from the Hathagas and two from the Teilokis; they were usually two Bears and two Panthers. That the Panther was an important clan in this town is vouched for by another informant, who declared it was the "leading clan." To it, it may be remarked, the late Creek chief, G. W. Grayson, belonged.

N.

ball ground

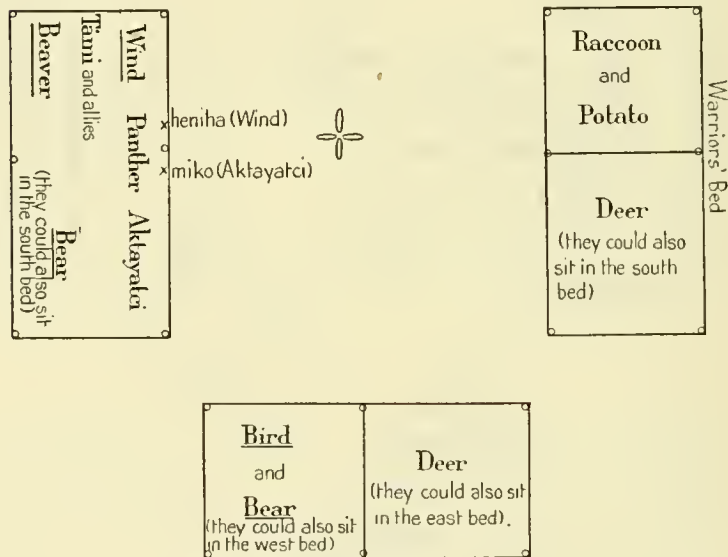


FIG. 30.—Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (II).

According to the Indian through whom I obtained the second plan the duty of the Hohahta was to see that the bearers prepared and distributed the medicines.

The leader of the henihās was known as the Heniha lāko. The three officials in the north bed attended to the medicines and other matters connected with the square. When visitors came they went over to the beds occupied by their respective clans and left the north bed vacant for the strangers. One of the two pots of medicine was warmed, the other cold. The former contained both pasa and miko hoyanīdja, the other only pasa.

In one place Milfort gives a description of a square which he represents as that in which the great assemblies of the nation were held, and this would probably be Coweta or Tukabahechee, but from the context it would appear rather to have been the former. What he has to say concerns the grand council of the nation more than the town council of Coweta and it will be inserted when we come to speak of that.⁵ It is of interest to know, however, that the cabins on the west, north, and south were painted red, indicating a Red town like Coweta and Tukabahechee. That on the east was painted white, which seems rather surprising if my first informant is right in stating that it was occupied by the *tástánágis*. Milfort, however, gives this as the cabin of the old men, and it is possible that it was set aside for the *isti átcagági*, particularly since we know that some of the functions of these officials were later taken over by the *tástánágis*. Milfort appears to locate the *teokofa* just where my informant indicated that it should be.

The square ground of *Likateka* or Broken Arrow is given in Figure 79. The *hilis-haya* was chosen from the Wind clan and his tenure was for life. The medicine was carried around by three persons, one of whom was chosen from each of the beds, omitting that on the east. There were officials named *Holahta* and *Táski heniha* like those in Coweta. In practice games of ball the Bear and Deer took opposite sides and the others joined one or the other of these clans as they chose. Probably this was a very late arrangement.

Figures 80 and 81 show the Square of *Eufaula Hcbayi* (Lower *Eufaula*). This town branched out from the town of that name above given. It is said that the Wind clan and those who sat in the north bed were considered the same as *tástánágis*.

The older plan of *Chiaha* is given in Figure 82. According to another informant "old Chiaha was just like Coweta." It had a *teokofa* before the removal west but not afterwards. The Deer clan was classed as *Hathaga* because it was considered almost the same as the Bird.

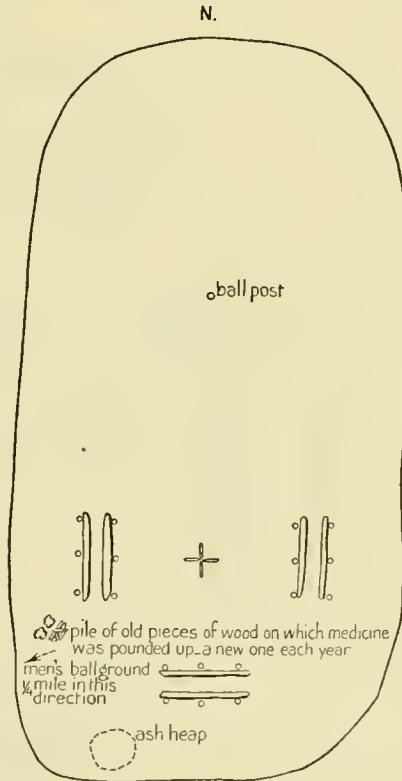


FIG. 31.—Wiogufki Ceremonial Ground in 1912

⁵ See pp. 311-313.

Figure 83 is from a description by Ellis Childers, who explained that the town organization as he gave it was the last and was made when a man of the Bird clan named Pibi'ska was miko, although later the miko was taken from the Wind clan as here shown. The reorganization was effected under the direction of Ayima'ha, an Osochi born in Alabama. At that time at least a part of the Osochi busked with the Chiaha, though the towns had separate officials. There was some controversy over the right of the Bird clan to a

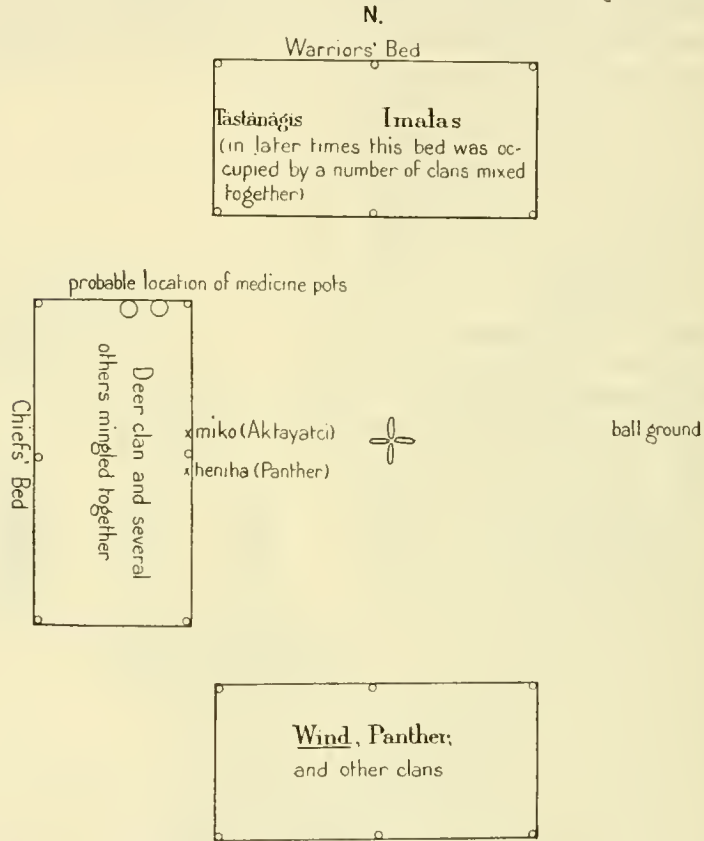


FIG. 32.—Plan of the Tukpafka Square Ground

position in the west bed, but Ayima'ha ruled that it should sit there, and he also placed the Skunk and Fish there. All of the clans in the north bed are said to be henihás except perhaps the Deer. Anciently this town had the same three officials as those who sat in the north bed of Coweta, but on the reorganization they were dropped. The holahta is said to have made arrangements for ball games, and he and the táski henihá together took up a challenge to play (apai'h-kita).

In its main outlines this arrangement was confirmed by another informant. However, he stated that the miko and his heniha were both of the Bear clan, that the young boys were in the north bed, that the various clans were mixed together in the south and west beds, that the women entered at the southwest corner instead of the southeast, and that there was a shelter over the fire. The first of these statements may be explained only by supposing that this man meant the yatika or miko apokta instead of the heniha or that the organization was broken down.

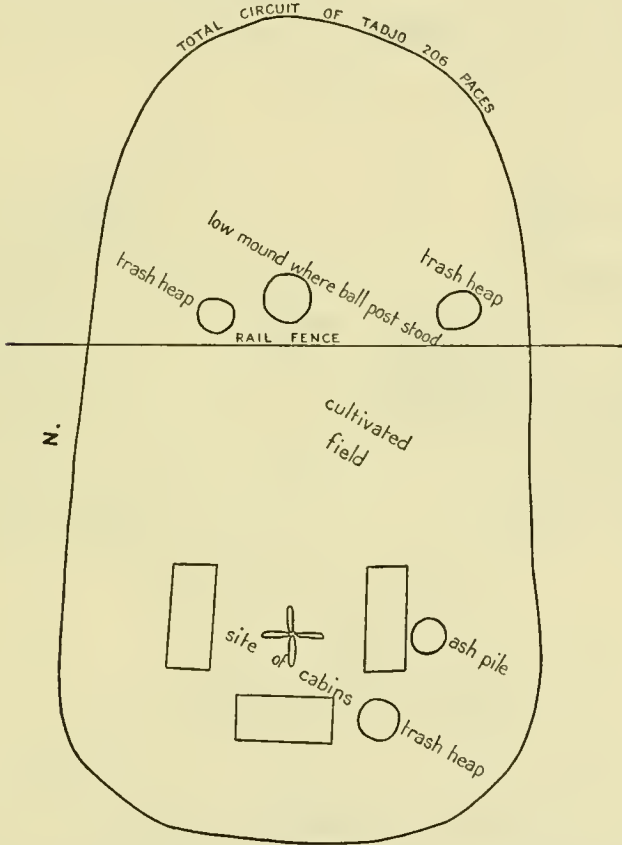


FIG. 33.—The old Tukpafka Ceremonial Ground as it appeared in 1912

Figure 84 gives what was probably the older organization of Osochi. There were also some representatives of the Beaver clan in this town but my informant did not know where they sat, and he was unable to tell which clans were reckoned as Hathagas and which as Teilokis.

The plan given in Figure 85 shows the arrangement of the square ground before it was moved from the Verdigris. The clans were scattered through the various beds, the latter not being divided

into sections, but my informant affirmed that the Wind and Deer "always went together," which would be in line with the classification of the Deer as a Hathaga clan at Chiaha.

We now come to the Seminole squares.

Ochesee Seminole, a square which has now been given up, is shown in Figure 86. There was formerly a *tcokofa*, but my informant had

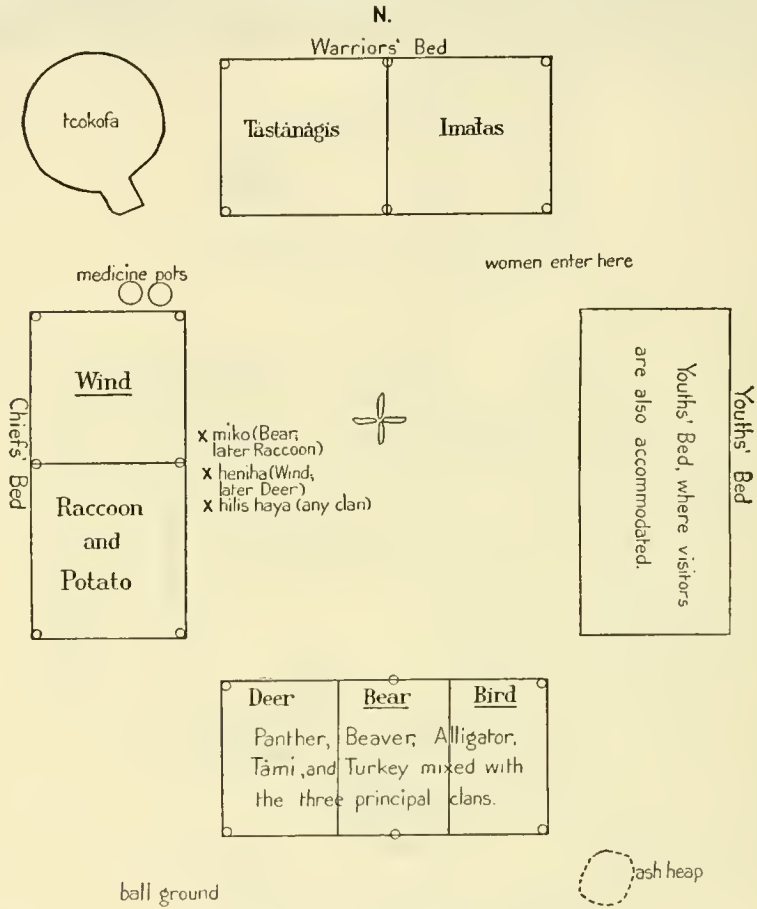


FIG. 34.—Plan of the Square Ground of Asilanabi

forgotten its location. Most of the warriors were in the north bed, and the *hilis-haya* sat with his own clan. The ashes were not removed from the center of the ground as was customary in the Creek squares.

Figure 87 is Okfuskee Seminole. The ball ground was located wherever it was most convenient, and the women danced into the square from any corner.

Figure 88 is a plan of the square made in 1912.

The next plan (fig. 89) is of Tallahasutei. On the death of the miko the miko apokta took his place and a new miko apokta was appointed from the clan of the former miko.

The data for the accompanying sketch of this square (fig. 90) was obtained in the winter of 1911-12.

Figure 91 represents the square of Hitchiti Seminole, now abandoned. My informants stated that Toad and Tcokote were two names for one and the same clan. They added that the name of

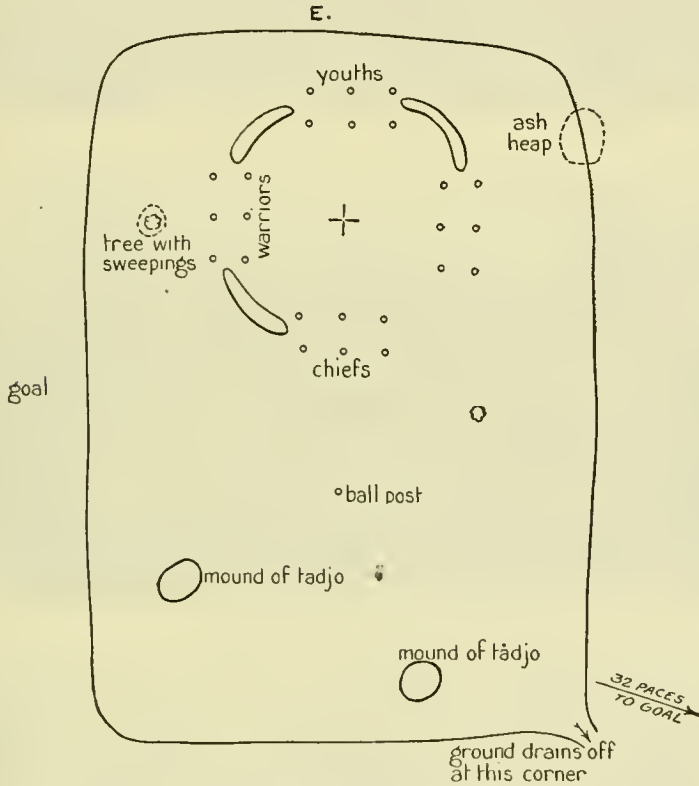


FIG. 35.—The Asilanabi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

the last miko of this town was Nokobági, and the name of his henihá Holahotági.

Figure 92 is Eufaula Seminole. The clans are not kept separate in the different beds. There were a few people of the Bird clan and one man belonging to the Bear who sat wherever they chose. There was also one of the Pahosa who sat with the Deer clan. There were no Beaver. It is said that the Wind clan is the only one which retains the taboo against endogamous marriages, but in the ball games each clan still hangs together. The distinction between the Hathagas and Teilokis is no longer remembered.

The accompanying sketch of the square ground (fig. 93) was made in 1912.

Figures 94 and 95 give Liwahali Seminole. This square ground is said to be kept up merely for the medicine. The leaders were from Liwahali, but the bulk of the people are said to have been drawn from the Upper Creek towns of Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki which migrated into Florida practically entire.

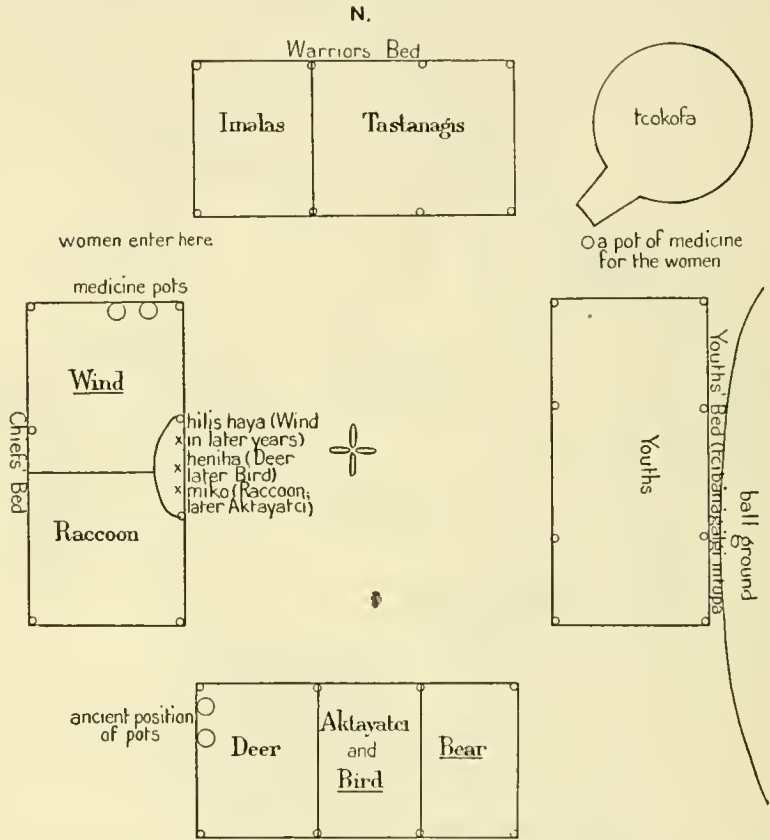


FIG. 36.—Plan of the Okchai Square Ground

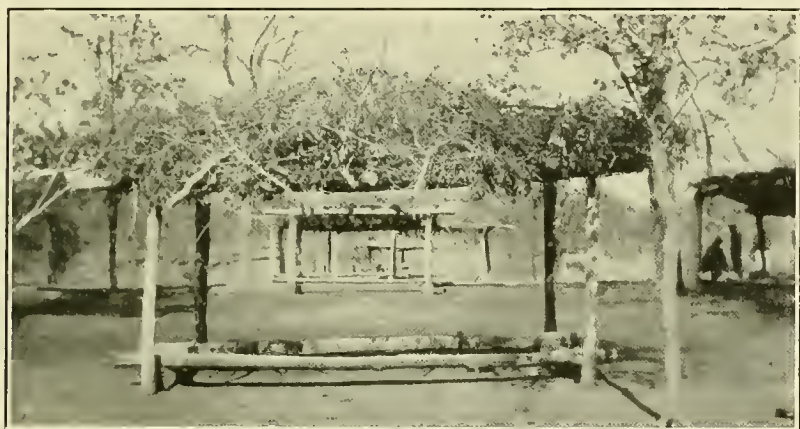
Accompanying is a sketch of the Liwahali ground (fig. 96), the data for which was obtained in 1912.

Plate 5, c, is a view of this ground taken from the west side and looking northeast.

Figure 97 shows Chiaha Seminole. The officials given in the plan had served in their several capacities for a very long time. The present (1912) hilis-haya sits with the rest of his clan, the Potato, in the north bed. At the corners of the square logs were laid down for the accommodation of the women.



a. The Chiefs' Bed, looking north



b. A view through the Square, looking north



c. Camp sites near the Square

THE CEREMONIAL GROUND OF CHIAHA SEMINOLE



a. A Seminole home in Oklahoma



b. Conjuring the medicine before a ball game



c. Ball players taking the medicine

CREEK CEREMONIALS

Figure 98 is an outline of this square as it existed in 1912.

Plate 2, *a*, gives a general view of the ground from the southwest; Plate 6, *a*, shows the West or Chiefs' bed from the southern end; Plate 6, *b*, is a view taken through the center of the square from the south; and Plate 6, *c*, shows the permanent parts of some of the surrounding camps.

Figure 99 is based on information furnished by the miko of Mikasuki, who stated that before the white people and the Coweta Indians burned their square, back in the east, the clans occupied certain definite seats, but they do so no longer. Besides the chiefs mentioned in the plan there is a third belonging to the Potato clan and presumably sitting with them.

Figure 100 shows the same ground. The items entering into the sketch are from several different informants.

The plan of the Mikasuki square ground as I found it in 1912 appears in Figure 101.

From Swan's description of the Creek square already given we learn that that part of a bed occupied by a certain clan was marked with a painting of the clan animal.⁶ Adair states that the clans had symbols or signatures but he does not connect them with the square grounds.⁷ He informs us, however, that clan marks were associated with the burial scaffolds of the Choctaw,⁸ and he describes at some length the paintings he had seen about several other squares, though without mentioning that any of these referred to clans. His account is as follows:

"I have seen in several of the Indian synhedria, two white painted eagles carved out of poplar wood, with their wings stretched out, and

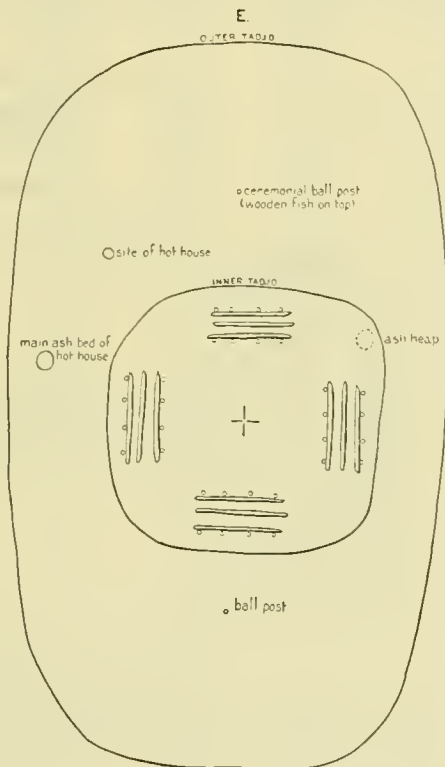


FIG. 37.—Okchai Ceremonial Ground in 1912

⁶ See p. 182.

⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their red and white imperial seats; and, on the inner side of each of the deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figures of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the same colour; . . . an established custom, both religious and martial, among them . . . obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew, at the first fruit-offering or the annual expiation of sins. Everyone of their war-leaders must also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy

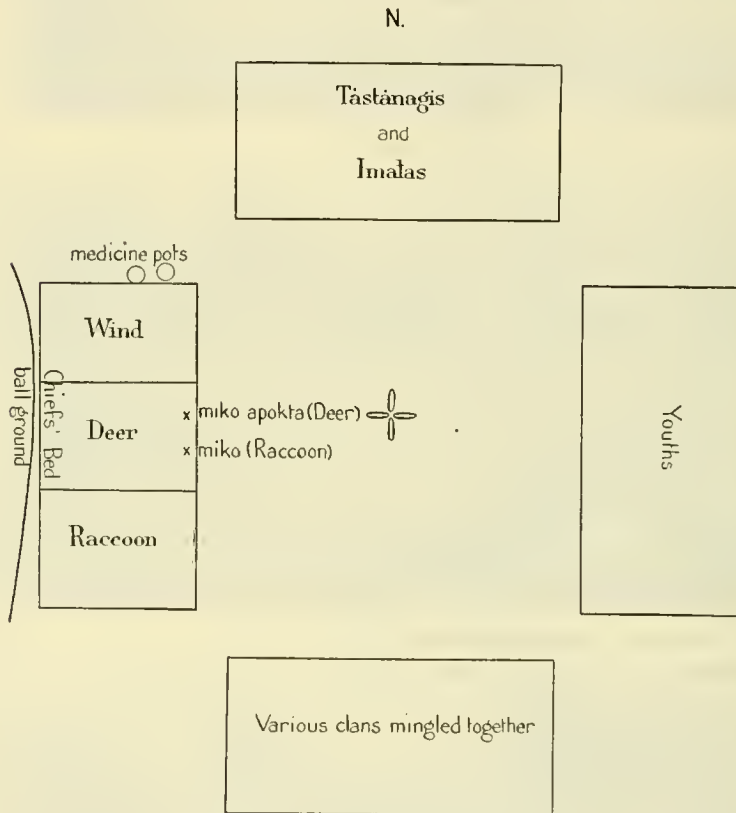


FIG. 38.—Plan of the Lálogálga Square Ground

ark, before he is permitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Yo Yo*, etc. . . .

“Near to the red and white imperial seats, they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breast-plate, raised five or six feet high at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed.”⁹

⁹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 30-31.

We will now summarize the seatings of each clan:

Clan	Chiefs' bed	Henihās' bed	Warriors' bed	Youths' bed
Wind.....	22	20	4	1
Bear.....	30	11	8	1
Bird.....	22	12	6	1
Beaver.....	17	10	5	1
Alligator.....	11	18	5	5
Deer.....	10	11	15	3
Panther.....	10	12	16	3
Raccoon.....	13	8	11	1
Aktayatei.....	8	18	8	2
Snake.....	1	6	1	-----
Potato.....	9	9	8	4
Tāmi.....	2	10	3	4
Turkey.....	1	4	3	3
Pahosa.....	1	2	2	2
Kapitea.....	2	4	4	-----
Wildcat.....	3	2	3	1
Wolf.....	3	2	3	1
Mole.....	1	2	-----	-----
Skunk.....	2	2	-----	-----
Fox.....	2	3	2	1
Eagle.....	1	2	-----	1
Woksi.....	-----	1	-----	-----
Teowasta.....	-----	-----	1	-----
Fish.....	2	1	-----	-----
Toad.....	-----	1	1	-----
Otter.....	1	1	-----	-----
Teokote.....	-----	1	-----	-----
Reed (Cane).....	-----	-----	1	-----
Lidjāmi.....	-----	-----	1	-----

The distribution of the smaller clans in the above table agrees very well with that of the larger ones with which they are linked. The principal discrepancies are due to the fact that when the chief was selected from a certain clan that clan moved over in a body into the Chief's bed, and therefore in some cases, in the Raccoon group for instance, the leading clan appears to have been seated in the Chief's bed many more times proportionately than most of the other clans of the phratry.

Turning to the nine first clans, which are representative of the leading Creek phratries, we find that the White clans are found oftenest in the Chief's bed, and next in frequency in the bed of the Henihās, while comparatively seldom are they seated in the beds of the Warriors or Youths. It is to be observed that both the Chiefs' bed and that of the Henihās are frequently spoken of as "White beds," but the former is occupied by White clans more often than the

latter. This is partly due, no doubt, to the great reduction in numbers which the towns have suffered and the practical abandonment of the Youths' bed, making it necessary to find seats for all of the clans in the three remaining beds. The Warriors' bed, too, does not appear to have been occupied anciently by clans as such, except perhaps the rear rows. In front were the *tástánágálgi* and *imalálgí*, who originally owed their positions to exploits in war and were drawn from various clans. In later times these dignities became to a certain extent hereditary, associated with certain clans, and the bed was occupied by clans

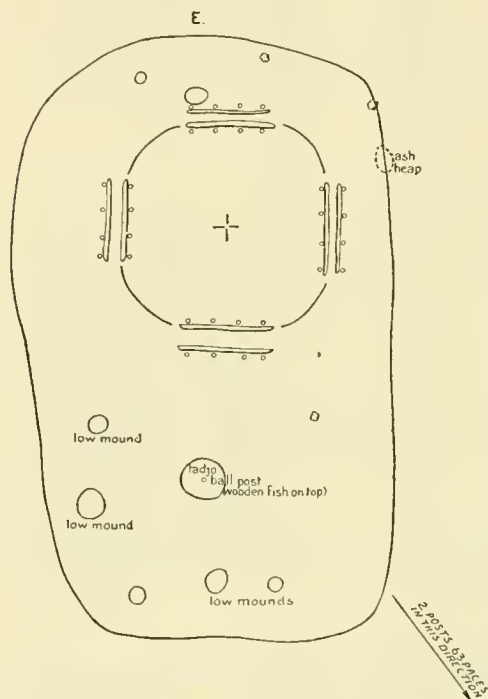


FIG. 39.—Łálogálga Ceremonial Ground in 1912

in the same way as the other beds. It may be said, speaking generally, that the clan of the chief sat in the Chiefs' bed, and when a chief was selected from a new clan that clan moved over into that bed. There are a few cases to the contrary but this is what usually took place. The natural position of a clan is therefore best determined by studying its position when the chief belonged to some other clan. Bearing this in mind an inspection of the arrangement of the square grounds shows plainly that the proper position of the White clans is usually held to be in the beds of the Chiefs and the *Henihás*. And it is worthy of remark that most of those towns in

which these clans appear in the Warriors' bed were of the *Hitchiti* group, indicating that a somewhat different arrangement obtained there. The *Beaver* clan is usually identified with, and seated with, the *Bird* everywhere except in *Otcia-pofa* and the *Tulsa* towns where it was generally the clan of the chief. The *Alligator* and *Aktayatei* occur more often in the *Henihás*' bed than anywhere else. The former is sometimes *White*, which perhaps accounts in part for its presence here and in the Chiefs' bed; the *Aktayatei*, however, is always *Tciloki* and is so much associated with war that the clan is considered—probably as a later development—identical with the *tástánágálgi*, in *Likateka* and *Lutcapoga*. This accounts for some

of the times when it appears in the Warriors' bed. It appears in the Chiefs' bed several times because the chiefs of the Eufaula towns, Hilibi, Wiogufki, and perhaps Pakan tallahassee, were taken from it.

The Alligator also appears many times in the Chiefs' bed. It is to be noted that when the Aktayatei were chiefs the Alligator were frequently henihas, and in consequence were sometimes taken into the Chiefs' bed. The Alligator were also henihas in Kasihta and were there taken into the Chiefs' bed for the same reason. In some other towns they were partly in the Chiefs' bed and partly in that of

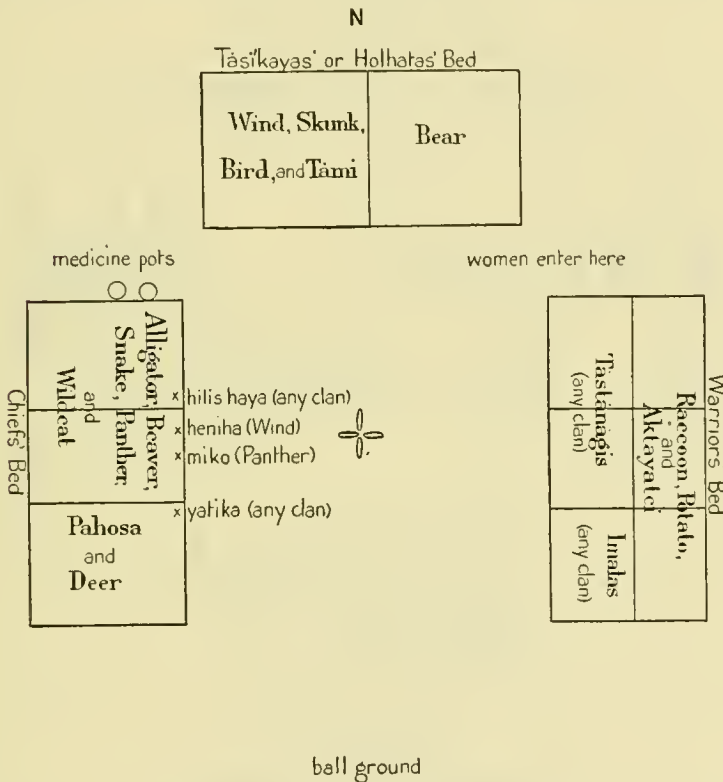


FIG. 40.—Plan of the Wihohka Square Ground (I)

the Henihas. The Raccoon clan is the only Teiloki clan found more often in the Chiefs' bed than in any other. This position it occupies in Tukabahechee, Kealedji, the Okchai towns, Upper Eufaula, two Seminole towns, Koasati, two Abihka towns, and, according to two informants, in Chiaha and Osochi. Its position in the last two was probably due to the fact that it is identified with the Potato and Fox, to which the town chiefs there belonged. The others are all Upper Creek towns, constituting two geographical groups, the Abihka and the towns on Tallapoosa River. These Raccoon people are

found more often in the Warriors' bed than in that of the Henihas or Youths, and that is undoubtedly due to the fact that the clan is Red. In one or two cases it is said that the Raccoon clan were the *tástáná-gis*. They were in the Warriors' bed particularly in the Abihka and Tulsa towns. The only clans found oftener in the Warriors' bed than in any other are the Deer and Panther, rather singular companions one would think, but perhaps explainable on psychological grounds already given,¹⁰ although it is more likely that the association has a

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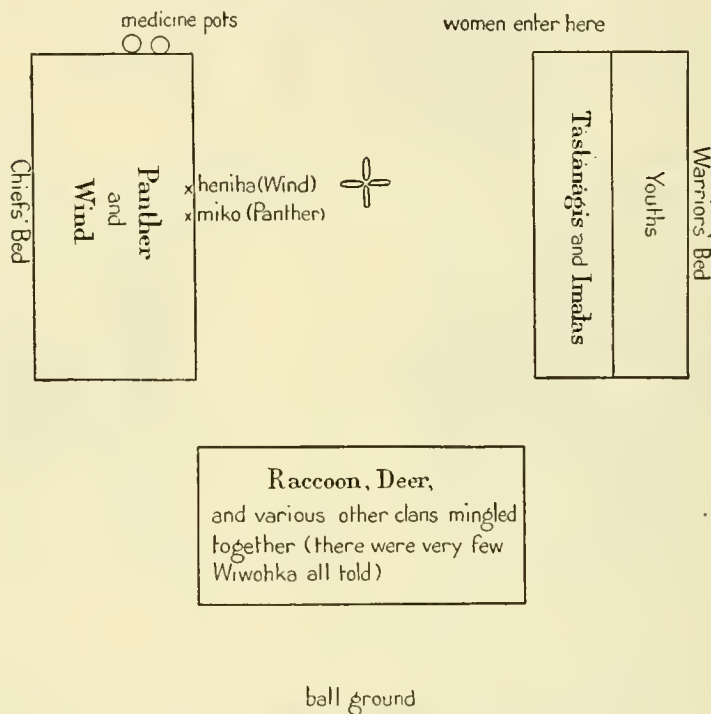


FIG. 41.—Plan of the Wivohka Square Ground (II)

historic basis now long forgotten. As in other cases the Panther and Deer sometimes furnish chiefs or henihás and are consequently found in the Chiefs' bed. They occur in the Henihas' bed more often. In the Okfuskee towns they are squeezed into the Youths' bed, owing to the large size of the White clans. In the Abihka towns, where the Warriors' bed is to the east, the Deer are uniformly placed there, while the Panther appears in the Henihas' bed. In Pákan tallahassee the Deer are again in the Warriors' bed and are specifically called *tástáná-gálgi*, while the Panther is taken into the

¹⁰ See p. 149.

Chiefs' bed. In the Okchai towns, Tukpafka, Tukabahechee, Atasi, Koasati, Kealedji, and Hilibi these clans are found, however, either in the Chiefs' bed or in the bed of the Henihas. Often they are separated and sometimes one is placed in the Youths' bed. The separation occurs more often, however, when the Deer is placed in the Chiefs' bed, the Panther being in the Henihas' bed. The Deer are said to have been taken into the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahechee

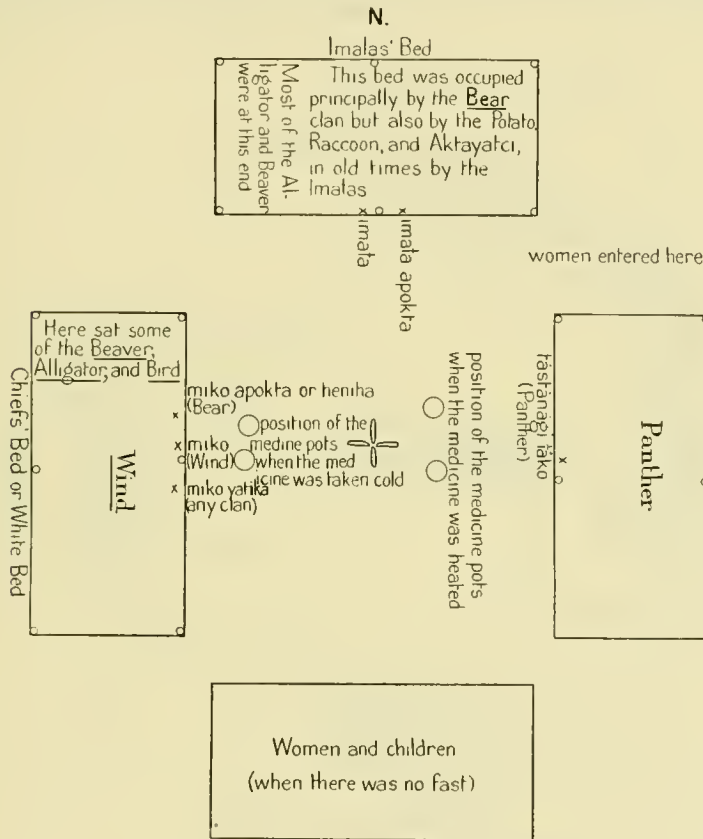


FIG 42.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (1)

because they formed "a choice clan." In Seminole towns the Panther and Deer are almost always placed in the bed of the Warriors.

The important points regarding the nine leading clans brought out by this table are that the White clans—Wind, Bear, Bird, and Beaver—were seated most often in the Chiefs' bed and next to that most frequently in the bed of the Henihas; the Raccoon clan was seated oftenest in the Chiefs' bed and next to that in the Warriors bed; the Alligator and Aktayatei clans were seated most often in the Henihas' bed; and the Panther and Deer clans most often in the Warriors' bed.

THE TOWN

Although the word *tálwa* is employed rather loosely for both a town and a tribe, its proper signification seems to have been rather tribal, a town or city in our sense of the term, a center of population, being indicated by the word *talofa*. A *tálwa* appears to have consisted of a body of people who had their own square ground and

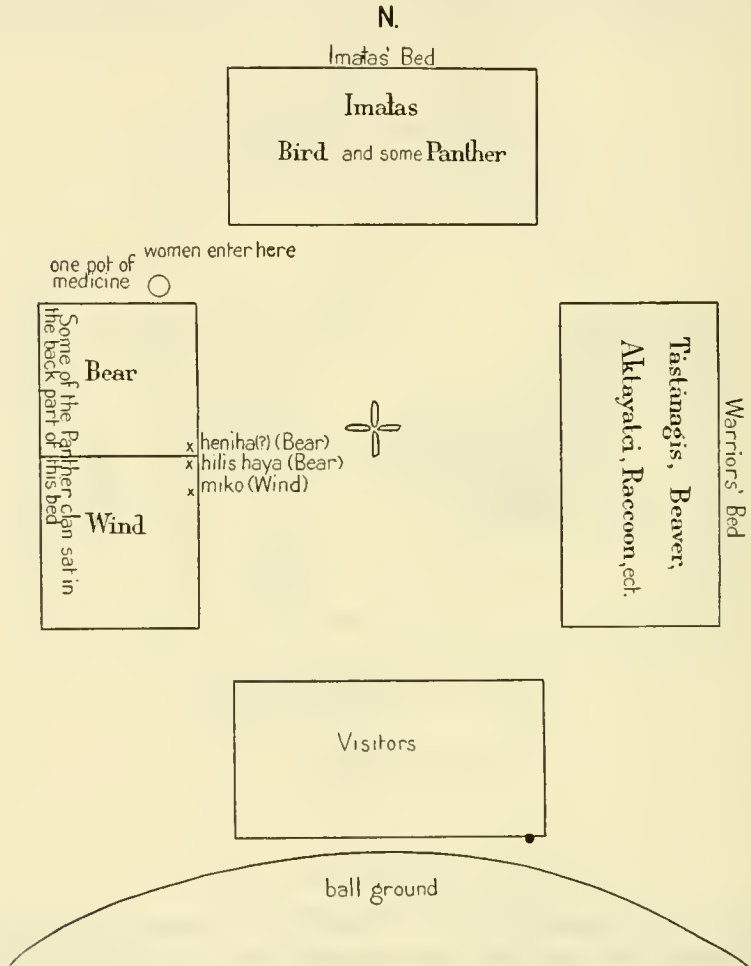


FIG. 43.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (II)

actually formed a little state. In later times many such *tálwa* were formed by segmentation and they were closely related, but the farther back we go the more distinct do the differences between the various *tálwa* appear to be. These *tálwa* might, of course, consist of a number of distinct villages, but, except that they were usually composed of knots of clan relatives, no permanence and no particular coherence attached to these latter.

According to the late Judge James R. Gregory, who belonged to the town of Okmulgee, each *tálwa*, or at least each of the more important of them, anciently had a special emblem entirely distinct from the totems of the clans. He stated that the Coweta emblem was a wooden eagle marked like a spotted eagle and with blood dripping from its mouth. Whenever an important council was to be held it was brought out and set up in the ground in front of the *miko's* seat, facing east. The Tukabahchee emblem was an alligator, and the

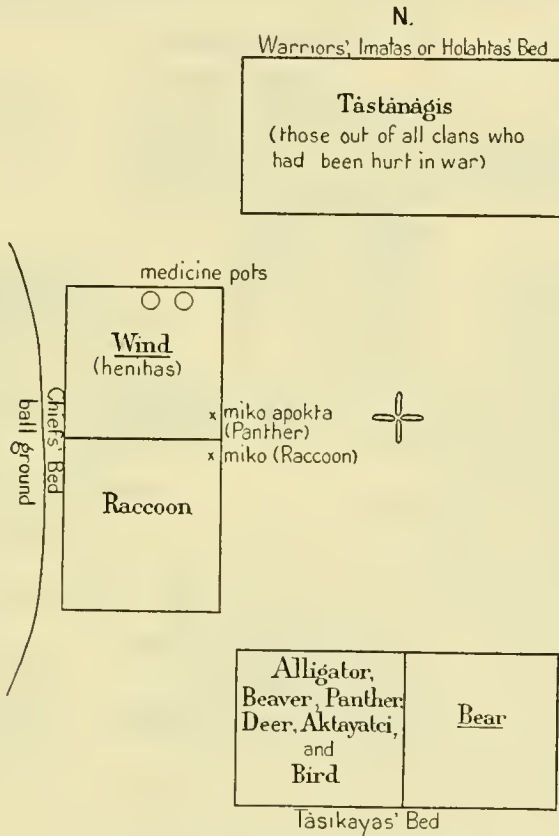


FIG. 44.—Plan of the Square Ground of Koasati No. 2

four front posts of the *miko's* bed in the Tukabahchee square were carved in the shapes of alligators. Mr. Gregory showed the writer a stone pipe carved by an old Tukabahchee Indian, on which was an alligator in bold relief represented crawling around it toward the bowl. The Koasati emblem was the gar. The four front posts of the *miko's* bed in the Koasati square were carved to represent garfishes, and a large figure of a gar was carved out of wood and used in dances. At Atasi the snake was used and the four front posts of the Chiefs' bed were in the same way carved into the forms of snakes.

This is both interesting and important, and it is in line with what we know regarding the tribes living along both the lower and the upper courses of the Mississippi River. At the same time I have so far been unable to obtain confirmation of this from other Creeks. Of course, Bartram tells us that in his day the posts of the Chiefs' bed at Atasi were carved to resemble snakes, but this can not be accepted as confirmatory evidence because Judge Gregory was perfectly familiar with the writings of Bartram and other early authors. The Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas claimed some particular right

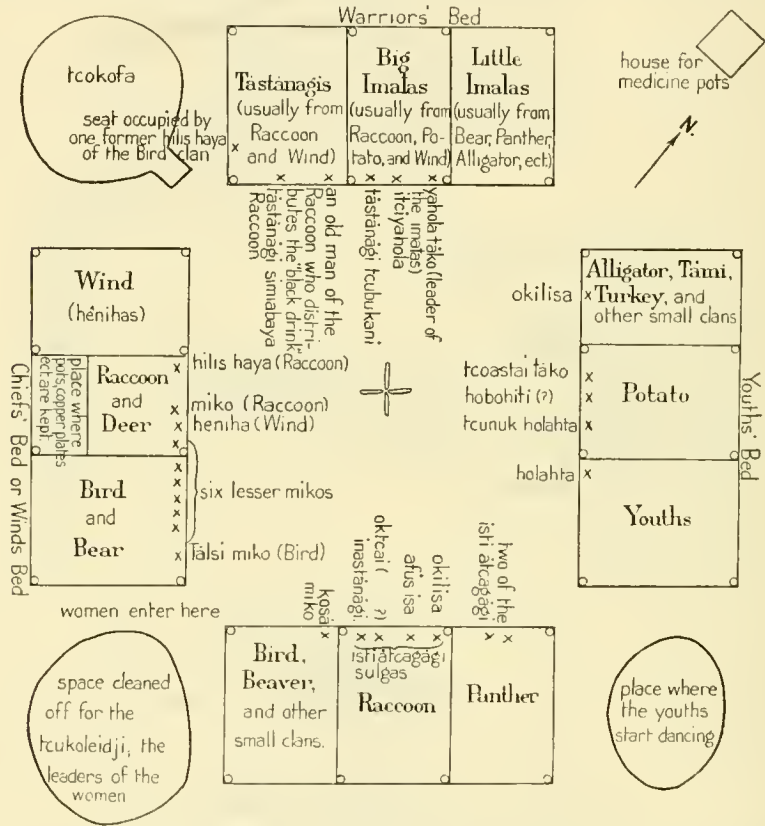


FIG. 45.—Plan of the Tukahahechee Square Ground (I)

to the garfish, but I have not secured sufficient evidence regarding this to be sure of the nature of their claim. On a previous page I have had occasion to note that the Indians of the Fish Pond town place wooden fish at the tops of their ball posts, but according to their own explanation this mark is merely suggested to them by the town name. The Eufaula Indians have a wooden eagle in the same place, but they say that this is because the eagle is emblematic of the United States. The other towns all use skulls of horses or cows, which are said to be without significance of any kind.

In line with the wooden eagle of Coweta mentioned by Judge Gregory is the wooden statue of a human being which Adair informs us existed in his day in "the head war town of the upper Muskohge country." Tukabahchee is the head war town of the Upper Creeks to-day, but in Adair's time it may have been Liwahali or Atasi. Adair's words are as follows:

"There is a carved human statue of wood, to which, however, they pay no religious homage. It belongs to the head war town of the upper Muskohge country, and seems to have been originally designed

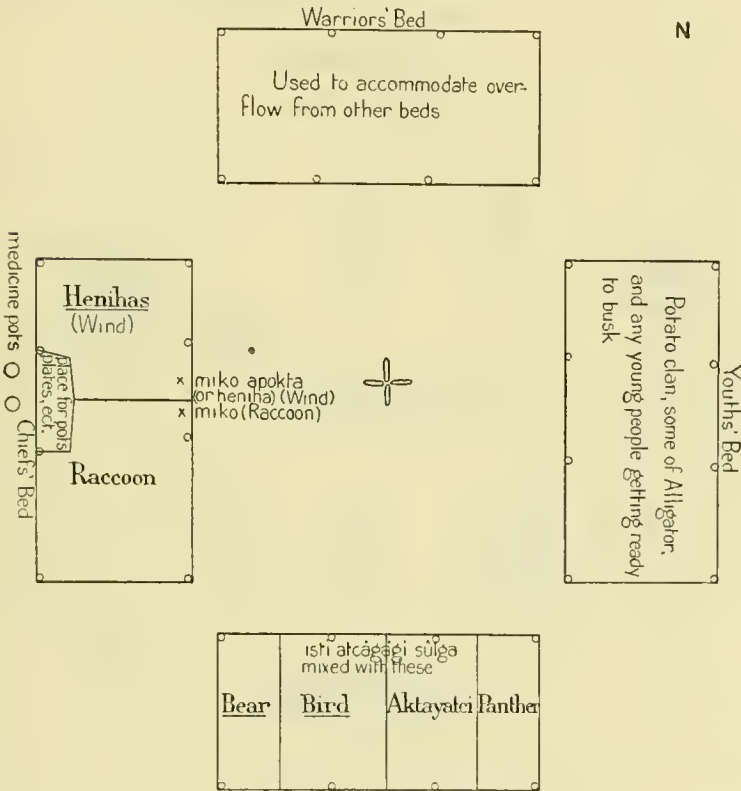


FIG. 46.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (II)

to perpetuate the memory of some distinguished hero, who deserved well of his country; for, when their *cusseena*, or bitter, black drink is about to be drunk in the synhedrion, they frequently, on common occasions, will bring it there, and honour it with the first conch-shell-full, by the hand of the chief religious attendant: and then they return it to its former place. It is observable, that the same beloved waiter, or holy attendant, and his coadjutant, equally observe the same ceremony to every person of reputed merit, in that quadrangular place. When I past that way, circumstances did not allow me to

view this singular figure; but I am assured by several of the traders who have frequently seen it, that the carving is modest, and very neatly finished, not unworthy of a modern civilized artist.”¹¹

According to some informants the people of each *tálwa* formerly had distinctive face paintings, and there were men in every town particularly skilled in applying these. The design for Tuskegee was as shown in the cut (fig. 102).

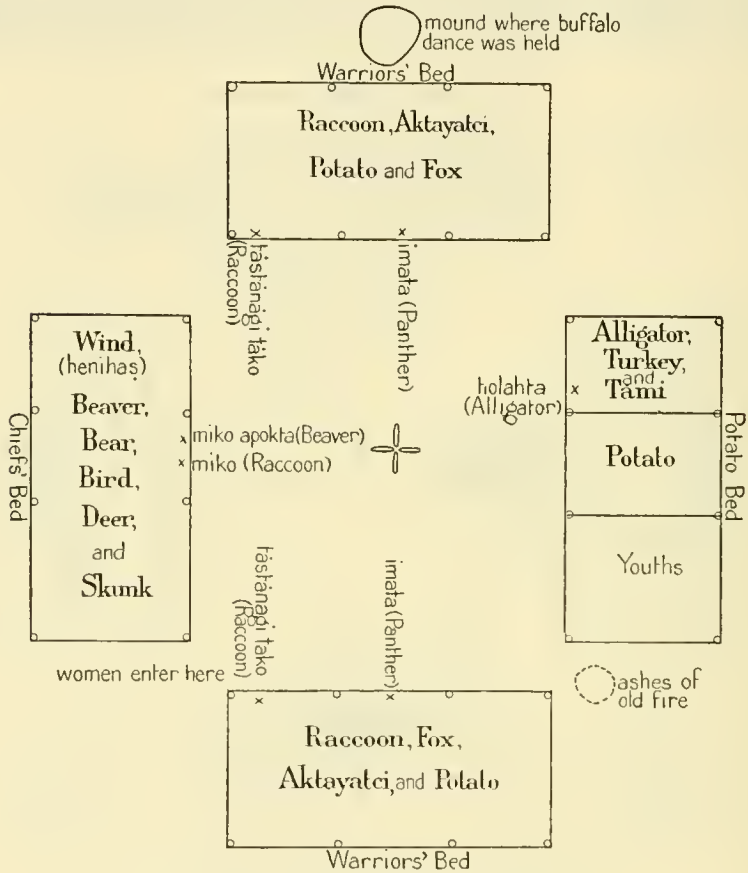


FIG. 47.—Plan of the Tukabachee Square Ground (III)

A word may be quoted from Stiggins regarding the feeling of unity which subsisted within each town.

“The towns people were frequently assembled at their town house or square in order to keep them united, for the harmony subsisting among the people of a town is noted and seems to be cemented by an affection as strong towards each other as the sons of Jacob of old in their association. As the usages and customs of every town are similar and the men all know the unity and sympathy of a town

¹¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 22-23.

people, the men of one town will approach another town with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated, and as such is their practice in this their more enlightened time, their approaches toward each other's towns and towards strangers must have been with extreme timidity and caution in their natural and more savage state."¹²

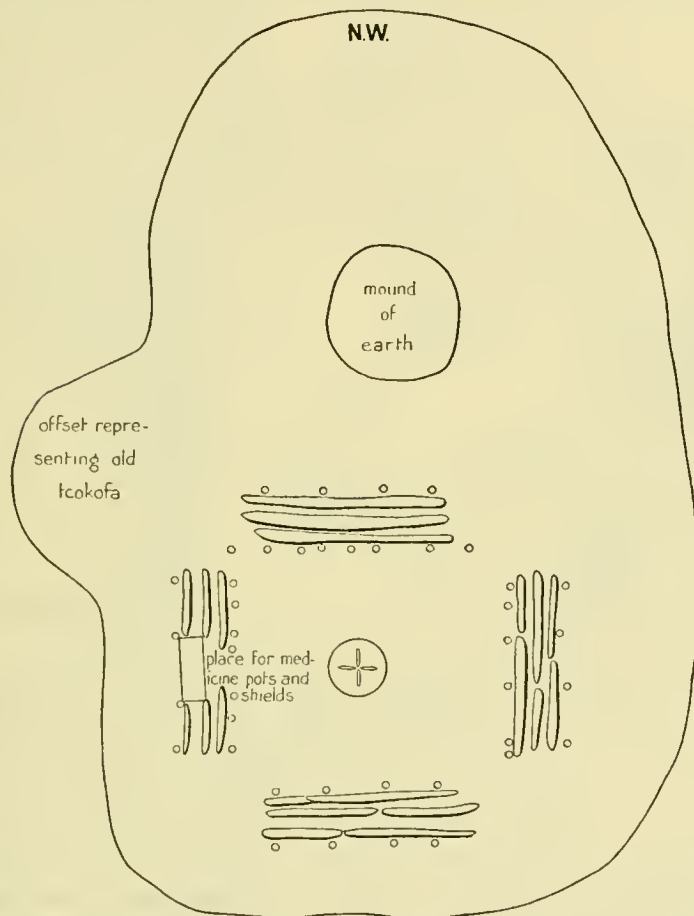


FIG. 48.—Tukahahchee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

In my historical account of the Creek Indians and their neighbors I have taken up in detail the various tribes which constituted the confederacy and the position occupied by each.^{12a} It will not be necessary to go over this ground again, except to insert a classification of the *tálwa* which of itself will serve to recapitulate the points there brought out.

¹² Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 19.

^{12a} Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

NATURAL CLASSIFICATION OF CREEK TOWNS

Muskogee tribes: Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa (including (a) the **Tulsa** group and (b) the Okfuskee group), Abihka, Holiwahali (or Liwahali), Hilibi, Eufaula, Wakokai, several Muskogee tribes whose connection with the rest is uncertain, including Atasi, Kolomi, Kan-hatki, Fushatchee, Wiwohka, Kealedji, and tribes such as the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee, which seem not to have been constituted parts of the original body.

Ateik hata (Hitchiti speaking tribes): Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Oconee, Apalachicola, Sawokli, Tamali, Chiaha.

Alabama.

Muklasa.

Koasati.

Tuskegee.

Yuchi.

Natchez.

Shawnee.

Tribes of uncertain connection: Osochi.

To these might almost be added the Chickasaw, since one band of Chickasaw lived with the Creeks for several years and they were all held to be of one fire with the Kasihta. According to the traditions given above the Kasihta and Coweta resulted from the segmentation of one original body, and it is probable

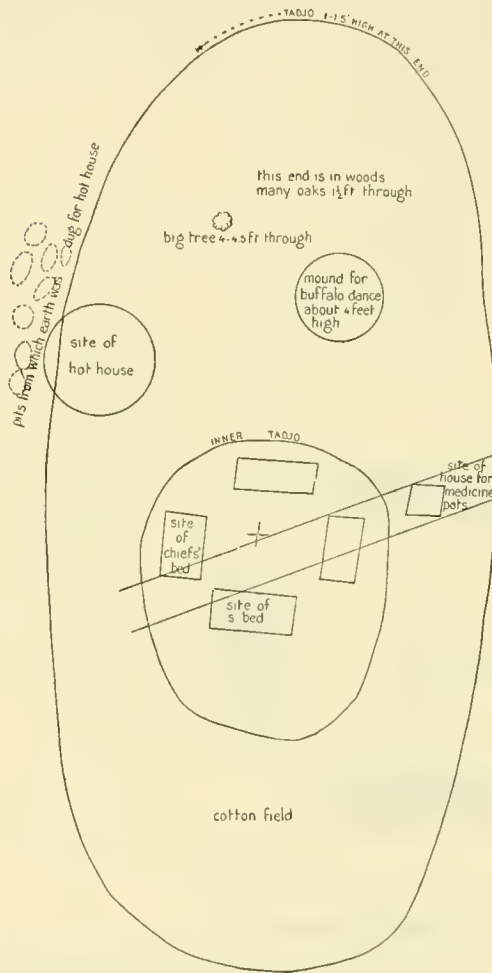


FIG. 49.—The old Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground near Melette, Okla., as it appeared in 1912-14

that these and the next five towns in the above list were the original Muskogee speaking peoples in the confederacy. It seems likely that the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee were Muskogee in language but were late in uniting with the others. The Koasati were closely related by language with the Alabama, as was probably the case

with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.¹³

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace,

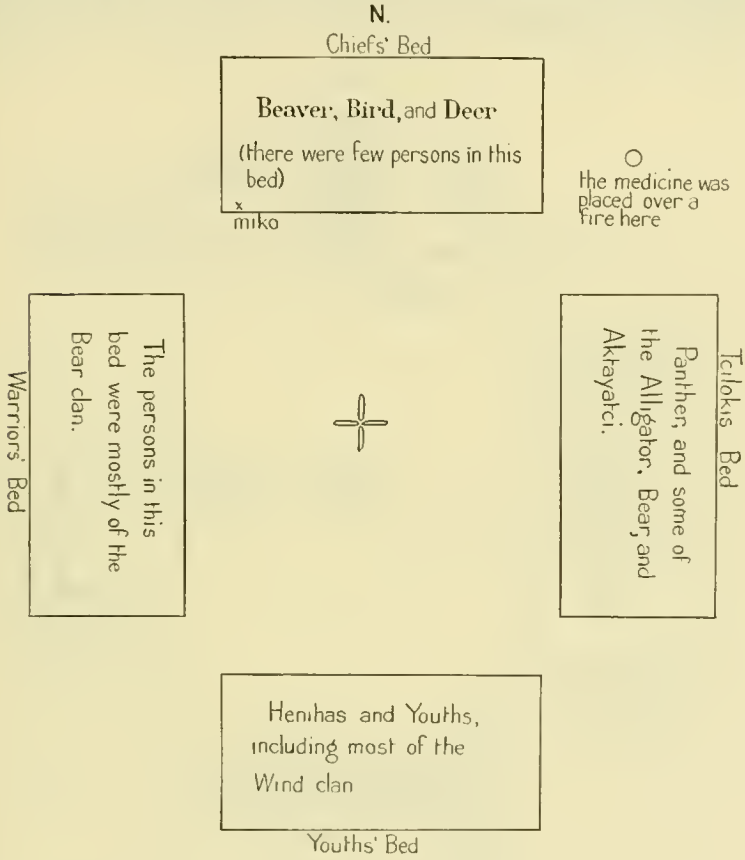


FIG. 50.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.^{13a} At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

¹³ See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

^{13a} See pp. 196-197.

one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choctaw to be "people of one fire" with the English,¹⁴ and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable

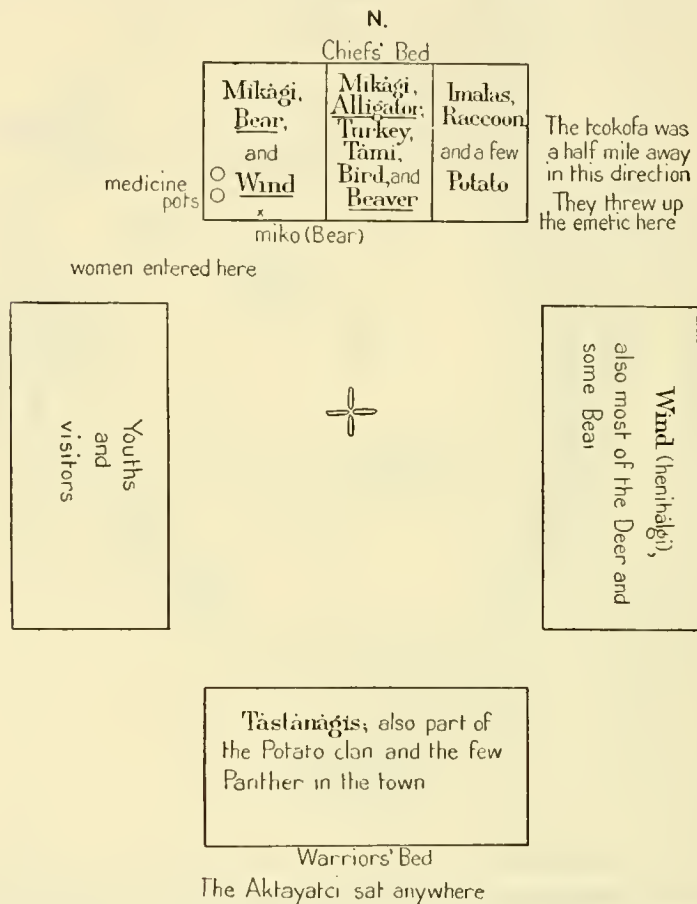


FIG. 51.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

Jackson Lewis used the name Tālwa mikāgi for the White towns and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

¹⁴ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 329.

these names is said to have been applied originally to the Bird clan of Otciapofa because a chief of that town and clan inducted the head chief of the confederacy into office. It was extended from the clan to the town of Otciapofa and thence to the group of towns to which Otciapofa belonged. The importance of Otciapofa comes out, also, in the fact that it is known as the "mother" of the Tulsa and Okfus-

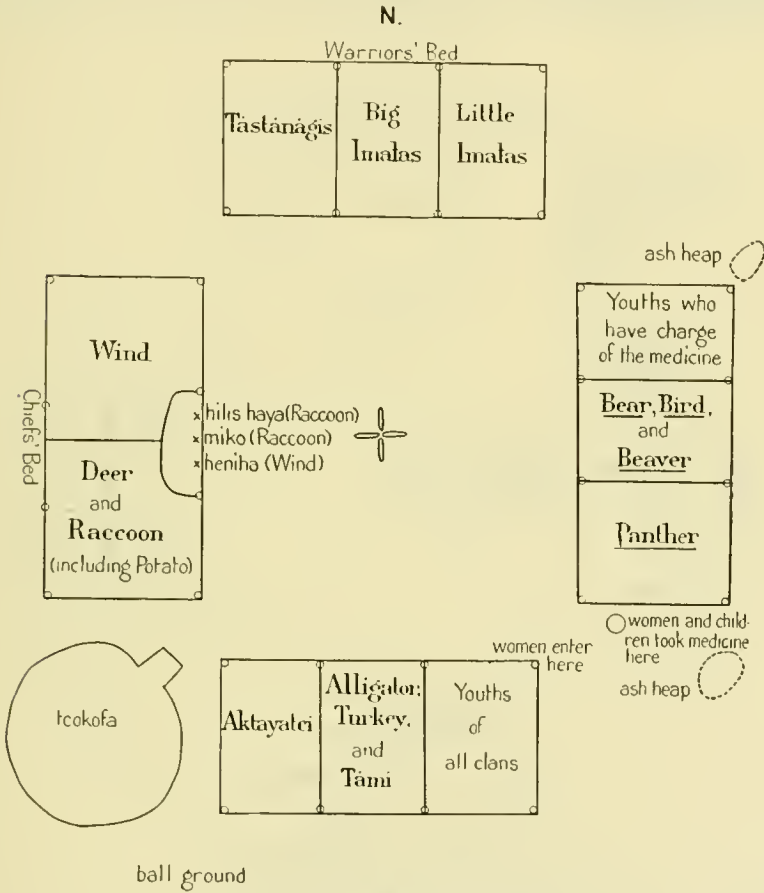


FIG. 52.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (I)

kee towns, and that it was the capital of McGillivray and later the headquarters of Chitto Hadjo or "Crazy Snake," the reactionary leader.

Apart from the ball games which these towns periodically entered into against each other and their antithetical peace and war functions, the attitude which each division maintained toward the other was anciently one of avoidance, if not aversion. According to the late G. W. Grayson there was formerly little intermarriage between them, on account of the mutual jealousy which existed, though there

was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent. Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his own proper town was on the opposite side.

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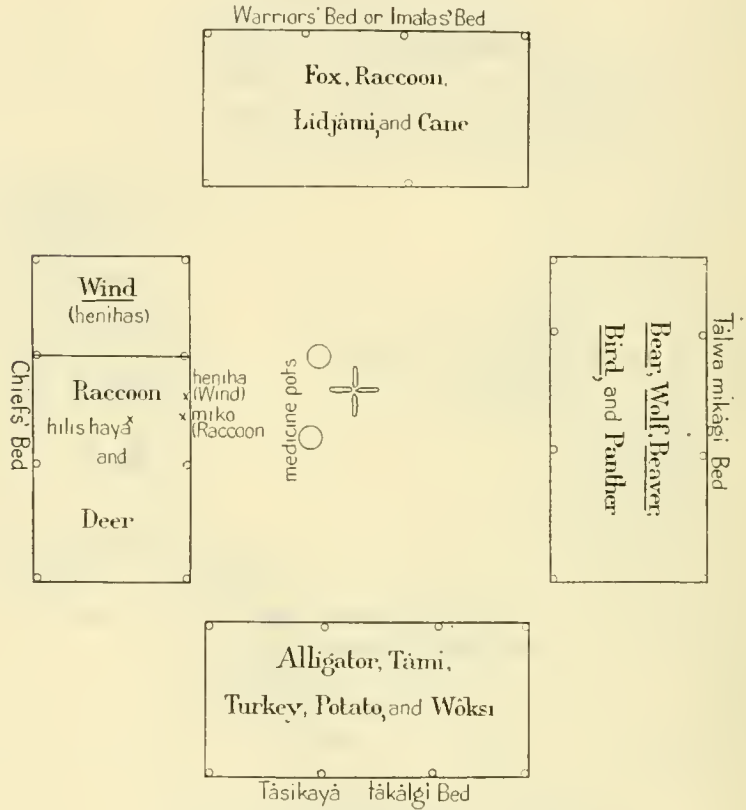


FIG. 53.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,¹⁵ Swan,¹⁶ Bartram,¹⁷ and Adair¹⁸ all mention the fact. Bartram states that human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

¹⁵ Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.

¹⁶ Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 279.

¹⁷ Bartram, Travels, p. 387.

¹⁸ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.^{18a} Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed em-

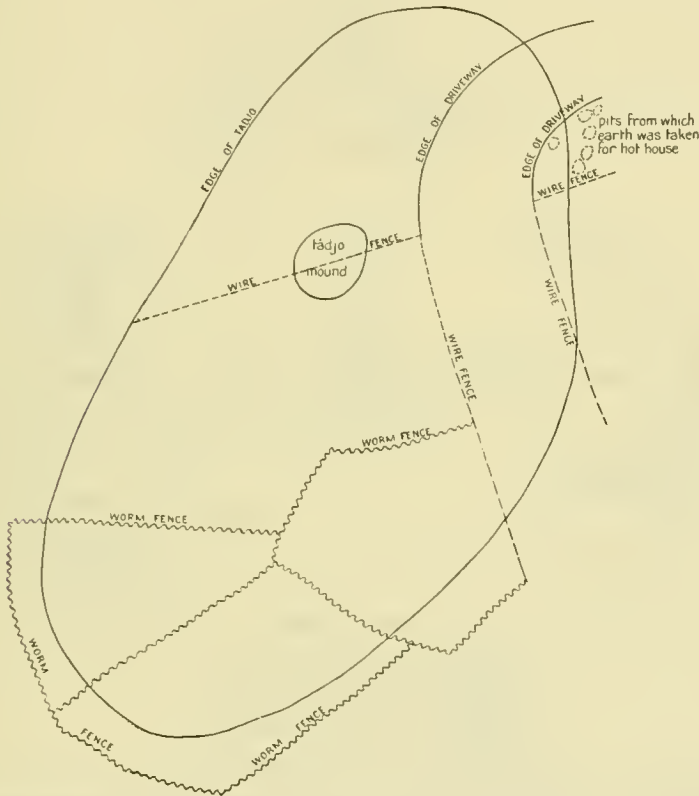


FIG. 54.—Site of the old Kealedji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

blem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly."¹⁹

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

^{18a} Bartram, Travels, pp. 387-389.

¹⁹ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

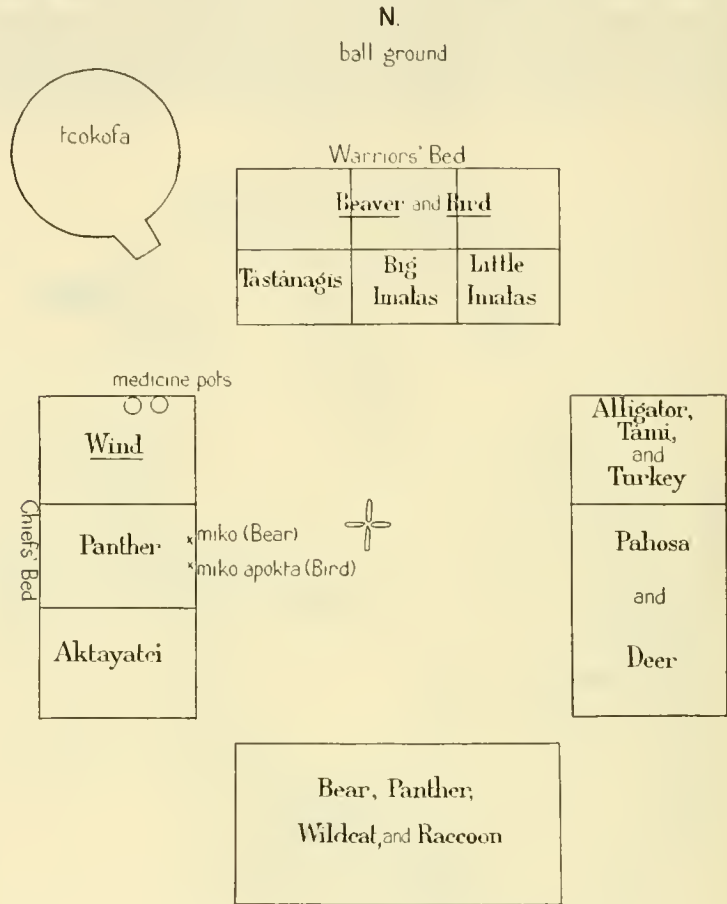


FIG. 55.—Plan of the Laptáko Square Ground (I)

Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

- Kasihta.
- Apalachicola.
- Hitchiti.
- Sawokli.
- Okmulgee.
- Kawaigi.
- Okitiyagana.
- Yuchi.²⁰
- Coosa.
- Otciaopafa.
- Tulsa Little River.

- Tulsa Canadian.
- Luteapoga.
- Okfuskee.
- Teatoksofka.
- Abihkutei.
- Nuyaka.
- Abihka.
- Abihka-in-the-West.
- Talladega.
- Kan-teati.
- Wakokai.

- Wiogufki.
- Tukpafka.
- Wiwohka.
- Pakan tallahassee.
- Okchai.
- Lálogálga.
- Asilanabi.
- Koasati (1 and 2).
- Tuskegee.

RED

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| Coweta. | Eufaula Hobayi. | Lapláko. |
| Likateka. | Tukabahchee. | Hilibi. |
| Chiaha. ²⁰ | Kealedji. | Kitcopataki. |
| Osochi. | Hatchee teaba. | Tallahasutei or Sakapadai. |
| Hotalgihuyana. | Atasi. | Talmutcasi. |
| Eufaula. | Hohiwahali. | Alabama. |

N.

ball ground

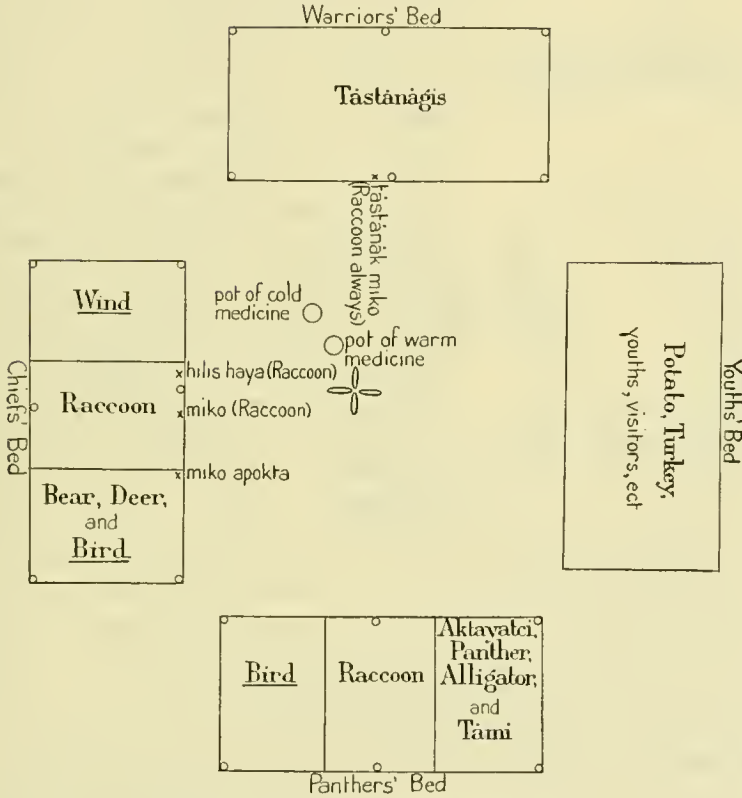


FIG. 56.—Plan of the Laplako Square Ground (II)

This classification was in the main agreed to by everybody, but there were differences of opinion on minor points. One informant thought that Wiwohka used to play on either side indifferently, but others explained that this was only an appearance due to the number of persons who had married into the town from outside. Some said that Tallahasutei or Sakapadai belonged on the White side. Two informants thought that Koasati was a Red town, a conclusion which

²⁰ The relative position of Chiaha and Yuchi is confirmed by David Taitt who mentions a ball game May 3, 1722, in which the former defeated the latter (Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 552).

may have been deduced from the fact that in recent years the related Alabama town was on the Red side. From the evidence which I collected, however, it would seem that it is Alabama which has changed, and that only in late times owing to some difference with the Okchai Indians with whom the Alabama people had formerly been allied. Jackson Lewis in fact placed Alabama on the White side, but on the other hand he thought that Wiogufki and Tukpafka were Red.²¹ Such a classification of these last two towns was concurred in

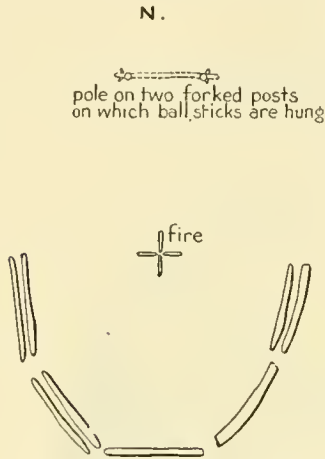


FIG. 57.—The *Laplako* "rallying ground" used before ball games, as it appeared in 1912

by some other informants, and Eufaula hadjo told me that Wiogufki had formerly been Red and had become a White town very recently. As Tukpafka was a branch, or at any rate a coordinate part, of Wiogufki, it was probably classed with it. This shift was perhaps responsible for the confusion regarding Wiogufki in the mind of one old man who said that he believed Wiogufki played on both sides. Eufaula hadjo's statement was, however, confirmed by Big Jack of Hilibi who affirmed that at one time Wiogufki, Tukpafka, Wakokai, Sakapadai, Talmutcesi, and Pakan tallahassee were of the same fire clan as Coweta and *Laplako* but had gotten changed. I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this in so far as it applies

to the last two towns. Possibly the social and political upheavals which accompanied the Civil War may have been responsible for some of the confusion. One of my best informants among the Okchai Indians thought that Wiogufki was really a White town, but that it probably had some agreement with Hilibi and Eufaula that, as good friends and neighbors, they would never play against each other. While Eufaula hadjo and Big Jack are probably right this is interesting as showing that agreements of the sort were not unknown, or at least not inconceivable. I am inclined to think that Talmutcesi was originally White, because it seems to have been a branch of the well-known White town of Okfuskee. An old Coweta Indian stated that some of the Abihka Indians were claimed by Coweta and some by Kasihta, but this confusion, as in the case of Wiwohka, was very likely due to marriages outside. The standing of Abihka on the White side was not questioned by anyone else.

²¹ The original position of Alabama as a White town is also indicated by what Bossu says regarding it: "The Alibamons have called their country the white ground, or country of peace, and rest on their mats, that is to say attack no one. A kind of allegory through which they seem to announce to all the nations of the earth, that the bloody hatchet is buried, and people can come and trade in all safety."—Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 47.

According to Silas Jefferson the Chiaha were the chief opponents of the Tuskegee after they had removed to Oklahoma, but the latter played frequently with the Wiwohka, and sometimes with the Hilibi, and, in the old country, against the Alabama. The Hitchiti and Apalachicola were usually matched against the Atasi.

N.

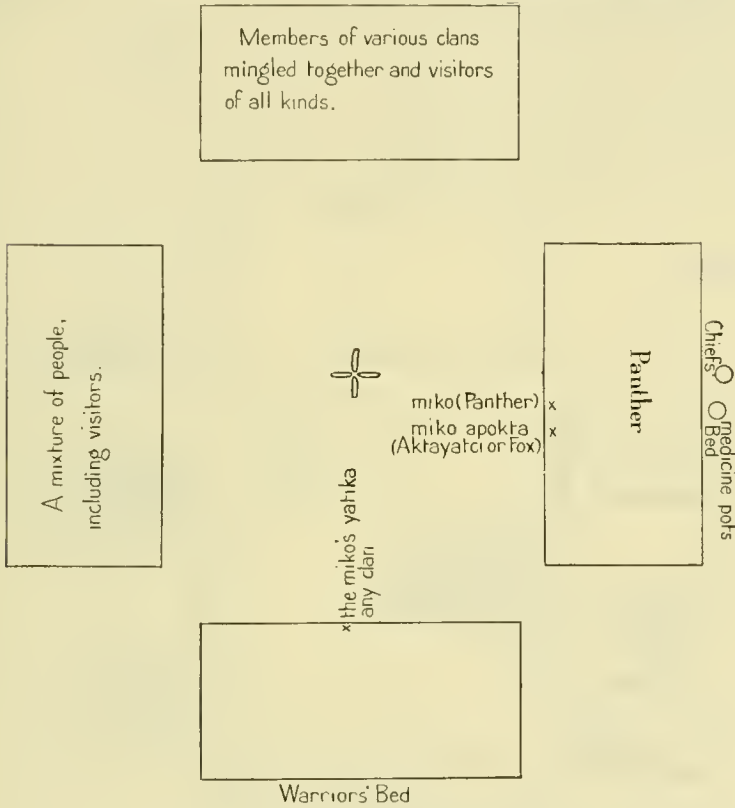


FIG. 58.—Plan of the Eiwahali Square Ground

The corresponding division among the Seminole in Oklahoma is said to have been as follows:

White	Red
Okfuskee	Eufaula.
Tallahasutci	Liwahali (including the Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki).
Ochesee	Chiaha.
Hitchiti	Mikasuki.

This agrees perfectly with the alignment among the Creeks if, as I now suspect, the Mikasuki were a branch of the Chiaha Indians instead of the Hitchiti proper.

At the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Hawkins, first agent of the American Government to the Southern Indians, undertook to knit the Creeks into a firmer and more responsible organization. To carry out this plan the towns were placed in nine classes, and one or two individuals were selected to represent each. The nine classes are given as follows:

1. Okchai, Wiwohka, Pakan tallahassee, Opillako, and Lalogalga.
2. Kealedji and Eufaula.

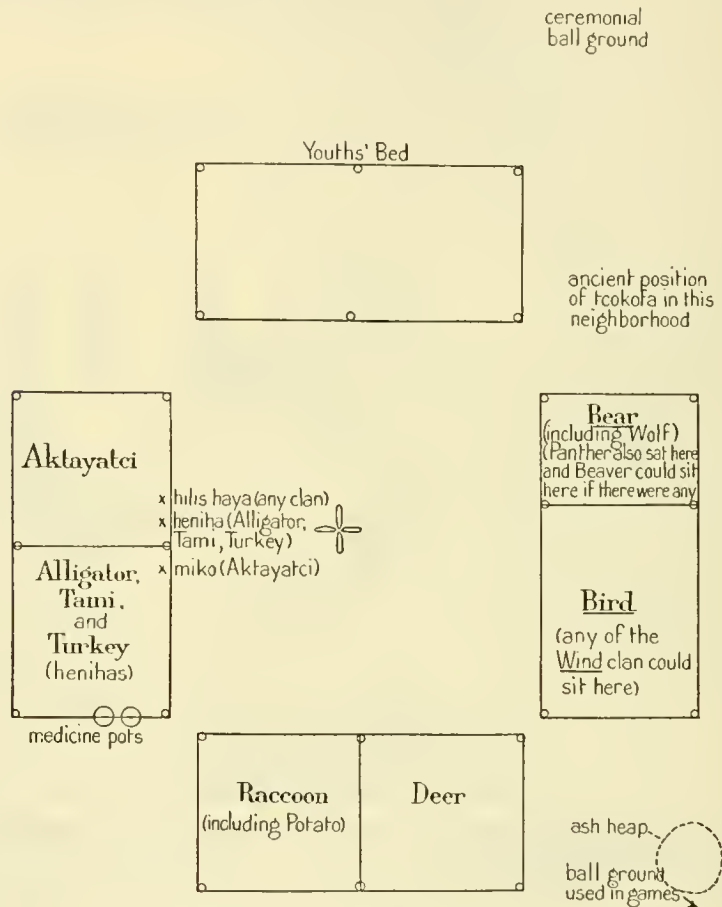


FIG. 59.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground

3. Hilibi, Wakokai, and Potcas hatchee.
4. Abilkutei, Natchez, Coosa, and Eufaula hatchee.
5. Holiwahali, Kan-hatki, Sawanogi, Muklasa, and Tukabahehee.
6. Okfuskee and its branches Sukaispoga, Nuyaka, Imukfa, Tukabahehee Tallahassee, Tohtogagi, Achinaulga, Okfusputei, and Ipisagi.
7. Otciaopofa and Tuskegee.
8. Tula, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, and Kolomi.

9. Okchayutci, Koasati, Kan-teati, Tawasa, Pawokti, and Atauga.

Hawkins states that the first five classes consisted of Red towns, and 6 and 8 of White towns. The words with which he introduces classes 6 to 9 would lead one to expect that 7 and 9 were White towns also and in fact such was the case if we assume the supposed recent change in Alabama. On the other hand, class 8, which is said specifically to have consisted of White towns, contains one, Atasi, now reckoned as Red, and two, Fus-hatchee and Kolomi, of doubtful affiliations but which there are reasons for supposing to have been Red also. At least we should not expect to find them opposed to Kan-hatki, as here given. The classification of some of the Red towns also presents difficulties. The two towns in group 2 are still classed as Red towns, and none of those in group 5 is known to have been White, although this might have been suspected of Kan-hatki and also of Muklasa, supposing that Muklasa was an Alabama settlement. On the other hand, all of those towns in class 1 regarding which we have a record are now White, as are Wakokai and Potecas hatchee in class 3 and Abihkutci in class 4, while Adair so describes Coosa. We should suppose Natchez to have been of one "fire" with the intimate friends of its people, the Abihka, but have no means of knowing the status of Eufaula hatchee, nor of Opillako in class 1. Pakan tallahassee and the Okchai towns have been White within the memory of all living Creek Indians, yet Adair introduces a puzzle by speaking in one place of "the Okchai war town."²² In brief, it does not seem as though much reliance can be placed on Hawkins's classification.

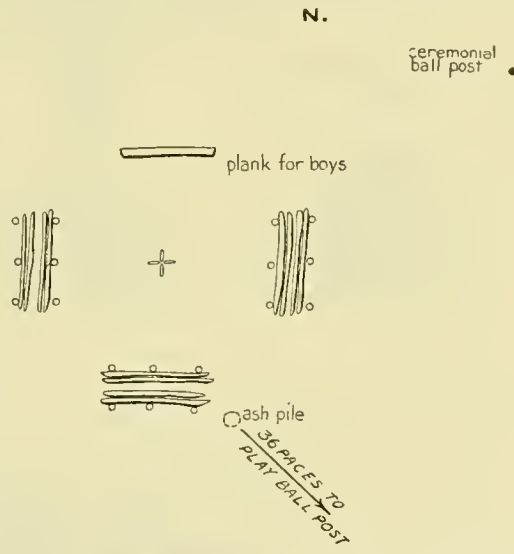


FIG. 60.—Hilibi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

EVOLUTION OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

Any discussion of the probable origin and evolution of the Creek confederacy must carefully distinguish between the native conception regarding its origin and evolution and the thing itself; between the psychological construction and the actual facts.

²² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 262.

Our knowledge of the former is limited, however, by the fragmentary condition of the origin legends, and our ability to interpret the latter is also seriously hampered by the disappearance of much of the data necessary to a proper understanding of them. In the best preserved migration legends, which are from the Lower Creeks and indeed from the single town of Kasihta, we find that the names

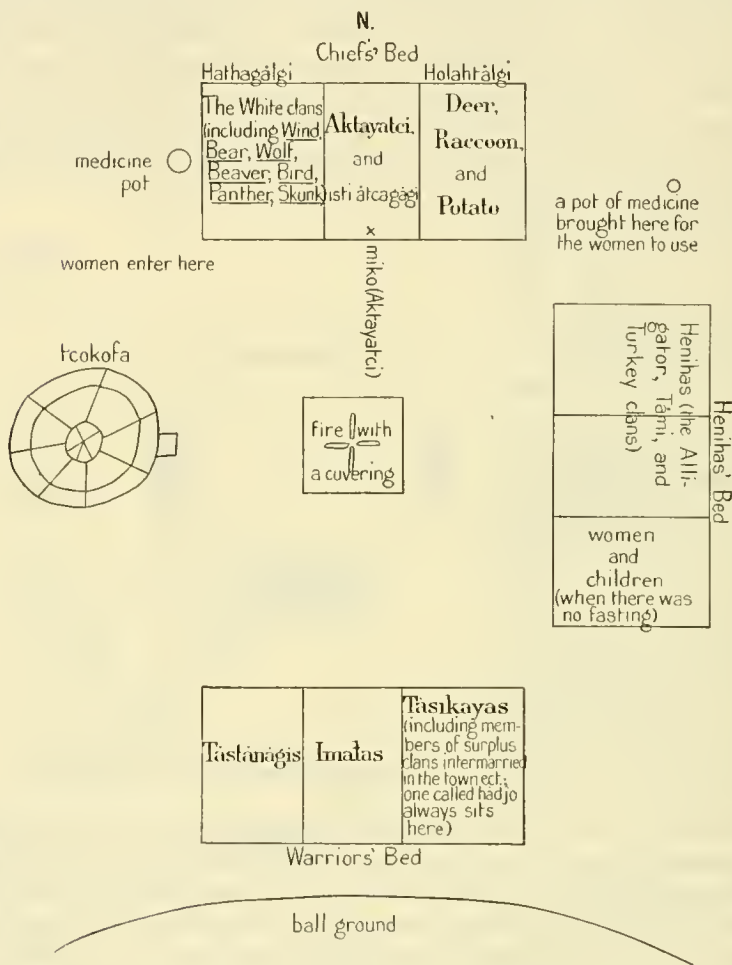


FIG. 61.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (I)

of the Coweta, Kasihta, and Chickasaw are constantly associated. The Chickasaw certainly had a distinct origin, and are evidently introduced because they were friends of the Kasihta and were considered to belong to the same fire clan as that tribe: that is, "Chickasaw" was reckoned as a "White town." It is also worthy of note that in the very earliest version the Coweta are not mentioned until after the immigrants had reached Georgia, where it is implied that

the Kasihta separated into two parts, the Kasihta and Coweta. It is also to be noted that the Abihka are sometimes added, though in the Hawkins version the Abihka are said to have been encountered on Coosa River. The Alabama are mentioned once, and then perhaps merely to make out the formula number four. It seems evident from these stories that the Kasihta and Coweta were always considered

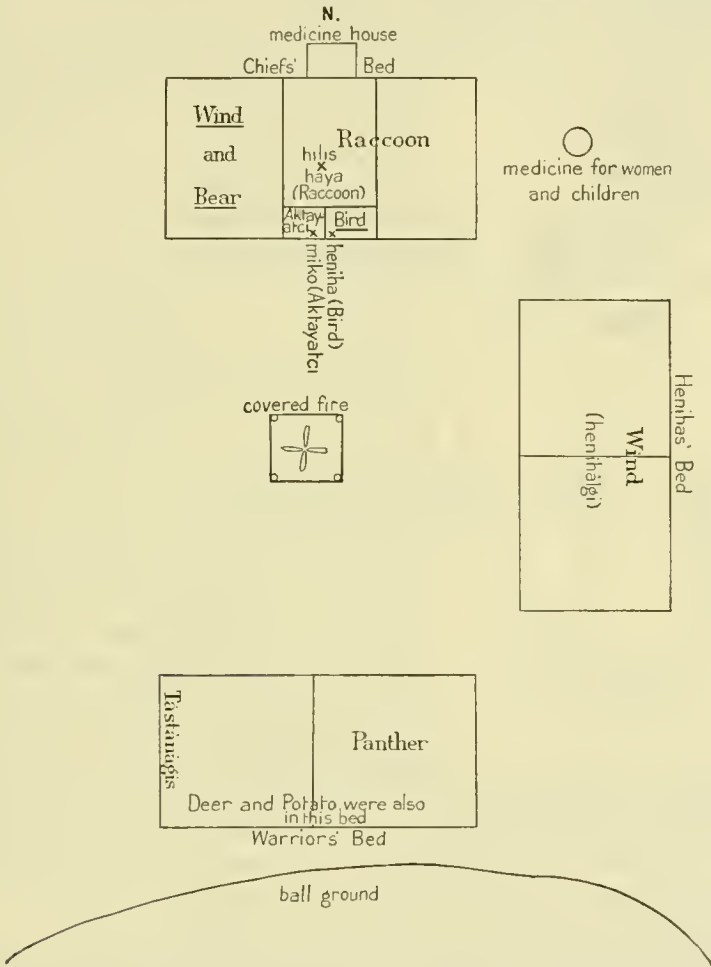


FIG. 62.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (11)

closely related. Their connection with the Abihka is more remote, but it is interesting to find it recognized as closer than their connection with the Coosa. The Coosa appear only in the Chekilli narrative as a people encountered by the Kasihta and their allies on their journey eastward. In confirmation of this we find that in the Tulsa narrative, and in that of Millfort, the two which probably represent the Coosa story, the Kasihta and Coweta are not mentioned; indeed

no tribe is except the Coosa and its later divisions. If we consider the traditions by themselves, then, we seem to find that one body of Muskogee came from the west and subsequently divided into two parts which came to be known as Kasihta and Coweta, and that they were early associated with another tribe, probably also Muskogean, the Abihka. The Coosa, on the other hand, came from the west independently, and had no subdivisions until much later. The explanation of the two divisions of towns or "fires" is given in Judge

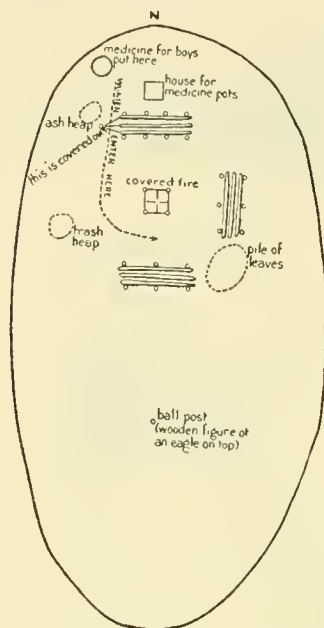


FIG. 63.—Eufaula Ceremonial Ground in 1912

knew Coosa well, and it is not improbable that the basis of the confederacy had already been laid. It is likely that it was in existence before the Tukabachee united with the other towns, in spite of the later prominence of the former and in spite of the fact that some Creeks will tell you that the busk fire originated with the Tukabachee and was by them distributed to the rest.

Woodward says it was a matter of dispute among the Creeks whether Kasihta or Tukabachee was settled first, but it was generally conceded that Kasihta was first settled.²³ Unfortunately we have no record, mythic or otherwise, as to how the friendship between Kasihta, Abihka, and Coosa grew up other than the references in the stories already given, and these do not explain why the friendship was between Abihka, Coosa, and Kasihta, rather than Abihka,

Gregory's story, and there is reason to believe that they did actually originate with the division of the easternmost band of Creeks into Kasihta and Coweta, although the specific account of it is, of course, entirely mythic. This now seems plausible because, in the first place, these two towns are the only pair seemingly sprung from one stem, which are conspicuously set over against each other as leaders of the opposing sides, there being no such pairing of the Upper Creek leading towns. Moreover, Bartram records a traditional belief that the Creek confederacy had originated at the old town of Okmulgee on the river of that name—i. e., among the Lower Creeks. The later Okmulgee town was a Hitchiti settlement, but Muskogee lived along Oemulgee River at an early date. In De Soto's time the people of Cofitachequi, which we have identified as Kasihta,

²³ Woodward, *Reminiscences*, p. 32.

Coosa, and Coweta. The oldest Upper Creek town on the Red side was probably Liwahali, but we do not know what its ancient relations were with Kasihta and Coweta. As between Coweta and Tukabahchee, we have some inkling of the mythic foundation for the friendship existing between them, in myths already given, and it is noteworthy that, if we take the testimony of a Tulsa Indian—which should have been comparatively unbiased—as well as that which may be derived from historical sources, Coweta was then the more important. The myths also tell us something of the relations between Liwahali, Atasi, and Tukabahchee, but it is probable that

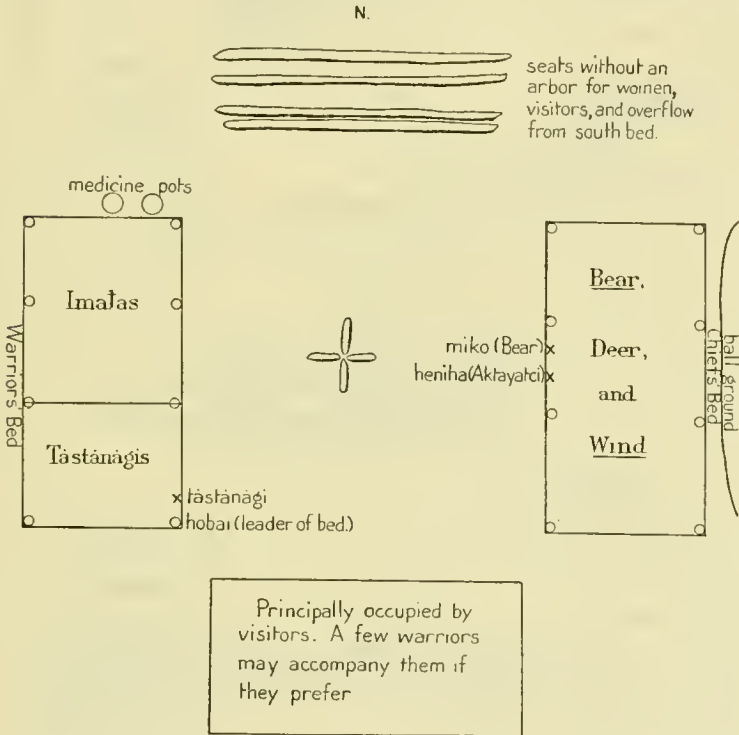


FIG. 64.—Plan of the Alabama Square Oround (I)

the first was already a friend of Coweta, Liwahali having been long settled in the Upper Creek country.²⁴ From the scraps of information we can gather it would appear that Hilibi and Eufaula had once been situated farther east, and they may have been Red towns from early times. Altogether, it appears that the Red towns were fewer and mutually more independent than the White towns. With the exception of Coweta and its branch Likatcha, the two Eufaulas, Upper and Lower, and probably Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hatchee teaba, the Red towns do not fall into well marked family

²⁴ Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 254-258.

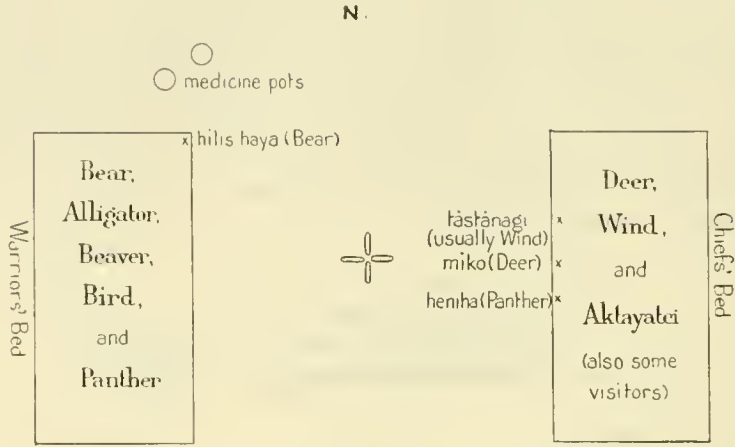


FIG. 65.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (II)

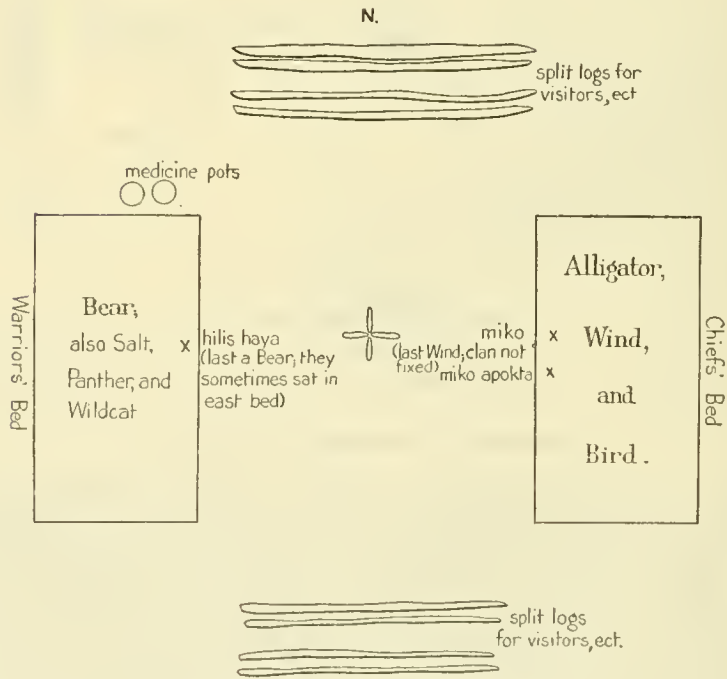


FIG. 66.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (III)

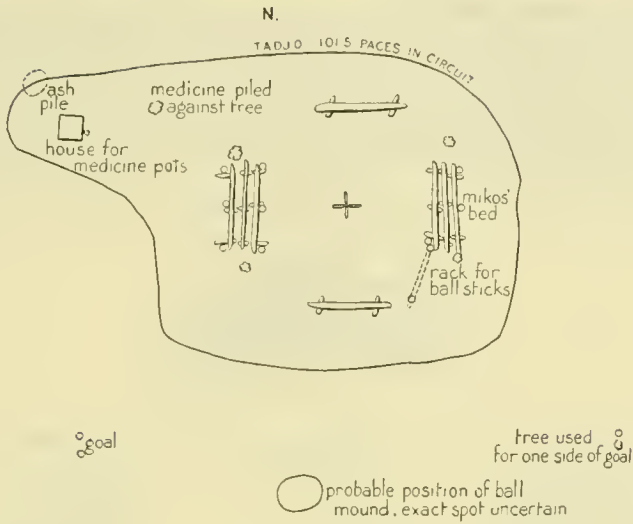


FIG. 67.—The Alabama Ceremonial Ground in 1912

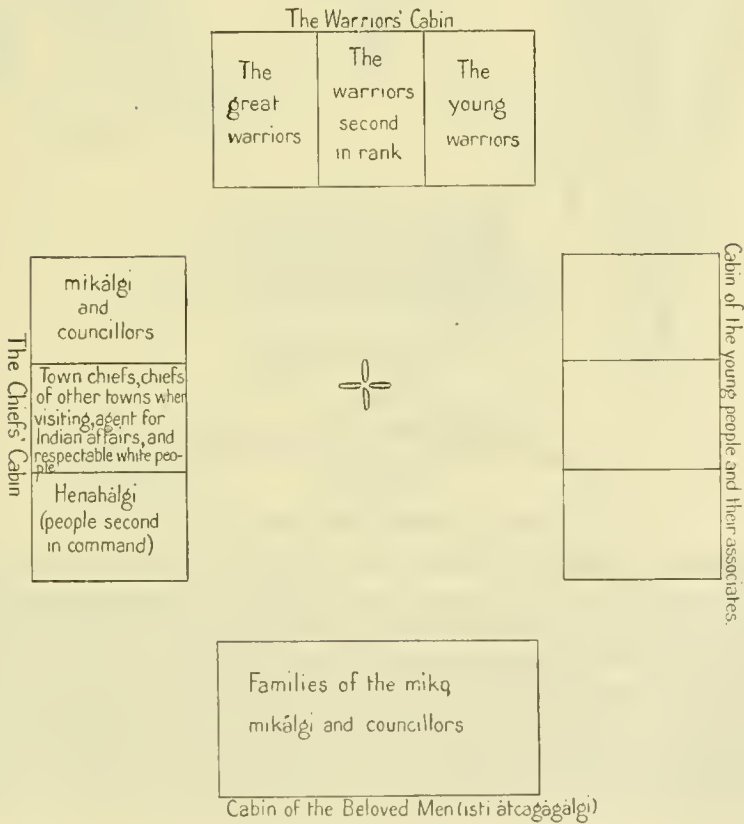


FIG. 68.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Hawkins)

groups. And with the exception of Tukabahchee and its associates, which, although later comers, were probably Muskogee in speech, there were few towns on this side of alien blood. The only certain exceptions, in fact, were Chiaha and Osochi. The former, in some way or other, had early entered upon terms of the greatest intimacy

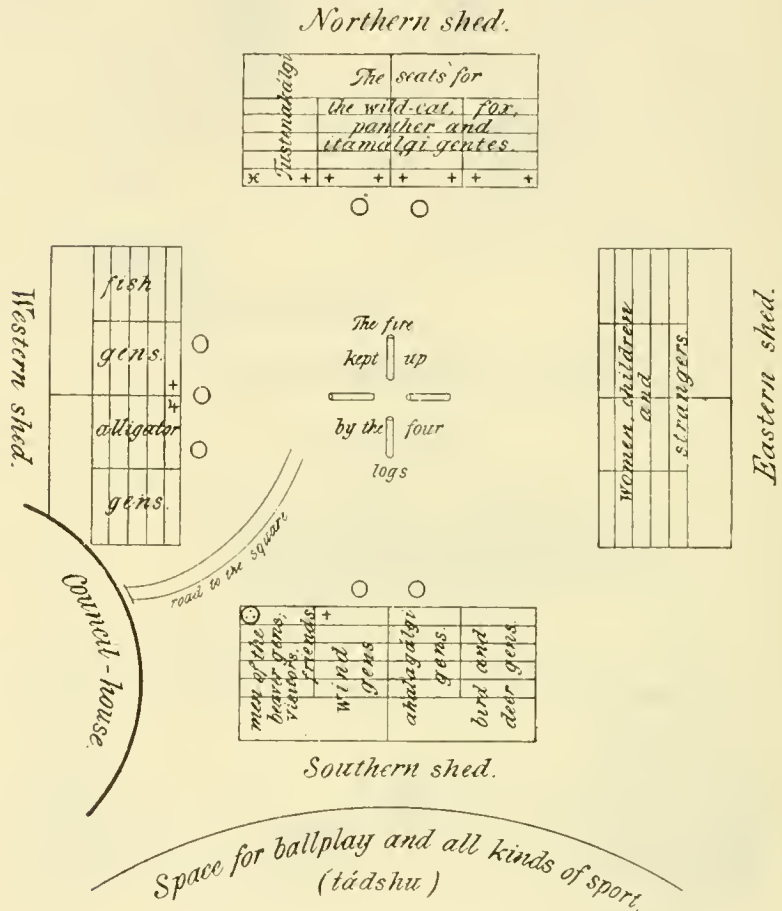


FIG. 69.—Plan of the Kashta Square Ground (from Gatschet)

with Coweta, and it is probable that the Osochi had come into the same relation by first entering upon terms of friendship with the Chiaha. This substantiates a statement of one of my informants that "most of the foreign towns were taken in upon the White side" because it was the side which made a business of peacemaking. In late years the Alabama have joined the Red towns, but this, as we have seen,²⁵ was probably due to a difference with the Okchai with

²⁵ See p. 256.

whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Oteciapofa and

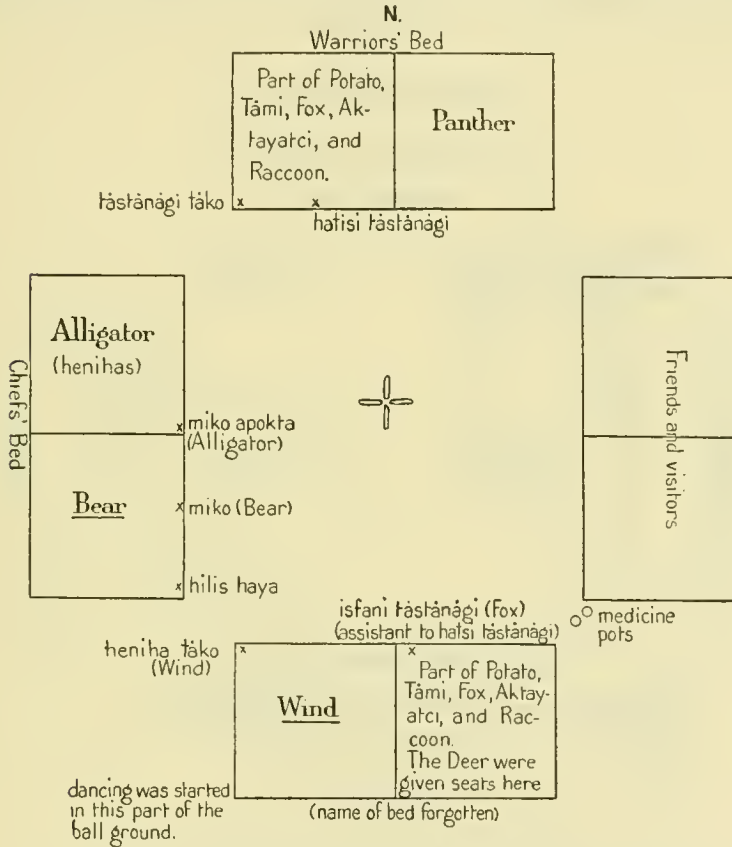


FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (111)

the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their

possible bearing on future investigations. Thus the Mole, Toad, Teokote, and Snake clans are found associated most closely with the Hitchiti-speaking communities, and with the Seminole settlements, which are known to have contained a considerable Hitchiti element. The Kapitea and Pahosa, which are especially prominent among the Seminole, may have had a similar origin. The Salt and Daddy-longlegs clans are similarly associated with the Alabama, the Eagle, Woksi, and Lidjami with the Tukabachee and related towns and

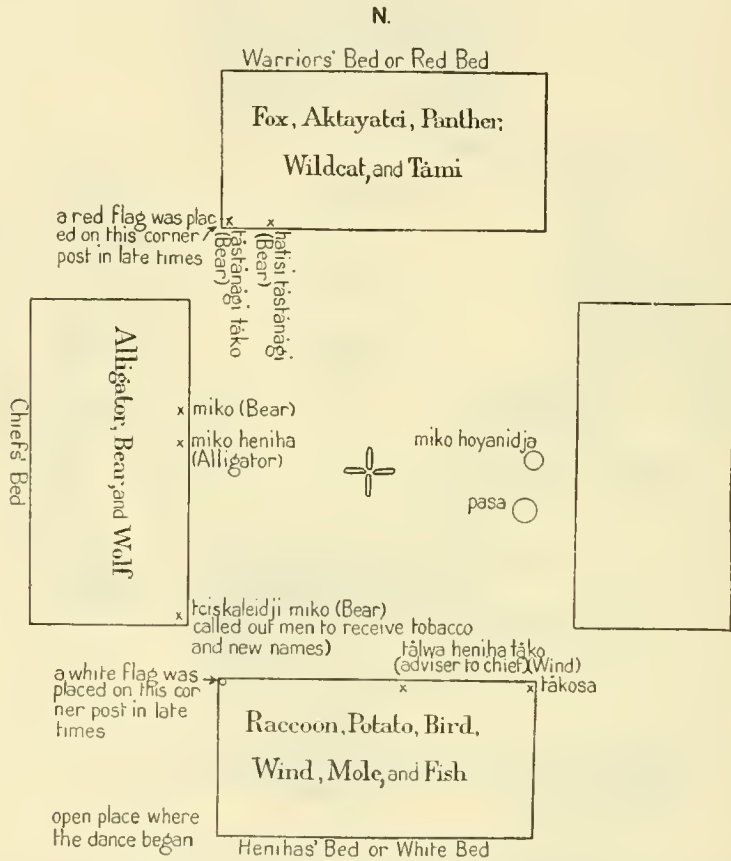


FIG. 71.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (IV)

the Raccoon with the Tukabachee and Okchai, as also the Abihka. The Turkey and Wildcat are the most conspicuous clans among the Koasati at the present time, though the latter at least was widely distributed. Turning to the purer Muskogee divisions we find that the Aktayatei is most conspicuous among the Hilibi, the Eufaula, and in the Wiogufki groups of towns and that the Beaver clan attains special prominence in the Tulsa towns, although it is also a pronounced

factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

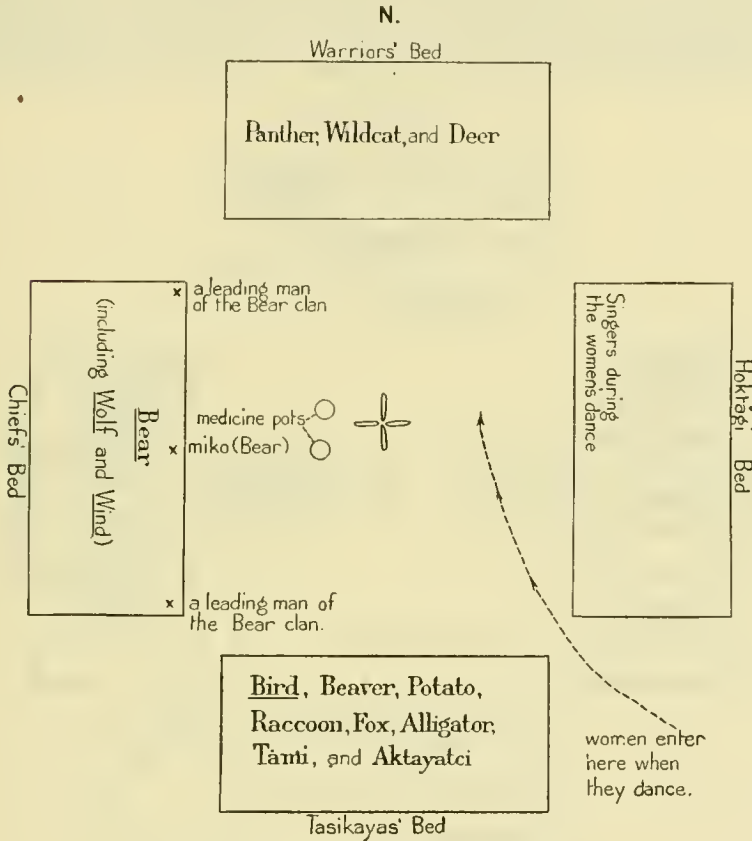


FIG. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

seem most probable that the Caddo and Chitimacha areas were independent of the Chickasaw.

On comparing the clans found among the first tribes which we have mentioned we find at once that the clan names most widely extended were those of the Deer and Bird which appear among all these peoples. The reader should be warned at the beginning, however, that some of the other Cherokee clan names may originally have referred metaphorically to animals and that some of the as yet untranslated Timucua clan names may be of totemic significance.

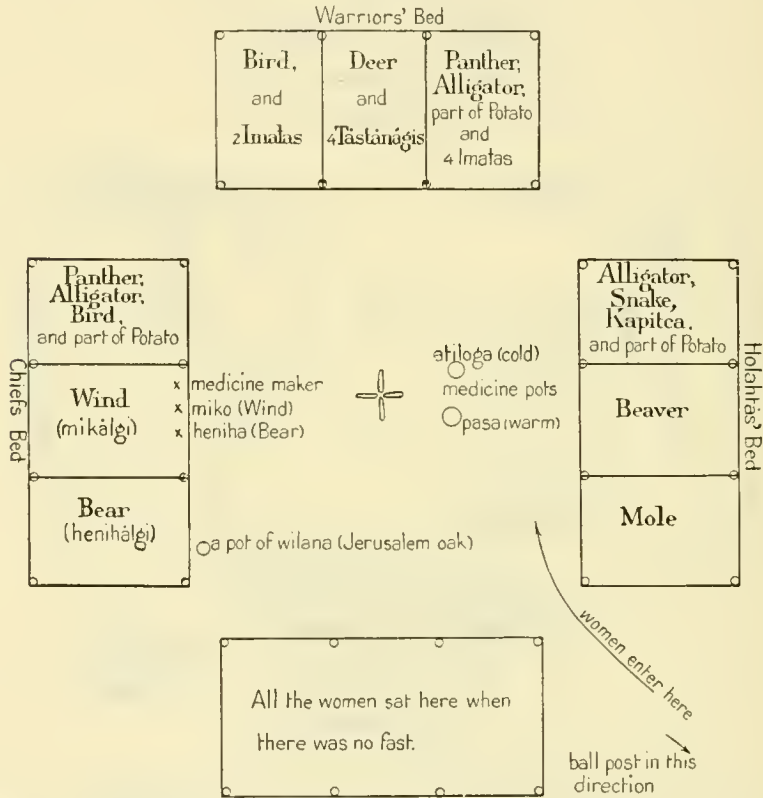


FIG. 73.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa láko) (I)

A Panther clan is found among the Timucua, Natchez, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, a Bear clan among all of these except the Chickasaw, a Fish clan among all except the Natchez, and a Raccoon clan among all but the Timucua. A Wolf clan existed among the Cherokee, Yuchi, and Creeks, as also among the Chickasaw if we may trust Morgan; in Florida it may have been represented by the Dog clan. The Wildcat is mentioned specifically only among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, but wherever there was a Panther clan a Wildcat clan is apt to make its appearance sooner or later associated

with it. There was a Fox clan among the Yuchi and Creeks, a White Fox clan in Florida, and a Fox or Red Fox clan among the Chickasaw; a Skunk clan among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks; and Wind and Beaver clans among the Natchez, Yuchi, and Creeks. Morgan reports a Chickasaw Alligator clan, and one of my own informants gave the Alligator as a Yuchi clan, but Speck makes no mention of it. It was, of course, well known to the Creeks. A Snake clan makes its appearance among the Natchez, the Creeks, and probably the Yuchi. Spanish clans (Isfani) played a rather important

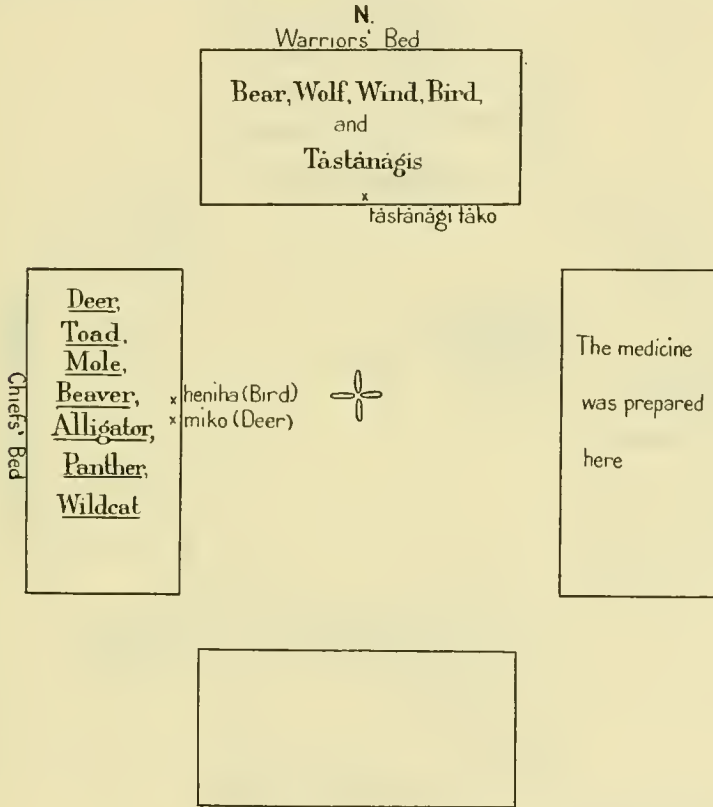


FIG. 74.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa láko) (II)

part in the Creek and Chickasaw nations, but the Buzzard clan, which seems to have attained great prominence in Florida, is entirely wanting among the people north of it except possibly the Yuchi. The only subdivision corresponding to the Earth clan of the Timucua was an obscure Creek division mentioned only by one authority and called the Fresh Land clan. A Squirrel clan is reported by Morgan from the Chickasaw and by Speck from the Yuchi, and Morgan is confirmed by some evidence which I myself collected. A Partridge

clan is found only in Florida, and a Chief clan only among the Chickasaw. The Blackbird which Morgan reports as existing among the Chickasaw and the Haloba recorded among the same people by Gibbs are equally unique.

The order of distribution would, therefore, be something like this:

1. Bird, Deer.
2. Panther (and Wildcat).
3. Bear, Fish, Raccoon.

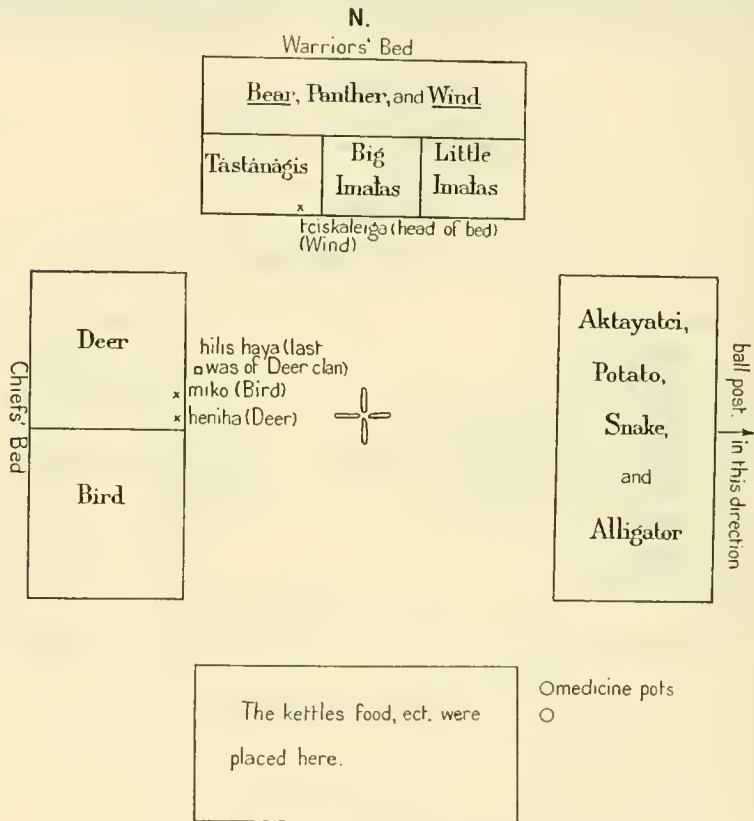


FIG. 75.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground

4. Wolf, Fox.
5. Skunk.
6. Wind, Beaver.
7. Alligator, Snake.
8. Spanish.
9. Buzzard, Earth, Squirrel.

The importance of the deer in the economic life of the Southeast will readily account for the wide distribution of the Deer clan, but it is not so easy to explain the popularity of a clan bearing such a general name as the Bird. Possibly the name had something to do with the

use of bird feathers in peace-making ceremonies, and in corroboration of that suggestion it must be remembered that the Bird clan was reckoned a White clan among the Creeks and that it did not include the Eagle or the Turkey. It is interesting to note that in Florida the Bear and Bird clans were associated as they were among the Creeks. The Panther clan is almost as popular as the Bird and Deer, being wanting only from the Cherokee; the nature of the animal accounts sufficiently for this. Of the remaining clans the Wind, Beaver,

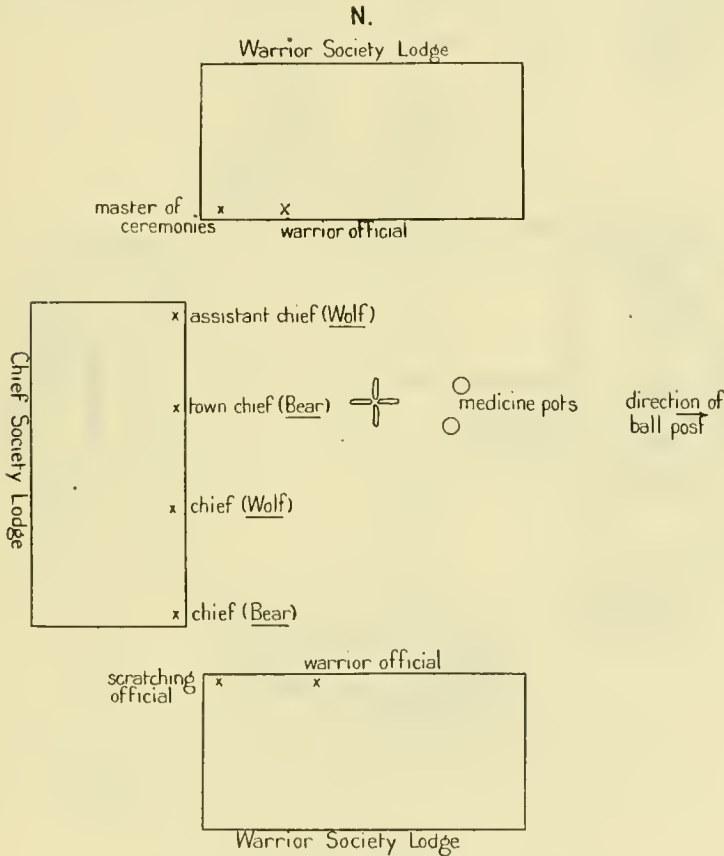


FIG. 76.—Plan of the Yuchi Square Ground. (After Speck)

Alligator, and Snake are most prominent among the Creeks and those tribes particularly influenced by them; the Wolf is most prominent among the Cherokee, and the Buzzard and Earth clans among the Timucua. It is rather remarkable that the Fish was less in evidence among the Creeks than among the Timucua on one side and the Chickasaw on the other.

Whether the clans actually originated with those tribes among which they were most prominent in historic times and spread from them to the others is a question to which no answer can be given

on the basis of the data at hand. There seems some reason to think that the three leading White clans, Wind, Bear, and Bird, were from very early times connected with the true Muskogee, that the Deer and Panther, possibly introduced from Florida, formed the nucleus of the War element at one time, or in certain towns, and that, in other towns—or perhaps at a later period—they were displaced by the Raccoon-Potato-Fox clans. It is also possible that, in this latter association, the Potato and Fox may represent an older element

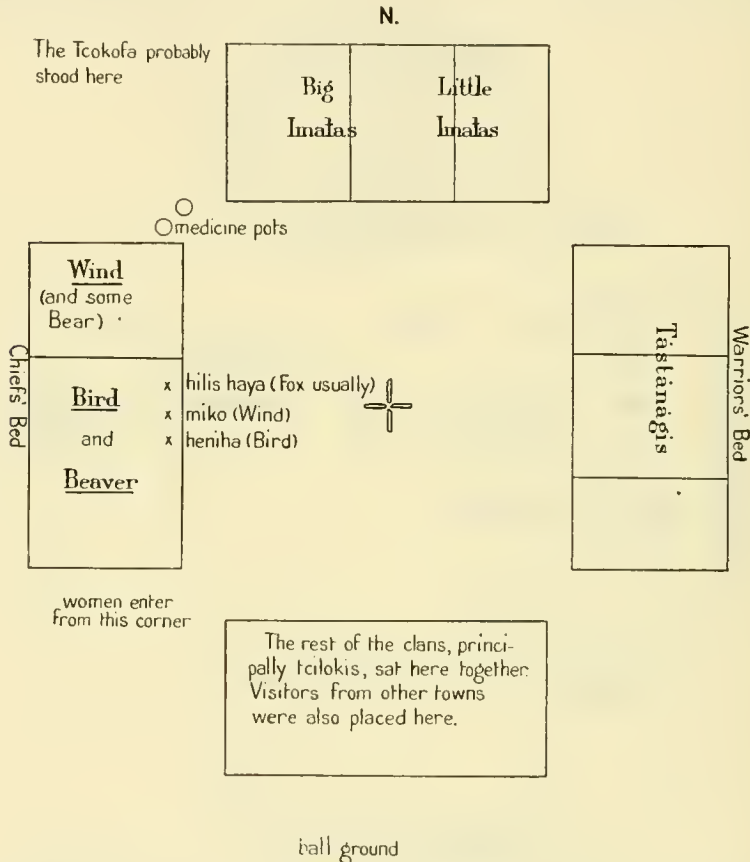


FIG. 77.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (1)

later strengthened by the Raccoon at the period of immigration of the Tukabahchee and Okehai. From the habitat of the reptile and its relative prominence among the Lower Creeks we may also guess that the Alligator clan had its origin somewhere in the south, though there seems to have been no such clan in Florida.

The writer has been adversely criticized for suggesting a foreign origin for one of the two moieties of certain of the north Pacific coast tribes on the basis of the names and traditions connected with it.

Nevertheless, whether this has a historical or psychological basis or both, the same phenomenon reappears in the Southeast. Here, as we have seen, the clans opposed to the Whites, presumably those considered war clans, were known as Teilokogálgi, "people of a different speech." Not only so, but, as we have seen, in the most ancient pure Muskogee towns, the White clans are the most prominent

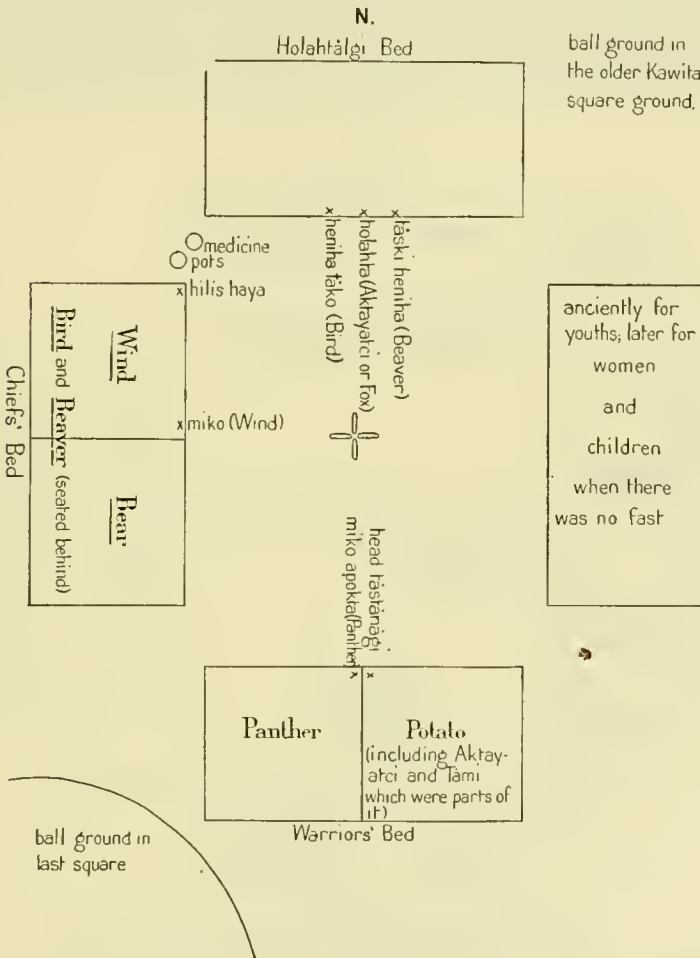


FIG. 78.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (II)

and are those from which the town chief is oftenest selected. This is the condition in Kasihta, Coweta, and above all among the Okfuskee, the people supposedly descended from ancient Coosa. On the other hand the Raccoon clan rises to prominence in Tukabahchee and Okehai, and the towns related to these, and the Aktayatci clan in Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Eufaula. I will not attempt to carry the argument any farther, for it may easily be overdone, but leave the facts to the consideration of future students.

GOVERNMENT

The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the most part in a single locality and known as a *tálwa*. As has been already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called *tálwa* were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confeder-

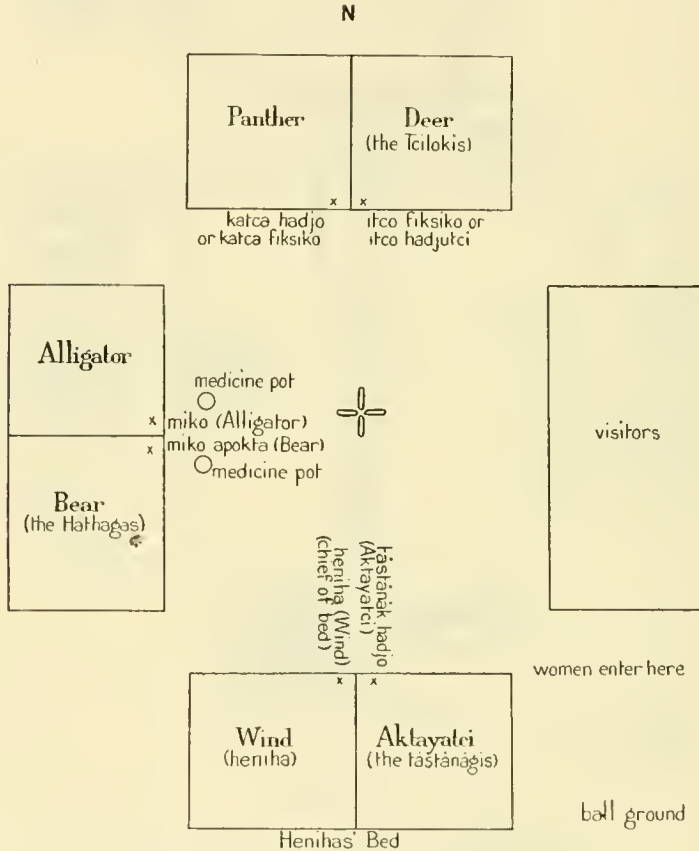


FIG. 79.—Plan of the Square Ground of Likateka or Broken Arrow

tion, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

After their admission to the federated body each *tálwa* remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the *miko*. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White

towns alone being under mikos.²⁶ If he means by warriors men bearing the title *tástánági* we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the

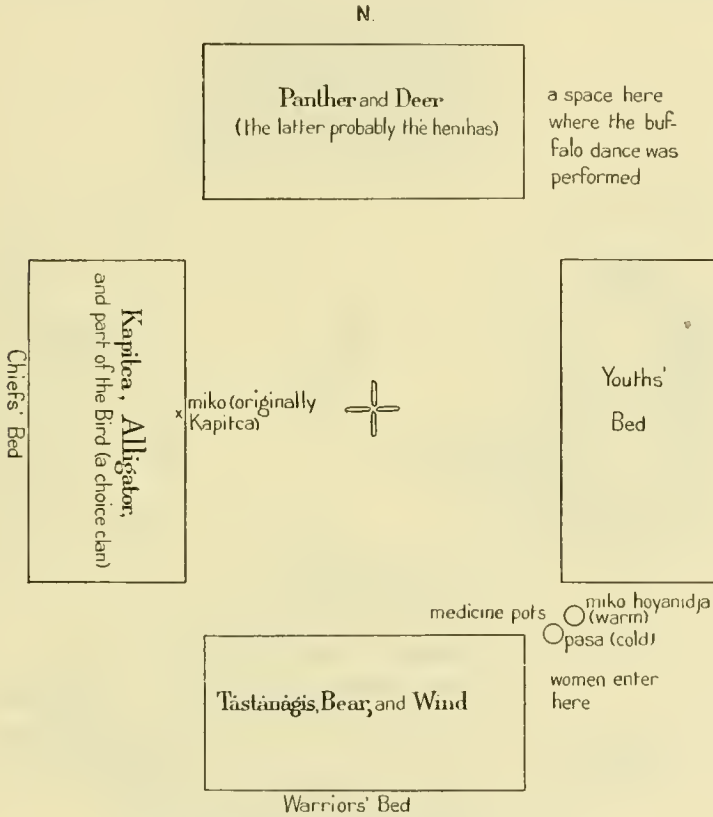


FIG. 80.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or *teokofa* and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

²⁶ Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town.”²⁷ Bartram remarks:

“He has the disposal of the corn and fruits, and gives audience to ambassadors, deputies, and strangers who come to the town or tribe, receives presents, etc. He alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, consisting of barbecued bear or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself; and this is called the king’s

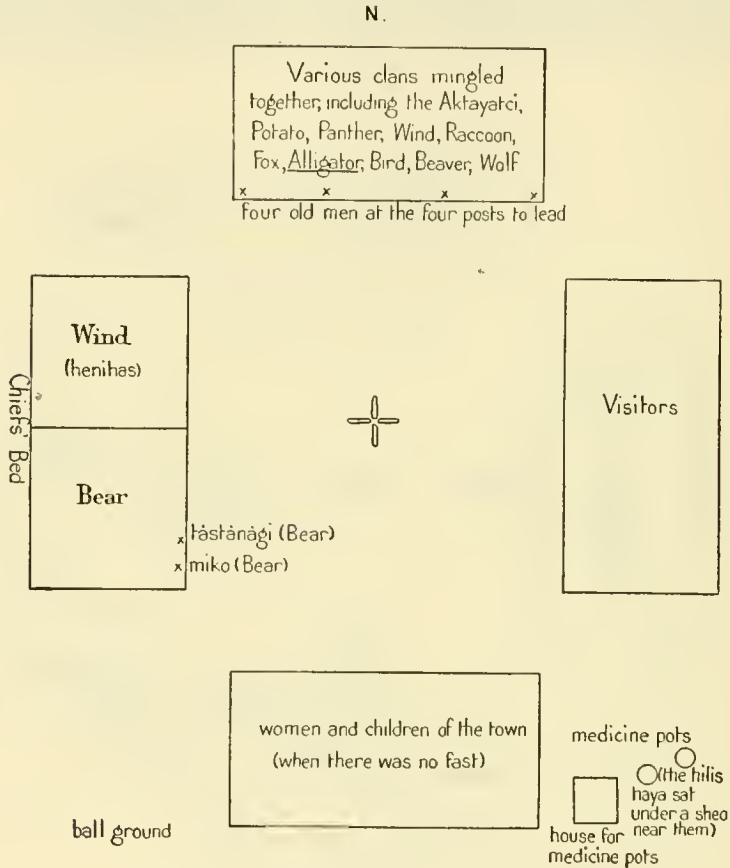


FIG. 81.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (II)

feast, or royal feast. And when he intends to give this frolic, after a successful hunt, he sends messengers to prepare the village. They display the king’s standard in front and at one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the Public Square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves, for there is dancing and frolicking all that night.”²⁸

²⁷ Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. iii, p. 69.

²⁸ Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, p. 24

Speck says regarding the Tuskegee miko:

"The function of this dignitary, as the civil head of the town, was to receive all embassies from other tribes, to direct the decisions of the town council according to his judgment, and finally to stand as the representative of the town in foreign negotiations. . . . The town chief had also to appoint the time for the annual harvest ceremony. He had personal charge of the town square and the lodges about it, and it was his duty to distribute the broken sticks to the heads of families by which they were to number the days to elapse

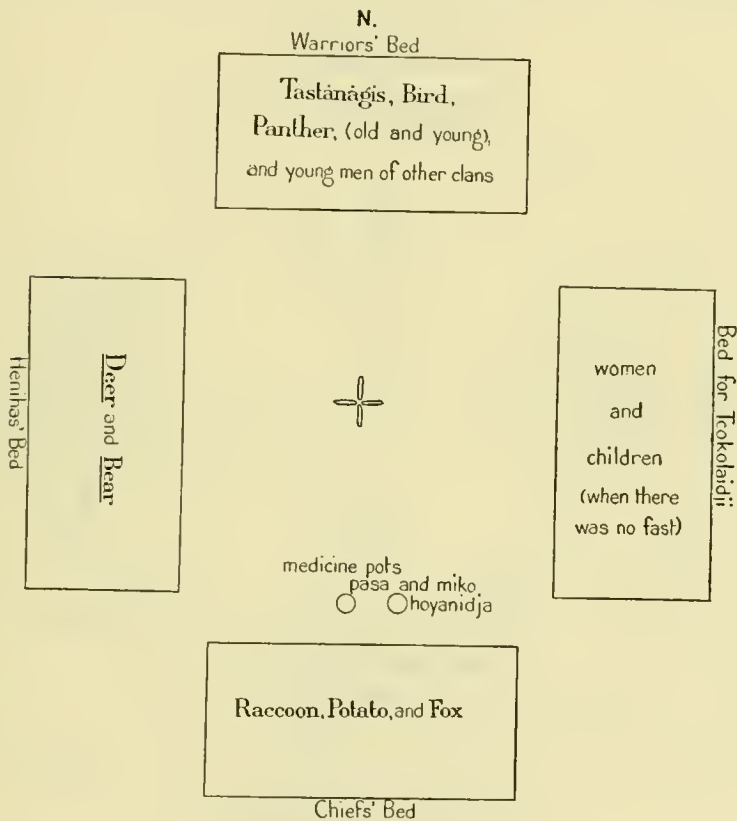


FIG. 82.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (I)

before the ceremony. The Taskigi have been known to depose their town chief on the ground of inefficiency and to elect another from his clan instead."²⁹

Theoretically the miko was little more than head of the tribal council and spokesman of his tribe, but his actual power varied with his individual ability. Although such cases may have occurred, there is no record of a miko undertaking any important action with-

²⁹ Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 113.

out conferring with his council. The miko is called "king" by early writers and traders, and in fact the Creeks themselves applied this term to the highest officials among the whites, such as the governors of Carolina and Georgia, and to European monarchs, the King of Great Britain for instance having been known as Antapala miko lako, "the great miko on the other side of [the ocean]." As we have seen, the miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he

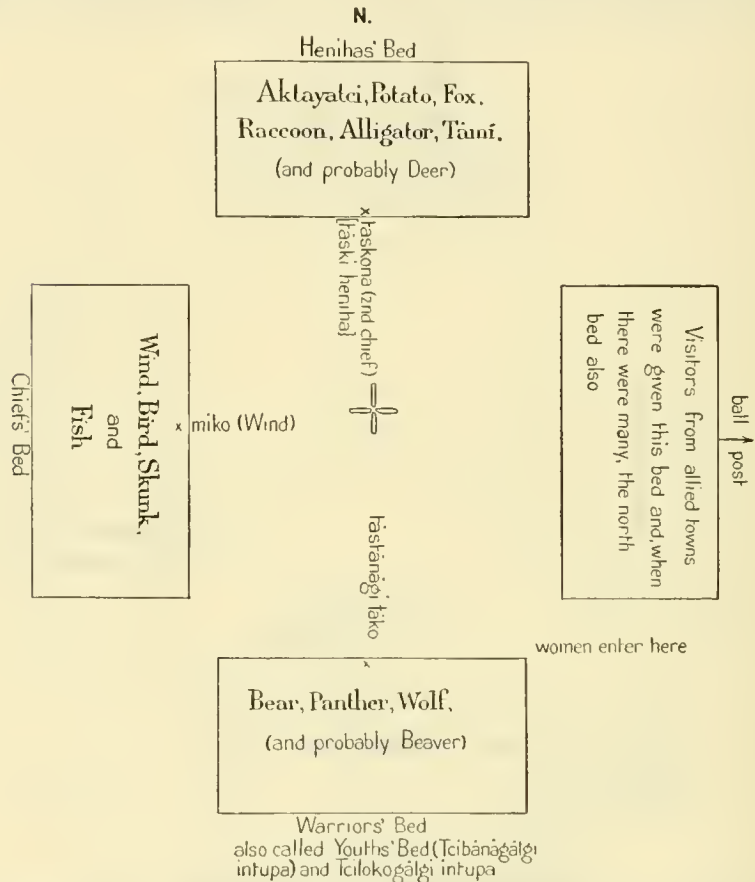


FIG. 83.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II)

was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

The association between clanship and the office of miko has already been dwelt upon. It has been shown that the miko was ordinarily chosen from some particular clan, but that the clan would be changed if the tribe suffered any misfortune, or sometimes, as frequently happened in later years, if the royal clan ran out so that no suitable

person could be found in it to occupy the position. It is probable that readjustments took place even in very early times, for Adair, speaking of the Chickasaw, says: "The most numerous tribe commonly bore the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us, it was not so even within their own remembrance."³⁰ As between the available candidates inside of the proper clan, selection was made in several different ways, depending on the town. According to a Coweta informant, he was selected by the members of the White clans, including, of course, only those individuals who had seats on

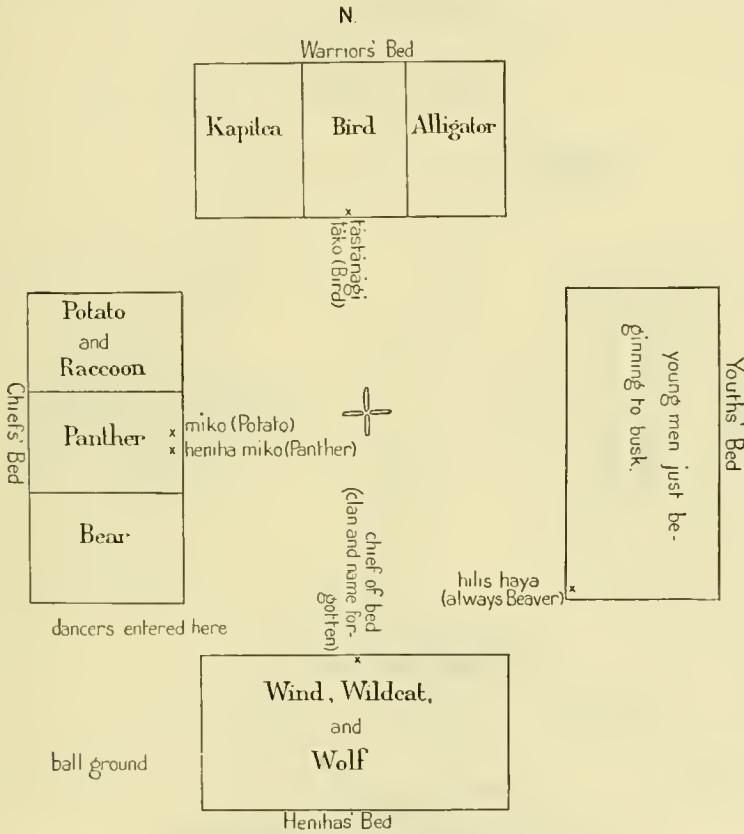


FIG. 84.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (I)

the square ground. This agrees partially with what Ispahihtea told Doctor Gatschet, that at Kasihta the chief and "vice-chief" were selected by those who sat in the south or "white" bed.³¹ According to the description of the Kasihta square, which Ispahihtea himself gives, all of the clans in that bed were indeed White except the Potato and Deer. His remark may have been intended to cover only the White clans.

³⁰ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 31.

³¹ Gatschet, *Ms. notes*; see p. 59.

According to Jackson Lewis, who was best acquainted with Upper Eufaula, the selection was made by the other members of the same clan, but this seems to have been unusual. According to a Hilibi Indian well versed in everything connected with the organization of a town, the miko was selected by three men, one taken from the clan of the former chief, one from the clan of his father, and a third who appears not to have belonged to any particular clan. My informant added that they uniformly selected the humblest person belonging

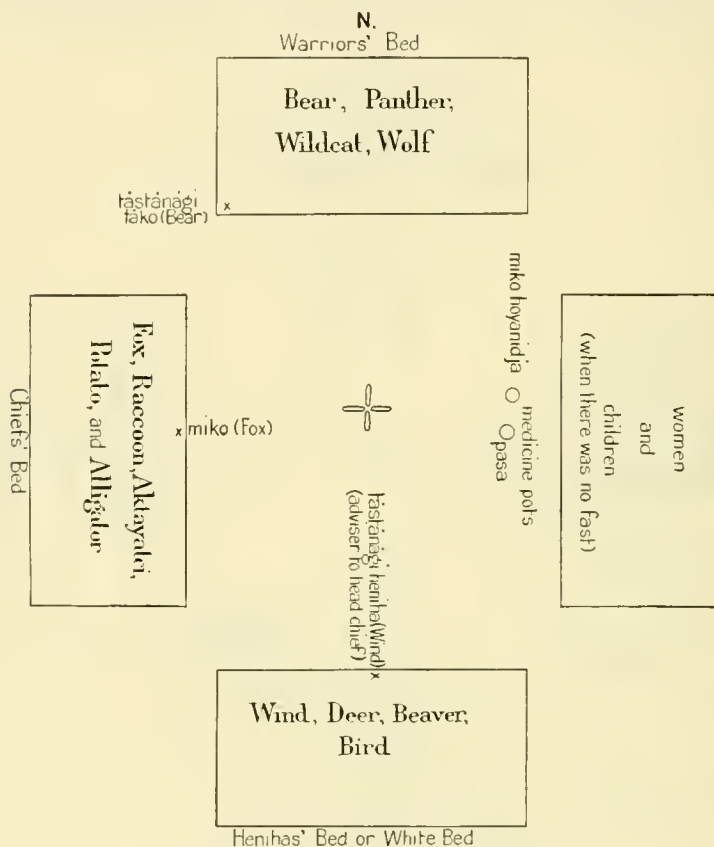


FIG. 85.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (II)

to the royal clan and those who picked him out always had to labor with him to induce him to accept. Some of this reluctance was no doubt a matter of etiquette, but the public and ceremonial demands of the position were so great and so much of the well-being or misfortune of the tribe was attributed to the incumbent that he may well have shrunk from the responsibility. The miko was, however, at liberty to resign. Some of those who selected the miko might belong to Red clans but he was always inducted into office by a member of one of the White clans. He was seated upon an unsmoked buckskin and

an address was delivered to him by a speaker appointed for that purpose in which his future duties and the expectations of the tribe regarding him were set forth. In 1912 the then chief of the Yuchi informed me that when he was installed he was placed upon a buckskin which had been dressed by a virgin, and in the speech which was made to him the other members of the tribe were called his "children" and his duties to them were set forth. He was told that all of the paths were white for him; that he was to be governed by that fact and shed

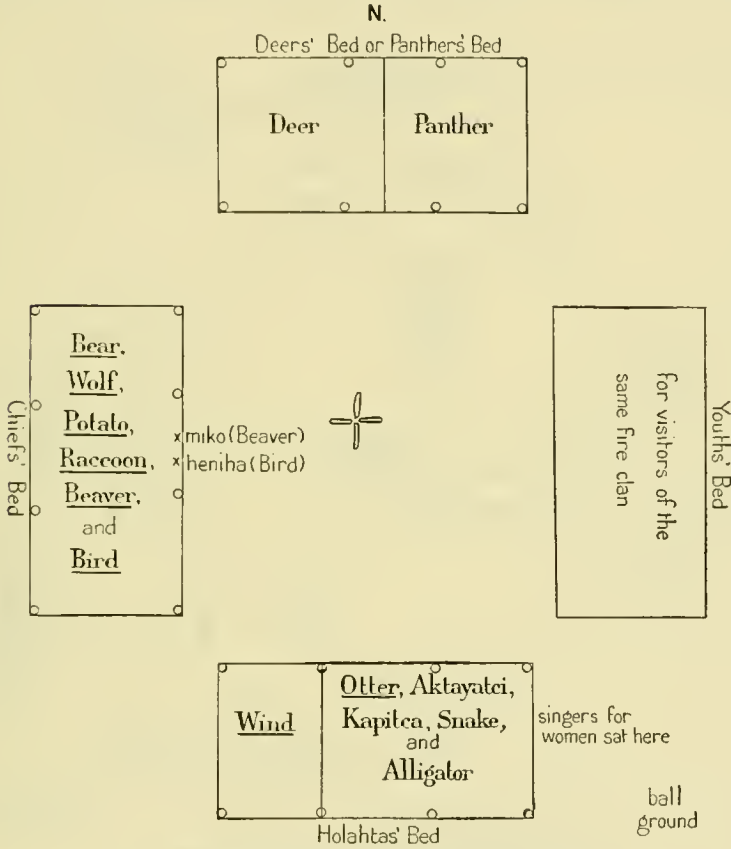


FIG. 86.—Plan of the Square Ground of Ochesee Seminole

no blood. The ceremony was completed by all passing around behind him in single file. This ceremony seems to have been common to all of the towns of the confederacy. It emphasizes the miko's close connection with affairs of peace.

In Tukabahechee the organization was somewhat different, there being seven principal chiefs (mikāgi) who sat in the front seat of the Chiefs' bed, extending from the center to the southern end. Each of them had an assistant or henihā (an official to be noted presently). If the head miko, who sat in the center of the bed, did not succeed—

i. e., if the town did not prosper under him, whether he was responsible or not—or if his *heniha* died he had to surrender his place and move down to the foot of the row of mikos, the rest of whom moved up, and the man next to him took his place. Vacancies in the row of mikos were filled by the remaining mikos in consultation with the *tástánágis*, who were called over to the Chiefs' bed to confer about the matter. The man selected was escorted to his seat by another miko or by a *tástánági*. Mention has already been made of the anomalous

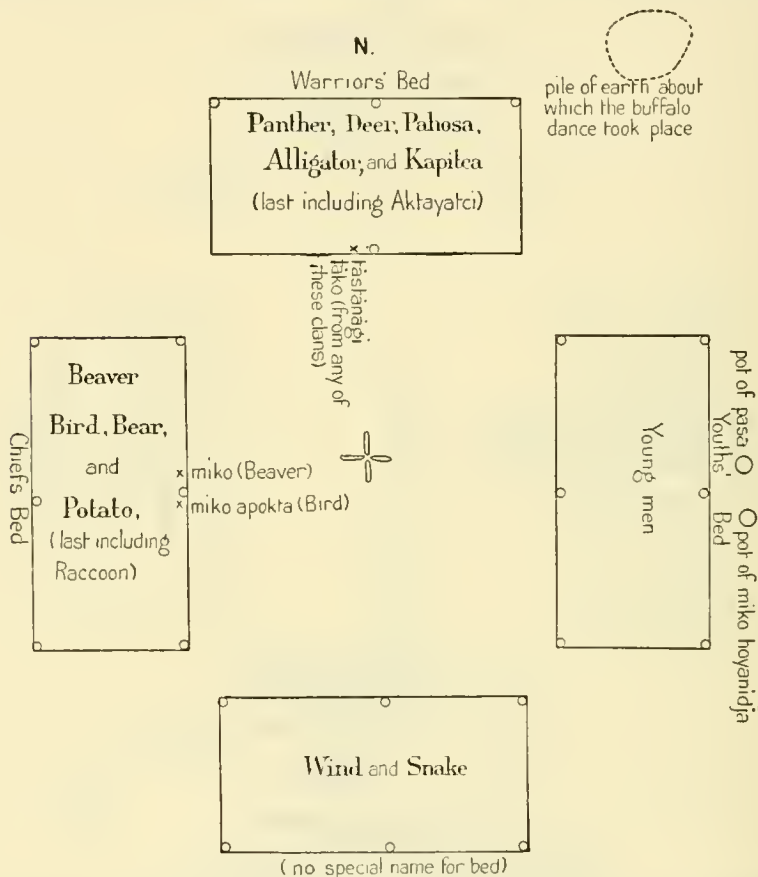


FIG. 87.—Plan of the Square Ground of Okfuskee Seminole

miko called *Ispokogi miko*, who perhaps enjoyed priestly functions, but of course nothing is known regarding the manner of his selection, the institution having died out too long ago.

Tukabahchee preserves its old square organization very well and its system of government may be representative of that of other Creek towns, but I am inclined to think that considerable differences always existed. The Coweta head chief is said to have been elected at a meeting of the entire town, but the actual selection may have

been entrusted to the White clans (see p. 281). Probably he was chosen in the same way as the second chief who is said to have been nominated by the White clans, and the nomination confirmed, merely as a matter of form, by the Teilokis. According to Legus Perryman, the chiefs at Luteapoga, along with the other officers of each of the three beds, were chosen by the members of the other two, the only limitation being in respect to the clan from which they could be taken.

The chiefs of the Texas Alabama were elected at a general meeting of the tribe, but this statement applies only to recent times, and

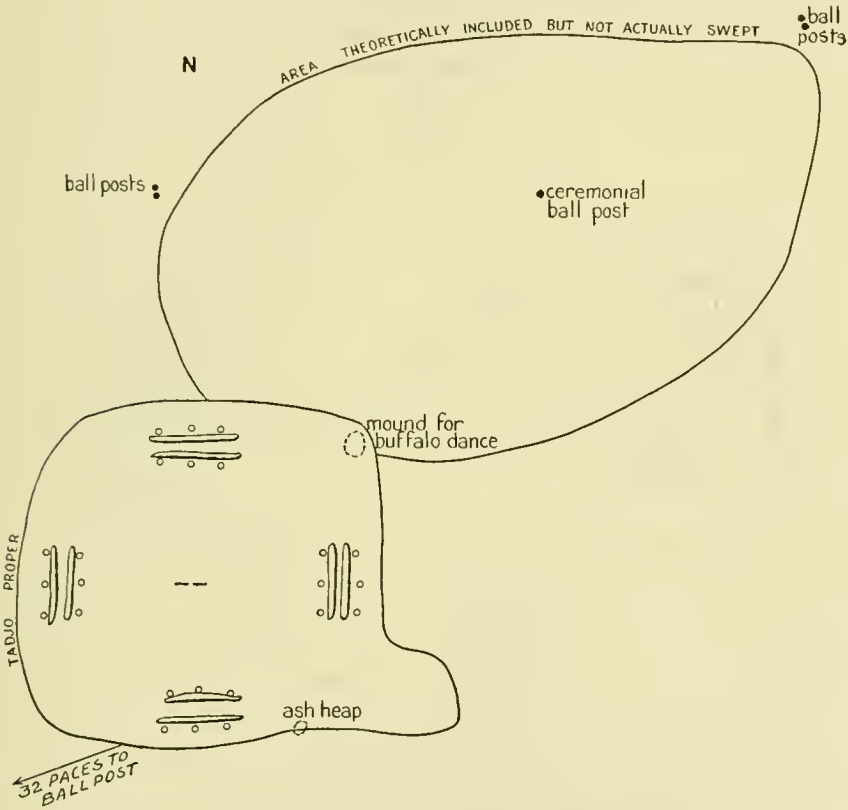


FIG. 88.—Okfuskee Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

before they left the other Creeks in Alabama their custom may have been different.

As we have seen in the case of Tukabahchee, there were sometimes assistant chiefs. At Tukabahchee they were all of one clan, but sometimes they were of different clans, perhaps in such cases the heads of their respective clans, for we know that the oldest or most influential uncle in each presided at clan councils and advised his fellows regarding their conduct. This has been spoken of already. At Pakan tallahassee the miko, who belongs to the Aktayatei clan, sits

in the middle of the north bed, on his left his heniha, and on his right, in succession, a second chief of the Wind clan, a third chief of the Bear (or Panther) clan, and a fourth chief of the Bird (or Panther) clan.

Usually, however, there was one principal subordinate chief, or vice chief, miko apokta ("twin chief") as he was called, and the customs regarding him seem to have varied considerably from town

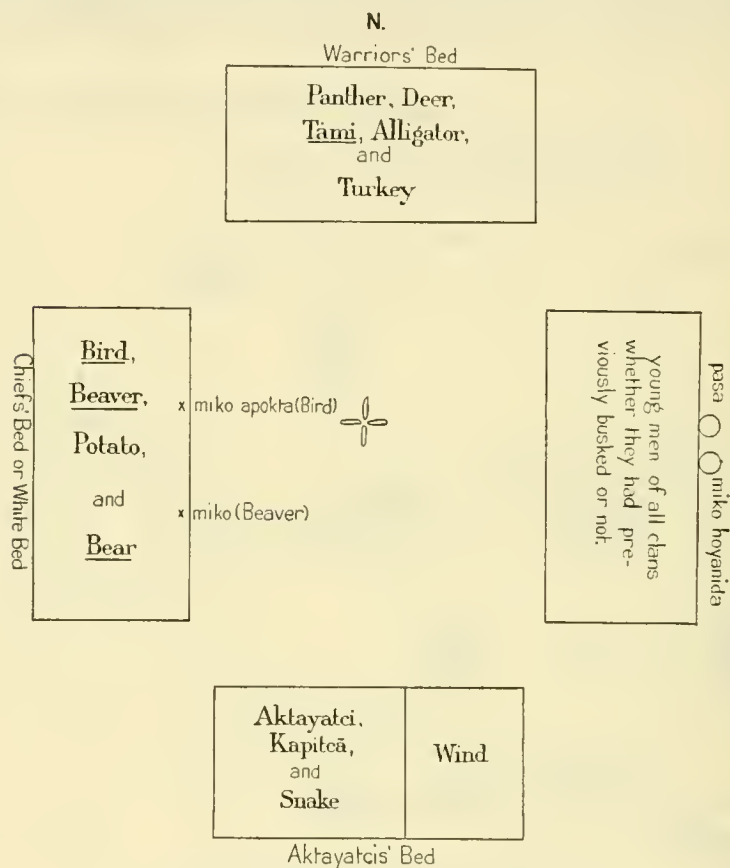


FIG. 89.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tallahasutci Seminole

to town. Hawkins says of this chief: "When a Mic-co, from age, infirmity, or any other cause, wants an assistant, he selects a man who appears to him the best qualified, and proposes him to the counsellors and great men of the town, and if he is approved of by them, they appoint him as an assistant in public affairs, and he takes his seat on this cabin accordingly." The second chief in Tulsa Canadian, Luteapoga, and probably in the other Tulsa towns as well, belonged to the Beaver clan, the same as that which furnished the first chief. According to Legus Perryman, the second chief of Luteapoga was

called the itá'lwa mi'ko. He was assistant to the head chief and, while the authority of the latter extended over the town as a whole, he concerned himself with matters of a more local character, particularly those connected with the square. He might be called the "square chief." Similarly, the second chief of Coweta, who was taken from the Panther clan, is said to have been "chief of the square," while the head chief was "speaker for the other towns friendly to Coweta." This may refer back to the time when the Coweta chief was also chief of all the Lower Creeks. The second chief of Liwahali is said to have been of the Aktayatei or Fox clan and to have taken charge if, for any reason, the miko had to leave the square ground.

In Likateha the miko belonged to the Alligator clan and the miko apokta to the Bear. I was informed that at Chiaha the miko and heniha were both taken from the Bear clan, but the miko apokta must have been intended instead of the heniha. From Speck it appears that the position of miko apokta at Tuskegee was of a less permanent character. He says: "If the *miko* could not leave his town he appointed a delegate who bore his title to attend the councils of other towns or those of the Confederacy."³²

Connected evidently

with the institution of a miko apokta was a condition reported from several towns in which the chieftainship alternated between two clans. I was informed that in Teatoksofka such an alternation took place between the Bear and Beaver clans. If the head chief belonged to the Bear clan and the second chief to the Beaver clan, and the former died the latter would become head chief, a member of the Bear clan being chosen as second chief. In Tuskegee a similar alternation took place between the Bear and Wind clans, and in the old Abihka town near Eufaula an alternation is reported between the Bear and Raccoon. This Abihka square has, however, long been given up and the other Abihka towns do not seem

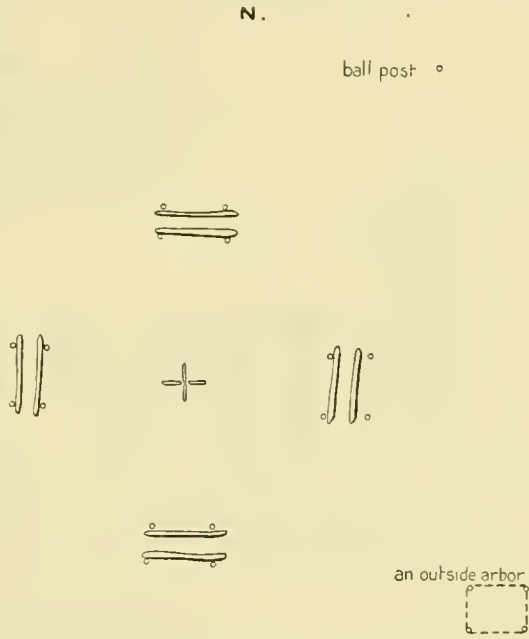


FIG. 90.—Tallahassee Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

³² Speck in Mem. Am. Anthropol. Assn., vol. II, p. 113.

to have preserved the custom, although in two of them the chiefs are Bear and the henihās Raccoon. In the Seminole town of Tala-hasutei there is said to have been an alternation between the Beaver and the Bird elans. I was told that, after the last reorganization of the Hitchiti square in which the miko was taken from the Bird elan and the heniha from the Deer, in an emergency the latter could be made miko and the former heniha.

In addition to the chiefs, second chiefs, and similar leaders there was anciently a considerable body of persons called mikāgi, or mikāgi,

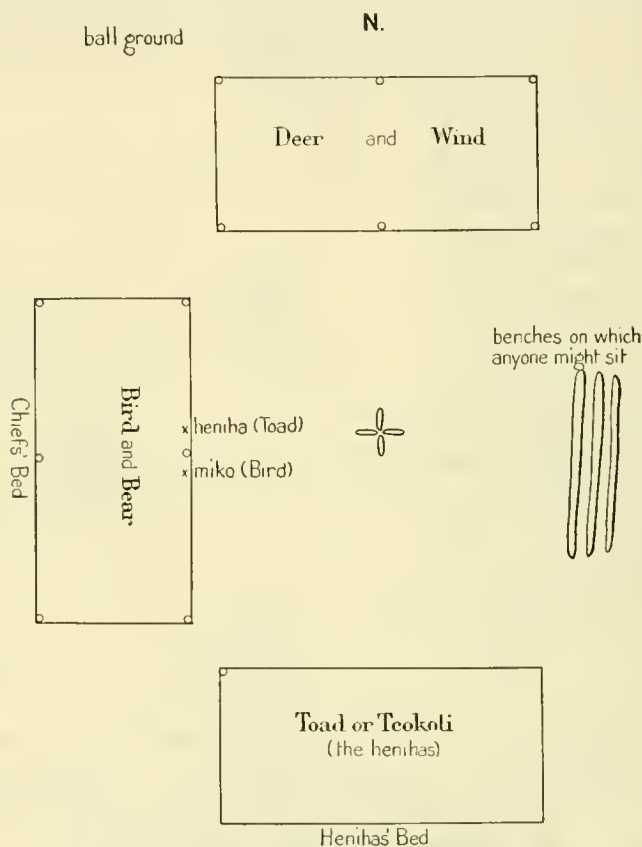


FIG. 91.—Plan of the Square Ground of Hitchiti Seminole

the plural of miko, who performed minor functions. These were ordinarily taken from the same clan as the head miko, though it may be possible that the appellation was extended beyond under certain circumstances, particularly in later times. It is even possible that the name may have been bestowed at the busk on account of an ancestor who had this title and with no office or dignity attached. All we can say is that the mikāgi belonged theoretically, and usually, to the clan of the head miko. The following account of this class by

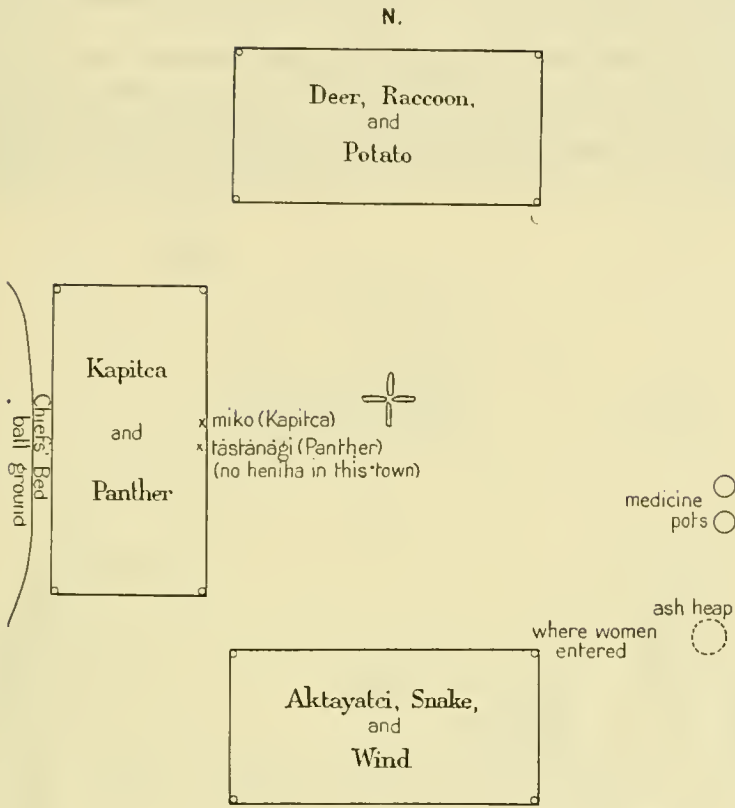


FIG. 92.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Seminole

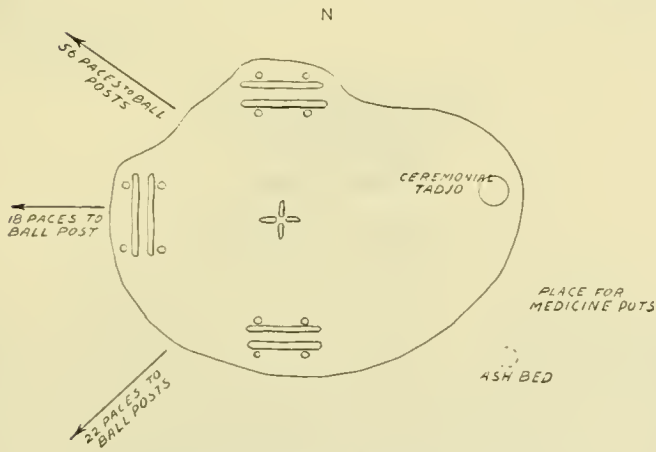


FIG. 93.—Eufaula Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Stiggins contains practically all that we know about them. Its importance must be allowed to compensate for the execrable English in which it is cast:

“For a better distribution of their public business, such as public work of planting and tending in corn, &c., their public town field and gathering their Eupon or Cassine leaves for their black drink—when every man of age is obliged to attend and do his part or be fined according to his circumstances—the inhabited parts of the nation

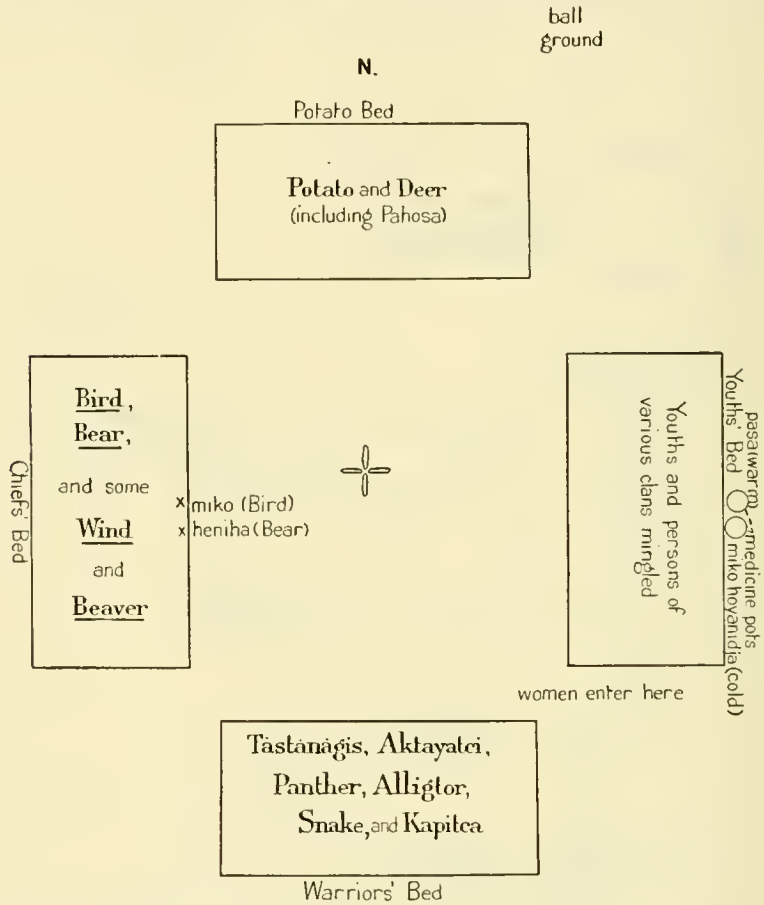


FIG. 94.—Plan of the Square Oround of Liwahali Seminole (I)

are laid out into town districts designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point, which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga* which term is the plural of *mic co*, a term of gradation more applicable to the office of overseer or guardian in my conception than to that of a King, (as most people will interpret it.) as many towns have at least one tenth of its population for *mic cul ga*

N.

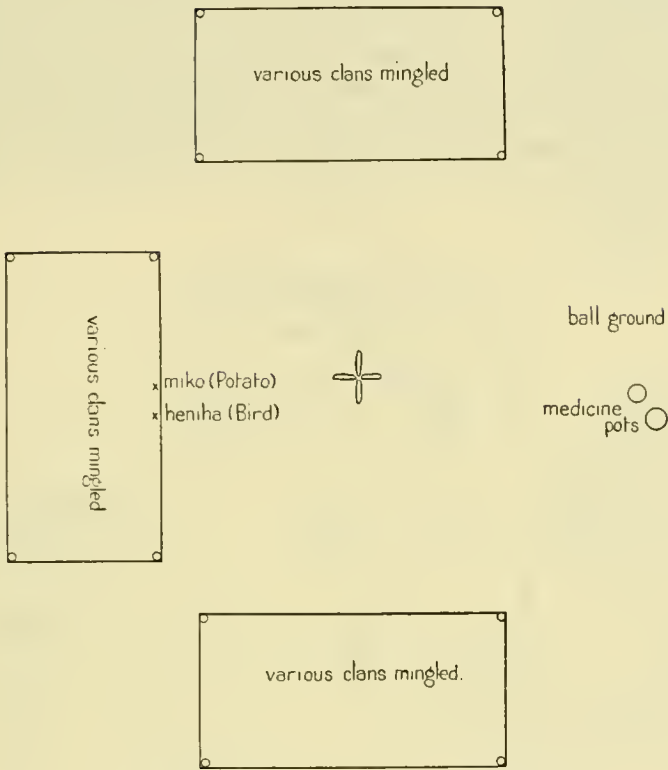
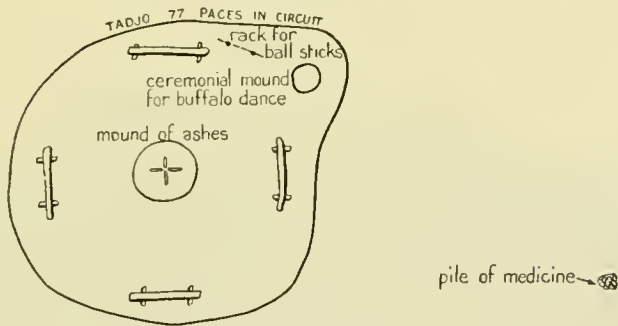


FIG. 95.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eiwahali Seminole (II)

ball post

N.



The seats were each of a single split log
The Semmoles did not remove the ashes of the fire.

FIG. 96.—Eiwahali Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

which is none too many for guardians to watch over them and moralize their conduct, but it is constituting by far too many kings for one town or principality. When it is thought necessary for the principal men or committee of townsmen to make a new *mic co*, they proceed very ceremoniously in their rude way to his inauguration, *to wit* without his being previously consulted on the subject, when they have made the determination to effect it, and at their townhouse assembly they advance up to him, and call him at the same time in a

N.

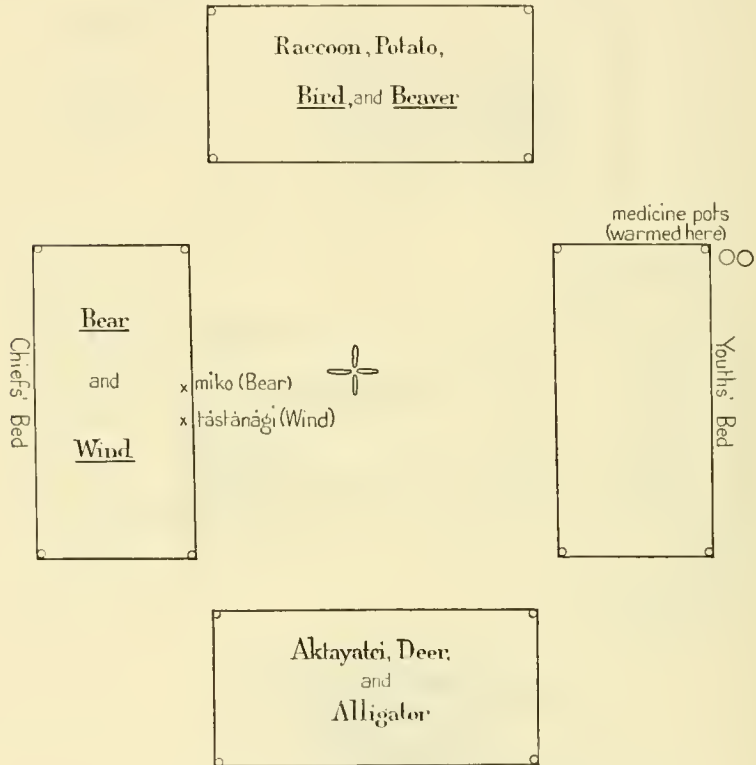


FIG. 97.—Plan of the Square Ground of Chiaha Seminole

loud, long, and shrill tone by a name that he is thereafter to go by, with the addition of *mic co*, for instance such as *yo ho lo micco* or *Ispocoga mic co*, etc.; and at the same time they smear his face all over with white clay, a ceremony imitating in importance the accolade of knighthood and Sir. Though some of the *miccos* do rise to be principal chiefs it is by merit, for nominal office [of the *mic cul ga*] is for town purposes to admonish, regulate, and keep in peace the members of their town people by whom they are regarded with respect and deference. There are other applicable Sir names given to

distinguish their grade in their town police. They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes.³³

The henihálgi were devoted to peace even more than the mikági. As I have shown elsewhere, a White clan was almost always chosen for this office, and originally the position appears to have been a particular prerogative of the Wind people.^{33a} Their section in the

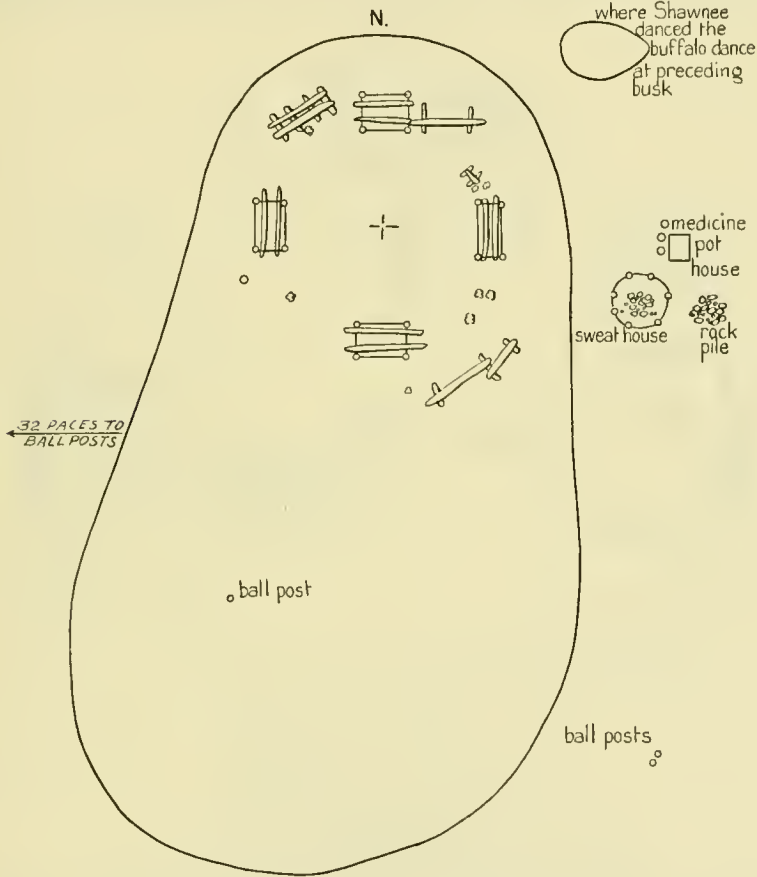


FIG. 98.—Chíaha Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

square ground was usually known as the “White bed” and was often diametrically opposite that of the Warriors. Hawkins says of the henihálgi: “These have the direction of the public works appertaining to the town, such as the public buildings, building houses in town for new settlers, or working in the fields. They are particularly charged with the ceremony of the a-ce (a decoction of the

³³ Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.

^{33a} See pp. 194-195.

cassine yupon, called by the traders black drink), under the direction of the mic-co.”³⁴ They thus constituted a kind of Creek Department of the Interior. In some towns, in conjunction with the Bear clan, they had particular charge of the feathers used in the “feather dance.” In Tukabachee every miko, tástánági, and imala láko was accompanied by a heniha who sat at his left, and when an official was sent on an errand a heniha had to accompany him. Since in

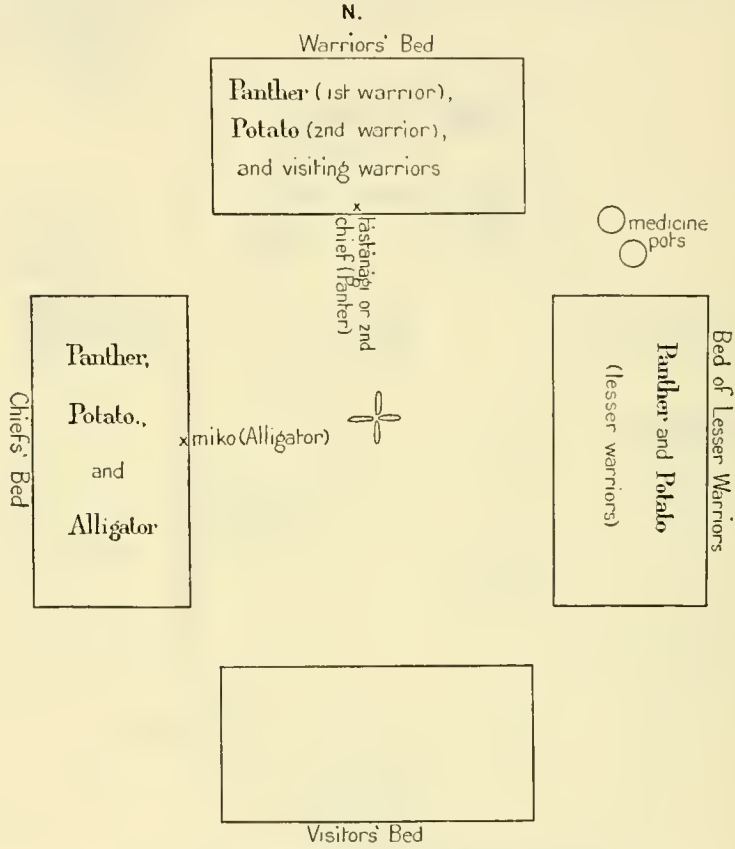


FIG. 99.—Plan of the Square Oround of Mikasuki Seminole (I)

this town the mikos and most of the tástánágis and imalas belonged to the Red clans while the busk was a peace ceremony the association of henihias with these may have been for the purpose of securing or marking the prevalence of peace. A similar custom probably prevailed in other towns, but it has generally fallen into disuse. Its vestigial character at Tuskegee is shown by the report on these officials made to Doctor Speck: “There were always two men of recognized ability in dancing, having also a knowledge of the rites,

³⁴ Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69. In Chiaha, at least, it was one of their functions to compose differences; see pp. 553, 555 in the paper following.

who were known as *híniha*, or *híniha tákko*. Their occupation was chiefly to procure leaders for the various dances or to lead themselves, and to encourage the participants when they became fatigued.”³⁵

It is generally agreed that the *hénihálgi*, along with the *mikági*, and the *isti átea'gági*, a class to be considered later, formed the council of the head *miko*. According to Jackson Lewis, these officials governed the entire town and laid down certain regulations which a

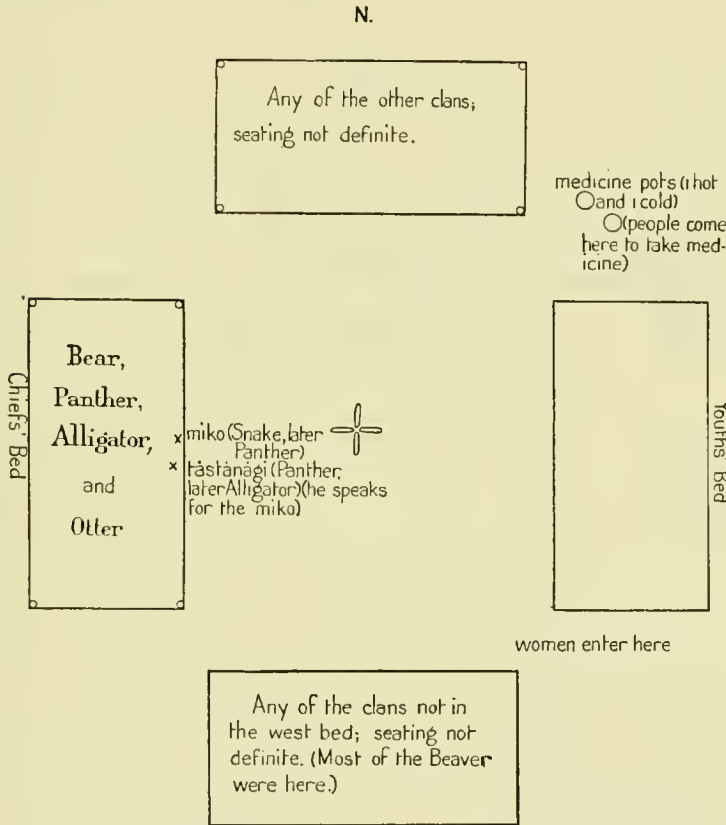


FIG. 100.—Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (II)

man from the Warriors' bed was called upon to announce. According to one or two men the *miko's* *hénihá* was the one who made announcements, delivered the "long talks" at the busk grounds and called out the new titles which were conferred. This may have been the case in later times when the square grounds had begun to show signs of disorganization, but I think it was not true of the organization when it was intact. On the contrary, this function seems to have been performed by the chief's *yatika* or interpreter.

³⁵ Speck in Mem. Am. Anthropol. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

The yatika was chosen by preference from the clan of the chief but could be taken from any, and he usually sat beside the chief during the ceremonial so that he could interpret his wishes to the assembly. Sometimes, or during a part of the ceremony, he sat by himself. At Liwahali he is said to have been seated in the middle of the south or Warriors' bed.

There was only one holibonaya or "war speaker" in a town at a time, and probably some towns were without any. He was not

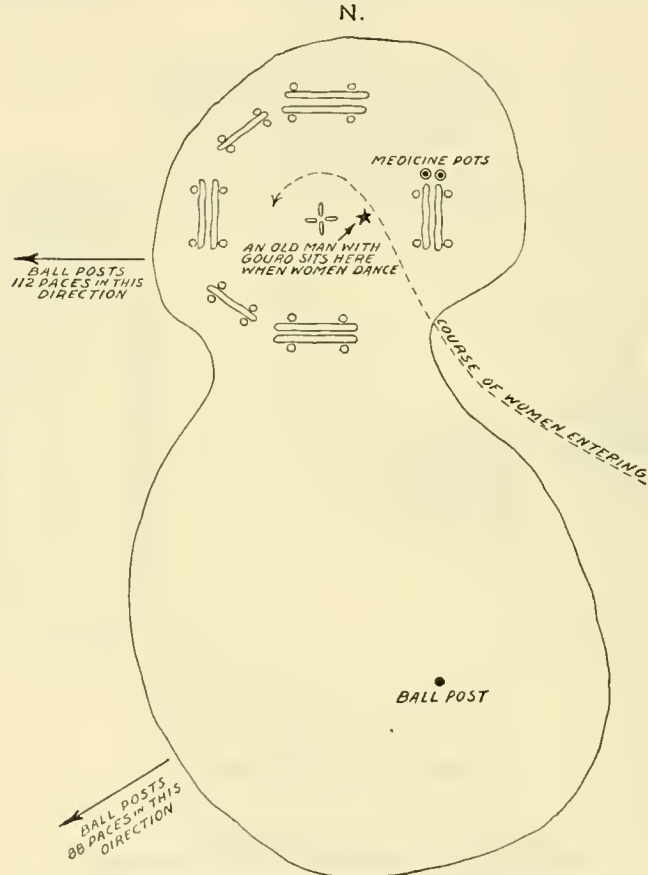


FIG. 101.—Mikasuki Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

necessarily a warrior and was taken by preference from the clan of the chief. Hoboi-hityahola, however, the greatest war speaker the Creeks ever had, and one of their greatest men, belonged to the Potato clan at Tukabahchee. At Kasihita the seat of the war speaker was in the corner of the Warriors' bed nearest the bed of the chiefs. A common speaker was called Asimbonaya.

I am somewhat uncertain regarding the relations existing between the yatika and holibonaya, for it is said of each of them that he was

"the best speaker in the town." The two offices may sometimes have been combined, but it is evident that they were usually distinct.

In Tukabahchee and all of those towns of which the ancient organization has been preserved, either in the memories of the Indians or in fact, there were three general classes of war officials. The highest were the *tástánálgí*, the next in rank the *imala láká'lgí*, or "big imalas," and the third the *imala lábotskálgí* or "little imalas." At Tukabahchee, and probably in the greater number of towns, the *tástánálgí* sat at the western end of the north bed, but, as I have shown elsewhere, their position varied, and sometimes the *tástánálgí* and *imalas* were seated in different beds. The Tukabahchee arrangement is given by Hawkins as that in Kasihta in his time. He does not indeed give the Indian names of the various grades of warriors but he states that there were three of them and that promotion was regular from lowest to highest. In most towns the *tástánálgí* and *imalas* received their positions on account of warlike feats, not because of ancestry or clan connection. One of my informants said that a *tástánálgí* was a man who "carried out the determinations of the town." The leader of the *tástánálgí* was usually known as the *tástánálgí láko*, "big warrior," and Hawkins states that he was selected from among the *tástánálgí* by the *miko* and *isti átcagálgí*.³⁶ According to the same writer the highest title to which a warrior could aspire was that of "Great Leader" (*Is-te-puc-cau-chau thlucco* [*isti pákatea láko*]), which required "a long course of years and great and numerous successes in war." The head warrior of Tukabahchee was known as the *Tástánálgí simiabaiya*.³⁶ He was privileged to call the whole town together. According to a Coweta informant, in his town the *tástánálgí* were elected by the head men of the town from the Red clans, but, although it is probable that, on account of the theory regarding them, more warriors would arise from the Red than from the White clans, they were certainly not drawn exclusively from such clans. These officials all had to do with war and with the ball game which is called "the brother of the war." War, while decided upon in council, was announced by the Big Warrior. According to a Coweta informant ball games were arranged by the Big Warriors of the towns concerned, each taking such assistants as he desired, but in Kasihta there was a special official, the *halísi tástánálgí*, who attended to such matters. The *Tástánálgí* were also the native police, the Big Warrior being "chief of police"; they carried out the decisions of the *miko* and the *isti átcagálgí*, and they punished any one who



FIG. 102. — Face painting used by the Tuskegee Indians. The spots in solid black represent red; the cross-hatched spots green

³⁶ Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

failed to obey the laws and regulations of the council or who failed to attend the annual busk. When matters of great importance were to be discussed they were called over to the Chiefs' bed to take part in the deliberations; on other occasions matters were sent over to them to be ferreted out.

As happened with the *henihas*, the functions of the *tástánágis* became much altered in later times, and in many Seminole towns there was but one *tástánági*, who took the places of the old *yatika* and chief's *heniha*. In Tuskegee they seem to have supplanted both the subordinate *mikos* and the *isti átçagági* as counsellors to the chief. Speck says that they "formed the chief's council which decided matters of public importance," and that they "were the actual potentates of the town in affairs of war or in its relations with other tribes."³⁸ They also acted as a local police, and executed the sentences imposed upon criminals by the local courts established after the removal to Oklahoma. This, however, was really a continuation of their duties as police officers for the old council of chiefs.

Milfort speaks of the "*tastanégy*" as if he were the head war chief of the entire Creek Nation, but ordinarily there does not appear to have been a permanent official of this kind. Nevertheless what he has to say of this official is probably applicable to the *tástánági łáko* of each town:

"His mission consisted in directing all of the war operations, in taking all measures necessary to revenge an injury inflicted on the nation and in defending its rights. He was invested with authority sufficient for this purpose; but this authority, which made him the first sentinel of the state, the father and the buckler of the motherland, lasted only so long as the danger; once peace was reestablished and the troops returned into the bosom of the nation, he again became a plain citizen, and was only the first soldier. If he had not given occasion for any complaint during the exercise of his authority, he always preserved the right to resume his post on the first necessity; and for that same purpose he was charged with the duty of watching over the public safety continually, and informing the peace chiefs of injuries inflicted on the nation, or matters which might disturb its tranquillity."³⁹

Milfort's description of the ceremonial to which he claims that he was subjected when he was made *tástánági* is also worth reproducing. As above stated, the position which he assigns to himself was altogether superior to that of an ordinary *tástánági*, but under McGillivray many innovations were introduced into the Creek political organization, and a head warrior for the entire nation may have been one of them. Whether Milfort actually went through such a

³⁸ Speck, in *Mem. Am. Anthropol. Assn.*, vol. II, p. 113.

³⁹ Milfort, *Voy.*, pp. 236-238.

ceremony or not, all of the features of it which he gives are true to aboriginal Creek life and must have been learned from observation if not from experience. It is of particular interest to notice that the use of a litter for principal personages seems to have been preserved until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Probably it had survived ceremonially long after it had been supplanted in other ways by the horse.

Milfort's account is as follows:

"A part of the assembly repaired to my house; and, when all had arrived, one of the old men made me ascend a kind of litter covered with a bear skin, surrounded with garlands of ivy leaves, and borne by four band chiefs. When I was placed on this litter, they set forward to return to the grand cabin. The following order of march was observed.

"Many young warriors, each bearing in his hand an eagle tail fastened to a stick, marched on, dancing, making contortions, and uttering terrifying cries. They were preceded by a master of ceremonies, who had in his hand a coconut attached to a stick, in which seeds were enclosed, so that he could beat time by shaking it. He had moreover at his side a young savage who accompanied him on a kind of tabor. In front, behind, and on each side of my litter, marched old band chiefs, each of whom also bore in his hands an eagle tail, part of which was painted red. Last came six priests or medicine men, who had on their shoulders two deer skins after the style of a chasuble, the hairs of which had been preserved, and who carried in one hand a swan's wing, and in the other the plant which is used in making the war medicine which is taken during this ceremony.⁴⁰

"When we approached the grand cabin, the procession halted; a priest then came to meet us accompanied by two young warriors, each of whom bore a great gourd with an opening above large enough to insert the hand. These gourds were painted red, and contained water, in which had been put the juice of the plant of which I have just spoken. This priest stopped about twenty paces from us, and there, dipping his hands into this water, he made an aspersion, singing a hymn or invocation to the genius of war. When he was through, all of the chiefs who were awaiting us in the grand cabin, set out to meet us, marching six abreast. When they had gotten near this priest, they dipped their hands into these same gourds, and moistened their faces; then the six priests who were behind me advanced to them, and with one hand placed the herb which they held on their faces, and with the other passed the swans' wings over them as if to wipe it off. As soon as the chiefs had undergone this ceremony they returned to the cabin; and, when they had all

⁴⁰ Evidently the *ási*.

entered, the six priests or medicine men resumed their places behind my litter, and we all repaired there together. The old man who had placed me on the litter, came at once to help me descend, and placed me on a bison skin which had been prepared for this purpose. Then the whole assembly drank the cassine or the tea-like drink, and for twenty-four hours they took nothing but the war medicine.

“I had not yet drunk this medicine although I had been made a little war chief and I had commanded in the place of the grand chief, because I had taken care to make for myself a particular medicine; for it is indispensable to have one in order to be assured of the confidence of the savages; but this time it was necessary to imitate the assembly, and drink the general medicine. I was not long in experiencing a strong feeling of sickness, which forced me to eject all of the medicine I had taken, and to imitate the assembly in that. This very disgusting ceremony lasted until sunrise next day. Then the entire assembly undressed, and we went, absolutely naked, into a circular cabin where the priests had gone to await us. Each of them had brought thither a brass kettle, in which they had had the war medicine boiled. Shortly afterward the subordinate chiefs brought stones which they had heated red hot in the fire in the center; and the priests, while singing, threw upon them the water which was contained in the two gourds of which I have already spoken which occasioned a dreadful heat and steam. The entire assembly was in a very profuse perspiration, and it was so great on all parts of my body that, although I was very healthy, I thought that it would be impossible to resist it. We remained in this condition about half an hour, and then part of the chiefs went out of the cabin, the priests surrounded me, and we all left and went immediately to throw ourselves into a river a short distance from the cabin. It was not without much fear that I decided to imitate the entire assembly in that; it appeared to me very dangerous in the perspiring condition in which I then was to throw myself at once into the cold water; but it was impossible for me to do otherwise, and I suffered nothing more than the fear (*j'en fus quitte pour la peur*). I think, however, that the purgation which I had undergone in drinking the war medicine, prevented the ill effects of such a bath. On going out of the water, where we remained only a short time, each one dressed himself, and we returned to the grand cabin, in which a magnificent repast awaited us. The young people then had permission to enter the square in the grand cabin, to dance around the fire, which burned continually during the entire period of this ceremony, lasting three days, during which no member of the assembly was allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, or to sleep. I was so much the more under obligations to remain there with the assembly, as it was for me alone that the ceremony took place.

"I was seated in a distinguished place, and I had priests on both sides; if I happened to get drowsy, one threw fresh water in my face, and the other rubbed it with little stones, which he had taken care to put into some water beside me for this purpose.

"The three days having elapsed I was conducted home in the same manner as had been observed in bringing me to the grand cabin. When we arrived there the oldest chief proclaimed my appointment, and informed me that I was now the first sentinel of the nation, at whose voice all of the young warriors were prepared to march; that the ordeals through which I had just passed, had for their object to make me understand that nothing must cause my zeal to relax, and that I must bear with equal courage cold, heat, and hunger, in order to defend the interests of the nation. When the old man had finished the assembly broke up, and each person returned to his home."⁴¹

The imalas were of course of less importance: in the progressive decline of Creek institutions few towns have retained them, and many people have forgotten there ever was such a class of officials. By one informant an imala was described as "a man whose advice was worth receiving anywhere." I was told that at Tukabaheche the big imalas were called into council by the Chiefs along with the *tástánágis* on rare occasions, but this was never done in the case of the little imalas. Nevertheless a question might be referred from the town council to the *tástánágis* to be considered by them and all of the imalas in a separate council. The imalas acted in general as assistants and messengers for the *tástánágis*, and performed the smaller services.

Below the imalas were the *tásikayálgi*. This word is now used in the general sense of "citizens" but it means "warriors" and originally designated the common warriors, those who had received busk names but as yet had done nothing to merit further promotion. Hawkins says of them: "The second class of warriors [he treats the *tástánágis* and imalas as one class] is the *Tusse-ki-ul-gee*. All who go to war, and are in company, when a scalp is taken, get a war name. The leader reports their conduct, and they receive a name accordingly. This is the *Tus-se-ki-o-chif-co*, or *war name*."⁴² It would seem, therefore, that the name *tásikayálgi* applied to all those in the fourth bed and that *tásikayálgi intupa* might very well be a synonym for *teibánálgigi intupa*, "youths' bed," the term usually given to it nowadays. As a matter of fact I find it used for that very bed by the Nuyaka Indians.

There is one other class of officials to be noted and this an important one, but a class which has fallen so much into abeyance

⁴¹ Milfort, *Voy.*, pp. 220-228.

⁴² Hawkins in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. III, p. 70.

that it is now difficult to determine its exact status and functions. It is the class of *isti áteagági*, "revered," "sacred" or "beloved men." We are assisted in forming some conception of them, fortunately, by Hawkins, who, in his account of the Kasihta square, calls the south bed the "*is-te-chague-ul-gee in-too-pau*, the cabin of the beloved men," and he describes these men from whom it was named thus:

"There are great men who have been war leaders, and who although of various ranks, have become estimable in a long course of public service. They sit themselves on the right division of the cabin of the Mic-co, and are his counsellors. The family of the Mic-co, and great men who have thus distinguished themselves, occupy this cabin of the beloved men."⁴³

I was told that these men are the "foundation" of the busk, by which I understand it is meant that they furnish the brains that keeps the busk alive and in proper order. In fact some old Hilibi Indians referred to them as "the brains of the busk." They are exempt from taking any part in the duties, dances, etc., connected with the busk except the taking of the medicines. The same Indians stated that they held meetings in advance and planned the preparation of the beds, the camps, and every part of the program. There were only a few in each town. In Tukabahchee there were four in the north bed, four in the south bed, and four in the east bed, and each of these had a leader. The four in the south bed were called *isti áteagági sùlga*, and they belonged to the Raccoon clan, that of the miko. The others were taken from different clans. Jackson Lewis stated that the *isti áteagági* were of the same clan as the miko, or of related clans, but this statement could have applied only to the *isti áteagági sùlga*. In Tukabahchee the name of each was a title borne in succession by each person elected to fill the position after the death of the previous incumbent. Kealedji was organized much like Tukabahchee, but the *isti áteagági sùlga* sat at the south end of the Chiefs' bed instead of in the south bed. At Lapláko there were a few *isti áteagági* in the west or Chiefs' bed. At Lálogálga there was until lately one *isti áteagági*, a Panther, I believe. At Talladega there were about three in each of the three beds of the town. In the square of the Western Abihka town there were four *isti áteagági* in the Warriors' bed and some at each post in the bed belonging to the Wind clan; also some in the west bed. In this town it was the *isti áteagági* who arranged ball games. My informant regarding the Kan-teati ground said that there were none of these officials there in his time. In Oteiapofa there were four *isti áteagági* to each of the three beds. At Okfuskee there were two *isti áteagági* in the east bed and one in each of the others.

⁴³ Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 70-71.

At Upper Eufaula there was one of these men in each of the three beds, the one in the north belonging to the Bear clan, that in the east to the Deer clan, and that in the south to the Aktayatei clan. These men gave new names to boys. In Wiogufki there were no *isti âtcagâgi*, and only one *tâstânâgi*, who performed the functions of those officials. When the last Hitchiti square ground was organized the *tâstânâgis* and *imalas* were used in place of the *isti âtcagâgi*. In Alabama their place was taken by the *tâstânâgis* alone. According to one of my informants, in Pakan tallahassee the Bird clan was used as *isti âtcagâgi*, and the Wind clan is said to have performed their functions in Okchai. At Eiwahali they appointed the *tâstânâgis*.

At Tuskegee they seem to have lost their official position. "A man who amassed property," says Speck, "or raised himself in public esteem by other means was called *isti adjâga*, 'man beloved.' No civil office, however, was indicated by this title, but those bearing it occupied a certain place in the lodges about the square. In a general way 'beloved men' also means those who have observed all the dietary taboos of the ceremonies, and even, in its broadest sense, those who have undergone the purging and taken their part in the religious performances."⁴⁴

Putting together the fact, apparent in most towns of which we have information, that the *isti âtcagâgi* were scattered about in the different beds with what Hawkins tells us and the small items of information that may still be gathered it is fairly plain who these "beloved men" were. They were evidently the elders or veterans of the town who had passed through the various degrees of advancement but were probably not fit for active field service against an enemy. Their experience was, however, of maximum value to the community, and hence they governed the busk and were custodians of information regarding this and regarding the lore of the tribe generally. Therefore they were at the same time counsellors to the chief and the more active officials. Although the *henihâlgi* are now generally regarded as the chief's counsellors there is evidence that anciently they occupied a position of less prominence in this regard than the *isti âtcagâgi*. It will be noticed that Hawkins gives their name to the bed usually called after the *henihas*, while he actually seats them in a position in the chiefs' bed which the *henihas* often occupied. It is true that in many towns *tâstânâgis* have assumed their places but this is a result of a still further collapse of the old social organization, *isti âtcagâgi* having given way first to *henihâlgi* and both later to *tâstânâgâlgi*. The "beloved men," it should be remembered, were neither devoted entirely to war nor entirely to peace, and therefore their functions could very well fall in part to the peace officials and in part to the war officials. It seems to have

⁴⁴ Speck in Mem. Am. Anthropol. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

been this class which was pointed out to Milfort as the real rulers of the Creek nation when he inquired for their "king."⁴⁵

Particular attention should be called to the differentiation of the *isti átægági* belonging to the clan of the chiefs as *isti átægági súlga* in Tukabahchee and elsewhere. This differentiation indicates the invasion of the clan and hereditary ideas into an institution mainly based on merit. I do not mean that it necessarily represents a later development, yet it was the side of the institution which became more pronounced in later times. Even an informant as old as Jackson Lewis, in describing the *isti átægági*—probably as recognized in Eufaula—says that the term was applied to the men of the same clan as that of the town chief or to men of related clans. He adds that they sat in the central part of the north bed and embraced those who would succeed to the chieftaincy. As we have seen, they were not solely of the royal clan, but it is probably true that those who happened to belong in this group often became chiefs. In Pakan tallahassee and Okchai the hereditary tendency has gone so far that the term is applied to members of the Bird and Wind clans, respectively. It is to be added that the same evolution has taken place with another merit group, the *tástánágis*. At old Abihka near Eufaula I was told that the Raccoon clan were the *tástánágis*, at Kan-teati the *tástánágis* were of the Panther clan, and at Luteapoga and Likatecka of the Aktayatei. At Mikasuki part of the Panther clan is called the "first warriors," part of the Potato clan the "second warriors," and parts of both the "lesser warriors." Nothing could show the decline of the system better than the idea expressed by one of my informants that all of the occupants of a certain bed were at the same time *tástánágis*, *teilokis*, and *henihas*. In Tukabahchee, where the old system is still partially in force, it yet happens that most of the *tástánágis* belong to the Raccoon or royal clan, most of the big *imalas* to the Potato, and most of the little *imalas* to the Panther and Bear. It must be remembered, however, that the two first classes were accompanied at the busk by *henihas* of the Wind clan. We find, furthermore, that certain clans from the Red side are particularly associated with war and often sit in the same bed as the warriors from whom many of their members were chosen, and no doubt this is the real reason why they came in time to be confounded with them. As shown elsewhere, the clans principally associated with war and oftenest seated in the Warriors' bed were the Panther, Deer, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatei.^{45a} Regarding the Panther, I have evidence that there was a mental association of the characteristics of the animal with the occupation, and I was told in the case of the lesser *imalas* among the Tukabahchee that they were taken from the Panther and Bear because those two animals have a fierce

⁴⁵ Milfort, *Mém.*, pp. 208-209

^{45a} See p. 237.

disposition—and this in spite of the almost universal classification of the Bear as a peace clan. Further evidence of degeneration is shown in some of the Seminole towns in Oklahoma where a *singe tástánági* has usurped the functions of both the chief's *heniha* and the *miko apokta*.

At Tukabahchee, and probably the other principal Creek towns as well, the *isti átcagági*, the *tástánágis*, and some of the other classes bore names which were passed on to their successors, and hence amounted to titles. In fact the war names owned by each clan were thus passed on and were therefore rather titles than true names. Since these titles were conferred under state auspices the persons bearing them might be regarded as officials and from that fact possessed of a share in its government. The government of a Creek town or little state, for such it really was, is thus seen to have rested on bodies of men owing their positions partly to descent and partly to recognized prowess in war. When it was in its prime it is probable that merit vastly overbalanced, the *isti átcagágis*, *tástánágis*, *imalas*, and *tásikayas* having owed their positions mainly, at least, to individual accomplishments. Although the *mikági* and *henihálgi* had to do with peace mainly, they had gone through with the war discipline and had been selected from among the warriors. While they must always belong to certain clans they were, beyond that restriction, elective, and, as these clans were usually numerous, a considerable choice could be exercised. While it is true that the legislative and executive power was vested in a small number of people these were persons who had, for the most part, worked their way up by their talents and bravery, and were really representative of the native ideals of what was highest and most worthy. A power of recall was also exercised in the case of the chief and it is probable that we should find that the same power existed in effect over the other offices. A separation of governmental functions had begun in some particulars, the *henihas* being a kind of Department of the Interior concerned with the pursuits of peace, and the various classes of warriors, particularly the *tástánágis*, a department concerned with war, and also constituting an internal police.

Speck is the only authority for the use of face paintings to mark differences in rank. He says:

“Facial painting was employed to indicate rank in the town. Persons bearing the title of *miko* or *híniha* wore black paint on one side of the face and red on the other, coloring either the whole face or only the space around the eyes. The second pattern belonged to ordinary initiated men having the title *taskáya* and consisted of four stripes, from the cheek-bone to the angle of the jaw, alternating in red and yellow.”⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Speck in Mem. Am. Anthropol. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.⁴⁷ Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.⁴⁸

Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say:

"The Micco, counsellors [i. e., *isti áteagági*] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play *Thla-chal-litch-cau*, (roll the bullet.)⁴⁹ Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the *ā-cee*, to all who attend the square."⁵⁰

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the *ási* was the prerogative of the *henihálgi*.⁵¹ Zachariah Cook states that the *ási* was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest *pawa*, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

⁴⁷ See p. 246.

⁴⁸ See p. 436.

⁴⁹ The game described on pp. 469-470.

⁵⁰ Hawkins in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. III, p. 71.

⁵¹ See p. 293.

came to be known to the white people as Upper and Lower Creeks. While the confederation appears to have originated with the Lower Creek towns Kasihta and Coweta, the Upper Creeks were more numerous and naturally demanded recognition. One of the largest and most powerful Upper Creek towns was Tukabahchee, which early entered upon terms of friendship with Coweta and soon came to be considered as the head war town of the Upper Creeks. To complete the mythic number four and to include a White town from among the Upper Creeks, Abihka was added to these,⁵² and the four were regarded as the "foundation towns" of the confederacy, Coweta and Kasihta being, respectively, the head war and peace towns of the Lower Creeks and Tukabahchee and Abihka the head war and peace towns of the Upper Creeks. There is said to have been a great deal of social rivalry between them. Each of these four towns also had a ceremonial title. Coweta was called Coweta máhmā'yági, "tall or high Coweta;" Kasihta, Kasihta láko, "Big Kasihta;" Tukabahchee, Tukabahchee spokogi; and Abihka, Abihka nági. The meaning of the Abihka title is unknown, but since Abihka was the frontier town against the Cherokee and Chickasaw, its people were also called "the door shutters." For, as Jackson Lewis explained, enemies encountered them first, and if they were conquered it was as if the enemy had opened the gates to enter the Creek country. Several different interpretations are given of the name Spokogi or Ispokogi. According to Jackson Lewis, it signified that Tukabahchee had an oversight of and care for the other towns much as a hen broods over her chickens. Another informant said that it meant "a great people," and a third "to hold everything strongly." It appears to have been given particularly to the beings who came to the Tukabahchee Indians from the world above (see p. 65). According to one story, the sacred copper and brass plates of the Tukabahchee were also sent down from above and given to the Shawnee who handed them over to the Ispokogi. This particular tradition perhaps furnishes a clue to the name, which may have been derived from that band of Shawnee known as Kispokoke. I shall show elsewhere that there is some reason to think the name Muskogee itself is of Shawnee origin, and there is as much reason to attribute this word to the same source. It may have been allowed to or conferred upon the Tukabahchee in ways common among Indians by the Kispokoke band of Shawnee and its origin afterwards forgotten.

In the rating of the four capital towns Abihka is always last, but the position of the other three appears to have changed from time to time. To-day Upper Creeks will generally tell you that Tukabahchee

⁵² The Indian agent Mitchell gave the name of the fourth town as "Oscocchee," but this can not be identified with any known Creek town. It may have been intended for Abihkuci. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 95.)

stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta. Tukabahehee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in which it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes back into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents it becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.⁵³

A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief at the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he had as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caouita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Alibamons, and Cheraquì. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another."⁵⁴

The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugurated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing, I beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

⁵³ The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the towu chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

⁵⁴ French Memoir of 1755, Ms.

town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tusku-muggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.⁵⁵

A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,⁵⁶ and is in consequence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand, the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola, who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissensions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

⁵⁵ Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 575.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 786.

missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same way, but not to sell the land."⁵⁷

It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."⁵⁸

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.⁵⁹

Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

⁵⁷ Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 582.

⁵⁸ French Ms. of 1755.

⁵⁹ Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlocotcho" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Likateka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

cabin made expressly for the purpose; each one places himself there in accordance with his rank, and has a right to speak in his turn according to his age, his capacity, his wisdom, and the service which he has rendered to the fatherland.

“The Grand Chief of the tribe opens the session in a speech which recounts the history or the tradition of their country; he recalls the military exploits of his ancestors who have signalized themselves in the defense of the fatherland, exhorting his subjects to imitate their virtues, by bearing patiently human wants and miseries, above everything in not murmuring at all against the Great Spirit, who is master of the life of all the beings here below; and in sustaining adversities with courage; finally in sacrificing all for love of the fatherland and liberty; it being a thousand times more glorious to die like a true man than to live as a vile slave.

“The chief having stopped speaking, the oldest noble old man rises, salutes his sovereign; and makes a speech, his body bare to the belt; the water runs from all parts of his body, on account of the heat and the action which he puts into his declamation, with natural gestures and metaphors which express his thought; he persuades his hearers to believe all that he says by the force and eloquence of his speech. Nothing is more instructive than these assemblies; one hears no chatter there, no indecency, no misplaced plaudits, nor immoderate laughter. The young people are very circumspect there, and attentive to listen with respect to the words of the old men, persuaded that it is for their good.”⁶⁰

Other evidence contradicts the statement that there was any one capital of the nation, and we know that the council house was nothing more than the *teokofa* of the town in which the assembly happened to take place. Nevertheless *Coweta* and *Tukabahchee*, particularly the former, seem to have been favorite meeting places, facts indicated by Milfort in several places. The following description by him has particular reference to an assembly in *Coweta*:

“The assemblies of the nation usually take place in the principal town. In the center of this town is outlined a perfect and very extensive square; in each angle of this square are constructed three cabins of different sizes, forming in all twelve cabins. This square has four openings by which its center may be reached, and all of the cabins are so close together that from one of them one can see into all of the others. Each of them may hold from forty to sixty persons.

“That of the grand chief of the nation faces the rising sun, to indicate that he ought always to watch over the interests of the nation. At one side of this cabin, and in the same angle, is that called the grand cabin, where the general assemblies of the nation are held.

⁶⁰ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 70-72.

“In the angle opposite are three other cabins; these belong to the old men, and face the setting sun, to indicate that they are on the decline, and that they must no longer march to battle. In the two other angles are the cabins of the different chiefs of the nation; they are larger or smaller according to the services they have rendered.

“All these cabins are painted red with the exception of the three facing the setting sun, which are always white, symbol of virtue and age.

“The cabins painted red are, in time of war, ornamented with many pieces of wood by way of decoration, which support a kind of chain made of wooden rings. This is a sign of sadness, informing the warriors that the motherland has need of them, and that they must be prepared to march at the first signal. In time of peace these links are replaced with garlands of ivy leaves.

“The three cabins of the old men are at all times ornamented with these garlands, mingled with flowers.”

He adds that the square was very large, and then proceeds as follows:

“I have already said that the chiefs of the nation must assemble every year in the month of May, and consider everything of importance to the nation, both internally and externally. When they are all at the rendezvous, called the grand cabin, of which I have just spoken, the assembly is called to order; and, when it is called to order (*formée*), none of those who compose it can go out from its compass until all of the business of the nation is concluded. The president alone may absent himself for some minutes; but he is obliged, like all of the others, to pass his days and nights in the assembly, and to be present at all of the deliberations.

“During the period of the assembly no one is allowed to approach the grand cabin nearer than twenty paces. Only the chiefs of the warriors are admitted there; the subordinate chiefs who are present are intended to serve the others, but they have no voice in the deliberations. The women are charged with the duty of preparing the necessary food and drink for the assembly; the subordinate chiefs go to fetch the provisions and place them in their turn in the grand cabin for the members of the assembly.

“In the center of the square formed by the cabin, a fire is lighted which burns continually. At sunset the young people of both sexes assemble, and come to dance around this fire until an appointed hour; during this time the assembly separates, and each member repairs, if he desires, to the cabin appropriate to the rank which he has received; or he remains in the grand cabin, and there enjoys the dance and the amusements of the young people; but without being allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, so long as the business is not entirely concluded. When the dances, which must

last for a limited time only, are terminated, if the business of the assembly is not too urgent, each of the members rests in the cabin which belongs to his class; but as soon as the sun appears above the horizon, a drum calls all of the chiefs to the assembly, which remains in session until sunset.⁶¹

In another place he makes certain amplifications regarding the time when such conventions took place. He says:

"These assemblies, which I have attended for twenty years, are held usually at the end of April or the beginning of May, as I have already said. To them are carried complaints and demands of all kinds, where the interests of the entire nation and its allies are discussed and regulated. They are held sometimes in the month of September, before they separate to go hunting, but then they are not general, few interesting things happen, and strangers are rarely present."⁶²

Milfort is almost the only writer who gives a hint regarding the manner in which the chiefs and officials of the various towns were seated. It is probable that their individual merit often outweighed the numerical importance of the town.

Speaking in these assemblies was a high art and was, next to success in war, the major means of social advancement. Religious sentiment was attached to it, and before a public speech the Creek speaker used to spit four times with deliberation and repeat a formula. The oratorical language was full of metaphorical allusions, and irony and satire were resorted to rather than denunciation. Says Adair:

"I have heard several eloquent Indian leaders, just as they were ready to set off for war, to use as bold metaphors and allegories in their speeches—and images almost as full and animating, as the eloquent penman of the old divine book of Job, even where he is painting, with his strong colours, the gladness and contempt of the beautiful war-horse, at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their captains, at the end of his oration for war, tell the warriors that stood outermost, he feelingly knew their guns were burning in their hands; their tomohawks thirsty to drink the blood of their enemy; and their trusty arrows impatient to be on the wing; and, lest delay should burn their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool refreshing word, 'Join the holy ark, and away to cut off the devoted enemy.' They immediately sounded the shrill whoó-whoòp, and struck up the solemn, awful song, *Yó*, etc."⁶³

And in another place:

"Formerly, at a public meeting of the head-men, and chief orators of the Choktah nation, I heard one of their eloquent speakers deliver

⁶¹ Milfort, *Mém.*, pp. 203-208.

⁶³ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 64.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.

a very pathetic, elaborate, allegorical, tragic oration, in the high praise, and for the great loss, of their great, judicious war-chieftain, *Shu-las-hum-másh-tà-be*, our daring, brave friend, *red shoes*. The orator compared him to the sun, that enlightens and enlivens the whole system of created beings: and having carried the metaphor to a considerable length, he expiated on the variety of evils, that necessarily result from the disappearance and absence of the sun; and, with a great deal of judgment, and propriety of expression, he concluded his oration with the same trope, with which he began."⁶⁴

Stiggins tells us that the confederate council was in reality without power. He says:

"The form of Government under which they live is a tyrannical oligarchy in its principles and practiced under that head to the full extent. At a slight view the most of people suppose and say that it is a democracy on republican principles but it is far different, for all public business whether of a national or private character is done by the chiefs. Though the nation is summoned in what is termed their grand council, when the state of the nation is supposed to be examined into, and their oral laws made, the assembly say not a word in the matter. For while in their sittings the assembled body of the nation sit as mutes, without being consulted in any manner until a few chiefs in their council house make the laws for their government without condescending to ask an opinion or approbation in any case, the national body being merely convened to hear what is done, for after a law is digested by the chiefs the national convention is informed of its tendency by the orator of the nation in a very exact and precise manner, who moreover informs them of all that has been transacted, which new law when they are made acquainted with its tendency, let it be as it may, they are the most obedient subjects under the sun to the penalties of it, be it oppressive or not. Should they infringe the law they will suffer beating, confiscation of their property or even death without a murmur or family resentment. Moreover, should an Indian be obstreperous in contending for his right of property or otherwise or obtrude on the right or even interests of a chief, the chiefs can so far tyrannize after a consultation as to have him beaten or slain, as a common disturber of the peace, without any other imputation of guilt than a law breaker as they term it.

"In former days in the time of their self importance and undisturbed government, before an agent was located in the nation by the U. S. to improve their morals and reform their customs, their ordained chiefs were more rude, active, and despotic and more frequent in their mandates of tyranny, and not near so uniform and circumspect in their deportment as now toward the common men. In later years the principal chiefs or great men of the nation have been

⁶⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 11.

increased to about fifteen in number. Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes. They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U. S. and paying their public debts, which they seemingly do with a national concurrence. For they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention when the chiefs deliberate and through their orator inform the assembled body of the nation, of what they have determined and dismiss them."⁶⁵

In speaking of the lesser members of the class called mikági Stiggins says farther on: "They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."⁶⁶

Duncan G. Campbell, in his letter to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, written December 18, 1824, and cited above, says:

"Upon the subject of the government of the Creeks, we could not acquire information of a definite and satisfactory character. Their council is composed of a great number of chiefs, of various grades of authority. The Big Warrior is head chief of the upper towns, and McIntosh of the lower; he is also speaker of the nation. The Little Prince is highest in authority, being head chief of the nation; and has been uniformly the friend and adherent of McIntosh."⁶⁷

It is not entirely plain whether the "council" here mentioned was the council of chiefs or the general assembly. The "great number of chiefs" would seem to suggest something more impressive than the body of 15 described by Stiggins, but we shall see presently that certain economic causes operated to increase the membership of the higher assembly very rapidly, at least after the removal of the tribe beyond the Mississippi.

Valuable additional information regarding the entire government of the nation in the early part of the nineteenth century, after it had emigrated to the west, is given us by Hitchcock, who says:

"The whole Creek Nation is composed of two parties, which were designated in the old Nation east of the Mississippi River, as the Upper and Lower Towns, sometimes called Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks. They are still to a considerable extent distinct. The Upper Creeks are principally on the Canadian and the Lower Creeks are on the Arkansas.

"These parties have separate Head Chiefs. At present the Principal Chief of the Lower Creeks is Roly McIntosh, as Tommarthle

⁶⁵ Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, pp. 13-15.

⁶⁷ *Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff.*, vol. II, p. 575.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Micco is of the Upper Creeks. In general council the two principal chiefs preside seated by the side of each other; but Roly McIntosh takes the right and is considered the Senior or Head Chief of the Nation. For local purposes, among the Upper Creeks there are four Creeks called Counselling Chiefs, one of whom is called the King, and he transacts the current business of the party subject to the control of the Principal Chief whenever the latter thinks proper to interfere, as on important occasions.

"After these are the Chiefs of the different towns. . . There may be forty-five towns, each of which has a Principal Chief or King and a sub-chief. In each town there are persons called *lawyers*, from four up to 40 or even 45, according to the population, whose duty it is to execute the laws. They are subject to the views of the Head Chiefs of the Nation who send them on important missions when necessary.

"The Lower Creeks have two persons in authority called Light Horse, who are [of the nature] of Sheriffs [and are employed] for the collection of debts with other similar duties and are paid each a salary of \$150 a year.

"All of the Chiefs of every grade are permanently in power unless they resign or from misconduct are deposed. The mode of filling a vacancy is assimilated to an election by the people, but upon recommendations made by those already in power, to which the popular voice presents scarcely an obstacle.

"The general council for business is composed of the two principal chiefs and the Kings, including those of the Towns. These constitute the aristocratic portion of the government. There is another branch composed of one or two persons elected by each town from among the lawyers with one judge from the Upper and one from the Lower Creeks, which constitute what is called a Committee. This has the appearance of a popular branch. Sometimes the number of the Committee is increased on important occasions. These are appointed by the Kings of the different towns but [selected] from the people.

"A law generally originates in the Committee. If approved there it is sent to the principal chiefs for their approval. If approved by the principal chiefs it is a law. But practically the Chiefs make the laws and unmake them."⁶⁸

By "lawyers" we are evidently to understand leading men conversant with the customs and usages of their people; probably not a fixed class in the community. The "aristocratic portion of the government,"—the Creek Senate if we might so term it—had thus exceeded the body of 15 of Stiggins's time, and in this Hitchcock is confirmed by Gregg, whose information was obtained about two years earlier and who says: "Their executive consists of two principal

⁶⁸ Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

chiefs, and their legislature or council of about forty minor chiefs or captains, who are also, *ex officio*, justices of the peace.”⁶⁹

The economic causes operating to increase the number of chiefs, to which reference was made above, are indicated in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of September 15, 1851, by Philip H. Raiford, agent of the Creek Indians. He says:

“The rude and irresponsible form of government by chiefs still prevails among them. The chiefs all receive salaries in proportion to their grade and rank, or, in other words, a larger share of the common fund of the tribe than the great mass of the Indians. The result of this system has been a great increase in the number of chiefs, until they now amount to about eight hundred, or one to every twenty-five souls; and, as the moneys due from the Government to the tribe are now paid to the chiefs, and they have it in their power to fix their own salaries, a large portion of the funds of the nation is divided out among themselves, and but little left for the great mass. Great wrong and injustice are thus done to the common Indians; and, as they are beginning to perceive and become dissatisfied with the system, and the evil continues to increase by the increase of chiefs, the result before long will inevitably be serious—internal dissensions and difficulties, if not strife and bloodshed, between the chiefs and their partisans on the one hand, and the common Indians on the other, unless the Government interposes some remedy for this unfortunate state of affairs.”⁷⁰

The word “chief” as employed by Mr. Raiford evidently does not refer merely to the class of mikági. Apparently it included the principal mikos, the isti átcagági, and the leading henihas and tástánágis. We are not to suppose that the great increase in the number of chiefs of which this agent speaks was due to a desire on the part of the chiefs to share their privileges; it was rather for the purpose of securing those privileges by taking into partnership all who might have been powerful enough to endanger them. Another Indian agent, James Logan, writing some years before, in 1845, speaks of the abuse as follows:

“The annuity, amounting to [\$]34,500, is paid to the principal chiefs of both [Upper and Lower Creeks], and equally divided between them, and by them distributed. . .⁷¹ The chiefs appropriate the whole of this large amount to the pay of themselves and their subordinates. This mode of distributing it is much complained of by the intelligent portion of the community, who are now far from being inconsiderable, and the right thus arrogated by the chiefs of doing what they please with the annuity much questioned. But they are vested with so much power, and have inspired so much awe and fear

⁶⁹ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, in *Early Western Travels*, vol. 20, p. 315.

⁷⁰ Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1851, p. 122.

⁷¹ The writer refers here to an unpublished document for confirmation.

in the minds of the people generally, that they are restrained from making a public expression upon the subject. Indeed, I question very much whether there could be found many who would, before them, say that they objected to their acts in any particular. This I have sought for in regard to the annuity, and have failed to accomplish, owing to the preponderance of the chiefs and law makers, etc., and to the cause above stated."⁷²

The abuse became so great that payments were finally made directly to the heads of families and the old privileges of the chiefs abolished. They suffered the same fate that betook the ringleaders in a certain conspiracy formed not long ago by some of the members and employees of a large corporation. In order to keep what was going on quiet, it was necessary to let more and more into the ring, which finally became so large that the secret leaked. The oligarchic character of the Creek federal government as revealed by Stiggins and these Indian agents clashes rather oddly with what Adair says of its democratic character, but evidently the government of the confederacy was farther removed from the masses of the people than the government of the towns, and with the disappearance of war positions came to be held less on account of merit and more because of family connection and personal "pull." In the erection of a federal government over and above the former tribal governments the mass of the people had not succeeded in holding firmly to the reins of power; still such great abuses would probably not have arisen had it not been for the decline of the merit element in promotions and theupidity excited by United States Government annuities.

The most complete account of the general council as it existed after the removal to Oklahoma was furnished Schoolcraft by Mr. D. W. Eakins, whom Schoolcraft describes as "for some time a resident of the Territory now occupied by them west of the State of Arkansas." These facts were "communicated in reply to printed inquiries issued in 1847, respecting the History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

The answers covering this subject may very well be run together.

"The general council of the Creek Indians consists of a representation from the whole tribe, as divided into towns. This council, composed of the chiefs, is vested with *plenary* power, to act for the whole tribe. Their *verbal summons* or decisions, have all the force of a written document; these decisions are announced in general council; and also recorded by the clerk. Their authority, (as among the principal chiefs,) is often assumed. Their authority is delegated to them, (in many cases,) by virtue of their standing and influence. They are at all times open to popular opinion, and are the mere

⁷² Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 514-517.

exponents of it. The power of the chiefs in council is unlimited. Their decisions are absolute.

“The principal chiefs are chosen by the general council; and now, are not chosen so much for their renowned deeds, as their civil and popular qualifications. Their term of office continues during good behavior. The disapproval of the body of the people is an effective bar to the exercise of their powers and functions.

“The chiefs, in public council, speak the opinions and sentiments of the warriors. They consult the priests, old men, and young men composing the tribe, in local matters. Sometimes they are subject to be influenced by extraneous opinions. In many cases they pursue the interests of the people with shrewdness and intensity. In their councils, their decisions are generally determined by the opinions of the leading chiefs; their *dictum* generally influences the mass. The right to sit in council, is, nominally, equivalent to giving a *vote*. The *ayes* and *noes*, if counted, would be by the clerk. Casting the vote, however, has not been introduced among the Creeks. The opinions of the leading chiefs generally regulate the decisions of the council. Powers are sometimes exercised by the chiefs, in advance of public opinion; but anything gross or outrageous would be indignantly repelled.

“The public or general councils are opened with a good deal of ceremony. The principal chiefs first enter and take their seats. The next in order then enter, and addressing themselves to the whole body, ask: ‘Are you all present, my friends?’ They then take their seats. The principal chief, rising from his seat, presents to the second chief, his tobacco; and this interchange takes place throughout the whole assembly. These interchanges having been gone through with, they next speak about their domestic affairs. Then local matters; after which they proceed to business. Their business is conducted irregularly, daily, and generally, by the position of the sun. The principal chief adjourns the council to the appointed time next day. Before the close of their deliberations, the two bodies agree upon a day of adjournment. At the appointed time for adjournment, the two bodies come together. The second chiefs, rising first, address themselves to the first chiefs, telling them ‘they are going to leave them.’ They then seat themselves, the whole council following in regular order, according to their grade. The principal chiefs, then rising, say, ‘We return home.’ There is still some respect paid to ancient ceremonies. Regard is paid to the weather in their deliberations. They have two national clerks and one United States, and one national interpreter. All questions are considered with more or less deliberation. Decisions are sometimes made upon the principle of majorities, and sometimes forced by the opinions of the leading chiefs. There are no cases that require absolute unanimity. There may be cases in which the voice of a leading chief might be taken as the will of the tribe.

“Decisions made by the chiefs in council are carried into effect implicitly. In cases of capital punishment, the executioner is selected from a body of men called ‘the Light Horse.’ He uses neither tomahawk, club, nor arrow. The gun is generally selected as the instrument of execution. If the culprit has no choice of place for execution, the executioner may appoint the place, which is generally selected with reference to a convenience for burial. In case of the restoration of property, a messenger is sent to the parties. There is, however, no regularity on this subject.

“In case of a vacancy by death or otherwise, the office is filled by the selection of the General Council. Sometimes the vacancy is filled by the town to which the chief belonged, and then brought before the General Council for sanction. In case of a vacancy among the leading chiefs, the vacancy is filled by the General Council. The chiefs may be deposed from office for gross outrage.”⁷³

Logan, the agent quoted above, furnishes the following additional information about the Creek government of his time:

“Each party [i. e., both the Upper and Lower Creeks] has its own head chief, etc. Roly McIntosh, the chief of the Lower Towns, is also vested with the dignity of head chief of the nation, and he presides as such in the general council of the nation, which generally convenes once a year, but at no particular period. Its deliberations are confined to subjects exclusively national, and which affect both parties in common. Those subjects having reference to their own party concerns meet the action of their own councils, which are held separate and distinct, and in which neither interferes with the other. They are conducted precisely similar, and are composed of the chiefs and law-makers of the different towns (or more properly clans) adhering to each party. These chiefs are generally selected from the older citizens. In point of intelligence, they cannot compare with private individuals, who generally do not desire such dignities. Generally speaking they are extremely ignorant, are noted for their superstitious bigotry, for their old customs and ceremonies, and most bitter prejudices against all measures calculated to reform the condition or enlighten the minds of their people. There are, however, a few honorable exceptions, but they are far in the minority, and their councils have but little weight. They are opposed to [the Christian] religion and education, more particularly the former, conceiving very justly that it has a tendency to lessen their authority, and to abolish their old rites and ceremonies, of which they are particularly tenacious. They have gone so far this year as to exact a fine of from two dollars to three and a half dollars a head upon all non-attendants at their ‘busks,’ green corn dances, etc., or who do not drink the physic, a most nauseous compound of poisonous weeds. Their authority is often exerted arbitrarily, and their laws are unjust and unnecessarily severe. It is a standing law of the nation, ‘if any

⁷³ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, pp. 275-277.

person preach or hold religious meetings, whether white or red, he shall for the first offence receive fifty lashes on his bare back, and for the second offence one hundred lashes.' To maintain their authority, they support, out of the annuity, an immense number of subordinates, known as law-makers, light horse, etc. The people stand in much awe of them, and blindly pay them the obedience they exact; they have no voice in their appointment nor in their acts; when a vacancy occurs, the place is filled not by an election, but by the nomination made by some noted chief."⁷⁴

Logan is decidedly too severe in his criticisms of the conservative party who were in the nature of things bound to be opposed to the spirit of innovation of which he was a part. While the nature and amount of the fines exacted from those who absented themselves from the busk were no doubt determined at the council of which he speaks, the principle was by no means new.

The practical effect of the Confederate government on the bulk of the people was probably about as indicated in the following lines intended to apply to southern confederacies generally:

"Every town is independent of another. Their own friendly compact continues the union. An obstinate war leader will sometimes commit acts of hostility, or make peace for his own town, contrary to the good liking of the rest of the nation. But a few individuals are very cautious of commencing war on small occasions, without the general consent of the head men: for should it prove unsuccessful, the greater part would be apt to punish them as enemies, because they abused their power, which they had only to do good to the society."⁷⁵

Councils in which all of the towns, or as many of them as chose to do so, took part were certainly held at a period as early as an organization existed that could be called a Creek confederacy, but they seem to have been at irregular intervals and at no determined place. And as we have seen, the Lower Creeks and the Upper Creeks each had an independent council. It is likely that, if we could examine some of these old councils we should find a certain regular method of seating the different chiefs, and a certain procedure, but only the above scraps of information regarding them have come down to us. In Adair's time we learn that the French at Fort Toulouse in the forks of the Alabama River endeavored to foment civil war among the Muskogee especially through the hold they had on the small tribes other than Muskogee about their fort, but the Creek chiefs in council compelled them to desist.⁷⁶ In the Georgia colonial documents we read of a number of councils. One of these was represented by nine towns, of which two belonged to the Lower Creeks and seven to the Upper Creeks. Another was attended by 21 towns, of which 6 were Lower towns and the balance Upper. At a council of Lower

⁷⁴ James Logan in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 515-516.

⁷⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 428.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 338-339.

Creeks 4 towns were represented. A conference at Savannah was attended by 16 Upper Creek towns. At Oglethorpe's first council with the Creeks 9 Lower Creek towns were represented and no Upper Creek towns. Another council was attended by 12 Upper Creek towns, and still another by 8 from the same section. There are two other notices of meetings held by the Upper Creeks alone and one held by the Lower Creeks. This brings out clearly the separation existing between the Upper and the Lower Creeks. We also find a note to the effect that the towns of Coweta, Hitchiti, Osochi, "Nipky," Chiaha, Kasihta, and Tuskegee had declared Coweta miko their chief, a statement which certainly shows the primacy of Coweta among the Lower Creeks. The Tuskegee, or part of them, were probably with the Lower Creeks at that time.⁷⁷ Two of these councils of which we have a record were held in Tulsa, one in Okchai, one in Apalachicola, and one in Chiaha. Whether accidentally or otherwise it thus happens that all but the last were in White towns.

A Spanish document dating from 1793 or 1794 contains a list of chiefs, with the town to which each belonged, whom it was thought advisable to invite to a general conference at Pensacola. This list, which is as follows, gives an idea of the towns thought worthy of representation on such an occasion and in some degree the relative importance in which those invited were held:

Kelleschuppo, or Beard.....	} of the Broken Arrow.
Cowabbe, or Little Prince.....	
Hycat, or Cussitaw King.....	} of the Cussitaws.
Bird Tail King.....	
Hollowing King.....	} of the Cowitaws.
Young Lieutenant.....	
Philatouchy.....	} of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
Cochmans Brother.....	
George Cousins.....	of the Eauphallsies.
John Kennard and his Uncle.....	of the Hitchetes.
Mad Dog.....	} of the Tuckabatches.
Beaux Banter.....	
Half Breed.....	of the Ockfuskie's.
McKay's Friend.....	of the Abacouchies.
Tallesey King.....	[of Tulsa?]
White King.....	of the Hicklawallsies [Holiwahali].
Dog Warrior.....	of the Upper Towns.
Wockucoy King.....	[of Wakokai?].
Wiokee King.....	[of Wiwohka?].
Mawmouth.....	of the Keyalegies.
One head man.....	from James Leslie's Town [Natchez?].
Bryen Molton or One head man...	from the Tuskeegy.
McPherson.....	} Little Tallesseys.
Upoimico.....	
Red Shoes.....	[of the Alabama and Koasati?].
One head man.....	from the Fussachees.
One ditto.....	from the Coolamy.
One ditto.....	from the White Ground.
One ditto.....	from the Ottosay. ⁷⁸

⁷⁷ See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 210-211.

⁷⁸ Copy of Ms. in the Ayer Library, Newberry Library, Chicago.

Writing in 1791, Swan says:

"The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hollowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskie; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon."⁷⁹

It is worthy of note that the Coweta chief is the only Lower Creek chief mentioned, the inference being that through the personal force of this man or the preponderating influence of his town all of the other Lower Creek towns could be controlled. Of the five Upper Creek chiefs only one, the chief of Tukabahechee, represents a Red town, or a town that belonged to the Red side at that time; two, the Okfuskee and Big Tulsa chiefs, represent the old Coosa element, and two, the Natchez and Alabama chiefs, the non-Muskogee element. It is probable, however, that the Dog Warrior of the Natchez represented equally his own people and the Abihka. All the Upper Creek towns having any pretensions to leadership are thus represented except Oteiapofa and the omission of this is at once explained when we remember that it was the town of Alexander McGillivray, at that time unofficial dictator of the entire nation. Swan assumes his cooperation without specific mention.

The Creek organization in the eighteenth century would appear from this information to have been about in the same condition as it was in the early part of the nineteenth—a loose confederation led by from two to four towns and holding irregular councils, the different sections of the nation often counselling apart, comparative absence of internal warfare and continuous but rarely unified warfare against neighbors. Regarding the latter point it is interesting to note that in the Creek-American war of 1813 not only did the Lower Creeks actively assist the whites, but a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles. Among these were Abihka, Natchez, Tukabahechee and some of her allies, Kealedji, and, in the beginning at least, Látogálga and Upper Eufaula. Hilibi remained neutral as well but was attacked without warrant by an army of whites and severely handled.

It is to be observed, however, that a considerable change took place both internally and externally after white contact tending to increase the power and importance of the confederacy much beyond its primitive condition. Thus, in De Soto's time the Kasihta and Coosa, the representatives of the Lower and Upper Creeks, were noteworthy and powerful tribes but only to a certain extent superior to many

⁷⁹ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 263.

others, such as the Utina, Potano, and Apalachee of Florida, and the Chiaha, Tali, Mobile, and many more farther north. It is even uncertain whether at that date any sort of confederacy existed. As time went on, however, the Florida tribes were destroyed or scattered, and the same fate overtook the Yamasee, the Indians of the Georgia coast, and the smaller tribes in the neighborhood of South Carolina. This served to increase the power of the Creeks proper, both by weakening that of their neighbors and by causing many fugitive tribes to unite with them and add to their fighting force. Leaving out of consideration the Hitchiti, Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, who were incorporated almost before the dawn of clear history, we have very exact information of the incorporation of the Yuchi, which had formerly been an independent and hostile tribe, of part of the Shawnee, and of the remnant of the Natchez. This system of adoption resulted in the strengthening of the confederacy about in proportion to the weakening of its neighbors, until finally but one tribe remained, the Choctaw, able to contend with it on anything like equal terms. This latter, it is to be noted, owed its strength not so much to incorporation of fugitive elements as to a location where it was for a long time protected against European encroachment, intensive cultivation of the soil, and an unwarlike disposition—all contributing to a steadily mounting population. The Choctaw government was very feebly centralized for the same reason until very late times when it was much strengthened as a result of constant attacks on the part of Chickasaw and Creek enemies. The Creeks, on the other hand, had adopted their federal union very early, probably in part as the result of pressure from without, and as this pressure was increased by the approach of white settlements the sense of danger tended to accelerate the centralization. It thus happened that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century conditions were ripe for the evolution of a still more closely knit state, and merely awaited the advent of the man who could bring it about. And such a man appeared.

A critical life of Alexander McGillivray would be a distinct contribution to southern history, but it is not germane to our purpose. Doubtless much that has been written regarding him is inaccurate and I do not vouch for all the facts given in the following account by Swan, but of the revolution he accomplished in Creek government there can be no doubt. Swan says that his title was *Steutsa'cco-Cho'ota'* which is evidently a very bad attempt at *isti átcagági láko*, "great honored or beloved man."⁸⁰ He goes on:

"The present great beloved man, who left Georgia in disgust about the year 1776, and attached himself to the upper Creeks,

⁸⁰ His Indian name, however, is given by Pope as "Hippo ilk Meco, or the good Child King." In correct Creek this would be *Hoboi-hili miko*, but there is reason to think that McGillivray did not belong to a clan which would entitle him to be called *miko*.

where he was born, by the advice of his father immediately set about placing himself at the head of the nation. His kindred and family connexion in the country, and his evident abilities, soon gave him such influence among them that the British made him their commissary, with the rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel, under Colonel Brown, then superintendent.

"After the English had abandoned the nation, in 1782, this beloved man found it necessary, in order to carry on the war with success against the Georgians, to undertake a reform in the policy of the nation, which had for a long time been divided by faction.

"He effected a total revolution in one of their most ancient customs, by placing the warriors in all cases over the *micos* or kings, who, though not active as warriors, were always considered as important counsellors. The *micos* resisted this measure for some time; and the struggle became at last so serious, that the beloved chief had one Sullivan and two others, partizans of the *micos*, put to death in the public squares. They were all three white men who had undertaken to lead the faction against him; but he finally crushed the insurgents, and effected his purposes.

"The spirit of opposition still remained against him in the old Tallassie king, *Opilth Mico*, who, with his clan, pronounced *M'Gillivray* a boy and an usurper, taking steps that must be derogatory to his family and consequence. And under these circumstances he undertook to treat separately with the Georgians. The consequences were, his houses were burnt in his absence, and his corn and cattle destroyed. Notwithstanding, he remained refractory for a long time, as well as some of the most important of the lower towns, until, finding the Georgians aimed at them indiscriminately, and a Mr. Alexander had killed twelve of their real friends (the *Cussutahs*), they dropped their internal disputes, and united all their efforts, under the great chief, against the frontiers."⁸¹

Swan adds some interesting particulars regarding the means resorted to by *McGillivray* to secure his authority. He kept the several towns in obedience by threatening to remove the white traders from among them. He encouraged the presentation of complaints by all parties but put off judgment so long that the parties usually settled the matter between themselves, thereby relieving him of the necessity of delivering a verdict unfavorable to one of them and attracting personal enmity in consequence. Another device, as old as tyranny, was to collect about himself a body of retainers. Swan says:

"Some young men of his relations, and several active warriors living about Little Tallassie, whom the chief keeps continually attached to him by frequent and profuse presents, serve him as a

⁸¹ Swan in *Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 281.

kind of watch, and often in the capacity of constables—pursue, take up, and punish, such characters as he may direct; and on some occasions have acted as executioners.

“It is a maxim of his policy to give protection to outlaws, debtors, thieves, and murderers from all parts of the country, who have fled in great numbers from the hands of justice, and found an asylum in the Creek nation. The whites living among the Indians (with very few exceptions), are the most abandoned wretches that can be found, perhaps, on this side of Botany Bay; there is scarcely a crime but some of them has been guilty of. Most of the traders and all their hirelings and pack-horse-men, are of the above description.”⁸²

McGillivray's father, Lachlan McGillivray, was a Scotchman loyal to the crown, and from him and his sojourn among the whites Alexander had gained sufficient astuteness to know how to deal with the colonists, along with a prejudice against their cause. His government, it will be seen, resembled rather a Greek tyranny than the military democracy to which Swan likens it. It must be added, however, that McGillivray's power was due rather to his shrewdness and his understanding of the Indian mind than to the exercise of autocratic authority, though, as we have seen, he could use the iron glove on occasion. McGillivray belonged to the Wind clan,⁸³ and although this clan held an exalted position in the tribe, none of the officials of Otcia-pofa, his proper town and that which he made his capital, were Wind people. This explains in part his adoption of the term “great beloved man,” one which could be held by a member of any clan. The government as I have described it also explains the appellation of “grand chief” which Milfort applies to McGillivray.⁸⁴ Milfort was probably one of those outsiders whom McGillivray gathered about him. That he was made a *tástánági* is probable, but, as has been stated above, the name did not carry the significance which Milfort attaches to it of “head war chief” of the nation.

Milfort and Pope both confirm Swan's statement regarding the internal revolution effected by McGillivray, except that where the former says “nation” we must substitute “town,” or “towns.” His words are:

“The Tastanégy or grand war chief formerly had no part in the internal administration, his authority lasted only as long as the war: but now, he is the first civil as well as the first military chief of the nation.”⁸⁵

Says Pope:

“M'Gillivray who is perpetual dictator, in Time of War sub-delegates a Number of Chieftains for the Direction of all military

⁸² Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 282.

⁸³ Milfort, *Mém.*, p. 323; Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 269.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41 et seq.

⁸⁵ Milfort, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

Operations; and when the War concludes, they, in Compensation for their martial Achievements, are invested by the Dictator with civil Authority which supersedes the hereditary Powers of their Demi-Kings." ⁸⁶

It is hardly likely that the Indians would have suffered a violent injection of outside officials into their local governments, and it is therefore probable that the men elevated to positions of control in this manner were the "big warriors" (*tástanági láko*) in their respective towns. During a period of almost perpetual war the influence of the war leaders was certain to be enhanced in any event; McGillivray simply took advantage of this and continued their war powers into times of peace.

After McGillivray's death, February 17, 1793, no man appeared of sufficient force and tact to take his place and the government seems to have slipped back, at least in part, into the ancient channels.

Some hints have already been given regarding this government, particularly its council of chiefs and national assembly, as well as the leadership of certain towns. The primacy of Coweta,⁸⁷ both over the Lower Creek towns and over the whole nation, appears to have been reasserted, Tukabahchee assuming the headship of the Upper Creeks and the secondary position in the confederacy.

A few years after the death of McGillivray, Benjamin Hawkins, United States agent in charge of the southern Indians, attempted to introduce certain innovations into the Creek government, and indeed he asserts that before the adoption of his plan they had been without a national government of any sort. In the light of other facts such a sweeping statement can not be accepted. His innovations merely tended to make systematic and stable an authority which had before been relatively loose and casual. He thus recounts the results of his efforts:

"At a meeting of the national council, convened by order of the agent for Indian affairs [i. e., Hawkins himself], at Tookaubatche, the 27th November, 1799, the chiefs, after a long and solemn deliberation, on the affairs of the nation, which were laid before them by the agent for Indian affairs, came to a resolution to adopt the plan of the agent, "to class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation."

"The towns thus classed, with the warriors for the nation, are:

"1st. Hook-choie, We-wo-cau, Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see, O-pil-thuluc-co and Thlot-lo-gul-gau. For these five towns they appointed Sim-mo-me-jee ["Doing-it-for-them"] of Wewocau.

⁸⁶ Pope, Tour, p. 65.

⁸⁷ In the American State Papers (Indian Affairs, vol. II, p. 786) is a long historical account of the relations between the whites and the Creek Indians, compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia. His object is to show that the sanction of Coweta to a treaty ceding land rendered the treaty valid, and this prejudiced viewpoint must be allowed for, although, as we have seen, the primacy of Coweta among Creek towns at one period was certainly a fact.

"2d. Ki-a-li-jee and Eu-fau-lau. For these two towns, they appointed E-maut-lau Hut-ke.

"3d. Hill-au-bee, Woc-co-coie and Pochuschatche. For these three towns they appointed Cussetuh Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Hill-au-bee, and Thle-chum-me Tustunnigge ["Lidjāmi Tāstānāgi], of Woc-cocoie.

"4th. Au-bee-coo-che, Nau-che, Coosau and Eu-fau-lau-hat-che. For these four towns, they appointed Olohtau Haujo [Hohakta hadjo].

"5th. Ho-ith-le-wau-le, Ecumhutke, Sauvanogee, Mook-lau-sau and Took-au-bat-che. For these five towns, they appointed O-poie E-maut-lau [Hobayi Imala], of Ho-ith-le-waule. . . .

"6th. Oc-fus-kee and its villages, Sooc-he-ah, New-yau-cau, Im-mook-fau, Took-au-bat-che Tal-lau-has-see, Took-to-cau-gee, Au-che-nau-ulgau, Oc-fus-coo-che, and E-pe-sau-gee. For this town and its villages, they appointed Hopoie Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Oc-fus-kee, and Tal-lo-wau-thlucco Tus-tun-nug-gee.

"7th. O-che-au-po-fau and Tus-kee-gee. For these two towns, they appointed Ho-po-ithle Ho-poie.

"8th. Tal-e-see, Aut-tos-see, Foose-hat-che and Coo-loo-me. For these four towns, they appointed Foose-hat-che Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Tal-e-see, and Eu-fau-lau Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Foose-hat-che.

"9th. Hook-choie-oo-che, Coo-sau-dee, E-cun-cha-te, Too-wos-sau, Pau-woe-te, and At-tau-gee. For these towns and villages, they appointed Ho-ith-le-poie Hau-jo and Tus-tun-nuc, of Hook-choie-oo-che." ⁸⁸

To what extent this plan of government was put in force seems uncertain, but the primacy of Coweta and Tukabahchee continued, as is shown by numerous statements in the documents of the first half of the nineteenth century. We learn that in 1814 the "Little Prince" was head chief of the entire nation—though one writer refers to him as "the chief speaker." He belonged to Likateka, which, as we have seen, was a branch of Coweta. At the same time we are told that Tāstānāgi lāko, the "Big Warrior," a Tukabahchee, was "speaker for the Upper Creeks," Tāstānāgi hopai speaker for the Lower Creeks, and William McIntosh head chief of Coweta.⁸⁹ From what Hodgson says it is evident that in 1820 the Little Prince and the Big Warrior occupied the same positions, although they are both called "Chief Speakers of the Nation" as if their authority were coordinate. Hodgson adds, "The most popular and influential person, however, in the Nation, is Mackintosh, the Head Warrior, a half-breed, under forty years of age; who is consulted on every occasion, and who, in a great measure, directs the affairs of his country." ⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.

⁸⁹ Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, pp. 571, 575.

⁹⁰ Hodgson, Jour., p. 267. In one place (Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 571) McIntosh is called "Speaker of the Nation."

In a later document four chiefs are mentioned as having made a reply to the United States Commissioners at Likateka, on December 11, 1824, "Little Prince, O. Porthle Yoholo (Speaker of the Upper Creeks), William McIntosh (Speaker of the Nation), and Hopoy Hadgo."⁹¹ In a letter written seven days after this, by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, Little Prince is referred to as the head of the nation, while the Big Warrior is called head chief of the Upper towns and McIntosh head chief of the Lower towns and also Speaker of the Nation.⁹² The somewhat perplexing statements are reconciled when we understand that Little Prince was head chief of the entire nation by virtue of the fact that he was head of the Coweta group of towns, although actually he was premier chief only of the branch town of Likateka. McIntosh was chief of Coweta itself and also held the position of speaker for Little Prince, having apparently succeeded a man named Tástánági hobayi, and because Little Prince was head chief of the Lower Creeks and premier chief of the nation McIntosh is also called "Speaker of the Nation." A formal error is probably made by Campbell in referring to him as "head chief of the Lower towns," while the nomenclature employed by Hodgson is inexact owing to the temporary nature of his visit among the Creeks. That Hodgson does not mean by "chief speakers" those who made announcements is shown by his explanation immediately following: "The Chief Speakers are by no means necessarily the principal *orators*, but may employ a fluent Chief to convey their sentiments. Their office is to carry into effect the decisions of the Great Council of the Nation; a deliberative body, composed of chiefs from the different towns."⁹³ It seems plain, in short, that during this period the Little Prince of Likateka was head chief of the Lower Creeks and of the nation, while the Big Warrior was head chief of the Upper Creeks. McIntosh appears to have been chief of Coweta in 1814 and to have risen to the position of speaker of the nation by 1824—that is, speaker for the Little Prince. Hoboi-hili yahola had risen to the position of speaker of the Upper Creeks by 1824. It seems evident that by this time all of the Upper towns recognized a head chief and all of the Lower towns another and that the latter enjoyed a primacy over the former, and that each of these had an assistant called a "speaker" who was a man of influence. After the removal there was a principal and second chief over all the towns and a principal and second chief for each of the two divisions.⁹⁴

According to one of my informants the head chief of the Upper Creeks was elected by 30 men chosen from the towns of Tukabahchee, Kealedji, Atasi, and Hátci teábá—i. e., from the Upper Creek towns

⁹¹ Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 571.

⁹² Hodgson, Jour., p. 267.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 575.

⁹⁴ Eakins in Schoolcraft, vol. I, pp. 274-275.

of the Tukabahchee group. This statement remains unsubstantiated. The same man also stated that the Lower Creeks had two chiefs, "one governing on each side of any stream," but this would seem to refer to the chiefs of the Kasihta and Coweta, the lands of which were separated by the Chattahoochee River.

Writing in 1839, when the removal to the west was not completed, Farnham says:

"The civil government of this tribe is less perfect than that of the Cherokees. There are two bands; the one under McIntosh, and the other under Little Doctor. That led by the former, brought with them from their old home written laws which they enforce as the laws of their band. That under the latter, made written laws after their arrival. Each party holds a general council. The members of each are hereditary chiefs, and a class of men called councillors. Each of these great bands is divided into lesser ones; which severally may hold courts, try civil and criminal causes, sentence, and execute, &c. Laws, however, are made by the general councils only; and it is becoming customary to entertain trials of cases before these bodies, and to detail some of their members for executioners. The legislative, judicial, and executive departments of their government are thus becoming strangely united in one."^{94a}

Eakins says "every hundred persons has a right to elect a chief, who represents them in general council."⁹⁵

From the time of their emigration until after the Civil War the Lower and Upper Creeks remained aloof from each other. Roly McIntosh,⁹⁶ first chief of the former division in the west, was succeeded by Moty Kennard, and when the latter died his second chief, Yakinha miko, took his place. Tukabahchee miko, often spoken of as chief of the Upper Creeks, was in reality their principal medicine maker. His fields were cared for by the people of Tukabahchee and he was allowed a salary of \$500 from the Creek treasury. In 1842-43 the Upper Creek chief was Tamali miko.^{96a} When the Creek constitution was adopted Iteo hadjo miko occupied the position.

As is well known the Creeks split into two factions on the outbreak of the Civil War and became pretty thoroughly demoralized. After it was ended a great council was held near Okmulgee, a constitution was adopted and a new government set up, modeled to some extent on that of the United States. There were two deliberative and legislative bodies called the House of Kings and the House of Warriors chosen from the different districts and two head chiefs, a first and a second, elected every four years by the entire nation. He who received the highest number of votes was made first chief and he

^{94a} Farnham's *Travels*, in *Early Western Travels*, vol. xxviii, pp. 129-130.

⁹⁵ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. I, p. 275.

⁹⁶ It appears from a writer in Schoolcraft (*Ind. Tribes*, vol. I, p. 267) that the second chief of the Lower Creeks under McIntosh was Benjamin Marshall.

^{96a} See pp. 315-316; Stanley in *Smithson. Misc. Colls.*, no. 53, p. 12.

who received the next highest second chief, no matter whether the two so chosen had run upon the same ticket or not.

The following first and second chiefs were elected after the adoption of this constitution:

HEAD CHIEF	SECOND CHIEF
Samuel Chicote of Sawokli (served three or four terms).	Iteo hadjo miko. ⁹⁷
Lōtea hadjo of Abihkutei (or Nuyaka) (served three months and was then impeached).	Ward Coachman, of Alabama.
Ward Coachman (filled out the rest of the term).	(Left vacant.)
Joseph M. Perryman, of Okmulgee (one term).	(Uncertain.) ⁹⁸
Legus Perryman of Okmulgee (two terms).	Hotálgi imala of Okchai.
Ispahitca of Kasihta (one term).	Roly McIntosh of Tuskegee.
Pleasant Porter of Okmulgee (one complete term and part of a second term).	Moty Tiger of Tukabahece.
Moty Tiger (completes term).	(Left vacant.)

Pleasant Porter was the last chief regularly elected. Moty Tiger was succeeded by the late G. W. Grayson, of Coweta, mentioned so often in this report, who was appointed by President Wilson. Mr. Grayson died in office and his son Washington Grayson was appointed his successor. When he resigned the position was conferred upon George Hill, of Tulsa Canadian.

The chiefs elected after the adoption of the constitution were not necessarily heads of the towns from which they came, and it is said of Tukabahece miko, before that time, that he was transferred by special agreement from the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahece to that of the Warriors because he could not be withheld from making addresses, and the delivering of addresses on the part of the town chief himself was contrary to custom. Iteo hadjo miko was a *tástánági* or an *imala*, Samuel Chicote was only a *tásikaya*, Hotálgi imala was a great war speaker (*holibonaia*) and also an *imala*, and Moty Tiger a *tástánági*. Miko hátki, given by Cook as second chief under Chicote, was, however, chief of his town, Tulsa. It is worthy of note that the ablest leaders, after the adoption of the constitution, were from the non-Muskogee towns, Ward Coachman, of Alabama, Samuel Chicote, the Perrymans, and Pleasant Porter from the Hitchiti-speaking towns, and Roly McIntosh of Tuskegee. Mr. McCombs considers the last named, although he did not reach the position of head chief, the greatest Creek statesman of his time. He was named

⁹⁷ Mr. McCombs, my authority for the incumbent of this position, was in some doubt about his correctness and the second chief may have been Miko hátki of Tulsa, as given by Cook.

⁹⁸ Zachariah Cook thought that Roly McIntosh was second chief under J. M. Perryman and Legus Perryman second chief under Ispahitca, but Mr. McCombs is probably right.

for the first Roly McIntosh, who is said to have conferred the title upon him himself, in anticipation of his future greatness.

As stated already, when the Creek chief was installed an installation speech was made to him by a man of the Bird clan of Otciapofa, who instructed him regarding his duties and in general as to what was expected of him.

The duties of sheriffs or constables were discharged by eight, or about eight, light horsemen (*teilaiko ohgā'ga*), four for the Upper Creeks and four for the Lower Creeks.

The government of the Seminole nation was similar to that of the Creek nation proper. They had only two light horsemen.

The following general view of the condition of the Creeks in the middle of the nineteenth century furnishes an interesting picture of them in their western home in the middle period of their decline, a decline soon afterwards accelerated vastly by the Civil War and now brought to completion by their allotment and the practical abolishment of their national government:

“The Lower Towns, from their closer proximity and greater intercourse with the whites, exhibit a much greater advance in civilization and manner than their brethren of the Upper Towns. The old custom of settling together compactly and cultivating the town fields has been altogether abandoned, and they are no longer visible in this portion of the nation; the people are settled promiscuously throughout the country; many of their farms and residences would do credit to the States. Ornaments, silver plates, ear-rings, beads, and paint, are grown into disuse, and seldom or never seen except at their festivals or ball plays. The dress of the whites is becoming common, with the exception of the hunting shirt, which is generally of gay printed calico, and may be conceived quite picturesque. It is tenaciously adhered to, and is common to all Indians. Hats, vests, pantaloons, and shoes may almost be said to be the common habilaments of the males, and dresses of the richest materials of silks and muslins, made, too, in accordance with the latest fashions, are often to be seen upon the persons of the female classes. Gold and silver watches, rich and costly articles of jewelry, viz: chains, rings, brooches, etc., etc., are also used by the rich.

“The English language, though not generally spoken, is understood by many; and a strong desire is manifested by the community at large to throw off all their old superstitious ways and customs, and to adopt the ways of the whites. On the other hand, however, it can be said that the number of the indigent and needy is much greater here in this part of the nation. The use of whiskey, too, is more general, and its effects more visible. As before stated, there is no town, nor even a village, to be met with, yet the people are every year summoned, to their great dissatisfaction, to assist in

building or repairing the town council houses, etc.; in many instances, to leave their crops and go a distance of 20 or 30 miles;—this service is enforced, too, under a penalty of a pecuniary fine. The settlements of the Lower Towns extend from the Verdigris river, on it and between it and the Arkansas, on both banks, to the Red fork, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of fifty. They are separated from the settlements of the Upper Towns by an uninterrupted prairie, extending from the bottoms of the Arkansas, south, to those of the north fork of the Canadian, a distance of about forty miles; they [the Upper Towns] extend from there, westward, between and on the Deep fork, North fork, and Main Canadian, to Little river, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of about sixty. From their peculiar location, they have less intercourse with the whites, and consequently do not exhibit so much improvement. Their dress, too, is more after the aboriginal form; they are forbidden to adopt that of the whites under penalty of lashes; they are, however, generally speaking, more enterprising and industrious; they grow cotton, and practise the domestic arts of spinning and weaving to a greater extent than the others. Cases of extreme poverty are more rarely to be met with. The chiefs are more generous, and their policy more liberal than those of the Lower Towns. In addition to the two blacksmiths' shops, furnished them by treaty stipulations, they have a public shop, which is supported out of their portion of the annuity; they have also devoted a portion of it to the erection of a water mill, and the support of a millwright; they have also a wheelwright, but he is paid by the government; they have not so much wealth as the Lower Town chiefs, generally speaking—(the McIntosh family are supposed to be worth \$150,000 and B. Marshall some \$50,000) yet *they* contribute nothing towards anything of this kind—alleviating the distresses of the poor, or to affecting any improvement in their country; however, it is reported that Opothleyoholo is by far the richest man in the whole nation.”⁹⁹

Hitchcock informs us that the Creek laws were compiled, or rather digested, in 1826 before the emigration and that an abstract of the digest was approved by a general council in 1840. Mr. N. L. Alexander, the Creek through whom Hitchcock obtained access to these, did not think that the first written laws antedated about the year 1822, but Hitchcock himself remarks that the year “1817” was entered opposite the law punishing murder. He adds:

“Most of the laws—there are but few altogether—relate to the punishment of the most prominent crimes, known as such among all men, and the regulation of property rights. They scarcely touch upon the ancient customs and usages of the Nation which are for the most part left in full force. Infanticide was formerly not uncom-

⁹⁹ James Logan, in Indian Affairs Report, 1845, pp. 514-517.

mon; it is prohibited by the written laws. An attempt was made in 1840 to abolish a custom giving to the relations of a husband on his death the power of keeping the widow secluded and forbidding her second marriage for a period of four years. They attempted to restrict the period to 12 months, but the people would not listen to it and the council yielded to the public voice and repealed the law in 1841."¹

PROPERTY

So many old Creek customs, usages, and laws have become lost or obscured that it is difficult to reconstruct the primitive system with any certainty from what is remembered at the present day. With regard to property it is to be noted that two strong influences constantly operated to dilute the sense of individual ownership. These influences were the powerful kinship system and the abundance and accessibility of all of those things—or the raw materials of those things—necessary in aboriginal life. The value which we attach to things is dependent to a very considerable extent on the ease with which we can replace them.

As was usual among primitive people, strangers were provided with food and a place to sleep gratis. This might be in the community hot house, or, after the clan of the visitor had been revealed, in the home of some man married into that clan. Regarding chattels we could wish the information from these Indians were more specific. Adair "observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them" but he immediately begins to speak of their hospitality in the matter of food and shelter which is quite a different matter.² Bartram says:

"Now, although it appears that these people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and private property, and have laws, usages, and customs, which secure each one his rights according to reason, justice, and equality, the whole tribe seems as one family or community, and, in fact, all their possessions are in common; for they have neither locks nor bars to their doors, and there is a common and continual intercourse between the families of a tribe; indeed, throughout the Confederacy, they seem as one great family, perfectly known and acquainted with each other whenever they meet.

"If one goes to another's house and is in want of any necessary that he or she sees, and says, I have need of such a thing, it is regarded only as a polite way of asking for it, and the request is forthwith granted, without ceremony or emotion; for he knows he is welcome to the like generous and friendly return at any time . . ." ³

If Bartram could have examined actual conditions more intimately he would probably have found that this exchange took place

¹ Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

² Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 41.

³ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

almost entirely between members of the same clan or members of linked clans or else between individuals connected by marriage. It is not to be supposed that we have here a case of real communism in chattels. Part of it was nothing more than borrowing, and another part a borrowing of a different kind in which equivalent values were exchanged instead of identical objects. From my own experience with Indians I think it is safe to assume that every family was pretty acutely conscious of its credit or debit as regards every other family, and that a persistent "sponge" was looked down upon and avoided. That there were such "sponges" we know from Stiggins, who says:

"If it (hospitality) is beneficial in keeping the traveler and stranger from hunger and starvation, it keeps a great many of their town people of men and women sauntering from door to door in loafing idleness; if no one will cloathe them, they are perfectly satisfied for every house will feed them."⁴

Adair gives an amusing account of the skill with which one Indian parried the appeal of another for a certain service.⁵ The sense of individual ownership was by no means wanting; only for the reasons above given it did not always appear so keenly developed as with us. Social usage had sanctioned a method of exchange comparatively unknown to Europeans and had given a definite "set" to the instinct of private ownership, not abolished it. Indeed, elsewhere Bartram himself says:

"All that a man earns by his labor or industry belongs to himself; he has the use and disposal of it according to the custom and usages of the people. He may clear, settle, and plant as much land as he pleases, and wherever he will within the boundaries of his tribe."⁶

Debts, which probably had nothing to do with this social exchange, were also recognized. Adair remarks that "when they are able, without greater damage to themselves, than benefit to their creditor, they discharge their honest debts." And he adds that when differences arose over such matters they were settled by "the head Archimagus, and his old beloved men," and that a creditor could seize property of the debtor to the amount due him.⁷ Both Creeks and Seminole formerly had a high reputation among the white people for punctuality in the payment of their debts.⁸ In this particular civilization has not worked for their betterment. Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century Eakins says of them: "Obligations, in regard to debt, are considered binding. Time does not diminish these obligations among the Creeks. The Indian does not consider ill-luck in hunting, as exonerating him from paying his debts."⁹

⁴ Stiggins, Ms.

⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 304-305.

⁶ Bartram in *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 37.

⁷ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

⁸ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. I, p. 278.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

The yard immediately about each house or group of houses of course went with it; the square ground, chunky yard, and hot house were the property of the community. Gardens, as Bartram has stated, could be cleared by anyone anywhere within the limits of the town land.¹⁰ And Eakins expresses their attitude toward the private ownership of land by the quotation, "It is for me, for thee, and for all." He adds, however, that improvements were sometimes sold.¹¹ This applied to the Creeks in their western home about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Regarding the town lands Stiggins says:

"The inhabited parts of the nation are laid out into town districts designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga*."¹² The inhabitants of each town claimed an exclusive right to hunt in the territory immediately about it, and according to Stiggins men of one town approached another "with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated."¹³ At times an agreement was entered into by the members of a town to refrain from hunting in a certain territory for a definite period. A kind of taboo similar to the device common among the Polynesians was laid upon it and it was called "ikána teaka," "the sacred or consecrated land." At the expiration of the time fixed upon the people entered this tract and hunted there together. Bears were the chief animals which they expected to find.

The management of the large town fields is instructive. Bartram says of them:

"Every town or community assigns a piece of land as near as may be to the town, for the sake of convenience. This is called the *town plantation*, where every family or citizen has his parcel or share, according to desire or convenience, or the largeness of his family. The shares are bounded by a strip of grass ground, poles set up, or any other natural or artificial boundary, so that the whole plantation is a collection of lots joining each other, comprised in one enclosure or general boundary."¹⁴

These fields were planted and cultivated by the town working together, all attending to the several plots in turn. They harvested at the same time, but then each family harvested from its own plot. A part of the produce of each lot was placed in a public granary under the charge of the chief.

¹⁰ Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.

¹¹ Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.

¹² Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.

¹³ Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁴ Bartram, op. cit., p. 39.

From what Adair tells us^{14a} it would seem that the stones used in playing the chunky game were town property.

The house, and probably the necessary household furniture, belonged to the wife, the tools made and used by the husband to him, and thus they were vested in different clan groups and some of them probably went to entirely different persons at the death of the owners. In early times such a large part of a man's personal property was buried with his corpse that not much was left for heirs to quarrel over. Bartram says that the first selection from whatever was left was made by the head wife of the deceased, the remainder being divided between his other wives and his children.¹⁵ This may have been true in certain special cases but there is reason to doubt that it represented a custom common in earlier times. Says Eakins:

"The descent of property is fixed. It is willed as the parents please. But if no will has been made, the property reverts to the children. But in case of a marriage with a widow, with children, her property reverts to her children by her first husband. The eldest son is entitled only to an equal portion with the rest. A written will is binding. A verbal will, established by two responsible persons, is valid also. If there has been no other disposition made of the medal, it goes to the eldest son. In former times, all relics were taken possession of by the deceased sister's eldest son. But now they are the subject of legacy as other property."¹⁶

This statement dates, of course, from a comparatively late period in the history of the Creek Indians, about the year 1850. The same authority states just above that anciently all property descended in the female line—indeed, he implies as much in the quotation just given—and there is every reason to believe that this is correct. It is confirmed by Gregg.¹⁷

As to the lands of the confederacy outside of these town areas we may probably rely upon the following statement, also by Bartram:

"Every individual inhabitant has an equal right to the soil and to hunt and range over this region, except within the jurisdiction of each town or village, which I believe seldom extends beyond its habitations and planting grounds. Perhaps the *Uches* are to be excepted. They claim an exclusive property, by right of a contract; but though they sometimes put the Creeks in mind of this privilege, when their hunters make too free with their hunting grounds, yet the dispute seldom goes further, as the Confederacy are cautious of offending the *Uches*, and yield to their common interest and safety."¹⁸

^{14a} See p. 466.

¹⁵ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 514.

¹⁶ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 283.

¹⁷ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 20, p. 317.

¹⁸ Bartram in *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 22.

The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogeechee.

Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.¹⁹ It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.²⁰ Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."²¹

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

The word *haksi* was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."²² The original meaning of this word is

¹⁹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 282.

²⁰ Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

²¹ Hawkins, *Letters*, in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. IX, p. 240; cf. also p. 209.

²² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 157, footnote.

"deaf," but it has come to signify "drunken," "roguish," "wicked," "sinful," etc.

Institutional killing will be treated under its proper head. It was based on the principle of retaliation, or, as more popularly expressed, "getting even," and was considered necessary in order to placate the souls of the departed. I have already remarked that the victim was sometimes devoted to death in advance, and Bartram mentions a case in which he was selected by lot. The following quotation from Adair shows what happened when murder was committed within the tribe, as well as the Indian attitude toward man killing generally:

"The Indians transmit from father to son, the memory of the loss of their relation, or of one of their own tribe or family, though it were an old woman if she was either killed by the enemy, or by any of their own people. If indeed the murder be committed by a kinsman, the eldest can redeem: however, if the circumstances attending the facts be peculiar and shocking to nature, the murderer is condemned to die the death of a sinner, 'without anyone to mourn for him,' as in the case of suicide; contrary to their usage toward the rest of their dead.

"In the late Cheerake War, at the earnest persuasions of the trading people, several of the Muskohge warriors came down to the barrier-settlements of Georgia, to go against the Cheerake, and revenge English crying blood: but the main body of the nation sent a running embassy to the merchants there, requesting them immediately to forbear their unfriendly proceedings, otherwise, they should be forced by disagreeable necessity to revenge their relations' blood if it should chance to be spilt contrary to their ancient laws: . . . If an unruly horse belonging to a white man, should chance to be tied at a trading house and kill one of the Indians, either the owner of the house, or the person who tied the beast there, is responsible for it, by their *lex talionis*; . . . If the Indians have a dislike to a person, who by any casualty was the death of one of their people, he stands accountable, and will certainly suffer for it, unless he takes sanctuary.

"I knew an under trader, who being intrusted by his employer with a cargo of goods for the country of the Muskohge, was forced by the common law of good faith, to oppose some of those savages in the remote woods, to prevent their robbing the camp: the chieftain being much intoxicated with spirituous liquors, and becoming outrageous in proportion to the resistance he met with, the trader like a brave man, opposed lawless force by force: some time after, the lawless bacchanal was attacked with a pleurisy, of which he died. Then the heads of the family of the deceased convened the lesser judicatory, and condemned the trader to be shot to death for the supposed murder of their kinsman; which they easily effected, as he was off his guard, and knew nothing of their murdering design.

His employer, however, had such a friendly intercourse with them, as to gain timely notice of any thing that might affect his person or interest; but he was so far from assisting the unfortunate brave man, as the laws of humanity and common honour obliged him, that as a confederate, he not only concealed their bloody intentions, but went basely to the next town, while the savages painted themselves red and black, and gave them an opportunity of perpetrating the horrid murder. The poor victim could have easily escaped to the English settlements if forewarned, and got the affair accommodated by the mediation of the government. In acts of blood, if the supposed murderer escapes, his nearest kinsman either real or adopted, or if he has none there, his friend stands according to their rigorous law, answerable for the fact. . . .

“There never was any set of people, who pursued the Mosaic law of *retaliation* with such a fixt eagerness as these Americans. They are so determined in this point, that formerly a little boy shooting birds in the high and thick corn-fields, unfortunately chanced slightly to wound another with his childish arrow; the young vindictive fox, was excited by custom to watch his ways with the utmost earnestness, till the wound was returned in as equal a manner as could be expected. Then, ‘all was straight,’ according to their phrase. Their hearts were at rest, by having executed that strong law of nature, and they sported together as before. This observation though small in itself, is great in its combined circumstances, as it is contrary to the usage of the old heathen world. They forgive all crimes at the annual atonement of sins, except murder, which is always punished with death. The Indians constantly upbraid us in their bacchanals, for inattention to this maxim of theirs; they say, that all nations of people who are not utterly sunk in cowardice, take revenge of blood before they can have rest, cost what it will. The Indian Americans are more eager to revenge blood, than any other people on the whole face of the earth. . . .

“I have known the Indians to go a thousand miles, for the purpose of revenge, in pathless woods; over hills and mountains; through large cane swamps, full of grape-vines and briars; over broad lakes, rapid rivers, and deep creeks; and all the way endangered by poisonous snakes, if not with the rambling and lurking enemy, while at the same time they were exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, the vicissitude of the seasons; to hunger and thirst, both by chance, and their religious scanty method of living when at war, to fatigue, and other difficulties. Such is their overboiling revengeful temper, that they utterly condemn all those things as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of the murderer, or enemy, to satisfy the supposed craving ghosts of their deceased relations. Though they imagine the report of guns will send off the ghosts of

their kindred that died at home, to their quiet place, yet they firmly believe, that the spirits of those who are killed by the enemy, without equal revenge of blood, find no rest, and at night haunt the houses of the tribe to which they belonged; but, when that kindred duty of retaliation is justly executed, they immediately get ease and power to fly away: This opinion, and their method of burying and mourning for the dead, of which we shall speak presently, occasion them to retaliate in so earnest and fierce a manner. . . . When any casual thing draws them into a war, it grows every year more spiteful till it advances to a bitter enmity, so as to excite them to an implacable hatred to one another's very national names. Then they must go abroad to spill the enemy's blood, and to revenge crying blood. We must also consider, it is by scalps they get all their war-titles, which distinguish them among the brave: and these they hold in as high esteem, as the most ambitious Roman general ever did a great triumph."²³

Says Stiggins:

"When one of another clan if even by chance should kill one of their blood relations on the mother's side of the family, their customary law in this is similar to the law of the Jewish legislator in reference to the manslayer excepting the city of refuge, for their law is literally whoso sheddeth man's blood by man his blood must be shed. Time nor distance can not palliate their revenge for should the perpetrator make his escape one of his brothers or cousins on his mother's side is taken. One of his blood kindred or himself must atone for the one lost, male for male and female for female. Even accidents are frequently made a matter of atonement, as far for instance as to be on business for another person and be killed by their horse the employer or one of the brothers or cousins must atone with his life for the death; for this reason they say that had it not been for him and his business the death would not have happened."²⁴

To illustrate this point Stiggins describes at length an event which occurred in the year 1808 when a Creek named the Singer, described as head chief of the Creek Nation, was on an expedition to the west of the Mississippi River, accompanied by his brothers. They were frightened back to the east side by enemies, and while there one of the Singer's brothers killed another Indian belonging to Kasihta, whom he mistook for an enemy. The comrades of the man who had been slain came to the Singer's camp and found the Singer alone, his brothers having set out to visit the Kasihta and explain to them the accidental nature of what had happened. This the Singer himself then proceeded to do, and at first the explanation was accepted as satisfactory. On their way home, however, the Kasihta Indians

²³ A dair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 148-151.

²⁴ Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, p. 29; cf. also Oallatin in *Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, vol II, p. 111.

reasoned that inasmuch as their brother had been killed it would be only just to kill the brother of the murderer, and accordingly they went back to the camp of the Singer and killed him in spite of his prominent position in the nation.²⁵

According to Eakins, the proper "avenger of blood" was the own brother of the deceased, or, failing him, the nearest male blood and clan relative.²⁶

Bossu says that "the law is that the one who has killed must be killed; except in case of a mischance, as in drunkenness, in a transport, or in games,"²⁷ but, as we have seen, such excuses did not always serve to protect the offender. The same writer also states that the French of Fort Toulouse and the Alabama had a standing agreement that if a Frenchman killed an Indian he must lose his life and vice versa, and an actual example is cited.

The following illustrates the Indian attitude still further. On being asked by Hawkins regarding the native Muskogee custom of punishing in cases of accidental death with the same severity as where there had been a manifest intention to kill, Ifa hadjo, the great medal chief of Tukabahchee and speaker of the nation in the national council, replied:

"This custom of ours is a bad one, blood for blood; but I do not believe it came from E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, but proceeded from ourselves. Of a case of this sort, I will give you my opinion, by my conduct. Lately, in Tookaubatche, two promising boys were playing and slinging stones. One of them let slip his sling, the stone flew back and killed his companion. The family of the deceased took the two boys, and were preparing to bury them in the same grave. The uncles, who have the right to decide in such cases, were sent for, and I was sent for. We arrived at the same time. I ordered the people to leave the house, and the two boys to remain together. I took the uncles to my house, raised their spirits with a little rum, and told them, the boy was a fine boy, and would be useful to us in our town, when he became a man; that he had no ill will against the dead one; the act was purely accidental; that it had been the will of E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-se to end his days, and I thought that the living one should remain, as taking away his life would not give it to the other. The two uncles, after some reflection, told me, as you have advised us, so we will act; he shall not die, it was an accident."²⁸

The permanent conversion of the Indians may well be doubted, but the ancient law is well illustrated by the circumstance. Hawkins

²⁵ Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, pp. 29-31.

²⁶ Eakins in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 227.

²⁷ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 45, footnote.

²⁸ Hawkins in *Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. III, p. 81.

has the following to say regarding murder in the stricter sense of that term:

"If murder is committed, the family and tribe alone have the right of taking satisfaction. They collect, consult and decide. The rulers of the town, or the nation, have nothing to do or to say in the business. The relations of the murdered person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family or tribe are not likely to suffer by their decision, they determine on the case definitely. When the tribe may be affected by it, in a doubtful case, or an old claim for satisfaction, the family then consult with their tribe; and when they have deliberated and resolved on satisfaction, they take the guilty one, if to be come at. If he flies, they take the nearest of kin, or one of the family. In some cases, the family which has done the injury promise reparation; and in that case are allowed a reasonable time to fulfill their promise; and they are generally earnest of themselves, in their endeavors to put the guilty to death, to save an innocent person.

"This right of judging, and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family or tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations on this head, never have been executed. In like manner, a prisoner taken in war, is the property of the captor and his family, it being optional with his captor, to kill or save him at the time. And this right must be purchased, and it is now the practice, introduced within a few years, for the nation to pay. The practice has been introduced by the agent for Indian affairs, and he pays on the orders of the chiefs, out of the stipend allowed by the United States to the Creeks. Claims of this sort of seventeen years standing, where the prisoner has been delivered to the order of the chiefs, have been revived, allowed and paid."²⁹

In view of these facts the following law which Hawkins induced the Creek council to adopt becomes significant:

"To declare as law, that when a man is punished by the law of the nation, and dies, that it is the law that killed him. It is the nation who killed him; and that no man or family is to be held accountable for this act of the nation."³⁰

Nevertheless it was with great difficulty that the Indian agent was enabled to secure the punishment of certain thieves and mischief-makers, some of whom had insulted the commissioners of Spain and the United States,³¹ so strong was the sense of obligation to retaliate for injuries received by a fellow clansman and so great the fear of awaking it. Adair mentions several occasions on which an offender was protected by his family.³² By 1820, however, Hodgson reports,

²⁹ Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 74-75.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

³² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 262, 264.

on the authority of a trader who had been in the Creek country 15 years, that the murderer was publicly executed and the law of private retaliation had gradually become obsolete.³³ And, about 20 years later, Eakins says:

"Among the Creeks, now, however, the murderer undergoes a regular trial before some of the leading chiefs of the nation, and is dealt with according to their decision. If an Indian should murder a negro, the law is satisfied with the value of the negro being paid to the owner. The intervention of time and the fleeing of the murderer, generally allay resentment and lead to compromises. After the annual "busk," all offences are cancelled.³⁴ There is no distinction made in the estimate of life between the male and female."³⁵

The administration of justice was, however, far from being Europeanized. Thus Gregg contradicts Eakins in part when he tells us that—

"They have no trial by jury, and their judicial proceedings are exceedingly summary—frequently without witnesses; for the warriors are generally too proud to deny a charge, lest it be construed into cowardice. Executions sometimes take place within an hour after the commencement of trial. Murder, rape, and a third conviction of stealing are punished with death, usually by shooting; but, in case of homicide, if claimed by the relatives of the deceased, the criminal is executed with the same kind of weapon, or, if possible, the very same, with which he committed the murder."³⁶

And he adds:

"Notwithstanding the severity of these laws, they are for the most part rigorously enforced; though a commutation satisfactory to the aggrieved is still permitted to release the offender. Their laws, in cases of accidental homicide, are still more barbariously rigid than those of the other nations."³⁷

The information which I have myself obtained corroborates in all particulars that furnished by these earlier writers. The peculiar function of the White towns in protecting escaped criminals seems, however, to have well-nigh disappeared even before the migration to Oklahoma, as my oldest informants knew nothing about it. Jackson Lewis merely stated that a man who had committed an offense in one town frequently fled to another and kept out of sight as much as possible until a considerable period had elapsed. Then the chief of the town where he had sought refuge would say to the chief of the other town: "I have made a townsman of this friend of yours and I

³³ Hodgson, *Journey through N. A.*, p. 267.

³⁴ This agrees with the statement of one of Speck's informants (*Mem. Am. Anth. Assn.*, vol. II, p. 115), but anciently murder was one crime excepted from the general amnesty.

³⁵ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. I, p. 277.

³⁶ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, in *Early Western Travels*, vol. 20, p. 315.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316.

desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment.

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment.

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.³⁸ Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"³⁹ but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans: "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."^{39a}

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows:

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."⁴⁰

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."⁴¹

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed

³⁸ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 497.

³⁹ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 25-26.

^{39a} *Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla.*, p. 98.

⁴⁰ Swan, in *Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 272.

⁴¹ Milfort, *Mém.*, p. 251.

merely because he was believed to possess the powers of a wizard, but because it was thought he had used his art to kill or seriously injure someone else. Thus the wizard (or witch) was not punished for being a wizard, according to the understanding of the people themselves, but for being a murderer.

Adultery was punished among the Creeks and other southern tribes in such a striking manner that almost every traveler in that section has recorded something about the custom. The first report of it was given by Garcilasso from information furnished by two old soldiers of De Soto's army and is as follows:

"Before leaving the province of Tuscaluça, it is proper to relate the manner in which the laws of this country and of that of Coça, punish adulteresses. There is, in this last province, a law which decrees, upon penalty of death, that if any one has sufficient indications to believe that a woman is an adulteress, he has to inquire into it and impeach her before the cacique, or, in his absence, before the local judges. These judges upon the report that is made to them, secretly hold an inquest against the person accused, and arrest her if they find her guilty. Afterwards, at the first festival, they order to be published that the inhabitants, on going out from their dinner repair to a certain place outside of the village, and that there they all arrange themselves in a row. Then come the judges, of whom two place themselves at one end of this file, and two at the other. They first decree that they bring to them the adulteress, and then they say to her husband who is present, that she is convicted of a lewd life, and that he must deal with her according to the rigor of the law. The husband strips her entirely naked, and shaves her with a kind of razor of flint; a disgraceful punishment and common among the Indians of the new world. Then to show that he repudiates her, he leaves with the clothes of his wife, and abandons her to the power of the judges. Two immediately command the criminal to pass in front of the persons who are in a row, and to go and declare her crime to the other two officers. She obeys, and as soon as she draws near to them she tells them that she is convicted of adultery and condemned to the penalty with which the law punishes that crime; that she is sent to them in order that they may do with her what it shall please them for the welfare of the province. The judges immediately send her back with this answer: that it is just that the laws that are made with a view to the preservation of public virtue should be inviolably observed; that therefore they confirm the sentence which they have rendered against her, and order her in the future not to relapse again into her crime. Thereupon she returns to the first judges, and the people who are in a row hiss her, and endeavor by means of insults, to increase her shame. In the mean time the people who come in a crowd and see her naked, yell at her. Some

cast clods of earth at her, and others straw, and others old rags and pieces of mats and other like things, the law ordering it so, and they regard this poor woman only as the disgrace of her sex. After all these inflictions, the judge banishes her from the country and places her in the hands of her parents, with orders, upon pain of exemplary punishment, not to permit her to enter into any place of the province. The parents receive her, and as soon as they cover her with a mantle they lead her away into a place where she is never seen by any Indian of the country; and at the same time the judges permit the husband to take another wife. Thus they punish, in Coça, the Indian women who violate the faith which they owe to those whom they marry. But in the province of Tuscaluça they punish them with still greater rigor. The law of this country decrees that if, at an unseasonable hour, they see any one enter and leave three or four times a house, and that they suspect the mistress of the lodge of adultery, they are obliged, by the religion of the country, to inform the husband of the conduct of his wife, and to prove, by three or four witnesses, that they assert nothing but the truth. The husband, at the same time, assembles the witnesses, and interrogates them one after another, with horrible imprecations against him who lies, and great benedictions in favor of him who discloses the truth.

“Afterwards, if he finds his wife sufficiently convicted of having violated her faith, he leads her out of the village, ties her to a tree or to a post which he fixes in the ground, and shoots her to death with arrows. Then he goes to the cacique, or, in his absence, to the justice of the place. He tells them that, in such a place outside of the village, he has just killed his wife, upon information that she had committed adultery; that he petitions them to summon the accusers, in order that, if the crime of which they charge her is true, he might be formally acquitted, and, if the contrary, he might receive the punishment decreed by the law of the province. In the latter case, the law commands the parents of the wife to shoot the husband to death with arrows; that he be the prey of dogs and birds, and that his wife, as a mark of her innocence, be honorably interred; that if the witnesses persisted in their evidence and did not contradict themselves, in a word, if they verified by good proofs the crime in question, they acquitted the husband, with the liberty to take a wife, and forbid, upon pain of death, the parents of the criminal from drawing a single arrow from her body, or even interring it, because it was necessary that she should serve as an example and be devoured by beasts. We see by this that, in all Florida they punished very rigorously adulteresses. But we do not know in what manner they punished the men who debauched the wives of others.”⁴²

⁴² Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 392-393.

The Coça were represented in later years by part of the Upper Creeks and the Tuscaluça by the Mobile Indians, and the customs recorded here do not accord with the later customs known to have been in vogue among either. Nevertheless, as we shall presently see, Adair mentions the custom of shooting adulteresses to death as one formerly in vogue in the very region from which Garcilasso reports it. He does not say what tribe was addicted to this, but it would seem to have been one of those near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. The Mobile do not appear to have preserved this usage, as none of the French writers mentions it. This may have been due to the enormous losses they had suffered from the Spaniards and from other tribes of Indians. Hawkins says that the Creek punishment for adultery was unknown among the Alabama,⁴³ but he is contradicted by Bossu who describes it in some detail.⁴⁴ Regarding the ordeal which Garcilasso attributes to the Coça there are two possible explanations: either his informants had obtained only an imperfect account of the custom or the usage changed between the time of De Soto and the later English and French settlements. There is some reason to believe that the latter explanation is partly correct, because Hawkins, writing near the end of the eighteenth century, says that the law regarding adultery, along with many other usages, originated with the Abihka Indians.⁴⁵ These people are nowhere mentioned in the De Soto narratives and may not have been in the country in De Soto's time.

Adair, as usual, gives a very complete account, containing information not found elsewhere. He says:⁴⁶

"The middle aged people of a place, which lies about half-way to Mobile, and the Illinois (from Carolina), assure us, that they remember when adultery was punished among them with death, by shooting the offender with barbed arrows, as there are no stones there. But what with the losses of their people at war with the French and their savage confederates, and the constitutional wantonness of their young men and women, they have through a political desire of continuing, or increasing their numbers, moderated the severity of that law, and reduced it to the present standard of punishment; which is in the following manner. If a married woman is detected in adultery by one person, the evidence is deemed good in judgment against her; the evidence of a well grown boy or girl, they even reckon sufficient, because of the heinousness of the crime, and

⁴³ Oa. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 37.

⁴⁴ See p. 351.

⁴⁵ Hawkins in Oa. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 42.

⁴⁶ As Adair's account is somewhat confused it should be explained that, after speaking of the people who formerly punished adultery by shooting the offender with arrows, he proceeds to describe the Chickasaw method of punishment. Then he takes up the Muskogee customs and reverts to the Chickasaw in the next to the last paragraph of the quotation, concluding with a final paragraph on the Muskogee.

the difficulty of discovering it in their thick forests. . . . When the crime is proved against the woman, the enraged husband accompanied by some of his relations, surprises and beats her most barbarously, and then cuts off her hair and nose, or one of her lips. There are many of that sort of disfigured females among the Chikkasah, and they are commonly the best featured, and the most tempting of any of their country-women, which exposed them to the snares of young men. But their fellow-criminals, who probably first tempted them, are partially exempted from any kind of corporal punishment.

"With the Muskohge Indians, it was formerly reckoned adultery, if a man took a pitcher of water off a married woman's head, and drank of it. But their law said, if he was a few steps apart, and she at his request set it down, and retired a little way off, he might then drink without exposing her to any danger. . . .

"Among those Indians, when adultery is discovered, the offending parties commonly set off speedily for the distant woods, to secure themselves from the shameful badge of the sharp penal law, which they inevitably get, if they can be taken before the yearly offering for the atonement of sin; afterward, every crime except murder is forgiven. But they are always pursued, and frequently overtaken; though perhaps, three or four moons absent, and two hundred miles off, over hills and mountains, up and down many creeks and rivers on contrary courses, and by intricate windings—the pursuers are eager, and their hearts burn within them for revenge. When the husband has the chilling news first whispered in his ear, he steals off with his witness to some of his kinsmen, to get them to assist him in revenging his injury; they are soon joined by a sufficient number of the same family, if the criminal was not of the same tribe [town]; otherwise, he chuses to confide in his nearest relations. When the witness has asserted to them the truth of his evidence by a strong asseveration, they separate to avoid suspicion, and meet commonly in the dusk of the evening, near the town of the adulterer, where each of them provides a small hoop-pole, tapering to the point, with knobs half an inch long, (allowed by ancient custom) with which they correct the sinners; for as their law in this case doth not allow partiality, if they punished one of them and either excused or let the other escape from justice, like the Illinois, they would become liable to such punishment as they had inflicted upon either of the parties.⁴⁷

"They commonly begin with the adulterer, because of the two, he is the more capable of making his escape: They generally attack him at night, by surprise, lest he should make a desperate resistance, and blood be shed to cry for blood. They fall on eager and merciless,

⁴⁷ If the male offender escaped punishment could be inflicted on a relative. See Hawkins (p. 352) and Claiborne (p. 353).

whooping their revengeful noise, and thrashing their captive, with their long-knobbed hoop-flails; some over his head and face; others on his shoulders and back. His belly, sides, legs, and arms, are gashed all over, and at last, he happily seems to be insensible of pain: then they cut off his ears. . . .

“They observe, however, a graduation of punishment, according to the criminality of the adulteress. For the first breach of the marriage faith they crop her ears and hair, if the husband is spiteful: either of those badges proclaims her to be a whore, or *Hakse Kaneha*, . . . for the hair of their head is their ornament: when loose it completely reaches below their back; and when tied, it stands below the crown of the head, about four inches long, and two broad. As the offender cuts a comical figure among the rest of the women, by being trimmed so sharp, she always keeps her dark winter hot house, till by keeping the hair moistened with grease, it grows so long as to bear tying. Then she accustoms herself to the light by degrees; and soon some worthless fellow, according to their standard, buys her for his *Aná*; which term hath been already explained.

“The adulterer’s ears are flashed off close to his head, for the first act of adultery, because he is the chief in fault. If the criminals repeat the crime with any other married persons, their noses and upper lips are cut off. But the third crime of the like nature, is attended with more danger; for the law says, that for public heinous crimes, satisfaction should be made visible to the people, and adequate to the injuries of the virtuous—to set their aggrieved hearts at ease, and prevent others from following such a dangerous crooked copy. As they will not comply with their mitigated law of adultery nor be terrified, nor shamed from their ill course of life; that the one may not frighten and abuse their wives, nor the other seduce their husbands and be a lasting plague and shame to the whole society, they are ordered by their ruling magi and war-chieftains, to be shot to death, which is accordingly executed; but this seldom happens.

“When I asked the Chikkasah the reason of the inequality of their marriage-law, in punishing the weaker passive party, and exempting the stronger, contrary to reason and justice; they told me, it had been so a considerable time—because their land being a continual seat of war, and the lurking enemy for ever pelting them without, and the women decoying them within, if they put such old cross laws of marriage in force, all their beloved brisk warriors would soon be spoiled, and their habitations turned to a wild waste. . . .

“The Muskohge Indians . . . oblige the adulteress under the penalty of the severest law not to be free with any man, (unless she is inclined to favour her fellow sufferer) during the space of four moons, after the broken moon in which they suffered for each other, according to the custom of the Maldivians. But her husband

exposes himself to the utmost severity of the marriage law, if he is known to hold a familiar intercourse with her after the time of her punishment." 48

Hodgson, on the authority of an old Creek trader, says that a husband who connived at the return of an adulterous wife from exile was liable to suffer the very penalties that had been inflicted upon her.⁴⁹

Bossu's account, already alluded to, of the method in which punishment was inflicted among the Alabama, is as follows:

"It is first necessary that the husband be satisfied with his own eyes, and then the delinquent woman is spied upon by the relatives of the husband and by her own. It would be vain for the husband to wish to keep the unfaithful wife, he is no longer master of the situation: here is the reason for this, it is that the savages regard it as scandalous for a true man to live with a woman who has failed him so signally. In such a conjuncture the husband goes to find the chief, and lays the case before him. The chief then orders people to cut sticks; great secrecy is preserved. The chief then appoints a dance, at which everyone is obliged to be present, men, women, girls, and boys; if one is absent he pays a penalty; but no one ordinarily absents himself; at the moment when the dance is at its height they seize the adulteress, throw her on the ground, and then beat her on her back and on the front part of her body without sparing her. The one who seduced her receives the same treatment.

"When these unfortunates have been well castigated a relative belonging to each side approaches and puts a rod between the beaters and the beaten. Instantly all blows cease; but the woman is not yet free; her husband comes and cuts off her hair close to her head, and then he reproaches her in the presence of the assembly; that is to say he depicts to her how wrongly she has treated him, he never having let her want for anything, and that since it is so she can go with her seducer. They cut off his plaited hair all about, which falls in part over the foreheads of these people; after that they say to him, pointing to the unfaithful woman, 'There is your wife.' He is allowed to marry her on the spot but he is obliged to change his village.

"When it happens that a woman debauches the husband of another, the women assemble with rods as long as their arms, and go to seek for the culprit whom they beat unmercifully, which makes the young people laugh very much; if they did not finally snatch the rods from the hands of these furies they would kill the unfortunate culprit." 50

⁴⁸ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 142-146.

⁴⁹ Hodgson, *Jour. through N. Am.*, pp. 267-268.

⁵⁰ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 22-24.

The accounts of Hawkins and Pope regarding this punishment also deserve insertion. Hawkins states that adultery "is punished by the family or tribe of the husband. They collect, consult and decree. If the proof is clear, and they determine to punish the offenders, they divide and proceed to apprehend them. One half goes to the house of the woman, the remainder to the family house of the adulterer; or they go together, as they have decreed. They apprehend the offenders, beat them severely with sticks, and then crop them. They cut off the hair of the woman, which they carry to the square in triumph. If they apprehend but one of the offenders, and the other escapes, they then go and take satisfaction from the nearest relation.^{50a} If both the offenders escape, and the tribe or family return home, and lay down the sticks, the crime is satisfied. There is one family only, the 'Wind,' (Ho-tul-ul-gee), that can take up the sticks a second time. This crime is satisfied in another way, if the parties offending absent themselves till the Boos-ke-tuh is over. Then all crimes are done away except murder. And the bare mention of them, or any occurrence which brings them in recollection, is forbidden."⁵¹

Pope says:

"Upon a detection of the crime, about 50 or 60 persons of each sex, repair to a thicket, and supply themselves with hickory clubs; this done, the men determine upon the measure of punishment to be inflicted on the woman and permit the women to decide upon the man's. They then separate, brandishing their clubs; the men in quest of the woman, the women in quest of the man. The adulteress when found, is seized upon, and ignominiously dragged into a circle formed by the men, who beat her with their clubs till she can no longer stand; and whilst extended on the ground, the avengers proceed to dock her hair, crop her ears, and slit her nostrils; of all this her inamorato, is made an unwilling spectator, and sometimes an agent; who, in turn, suffers a similar disgrace in the circle of the women, his fair Dulcinea looking on. What I have here mentioned are the highest punishments they ever inflict, even upon the most atrocious offenders. Sometimes they dispense with cropping their ears and slitting the nostrils, and content themselves, with giving the offender a sound drubbing with a short dock. . . .

"If the club bearers ever relinquish, or lay down their clubs through any mishap or necessity; before they encircle the object of their vengeance, they dare not resume them again, as it is presumed, that it was so ordered by their God, in tender mercy to the delinquents, who are accordingly acquitted of that offense."⁵²

^{50a} There is an apparent contradiction with Adair here but it is reconciled by Claiborne (p. 353).

⁵¹ Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 74.

⁵² Pope, Tour, pp. 56-58.

In stating that punishment was inflicted on the male offender by the women and on the female offender by the men Pope differs from all other writers.

Claiborne is also brief:

"If the woman violates her fidelity before the green-corn dance [among the Creeks] she is whipped severely, her ears cut off and tied to the sticks with which she was beaten and the sticks set up in the town square for the people to look at. They serve the man who seduced her in the same way. If the man clears out, and cannot be caught, the clansmen of the injured husband punish his nearest relation in his stead. If the woman be punished and not her seducer, or his relation, the clan of the woman inflict upon the leader of the party that punished her, the same punishment which she had endured, and there the thing ends."⁵³

Romans dismisses the matter shortly:

"Adultery is punished by severe flagellations and loss of hair, nose, and ears, in both parties, if they are taken; sometimes they spare the nose of the man, and I have known some instances of white men having this misfortune and being obliged to apply to the Commissary, or the nearest Governor for a certificate to secure them from the imputation of the pillory."⁵⁴

Stiggins informs us that a man could take a second wife or concubine only with the consent of his first wife, and if he did not obtain it he was treated as an adulterer and punished as such by his wife's family,⁵⁵ and also that a widow or widower who married before the expiration of the prescribed period of mourning was so treated.⁵⁶ In this he is confirmed by Swan.⁵⁷

The prerogative of the Wind clan mentioned by Hawkins is confirmed by Swan,⁵⁸ Stiggins,⁵⁹ and my informant Jackson Lewis. According to another authority the Wind clan could take up the clubs four times and the Bear clan could take them up twice,⁶⁰ but this may have been the case in some one town. Stiggins adds that the same privilege was enjoyed by members of the Wind clan in the case of minor offenses such as stealing.⁶¹ There were no doubt many variations in the procedure, several of which are indicated in the accounts already given. In later times the penalty was probably softened. Mr. McCombs told me that for the first commission of adultery the man and woman were both beaten and the soft lobes

⁵³ Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, p. 492.

⁵⁴ Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 98.

⁵⁵ See p. 373.

⁵⁶ See pp. 378-379.

⁵⁷ See p. 378.

⁵⁸ Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 269.

⁵⁹ Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

⁶⁰ The agent Mitchell as reported by Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 111, 1836.

⁶¹ Stiggins, Ms., p. 28.

of their ears where the earrings were commonly worn were cut off; for the second offense the whole ear was cut off; and for the third offense they cut off the nose, saying to the culprit "You have not sense enough to smell anything." He added that if a man had a wife and children and some other woman began running about with him, the women inflicted the punishment. They would rush upon their victim, foaming at the mouth like mad tigers, tear off her clothing and leave her all covered with blood. Meantime the men related to the woman's husband would gather round and, if they saw matters were likely to be carried to extremes, pull the woman away.

As the evidence of a single person was admitted, frequently a very young one at that, the innocent sometimes suffered, and the attentions of the Indians were often extended to white traders among them, in many cases no doubt on the most ample grounds.

If we were to accept Swan's testimony we should have to suppose that sexual looseness before marriage was not punished nor indeed curtailed in the smallest degree. He says:

"Simple fornication is no crime or reproach among the Creeks; the sexes indulge their propensities with each other promiscuously, unrestrained by law or custom, and without secrecy or shame. If a young woman becomes pregnant before she is married, which most of them do, the child is maintained in her clan without the least murmuring."⁶²

Hodgson also declares that "female licentiousness before marriage is not attended with loss of character,"⁶³ and Romans that "they will never scruple to sell the use of their bodies when they can do it in private" and "the savages think a young woman nothing the worse for making use of her body, as they term it."⁶⁴

Bossu and Hitchcock testify to the same effect,⁶⁵ the latter attributing the abuse to the influence of polygamy.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, from what may be gathered from other sources, it is evident that there were limits beyond which a young person could not go without being made to suffer in consequence.

At the meetings of the clan to which the offender belonged he (or she) would probably be reprimanded by the oldest clan uncle and perhaps "dry scratched" or whipped. The former punishment was inflicted by means of an implement made of gar teeth, or in later times needles. One person grasped the arms of the victim and held them about the ball-post while the scratching was done, and the latter usually bore it in stoical silence for fear of the ridicule of his companions. Another punishment was sarcasm, in which the Indians are

⁶² Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 272.

⁶³ Hodgson, *Journey through N. Am.*, pp. 267-268.

⁶⁴ Romans, *Nat. Hist. of E. and W. Fla.*, p. 97

⁶⁵ See p. 370.

⁶⁶ Hitchcock, *Ms. notes*.

adepts. They would praise the culprit in the highest manner, reviewing with the most circumstantial details his assumed virtuous actions, the exact opposite, of course, of the things he had really done, until he was only too glad to flee from the general ridicule.

The punishment usually meted out to those members of different but linked clans who had carnal intercourse with each other was "the long scratch" (*sápka teápko*), performed by inserting a gar tooth or needle in the skin at the back of the neck and making a shallow cut along the spine and then on down to the heel. The pain was, of course, intense, but the public shame attending the performance, which took place in the presence of all of the people, was very much worse. As one man put it, it was to show that the offenders were no better than brutes and placed a stigma for life upon the parties undergoing it. According to another informant, instead of being dry scratched, the culprits were flogged very severely. At Chiaha the scratching took place at the northeast corner of the square ground. Mr. William McCombs, of this town, remembered that during the Civil War a Potato man and a Raccoon woman were in danger of a thrashing for having consorted together.

If the offenders belonged to the same clan the punishment was worse—often death. An Abihka Indian told me that he remembered a case in which a woman of the Wind clan was beaten to death for an offense of the kind. Another informant stated that for the first offense in such cases the long scratch was the sole punishment, but flogging for the second. Still another claimed that flogging was the penalty for the first offense, the nose and ears also being cut off. In later times they omitted cutting off the nose. Flogging was also the punishment among the Texas Alabama, but in more ancient times it is thought that the penalty was more severe. At any rate, this crime was considered so dreadful by the Alabama that it was believed "the earth might burn up" in consequence of it, and the sentiment is so strong down to the present day that there are only three instances of endogamous marriages, while far more marriages take place outside of linked clans among all the people of the Creek confederacy. For instance, one of my interpreters belonged to the Panther clan, his father was an Alligator, and his wife a Bear. Another belonged to the Aktayatci, his father was a Bear, and his father's father a Panther. Still another belonged to the Deer, his father to the Raccoon, and his father's father to the Potato. The last lived at Tukabahchee where marriage between the Potato and Raccoon was allowed.

Related to these crimes was one mentioned by Adair when he says that the Muskogee came near putting some white traders to death because, when "in their cups," they forcibly viewed the nakedness of a woman who was reputed to be a hermaphrodite, and he states

that this was "according to one of their old laws against crimes of that kind."⁶⁷

In another place Adair speaks of the nonobservance of the separation of a woman during her menstrual periods as a crime on a par with murder and adultery. "Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity," he says, "they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people."⁶⁸

Punishments similar to those described above were resorted to in cases of theft, which anciently do not appear to have been common within the tribe. Hodgson, relying on an Indian trader of 15 years' experience, says of this:

"Stealing is punished, for the first offence, by whipping; for the second, by the loss of the ears; for the third, by death—the amount stolen being disregarded. My host remembers when there was no law against stealing; the crime itself being almost unknown—when the Indians would go hunting, or 'frolicking,' for one or two days, leaving their clothes on the bushes opposite their wigwams, in a populous neighborhood, or their silver trinkets and ornaments hanging in their open huts. Confidence and generosity were then their characteristic virtues. A desire of gain, caught from the whites, has chilled their liberality; and abused credulity has taught them suspicion and deceit."⁶⁹

It is to be feared that this is in part another case of "the good old days" which do not appear as good on close examination, but, for economic reasons, it is certain that stealing was not one of those sins characteristic of the southeastern Indians before white contact.

As to the penalties inflicted for theft, Hodgson's informant is substantially confirmed by Gregg. "Most inferior crimes," he says, "are punished by whipping; for the first offence of stealing, fifty lashes; for the second, a hundred and ears cropped," and he has already stated that death was the penalty for the third.⁷⁰

Swan says that McGillivray introduced the law that "if an Indian steals a horse, he is liable . . . to return him, or another of equal value, and pay a fine of thirty chinks, or fifteen dollars; if he is unable to do so, he may be tied and whipped thirty lashes by the injured party. But," he adds, "as in other cases, the infliction of punishment depends, at last, on the superior force of the injured clan."⁷¹

Failure to attend the busk was penalized by the imposition of fines or confiscation of property, and similar punishments were resorted to for other derelictions in duty to the community. Thus,

⁶⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 23.

⁶⁸ See p. 359.

⁶⁹ Hodgson, *Journey through N. Am.*, pp. 267-268.

⁷⁰ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, in *Early Western Travels*, vol. 20, pp. 315, 316.

⁷¹ Swan in *Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 231.

the Tukabahchee chief said to Hitchcock: "When we order out the people to make a public fence, if they don't turn out, we send and take away their gun, or horse, or something else to punish them."⁷²

Adair tells us that neglect of the regular morning plunge into running water was deemed a heinous crime and was punished by dry scratching.^{72a}

Mention has been made above of the device resorted to by McGillivray in order to bring recalcitrant towns to order.

"When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them, and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually; for they conceive the privilege of having a good white trader in their town, to be inestimable."⁷³

After the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma I am told that the following was the usual procedure in cases of theft. A council of the people or clans in the neighborhood was held and the matter was reported to the chief of the Creek Nation who then sent light-horsemen after the culprits, although sometimes he left the apprehension of them to the people living in the neighborhood. When these had been brought to trial and convicted they were usually lashed, and the lashing was by no means a light matter, according to those who have observed it, the blows raising huge welts on the flesh and death not infrequently ensuing. Debts of licensed traders were sometimes brought before the national council for adjudication.⁷⁴

Escaped murderers and adulterers, and those who had committed lesser offenses and had withdrawn from their people to avoid the ridicule and contempt of their fellow townsmen, formed a class from which, says Bartram, generally came the ruffians who committed depredations and murders on the frontiers.⁷⁵ The foundation of new towns may sometimes be traced to them, as indeed is frankly admitted by members of those towns themselves. It is said that the town of Wiwohka had such an origin, and it is also claimed for others like Hilibi on less satisfactory grounds. In later times many such people swelled the population of the Florida Seminole.

Adair is the only writer to say anything about oaths used in adjuring a witness to give true evidence, and in this connection he does not mention the Creeks, only the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The Chickasaw and Choctaw oath he gives as *Chiklooska ke-e-u Chua*,⁷⁶ which he interprets "Do not you lie? Do you not, of a certain

⁷² Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

^{72a} Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 120; see p. 366.

⁷³ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, pp. 281-282.

⁷⁴ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. I, p. 277.

⁷⁵ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 513.

⁷⁶ *Lushka* is a Chickasaw word meaning "to lie"; *chiklushko* signifies "you do not lie"; *ke-e-u* (or *keyu*) is the negative. The form used here is a strengthened one.

truth?" And the answer is *Aklooska Ke-e-u-que-Ho*, "I do not lie; I do not, of a certain truth."⁷⁷ Regarding epithets he says, "the sharpest and most lasting affront, the most opprobrious, indelible epithet, with which one Indian can possibly brand another, is to call him in public company, *Hoobuk Waske*, Eunuchus, *praeputio detecto*."⁷⁸

GENERAL CUSTOMS

In treating of the general customs of the Creeks it will be well to keep in mind certain cycles. Thus there were customs that concerned the cycle of human life itself, including the important events incident to existence, such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. There were certain others determined by the annual cycle of the seasons, and still others by the shorter cycle of day and night. Beyond these there were still other customs independent of changes in life or nature. It will be as well to take up the customs concerned with events incident to human life in the first place, and then proceed to the rest.

THE VITAL CYCLE

PUBERTY AND CHILDBIRTH

The regulations imposed upon a woman at the time of her monthly periods and at childbirth resembled each other in many particulars and may be conveniently treated together. Adair's account is the oldest. It applies primarily to the Chickasaw, but there was little difference between their usages and those of the Creeks. He says:

". . . They oblige their women in their *lunar retreats*, to build small huts, at as considerable a distance from their dwelling-houses, as they imagine may be out of the enemies reach; where, during the space of that period, they are obliged to stay at the risque of their lives. Should they be known to violate that ancient law, they must answer for every misfortune that befalls any of the people, as a certain effect of the divine fire; though the lurking enemy sometimes kills them in their religious retirement. Notwithstanding they reckon it conveys a most horrid and dangerous pollution to those who touch or go near them, or walk anywhere within the circle of their retreats; and are in fear of thereby spoiling the supposed purity and power of their holy ark, which they always carry to war; yet the enemy believe they can so cleanse themselves with the consecrated herbs, roots, etc. which the chieftain carries in the beloved war-ark, as to secure them in this point from bodily danger, because it was done against their enemies.

"The non-observance of this separation, a breach of the marriage-law, and murder, they esteem the most capital crimes. When the time of the women's separation is ended, they always purify them-

⁷⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 51.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

selves in deep, running water, return home, dress, and anoint themselves. They ascribe these monthly periods to the female structure, not to the anger of *Ishotohollo Aba*.

"Correspondent to the Mosaic law of women's purification after *travail*, the Indian women absent themselves from their husbands and all public company, for a considerable time—The *Musköhlge* women are separate for three moons, exclusive of that moon in which they are delivered. . . .

"Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity, they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people, as the necessary effect of the divine anger for their polluting sin, contrary to their old traditional law of female purity. Like the greater part of the Israelites, it is the fear of the temporal evils, and the prospect of temporal good, that makes them so tenacious and observant of their laws. At the stated period, the Indian women's impurity is finished by ablution, and they are again admitted to social and holy privileges."⁷⁹

One of my Creek informants spoke of the monthly course as "a strong disease." I do not know to what extent this represented the former opinion among Creeks generally. His account is as follows:

"When a woman had her monthly course, or when she had a child, she had to go outside and stay four days, or for as many days as it lasted. She lived in a house by herself, used special dishes, ate no large game animals of any kind, and did not go into the garden. She washed and put on entirely new clothing before she came back. If she should go into the garden, people thought the vegetation would be weakened. They thought that the menstrual flow could be sensed at a distance and affect the vitality of men and other creatures. A woman at that period must bathe down stream from a man. She must also pass every man she met in such a way that the wind would not blow from her to him. If these regulations were not observed, it was feared that the man's lungs and blood would be affected and that he would in consequence be weakened for life."

Says Speck, of the Tuskegee:

"During menses the woman remained in seclusion and did not come into contact with anything belonging to her household. At the approach of childbirth she also retired to the seclusion lodge and neither she nor the father resided in the usual house for the period of a month. The mother was allowed to partake of food from the time the child was born, but the father fasted for four days thereafter. For a month after the event, the mother was not allowed to prepare her husband's meals nor to eat or sleep with him, and he on his part was not allowed to touch her."⁸⁰

⁷⁹ A dair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 123-124.

⁸⁰ Speck in *Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n*, vol. II, p. 116.

The point of particular interest about this quotation is that it contains almost the only reference to a custom resembling the *couvade*.

Hitchcock's information comes mainly from the Tukabahahee, and is as follows:

"When [a woman] is visited with what is peculiar to the sex . . . she is obliged to occupy a separate tent or house, to eat from separate dishes, and to live entirely apart from all others until it is passed. Then she is taken and thoroughly washed, whether in winter or summer, and returned to the family. The utensils used by her are laid aside until required for a similar purpose. No man is ever allowed to sit in the seat which has been used by a woman under those circumstances.

"At the period of childbirth the woman is obliged to leave the house and the child must be born out of the house, winter or summer. The mother must not enter the house for ten days and must not sleep in it for two months, and if she is taken sick in giving birth to a child she is not allowed to sleep in the house for four months. Before the child is allowed to suckle it is taken to a branch or spring, and water is thrown upon its tongue several times. Children are often bathed in a creek by the time they are a month old. Formerly they were rolled in the snow to make them hardy. When the child is a boy, a physic maker, a sort of priest, is called upon for a preparation which is placed upon the mother's nipple to make the child hardy and brave, and an active ball player."⁸¹

The Alabama living in Texas say that when a woman's monthly sickness (*holotei' taye'ha*) came on she took a blanket and went away to a small house near some stream or spring to live until it was over. She did her own cooking there and when she drank used her two hands instead of a cup. During that time she might not speak to anyone. When the time was passed she bathed and washed all of her clothes thoroughly before returning home. If she ate with her family without having done this it was thought they would fall sick. At that time a man avoided walking close to a woman for the same reason.

It is the universal testimony that the regulations observed by a girl at her first menstrual period differed in no particular from those undergone by her on every recurring month.

When a woman was going to have a child she acted in much the same manner, only she seems not to have camped so far away. She observed the same regulations, however. An old woman acted as midwife, and for some time after its birth the child was bathed every day. Swan's words in the following quotation must not be accepted literally when he says that the young mother was "entirely alone." He says:

⁸¹ Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

"It is an established rule, that pregnant women be entirely alone at the time of delivery; and this rule is rigidly adhered to. Nature seems to have fortified them with strength to undergo the operation without assistance. On the 12th of December, 1790, four women came from the white ground, ten miles from Little Tallassic, to sell horse-ropes to the beloved man. The day was cold and rainy, with a sleet of snow; they stayed all night. About midnight, one of them, a young woman, was taken in travail; her mother was with her, and immediately ordered her to take some fire and go into the swamp, about thirty rods from the out-house where they slept. She went alone, was delivered of her child, and at ten o'clock next morning, being bare-footed and half naked, took the infant on her back, and returned home through the rain and snow, which still continued to fall, without the least inconvenience.

"This circumstance, had I not been present and seen the woman with the infant on her back, I might have been doubtful of its possibility."⁸²

Romans says: "The women are just as easily delivered as those of the other savages, and immediately after birth the infant is plunged into cold water."⁸³

According to Jackson Lewis a prospective mother was not allowed to eat at the same table as the rest of the family.

Virility was a matter of pride with Creek men—the more children they had the better—and Adair says that the Indians of his acquaintance entertained "a contemptible opinion of their females that are barren—sterility they consider as proceeding from the divine anger, on account of their conjugal infidelity."⁸⁴

Among many tribes twins were held in abhorrence and one of them was frequently killed, but Mr. Grayson informed me that the Creeks anciently considered the younger of twins was likely to make an efficient *kila* or prophet.

Sometimes the child was kept from nursing for four days and was made to swallow certain small roots to make it live long. The same effect was produced by keeping it indoors four months so that no one could see it.

Adair has the following to say regarding the sympathetic magic practiced on Chickasaw babies in order to insure them good fortune:

"Their male children they chuse to raise on the skins of panthers, on account of the communicative principle, which they reckon all nature is possessed of, in conveying qualities according to the regimen that is followed: and, as the panther is endued with many qualities, beyond any of his fellow animals in the American woods, as smelling,

⁸² Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 271.

⁸³ Romans, *Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla.*, p. 98.

⁸⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 72.

strength, cunning, and a prodigious spring, they reckon such a bed is the first rudiments of war. But it is worthy of notice, they change the regimen in nurturing their young females; these they lay on the skins of fawns, or buffalo calves, because they are shy and timorous: and, if the mother be indisposed by sickness, her nearest female relation suckles the child, but only until she recovers."⁸⁵

The following cradle songs are from the Tuggle collection, but the phonetics have been modernized, and the translations corrected in some places.

I

FIRST VERSION

No'tcálit o	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit o	That is what we say
Tcí'tekít o	Your mother
Lutca táko'teki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit o	Hunting
Ayá'nkit o	Went
Notci, notci.	Sleep, sleep.

SECOND VERSION

No'tcálit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	That is what we say
Telpo'sí	Your grandmother
Lutca táko'teki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit	Hunting
Ayá'nkit	She went
Sha'la ka'lis	She would come back [with]
Maka'tcukín	That is what she says
[Lálaka'li] Istee'	The end ("Like Selah")

THIRD VERSION

Notca	Go to sleep!
Notca	Go to sleep!
Notcá'lit	It will go to sleep
Tcí'lkít	Your father
Ma'kit ayunks	That is what he said and went
Notcá'lit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	He said
Lutca ho'pokán	Terrapin hunting [he has gone]
Notcá'lit	It will go to sleep

⁸⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 420-421.

II

A hunter passing a bear's den heard an old she bear singing to her cubs the following song:

A'tán	Down [the stream]
Ayatco'ksě	You hear the noise of her going
Maka teoko'fa	That is what they say
Há'tei yo'ksán	Up the stream
Li'tkatcokat ' ⁸⁶	Running unseen
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen
A'libá	Up the stream
Ayatco'ksě	You hear the noise of her going
Maka teoko'fa	That is what they say
Lán iyo'ksa	To the top of the bald peak
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen

FREE TRANSLATION

If you hear the noise of the chase
 Going down the stream
 Then run up the stream.
 If you hear the noise of the chase
 Going up the stream
 Then run to the top of the bald peak
 Then run to the top of the bald peak

EDUCATION

Among early writers Swan and Adair have the most to say about the education of children. Swan declares:

"The father has no care of his own child. The invariable custom is, for the women to keep and rear all the children, having the entire control over them until they are able to provide for themselves. They appear to have a sufficient natural affection for them; they never strike or whip a child for its faults. Their mode of correction is singular: if a child requires punishment, the mother scratches its leg and thighs with the point of a pin or needle, until it bleeds; some keep a jaw-bone of a gar-fish, having two teeth, entirely for the purpose.

"They say that this punishment has several good effects; that it not only deters the child from mischief, but it loosens the skin, and gives a pliancy to the limbs; and the profusion of blood that follows the operation, serves to convince the child that the loss of it is not attended with danger, or loss of life: that when he becomes a man and a warrior, he need not shrink from an enemy, or apprehend that the wounds he may receive, and the loss of blood, will endanger his life." ⁸⁷

⁸⁶ This seems to be the nearest word to Tuggle's "Lit kahts chars."

⁸⁷ Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 273-274.

The usual indulgence of Indian parents, especially toward their male offspring, was thus tempered by the intrusion of this custom of scratching, which is a characteristic feature of the southeastern area. As stated by Swan, scratching had two aspects. It was inflicted as a punishment, and it was administered as contributory to the health. Perhaps the idea in punishing by scratching was as much to let the evil which had caused the dereliction out as to deter the culprit by an actual infliction of pain. Nevertheless, the latter motive was also present. One of my Alabama informants remembers being scratched as a boy if he had done anything wrong. His mother also scratched his thighs and calves so that he could run long distances without becoming tired. Scratching as a punishment was, however, usually dry; that for discipline or health alleviated by applying water in advance.

Whipping has already been mentioned. References to the whipping of children are rare, but the following from Adair may be inserted:

"It ought to be remarked, that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an old head man, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office) correct several young persons—some for supposed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a lusty young fellow, who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior; and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and customs, particularly, because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an opulent and helpless German, by whom they supposed he might have been corrupted. He bastinadoed the young sinner severely, with a thick whip, about a foot and a half long, composed of plaited silk grass, and the fibres of the button snake-root stalks, tapering to the point, which was secured with a knot. He reasoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *Chehakse Kanèha-He* [teihaksi kània he], literally, 'you are as one who is wicked, and almost lost.' . . . The grey-hair'd corrector said, he entreated him in that manner according to ancient custom, through an effect of love, to induce him to shun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illustrious fore-fathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely: when the young sinner had received his supposed due, he went off seemingly well pleased.

"This Indian correction lessens gradually in its severity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechising the little ones, he said *Che Haksinna* [teihaksina], 'do not become vicious.' And when they wept, he said *Che-Abela Awa* [teiabila awa], 'I shall not kill you.'"⁸⁸

In another place the same writer remarks that in his time children who killed the pigs and poultry of the traders were merely

⁸⁸ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 156-157.

given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched."⁸⁹

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan^{89a} in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called *teikteikâno'* plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (*cadre*) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)."⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 413.

^{89a} Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.

⁹⁰ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 24-25.

From Adair we have the usual intimate account of this practice:

"However, they practice it (bathing) as a religious duty, unless in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they observe the law of mercy, rather than that of sacrifice. In the coldest weather, and when the ground is covered with snow, against their bodily ease and pleasure, men and women turn out of their warm houses or stoves, reeking with sweat, singing their usual sacred notes, *Yo Yo*, etc., at the dawn of day . . . and thus they skip along, echoing praises, till they get to the river, when they instantaneously plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience: After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having so well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding day by ablution. The neglect of this bath hath been deemed so heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin."⁹¹

He adds that the women were less rigid in the performance of this duty, "for they only purify themselves as their discretion directs them."⁹² This is somewhat at variance with the information I myself received. Bossu says that the custom of making their children bathe and lie upon the hard ground was to accustom them to fatigue and to make the surfaces of their bodies generally as tough as the skin of their hands and feet.⁹³

Social advancement depended almost entirely upon success in war, for, while it is true that other abilities were recognized, such as oratory, wisdom in council, and stoicism under trial, yet unless the possessor of such a gift had been on a war expedition he would not ordinarily receive a title and must remain among the boys.

Swan says of the condition of those who had not yet performed an exploit in war:

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair."⁹⁴

Nevertheless, the Creeks had reached that point where other things than war honors did count, even though only the exceptional youth usually had his attention turned in their direction.

In the first place war names were sometimes granted for other than war-like feats. Adair tells us that they were bestowed upon

⁹¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 120.

⁹² Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 25.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁹⁴ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. V, p. 280; cf. p. 434.

men who had obtained eagle feathers,⁹⁵ and in later times the Seminole of Florida honored in this way one who had killed a certain number of deer.

Moreover, germs of what might be called higher schools of education had come into existence. These were in the care of those men who, in agreement with the usage of ethnologists, would be called medicine men, but there were at least two classes of men to which the title would have to be applied, the healer (*aliktca* or *hilis haya*), one of whom officiated at every busk, and the knower (*kila*), who was a kind of soothsayer or prophet, and in his medical capacity a diagnostician. The first class communicated their knowledge to novices for a certain consideration. They would take from one to four pupils at a time, have them go through a preparation of fasting and sweat bathing somewhere away from the village and then inculcate their mysteries. These mysteries were communicated in courses. The first time the novices would bathe and fast for 4 days on a stretch, the next time for 8 days, and finally for 12 days. The completion of this last was equivalent to the taking of a very high degree and people who had attained it were very much respected. A more particular account of this will be given when we come to speak of Creek medical practice. Jackson Lewis, from whom much of this information comes and who had himself taken two degrees, stated that those who were chosen to conduct war parties came from this class, only that they must be from one of the Red clans, but it is possible that he is speaking of the medicine man who accompanied the party in his professional capacity, not of the actual leader of the party. I have been told that there were also graduates in the telling of myths, and some claimed the powers of wizards, such as an ability to fly, roast the hands in the fire, etc., "by a word." A red line painted from each corner of the mouth indicated that the individual so decorated wanted to play ball, that he was well up in the mysteries and a powerful man generally. These graduates, of whom there were several in each town, were evidently the repositories of learning, the keepers of the sacred myths, the historians, and the guardians of the supernatural mysteries.

The Tukabahchee chief, like many another Indian and white man before and since, thus laments to Hitchcock over the increasing insubordination of the rising generation:

"Young people are not so orderly and obedient to the old people now as they used to be in the old nation. When we tell them to do anything they seem to stop and think about it. Formerly they always went at once and did as they were told; that is, before they came to this country."⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 30.

⁹⁶ Hitchcock, *Ms. notes*.

MARRIAGE

Accounts of marriage customs among our southern tribes vary so much that we must suppose the same was true of the customs themselves. This variation may have been due to difference in nationality, but it is rarely possible to determine to what groups if any the several accounts belong. The only exceptions are the description by Adair which, as usual, may be assumed to apply mainly to the Chickasaw and the notes by Bossu derived from the Alabama. Adair has the following to say on this subject:

"It is usual for an elderly man to take a girl, or sometimes a child to be his wife, because she is capable of receiving good impressions in that tender state: frequently, a moon elapses after the contract is made, and the value received, before the bridegroom sleeps with the bride, and on the marriage day, he does not appear before her till night introduces him, and then without tapers. . . .

"The Indians also are so fond of variety, that they ridicule the white people, as a tribe of narrow-hearted, and dull constituted animals, for having only one wife at a time; and being bound to live with and support her, though numberless circumstances might require a contrary conduct. When a young warrior cannot dress *alamode America*, he strikes up one of those matches for a few moons, which they term *Toopsa Táwah*,⁹⁷ 'a make haste marriage,' because it wants the usual ceremonies, and duration of their other kind of marriages. . . .

"When an Indian makes his first address to the young woman he intends to marry, she is obliged by ancient custom to sit by him till he hath done eating and drinking, whether she likes or dislikes him; but afterward, she is at her own choice whether to stay or retire. When the bridegroom marries the bride, after the usual prelude, he takes a choice ear of corn, and divides it in two before witnesses, gives her one half in her hand, and keeps the other half to himself; or otherwise, he gives her a deer's foot, as an emblem of the readiness with which she ought to serve him: in return, she presents him with some cakes of bread, thereby declaring her domestic care and gratitude in return for the offals; for the men feast by themselves and the women eat the remains. When this short ceremony is ended, they go to bed like an honest couple.

"Formerly, this was an universal custom among the native Americans; but this, like every other usage of theirs, is wearing out apace. The West-Floridians, in order to keep their women subject to the law of adultery, bring some venison or buffalo's flesh to the house of their nominal wives, at the end of every winter's hunt: that is reckoned a sufficient annual tye of their former marriages, although the husbands do not cohabit with them. The Muskóhge men, if

⁹⁷ This should be *tushpa itauaya*, from *tushpa*, in haste, and *itauaya*, to marry.

newly married, are obliged by ancient custom, to get their own relations to hoe out the corn-fields of each of their wives, that their marriages may be confirmed: and the more jealous, repeat the custom every year, to make their wives subject to the laws against adultery. But the Indians in general, reckon that before the bridegroom can presume to any legal power over the bride, he is after the former ceremonies, or others something similar, obliged to go into the woods to kill a deer, bring home the carcass of venison, and lay it down at her house wrapt up in its skin; and if she opens the pack, carries it into the house, and then dresses and gives him some of it to eat with cakes before witnesses, she becomes his lawful wife, and obnoxious to all the penalties of an adulteress. . . .

“When the Indians would express a proper marriage, they have a word adapted according to their various dialects, to give them a suitable idea of it; but when they are speaking of their sensual marriage bargains, they always term it, ‘buying a woman;’ for example—they say with regard to the former, *Che-Awalas*, ‘I shall marry you,’ . . . *Che-Awala Awa*, ‘I shall not marry you.’ But the name of their market marriages is *Otoolpha*.^{97a} [They say] *Eho Achumbàras*, *Saookcháa*,^{97b} ‘In the spring I shall buy a woman, if I am alive.’ Or, *Eho Achumbara Awa*,⁹⁸ ‘I shall not buy a woman,’ *Salbasa toogat*,⁹⁹ ‘for indeed I am poor.’ . . .

“They sometimes marry by deputation or proxy. The intended bridegroom sends so much in value to the nearest relations of the intended bride, as he thinks she is worth: if they are accepted, it is a good sign that her relations approve of the match, but she is not bound by their contract alone; her consent must likewise be obtained, but persuasions most commonly prevail with them. However, if the price is reckoned too small, or the goods too few, the law obliges them to return the whole, either to himself, or some of his nearest kindred. If they love the goods, as they term it . . . the loving couple may in a short time bed together upon trial, and continue or discontinue their love according as their fancy directs them. If they like each other, they become an honest married couple when the nuptial ceremony is performed, as already described. When one of their chieftains is married, several of his kinsmen help to kill deer and buffalos, to make a rejoicing marriage feast, to which their relations and neighbours are invited: there the young warriors sing with their two chief musicians, who beat on their wet deer skin tied over the mouth of a large clay-pot, and raise their voices, singing *Yo Yo*, etc. When they are tired with feasting, dancing, and

^{97a} Probably from *itola*, “to lie down.”

^{97b} *Ohoyo*, “woman”; *achumpalas*, “I buy”; *saokchaha*, “I hoe up land.”

⁹⁸ *Ohoyo achumbala awa*.

⁹⁹ *Sailbásha*, “I am poor”; *tuk*, sign of recent past time; *át*, demonstrative article

singing the Epithalamium, they depart with friendly glad hearts, from the house of praise."¹

Bossu's description of Alabama marriage customs is short.

"The savages are ordinarily satisfied with one wife, of whom they are excessively jealous. When a savage passes through a village and has no wife, he hires a girl for a night or two, according to his fancy, and the parents find in that nothing to blame;² they disturb themselves very little about their girl, giving as a reason that she has the right to her own body; the daughters of the savages do not abuse this liberty at all; they find it for their interest to appear modest in order to be sought in marriage; but with regard to the married women they say that by marriage they have sold their liberty, and therefore they ought not to have any other men besides their husband. On their side [the men] reserve the right to have many wives. . . .

"Marriage . . . is of a simple nature, and of no other form than mutual consent of the parties. The future husband makes presents of skins and provisions at the cabin of the father of his intended; after the meal there is a dance, they sing of the war exploits of the ancestors of the husband. Next day the oldest man presents the wife to the parents of her husband. That is the entire marriage ceremony. . . . Those who are good warriors and good hunters choose the prettiest girls; the others have only the rejected and the ugly."³

From Romans:

"Polygamy is here allowed, though not generally made use of; they marry without much ceremony, seldom any more than to make some presents to the parents, and to have a feast or hearty regale at the hut of the wife's father; when once married the women are bound to the strictest observation of obedience and conjugal fidelity, [the Indians] saying that she that has once sold herself, can not any more dispose of any thing whatever; and of their wives they are the most unreasonably jealous of any nation under the sun."⁴

Says Bartram:

"Amongst some of the bands in the Muscogulge confederacy, I was informed the mystery is performed after the following manner. When a young man has fixed his affections, and is determined to marry, he takes a Cane or Reed, such as they stick down at the hills of their Bean vines for their support: with this (after having obtained her parents' or nearest relations' consent) he repairs to the habitation of his beloved, attended by his friends and associates, and in the presence of the wedding guests, he sticks his Reed down, upright in the ground; when soon after his sweet-heart comes forth with another

¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 138-141.

² Girls were also offered to strangers as a mark of hospitality; cf. Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 17.

³ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 19-21.

⁴ Romans, *Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla.*, pp. 97-98.

Reed, which she sticks down by the side of his, when they are married; then they exchange Reeds, which are laid by as evidences or certificates of the marriage, which is celebrated with feasting, music and dancing; each one of their relations and friends, at the wedding, contributes something towards establishing the new family. As soon as the wedding is over, the town is convened, and the council orders or recommends a new habitation to be constructed for the accommodation of the new family; every man in the town joins in the work, which is begun and finished in a day's time.

"The greatest accomplishments to recommend a young man to his favourite maid, are to prove himself a brave warrior, and a cunning, industrious hunter.

"They marry only for a year's time, and, according to ancient custom, at the expiration of the year they renew the marriage; but there is seldom an instance of their separating after they have children. If it should so happen, the mother takes the children, under her own protection, though the father is obliged to contribute towards their maintenance during their minority and the mother's widowhood.

"The Muscogulges allow of polygamy in the utmost latitude; every man takes as many wives as he chooses, but the first is queen, and others are handmaids and associates.

"It is common for a great man amongst them, who has already half a dozen wives, if he sees a child of eight or nine years of age, who pleases him, and he can agree with her parents or guardians, to marry her and take her into his house at that age."⁵

Swan also recognizes that there was a diversity in marriage rites:

"Courtship is always begun by proxy. The man, if not immediately acquainted with the lady of his choice, sends her his talk (as it is termed), accompanied with small presents of clothing, by some woman of her acquaintance. If the young woman takes his talk, his proxy then asks the consent of her uncles, aunts, and brothers (the father having no voice or authority in the business), which being obtained, the young woman goes to him, and they live together during pleasure or convenience. This is the most common mode of taking a wife, and at present the most fashionable.

"But if a man takes a wife conformably to the more ancient and serious custom of the country, it requires a longer courtship, and some established formalities.

"The man, to signify his wishes, kills a bear with his own hands, and sends a panful of the oil to his mistress. If she receives the oil, he next attends and helps her hoe the corn in her field; afterwards plants her beans; and when they come up, he sets poles for them to run upon. In the meantime he attends her corn, until the beans

⁵ Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 512-513.

have run up and entwined their vines about the poles. This is thought emblematical of their approaching union and bondage; and they then take each other for better or for worse, and are bound to all intents and purposes. A widow having been bound in the above manner, is considered an adulteress if she speaks or makes free with any man, within four summers after the death of her husband.

"With a couple united in the above manner, the tie is considered more strongly binding than in the other case; being under this obligation to each other, the least freedom with any other person, either in the man or woman, is considered as adultery, and invariably punished by the relations of the offended party, by whipping, and cutting off the hair and ears close to the head."⁶

Hawkins's account is shorter and his description recalls more nearly the ceremonies existing in later times:

"A man who wants a wife never applies in person; he sends his sister, his mother, or some other female relation, to the female relations of the woman he names. They consult the brothers and uncles on the maternal side, and sometimes the father; but this is a compliment only, as his approbation or opposition is of no avail. If the party applied to approve of the match, they answer accordingly, to the woman who made the application. The bridegroom then gets together a blanket, and such other articles of clothing as he is able to do, and sends them by the women to the females of the family of the bride. If they accept of them the match is made; and the man may then go to her house as soon as he chooses. And when he has built a house, made his crop and gathered it in, then made his hunt and brought home the meat, and put all this in the possession of his wife, the ceremony ends, and they are married; or as they express it, the woman is bound. From the first going to the house of the woman, till the ceremony ends, he is completely in possession of her.

"This law has been understood differently, by some hasty cuckolds, who insist, that when they have assisted the woman to plant her crop, the ceremony ends, and the woman is bound. A man never marries in his own tribe [i. e., clan]."⁷

Stiggins's testimony is to much the same effect:

"It is customary among them when a man selects the one that he wants for wife frequently without speaking to her or consulting her approbation to open the subject of his wishes for an alliance in their family, or have it done by some of his kinspeople, to some of her relatives though most properly to the uncle of the woman on the mother's side who has entire control of his nieces in cases of marriage or otherwise. Should the offer meet his approbation he does

⁶ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, pp. 268-269.

⁷ Hawkins in *Oa. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. III, p. 73; also p. 42 on the authority of an old Abihka chief named Co-tau-lau or Tus-se-ki-ah Mic-co.

not protract his consent longer than he can lay the proposal before her relations of the mother's side who are counted her mutual kinsmen and women, in which assembly the candidate's disposition and other qualities are discuss. Neither the father nor any of the woman's father's family is ever consulted in the marriage of his children, as he and they are not of the same family, since the primogeniture of all families descends from the mother. . . . When the uncle or relation has informed the rest of his kindred or clansmen of the proposal of marriage and by whom made, and [has indicated] that he approves the proposed match the rest of the family seldom refuse their assent; there is no fuss made of fortune, position, or chattels on either side. After such consultation, if the suitor should visit their dwelling before they do him, he is informed of the family acquiescence, and the bridal bed being publicly made for the pair, there is a conclusion of the courtship and marriage. After the consummation of the marriage and he finds her in clothes, should she be the first wife formally married to him and passes the *Boss ke tah* with him she is received as his actual wife by his kinsfolks and all others. After the solemnization of the new corn feast passes over them she is bound to him in the conception of his family during life or his pleasure. . . . As polygamy is only admitted among the men by the wife's consent, they use a great deal of craft to obtain it, in order to keep clear of the crime of adultery. All his later wives have to stay at their homes unless his wife should conclude with herself to let one stay with her in the house and do all the drudgery of the place as a waiting maid. By his wife's consent he can take as many wives or concubines as he chooses to maintain, but should his wife disapprove of his having a concubine and he obtain one against her will his wife's relations or clanspeople have it in their power to beat him and his concubine or second wife with sticks and cut off both their ears, after which he is separated from his wife and he has to retain the one beaten on his account. Nevertheless he has it in his power to keep his old wife single for four years or four *Booske tahs* unless she should elope with a man and elude the vigilance of his clan to the ensuing *Booske tah*. Then she is clear of punishment for her adultery, and ever after she is finally separated from him and the control of his clanswomen."⁹

The information on this subject which Hitchcock gathered from the Tukabahchee Indians contains some items not given by anyone else. He says:

"A young man wishing to marry a girl to whom he has taken a fancy goes to an aunt or some near female connection of his own and tells her his wishes. She then goes to the aunt or some near connection of the girl and makes it known. This connection of the

⁹ Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 21-22.

girl then goes to the parents of the girl and tells the story. The girl is not consulted in the case. If the parents are willing, a time for the ceremony of marriage is appointed by the connections. At the time appointed an outer house or corn crib is selected near the girl's house and a bowl of sofkee (boiled corn) is placed under the projecting shed of the crib in sight from the house, and here the girl has the privilege of exerting a veto. The girl is informed of the whole business and if she chooses to allow the man to steal up and take a spoonful of sofkee without her seeing him, it is a marriage and the parties sleep the first night in the corn crib. This has been the old custom, but is going out of use. After the ceremony the young man is not allowed to visit the house of his wife by day for the period of a month, but must visit his wife after dark and go away before day. The sofkee part of the ceremony is now generally dispensed with. If a married man takes another wife, the first wife may assent to it passively or, if she chooses, she may whip the woman, but in this case she must move away and yield all her rights to the latter, who becomes the principal wife. In this way the man may take as many women as he pleases and is able to support. The wife, in the exercise of her prerogative, has a right to the assistance of her female relations and when it is exercised the ceremony is severe and makes a lasting impression. The object is to disfigure their victim and the wife uses her nails, scratches the face of the new wife, and whips her with switches. (The severity of this ceremony must exercise a considerable restraint upon both husband and women, making it necessary to consult the wife in advance in order that her assent may be assured, before her rights are encroached upon. Alexander said he knew of a case (*saw it*—and heard the language) when a wife exercised her right, saying as she laid on the lash, "You think it is honey, but I will make it vinegar before I'm done with you.")¹⁰

"Among the Creeks" (says Claiborne), "the marriage ceremony is this: The man gives the woman a piece of venison or some kind of meat, and she gives him an ear of corn in the presence of witnesses. They are then man and wife, at least until the green-corn dance. Then the married couple are released if either of them thinks proper to break the contract. In such case the woman keeps the children."¹¹

From the accounts obtained by myself it is evident that the regular marriage or "binding" was a clan (or rather exogamous group) affair and that it could be initiated by the clan of the youth or that of the girl. According to one statement the maternal uncles and cousins of a girl—i. e., the people of her clan—talked the matter over—probably at a clan council—and decided upon the young man who ap-

¹⁰ Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

¹¹ Claiborne, Miss., vol. I, p. 492.

peared to them most eligible, one who was a good hunter, a good warrior, or a good ball player, or all of these, he being also of course outside of the prohibited degrees. All his qualifications were reviewed and all possible objections, consanguineal and other, considered. After a majority of the clan relations had agreed they informed the girl's parents, and the latter told their daughter to make her bed ready. Then the youth was brought, and, pointing to the bed, they said to him, "There is your bed. Lie in it." Then they went away and left them.

On the other hand, at a council of the clan to which a certain youth belonged it might be suggested that he was a nice fellow and getting along in years, and that such and such a girl was well brought up and cared for and an altogether desirable match, and that they had better send over to her people and ask for her. Then they would send someone over. The people of the girl's clan would meet and say "In a few days you will hear from us." The time having elapsed, word would be sent, and, if it were favorable, in a few days more the young man was conducted thither. Then the parents of the girl informed her what was expected of her and told her to prepare her bed. They brought the youth in and told the two that that was to be their bed henceforth.¹² In olden times this was the only legal marriage; nevertheless, from what has been quoted it is apparent that temporary unions were tolerated in the nature of trial marriages or with women who had become outcasts.

Speck was told that a wife sometimes accompanied her husband to his town and resided there, in which case the children belonged to that town.¹³ This must have happened rather rarely and in any case would not affect the clanship of the children, which always remained the same as that of the mother.

The testimony obtained from the Texas Alabama is to much the same effect as the foregoing. Marriages were arranged by the clan uncles and aunts, and the father and mother of both parties, who first agreed together and then talked to the young people in order to persuade them to agree. When this was accomplished the girl prepared her couch for her husband, who came after all were asleep and got up and left before daylight. He did the same thing every night for about a week, and for a month afterwards his wife's people did not talk much to him nor he to them.

These ceremonies apply particularly to marriage between quite young people. It is said that in marriages which took place later in life the parties concerned had as much voice in the matter as their clansmen and clanswomen. Probably they had more, as the

¹² Sometimes a separate house was put up for them before the wedding took place. See p. 372, and Speck in *Mem. Am. Anth. Assn.*, vol. II, p. 117.

¹³ Speck in *Mem. Am. Anth. Assn.*, vol. II, p. 117.

prospective groom at least would now be a person of influence, able to make his wishes felt.

Swan is, as usual, the devil's advocate for the Creeks. He says that "marriage is considered only as a temporary convenience, not binding on the parties more than one year. . . ."

"The married women are termed bound wenches—the single girls, free wenches. The least freedom with a bound wench is considered criminal, and invariably punished by the cropping law.

"A plurality of wives is allowed of—a mother and her two daughters are often kept by one man, at the same time; but this is most frequently by white traders, who are better able to support them. A large portion of the old and middle-aged men, by frequently changing, have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them.

"Few women have more than two children by the same father; hence they have found the necessity of conferring the honors of chiefs and micos on the issue of the female line, for it would be impossible to trace the right by the male issue."¹⁴

Although there was no doubt an element of truth in this picture it is evident that Swan has magnified it very much, owing to his failure to understand the clan system and the collective terms in accordance with which people may be fathers, mother, sons, and daughters to each other in name but not in fact. The reason he gives for matrilineal descent is also offered by Bossu.¹⁵ It is an old *ex post facto* explanation furnished sometimes by the Indians themselves and sometimes by their white chroniclers. It has no relation whatever to the sexual looseness of the people.

It will be observed that a tendency crops out here, which I also observed during my work upon the north Pacific coast, to the development of an official marriage and an unofficial yet tolerated union, and in both cases they may be traced to the same cause. The official marriage in the case of young people is made for, not by, them. It represents the kind of union which agrees with tribal convention and ought to be best for the prosperity of the clans concerned, for the tribe, and for the couple so married. The parties thus mated are of the proper clans, the proper standing in the tribe, the proper age, and their virtues are such as to constitute a fair exchange. From all a priori considerations they are the mates for each other. Nevertheless, the serious blows which our conventions receive are signs that they are only conventions after all, and the same thing was true in primitive society. Thus it often happened that a couple which ought to agree did not, and in such cases it was frequently found necessary to undo what had been done. There can be no doubt that the frequency of divorce among many primitive peoples is

¹⁴ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 273

¹⁵ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 21.

traceable directly to false matings brought about by official action. In their youth a man and a woman might be passive victims of mismating but, as we have seen, in later years they became to a great extent masters and mistresses of their own inclinations which could then be satisfied. Another way in which this could be brought about was through the unofficial marriage, although this was often for no more lofty motive than the gratification of sexual passion. Still it was one of the safety valves which nature, outraged by unnatural official marriages, constructed for itself.

Regarding divorce in late times I was told that if a married couple did not get along well their relatives talked to them, and if they still kept pulling apart they finally let them separate.

Bossu says on this subject:

"A man among these peoples has the liberty of leaving his wife, but that seldom happens; if a woman is discovered committing adultery the least evil that can happen to her is to be repudiated. Then the husband abandons the cabin; if he has children he takes care of the boys, and his wife of the girls; the wife must, however, remain a widow for a year, while the husband can remarry at once. He can take back his wife; she, however, can not marry a second time until the end of a year."¹⁶

Other writers are more detailed. Hawkins says:

"This (divoree) is at the choice of either of the parties; the man may marry again as soon as he will; but she is bound till all the *Boosketau* of that year are over excepting in a case of marriage and parting in a season when there is no planting [or more properly speaking, during the season the man resides at the house of the woman and has possession of her during the continuation of the marriage ceremony]; in that case the woman is equally free to connect herself again as soon as she pleases. There is an inconsistency in the exception above since, in fact, in such season there can be no marriage; but the chiefs, in their report on this article, mentioned it as an exception, and this practice in these cases of half marriage prevails universally. As soon as a man goes to the house of his bride, he is in complete possession of her till the ceremony ends, and during this period the exception will apply. Marriage gives no right to the husband over the property of his wife, and when they part she keeps the children, the property belonging to them and her own."¹⁷

Swan says:

"If a separation is desired by either the man or his wife, it is commonly consented to, and takes place without ceremony; but he or she is not at liberty to take any other person as wife or husband,

¹⁶ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 20.

¹⁷ Hawkins, *Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. III, pp. 73-74. The bracketed clause is wanting in the Library of Congress copy of the Ms. It repeats the second sentence from the end.

until after the celebration of the ensuing busk, at which, if they attend and partake of the physic and bathing, they are at once exonerated from the marriage-contract, and at liberty to choose again: but to be only intimate with any other person, between the time of separation and the ceremony of the next busk, is deemed as adultery, and would incur the penalty of whipping and cropping, as the custom of the country requires. This punishment, however, depends, sometimes, on the superior strength of the clan to which the injured party belongs."¹⁸

Bartram evidently has in mind only cases of adultery when he says that a divorced woman was looked upon as a harlot.¹⁹

Says Stiggins:

"Should she [the wife] be indolent and given to quarrel with him [her husband] and inattentive to his wants and disobedient to his commands, in any of the aforesaid cases he can make complaint to her family of such and quit her and marry another without a murmur from her clan or family. But in case she should prove a lewd woman and inconstant to him, she can be punished by his family or clans-people by beating her with large sticks until she cannot move and the cutting off both her ears close to her head, though the punishment may be inflicted contrary to the will or consent of her husband, which frequently happens. Then after her punishment for her inconstancy it is optional with her husband to repudiate or retain her still as his wife."²⁰

The option of the husband is, as has been seen, denied by several other authorities.²¹ As Stiggins's sources of information were of the best, it is probable either that the custom varied in different parts of the Creek area or that in his time the usage in this particular had begun to alter.

From an old Creek Indian I have the following account of the customs observed with respect to widows and widowers:

"A woman remained with her husband's parents for four years after the beginning of her widowhood. At the expiration of that period her husband's sisters would dress her up, take her to a dance, and tell her to enjoy herself. Then the people of her husband's clan would hold a council and select a good man for her. If she did not like him she was free to marry whomsoever she chose. Their duty was completed. It was the same when a man was left a widower, only then they talked to the woman fixed upon until she consented. After a man's wife died they would build a scaffold right over her grave and let the widower lie there four days. If he went with another woman before four years were completed they cut the end of his nose off and the end of the woman's nose and turned them

¹⁸ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 273.

¹⁹ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 111.

²⁰ Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, p. 22.

²¹ See pp. 350-351.

loose. If a widow went astray during her mourning period they would cut her ears off and those of her accomplice. If a widow walked into a stream and a man walked into the same stream above so that the water ran down from him to her they were apt to cut off the ears of the two in just the same way. In passing a widow a man had to go to leeward of her if he wished to pass and escape punishment. (The same rules probably applied to widowers as well.) After the widow had received a new husband or the widower a new wife possession was given for one night, and then if they did not like each other they separated."

The next is from Sonak hadjo, chief of the Mikasuki:

"When a man died his wife had to remain a widow for four years, and during all of that time her condition was marked by the fact that she did not take any care of her hair. Every four months, however, another woman combed and cared for it for her. The widow also wore little clothing, merely a sheet around her body in even the coldest weather. When the four years were expired she bathed, put on good clothing, combed her hair, and waited until there was a big dance. Then her husband's sister, his niece, or some other near female relative of his led her to the dance after it had begun. If there was a suitable single male relative of her former husband he married her; if not the female relative said: 'I have no one to support you, so I will let you go. Go and look for yourself.' A widower had to wait only four months; otherwise he behaved similarly."

The following account comes from the Alabama Indians of Texas:

"After a man had lost his wife he remained in the house naked for four days. At the end of that time his wife's brothers brought a shirt and put it on him, and they all took their guns and went hunting. Perhaps a month later his wife's brothers again came to him, took him to a creek and washed his head and dressed up his hair, and afterward they took him to the ball ground. There he sat, looking at the ground sadly, as if he were sick, but afterward he could go anywhere by himself. He could not marry outside of the clan of his former wife until four years were past, but he might marry his wife's sister in less time, and by his wife's sister is apparently meant any of the women of his first wife's clan. If he were a good man he could get his wife's sister easily; if not she would not be given to him.

"A woman left a widow remained in the house for four days, perhaps longer, and after some time, perhaps a year, her husband's sisters would come to her, take her to a stream, wash her head, dress her hair, give her a complete outfit of clean clothing, and carry her to the ball ground. There were six to ten women in all, one of whom acted as leader. Afterward the woman could go to the ball ground as much as she pleased."

The man who furnished this account had himself been a widower twice, and therefore he ought to have been well informed regarding the regulations.

The best early account of ceremonies connected with widowhood is given by Stiggins, who says:

"It is customary for the clans people not to tolerate the widowed man to play jokes or touch a woman nor a woman a man during their [period of mourning].²²

"As I have gone through their marriage ceremonies and touched on their state of widowhood,²³ I think it necessary to enlarge and be more explicit on the subject, therefore after marriage, should they live inseparable during their life, on the death of either the survivor is made a widow of in the following manner: viz., admitting that the woman should be the survivor, immediately after the man's burial the women on his mother's side connected to him, or his clan women, who are all the widow's guardians or retainers, proceed to divest her of her gay apparel and her other ornaments of dress such as brooches, beads and necklaces, and unloose her hair and spread it over her shoulders, in which situation she is to remain and consider herself a mourner for four years for her deceased husband, unless she is sooner relieved by the compassion of her retainers though at any time of her widowhood one of her deceased husband's brothers or cousins on his mother's side can relieve her by taking her to wife himself. Should he have a wife at the time it cannot be murmured at by any one as he is in duty naturally bound to raise seed to his brother and she is at his option or disposal; or she can be relieved by the clan women after a consultation. Should they think her in a bad situation they very often, before the expiration of her widowhood, have compassion on her forlorn state and then give her a comb to comb her hair, or some of them comb her hair for her, and [they] invest her with such clothes and ornaments as those of which she was divested for her widowhood.²⁴ After they have gone through this ceremony with her she is at liberty to marry whom she pleases, but should she not await the formal relief of her retainers, but in contempt of their prerogative, take to combing of her hair or marry a husband, they can treat her inconstancy in this as in any other case of adultery should she do it before the expiration of four years or four *Booske tahs*, from the death of her husband. But if she marries a man and elopes with him and eludes the vigilance of her retainers to the expiration of the

²² A line is wanting in the original manuscript at this point, but the words in brackets complete the sense sufficiently well.

²³ See pp. 372-373.

²⁴ On this point compare what Adair says (pp. 382-383) and the following from Gregg: "She (the widow) remains in strict mourning for four years, with dishevelled hair and without combing—unless the relatives of the deceased interfere; whereby it is sometimes put an end to in a few months, provided the sincerity of her grief be evident and her conduct meritorious." (*Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels*, vol. 20, p. 316.)

ensuing anniversary of the new corn crop then she is free of their constraint and can live with her husband without fear of punishment. Her husband is inseparably bound to her and cannot be implicated in the crime of adultery with her, all the crime being imputed to her lewd disposition and incontinency. The same constraint, ceremony, and restrictions are observed with the man should his wife die first."²⁵

From a somewhat later period comes this information:

"When a husband dies his female relations have a right to prevent the marriage of the widow for four years. After the husband is buried the relatives take the widow from the grave to the nearest branch and immerse her in water; if once, she must remain a widow for one year; if twice, two years, and so on, but they can not exceed four years. If there is no branch near they perform the ceremony by dashing a bucket of water upon her, once, twice, and so on. . . . After the immersion she is carried back to the house where her husband died and is shut up within the house and kept there four days. A little girl is appointed to attend her and supply her with food, and no other person is allowed to go near her. In four cases out of five the husband is buried in the house where he died, under the bed, and the woman is obliged to sleep in the bed the four nights of her confinement to the house. A shed or small house is prepared near the dwelling, and after the four days have expired she is assigned to that house and compelled to live there during the period of her widowhood—one to four years. During that time she is not allowed to make or receive visits. No one is allowed to enter the house, though they may talk to her at the door. She is not allowed to wash her face, or comb her hair, or change her dress. The little girl attendant may "look" her head, and is privileged to eat what she finds—and she generally avails herself of the privilege. At the expiration of the widowhood the deceased's relatives repair to the house, take possession of the widow and wash her from head to foot (it is the female relations who do all this), comb her hair and dress it, and clothe her completely, often with a great deal of finery, and convey her to the Square, where a dance has been appointed for the occasion. She looks at the dance and joins in it if she chooses, and the same female relatives select some man to pass the night with her, and release her, as it is called, from her widowhood. The man must be single,^{25a} and if after the night's acquaintance the parties agree, they live together as man and wife; if not, they separate and are free to do as they please. If a wife dies her female relations take the man to the branch [and treat him as in the case of a widow] except [that] the widower cannot be retained a widower over four months, and at the expiration of the time the women select a partner for the night as before."²⁶

²⁵ Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 22-24.

^{25a} This is in case the widow is not espoused by her brother-in-law.

²⁶ Hittcock Ms. notes.

Elsewhere the same observer informs us that, in 1840, the Creek national council undertook to reduce the period of enforced widowhood to 12 months, but so much opposition was aroused that they were forced to restore the old law the next year.²⁷

The Tukabahchee chief informed Hlitchcock that when there were widows or orphans with no one to take care of them he called the people out and had them put up a house for them, fence in a garden, and plant corn.

Claiborne says:

"With the Creeks, when a man dies, his wives can not dress up, or go into company, or attend the dances or appear in the town square, or bind up their hair for the period of 12 months, during which time they must remain chaste under the penalty of beating and cropping as above stated. The relations of the deceased husband have the privilege of releasing them from the observance of this custom before the year is out, but they seldom do so."²⁸

The fact comes out plainly in all of these accounts that the clan, or rather the family group within the clan, which has furnished the husband or the wife of the widow or widower feels itself under obligations to supply his or her place, and on the other hand that it has the prior right to supply it. That not merely the man but the group had acquired the right to the individual is shown clearly by Swan's statement above that a widow who made free with any man until after four summers was considered an adulteress. This does not mean a communal right, however; merely a right to furnish the bereaved party with another spouse.

As might have been anticipated, Adair has a great deal to say on this subject, though it must be understood that his remarks apply more particularly to the Chickasaw:

"All the Indian widows, by an established strict penal law, mourn for the loss of their deceased husbands; and among some tribes for the space of three or four years. . . .

"The Muskohge widows are obliged to live a chaste single life, for the tedious space of four years; and the Chikkasah women, for the term of three, at the risque of the law of adultery being executed against the recusants. Every evening, and at the very dawn of day, for the first year of her widowhood, she is obliged through the fear of shame to lament her loss, in very intense audible strains. . . .

"Their law compels the widow, through the long term of her weeds, to refrain all public company and diversions, at the penalty of an adulteress; and likewise to go with flowing hair, without the privilege of oil to anoint it. The nearest kinsmen of the deceased husband, keep a very watchful eye over her conduct, in this respect. The

²⁷ See p. 334.

²⁸ Claiborne, *Miss.*, vol. 1, p. 493.

place of interment is also calculated to wake the widow's grief, for he is intombed in the house under her bed. And if he was a war-leader, she is obliged for the first moon, to sit in the day-time under his mourning war-pole,²⁹ which is decked with all his martial trophies, and must be heard to cry with bewailing notes. But none of them are fond of that month's supposed religious duty, it chills, or sweats, and wastes them so exceedingly; for they are allowed no shade, or shelter. This sharp rigid custom excites the women to honour the marriage-state, and keeps them obliging to their husbands, by anticipating the visible sharp difficulties which they must undergo for so great a loss. The three or four years monastic life, which she lives after his death, makes it her interest to strive by every means, to keep in his lamp of life, be it ever so dull and worthless; if she is able to shed tears on such an occasion, they often proceed from self-love. We can generally distinguish between the widow's natural mourning voice, and her tuneful laboured strain. She doth not so much bewail his death, as her own recluse life, and hateful state of celibacy; which to many of them, is as uneligious, as it was to the Hebrew ladies. . . .

"The Choktah Indians hire mourners to magnify the merit and loss of their dead, and if their tears can not be seen to flow, their shrill voices will be heard to cry, which answers the solemn chorus a great deal better. However, they are no way churlish of their tears, for I have seen them, on the occasion, pour them out, like fountains of water: but after having thus tired themselves, they might with equal propriety have asked by-standers in the matter of the native Irish, *Ara ci fuar bass*—'And who is dead?'

"They formerly dressed their head with black moss on those solemn occasions; and the ground adjacent to the place of interment, they now beat with laurel-bushes, the women having their hair disheveled. . . .

"The [Chickasaw] Indian women mourn three moons, for the death of any female of their own family or tribe. During that time they are not to anoint, or tie up their hair; neither is the husband of the deceased allowed, when the offices of nature do not call him, to go out of the house, much less to join any company; and in that time of mourning he often lies among the ashes. The time being expired, the female mourners meet in the evening of the beginning of the fourth moon, at the house where their female relation is intombed, and stay there till morning, when the nearest surviving old kinswoman crops their fore-locks pretty short. This they call *Ehó Intànáah*,^{29a} 'the women have mourned the appointed time.' . . .

²⁹ The war-pole is a small peeled tree painted red, the top and boughs cut off short; it is fixt in the ground opposite to his door, and all his implements of war, are hung on the short boughs of it, till they rot—Adair. The use of this war-pole was not shared by the Indians of the Creek confederacy.

^{29a} *Eho=ohoy; intanáah*, probably from *tani*, "to rise up from a prostrate position."

When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by sun-rise, and thus finish their solemn Yah-ah.

“Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself. . . .

“The warm-constituted young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brother-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of the mortifying law. If they are disappointed, as it sometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *Hoobuk Wakse*, or *Skoobále*, *Hassé kroopha*, ‘Eunuchus praeputio detecto, et pene brevi;’ the most degrading of epithets.”^{29b}

A class of prostitutes existed among the southern Indians, composed of those who had committed adultery and had been cast off by their husbands, and those who for any other reason had become outcasts. Such women are said to have been the only ones to paint their faces. It was among them that many of the temporary marriages already spoken of were contracted.

It is hard to explain where Milfort got the idea that a Chickasaw widow was buried alive with her husband, for which there is not the slightest evidence outside of his own testimony.^{29c} It is not impossible, however, that he derived it in some manner from the ancient Natchez custom which applied only to widows of members of the nobility or Suns. Some color is lent to this suggestion by the fact that the Natchez and Chickasaw were more or less mixed together in the Chickasaw country and among the Upper Creeks. But neither with the Natchez were widows buried *alive*; they were first strangled.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE SEXES

Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, said, “In ancient times men and women were almost like two distinct peoples.” In fact the old habitations usually comprised two or more buildings in one of which the woman spent most of her time while her husband occupied the other and entertained there his male friends. To the present day this division is kept up in one form or another. Sometimes there are two small buildings with an open porch between; sometimes two rooms end to end with open fireplaces at the opposite ends. In Plate 7, *a*, is shown a typical Seminole house in Oklahoma

^{29b} Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 186-190.

^{29c} Milfort, *Mém.*, p. 286.

as it appeared in 1912. This was largely because it was thought that to sleep much with women enervated a man and incapacitated him as a warrior.³⁰ Adair says that in their town houses the women were separated from the warriors, and were merely allowed to sit at each side of the entrance "as if they were only casual spectators,"³¹ and anciently they had no seats on the square ground. Among the Chickasaw six old beloved women were the only participants in the annual ceremony.³²

Regarding the labors of women the last mentioned writer declares: "The women are the chief, if not the only, manufacturers; the men judge that if they performed that office, it would exceedingly depreciate them."³³ In fact women anciently, in addition to the indoors work of the house, made all of the pottery and basketry, and did all of the spinning and weaving of bison hair, mulberry bark, etc. The initial preparation of skins was sometimes performed by men, but most of the subsequent work upon it fell to the women. They made drying frames and dried peaches and other fruits upon them, and they of course pounded the corn and did the cooking.

The principal occupations of the men were hunting, ball playing, war, and rites connected with the use of medicine and ceremonial affairs. They built the houses, the corneribs, and the structures belonging to the square ground, felled trees, made canoes and mortars, drums, pipes, calumets, ball sticks, and of course in olden times the axes and the arrows, bows, war clubs, and most of the other articles used in hunting and war. When hunting at a distance from home they cut up the meat, loaded it on horses, and brought it back. It is evident that their labors amounted to considerable in the aggregate, although they were not so evenly sustained throughout the year as those of women. The smaller garden plots were cared for almost exclusively by women, but the town fields were tended by individuals of both sexes, and Bartram says that "there are not one-third as many females as males seen at work in their plantations; for, at this season of the year, by a law of the people, they do not hunt, the game not being in season till after their crops or harvest is gathered in, so the males have little else with which to employ themselves."³⁴ Later on in the season the same writer tells us that the labor falling upon women was harder.

"In the hunting season, that is in autumn and winter, the men are generally out in the forests, when the whole care of the house falls on the women, who are than obliged to undergo a good deal of labor, such as cutting and bringing home the winter's wood, which they toat on their back or head a great distance, especially those of the ancient large towns, where the commons and old fields extend some

³⁰ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 272. ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

³¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 121.

³⁴ Bartram in *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. iii, p. 31.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

miles to the woodland. But this labor is in part alleviated by the assistance of the old men, who are past their hunting days and no longer participate in the wars; who remain in the towns. They have likewise the aid of horses in this work. The women also gather an incredible amount of nuts and acorns, which they manufacture into oil for annual consumption."³⁵

Altogether Bartram's judgment regarding the position of women among the Creeks was very favorable.

"You may depend upon my assertion that there is no people any where who love their women more than these Indians do, or men of better understanding in distinguishing the merits of the opposite sex, or more faithful in rendering suitable compensation. They are courteous and polite to the women, and gentle, tender and fondling, even to an appearance of effeminacy, to their offspring. An Indian never attempts, nay, he can not use towards a woman amongst them any indelicacy or indecency, either in action or language.

"I never saw or heard of an instance of an Indian beating his wife or other female, or reproving them in anger or in harsh language. And the women make a suitable and grateful return; for they are discreet, modest, loving, faithful, and affectionate to their husbands."³⁶

On the other hand we find Pope saying:

"The cultivation of the soil and almost every domestic drudgery are imposed upon their women, who are less prolific than ours; probably owing to their hard labor and excessively coarse and scanty diet."³⁷

Romans says: "The labour of the field is all done by the women,"³⁸ and in another place he thus enlarges upon their work in general. The "principal exercises [of the men] at home are ball playing in the manner afore related, and the just mentioned dances; the women are employed, besides the cultivation of the earth, in dressing the victuals, preparing, scraping, braining, rubbing and smoaking the Roe skins, making mackseus of them, spinning buffaloe wool, making salt, preparing cassine drink, drying the *chamærops* and *passiflora*, making cold flour for travelling, gathering nuts and making their milk; likewise in making baskets, brooms, pots, bowls and other earthen and wooden vessels."³⁹

Hawkins says tersely that the Creek men made slaves of their women who in turn exercised "absolute rule, such as it was, over their children."⁴⁰

However, Swan is as usual the leading devil's advocate against the Creeks. He remarks:

³⁵ Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 31-32.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 31.

³⁷ Pope, Tour, p. 60.

³⁸ Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 93.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 96.

⁴⁰ Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 83.

"The women perform all the labor, both in the house and field, and are, in fact, but slaves to the men, being subject to their commands without any will of their own, except in the management of the children. They are universally called wenches; and the only distinction between them and the negro women is, that they have Indian children; and when a man would have you understand that he is speaking of his wife, he designates her as his son's mother, etc. Yet in this unhappy, servile state, the women are remarkable for their care and attention to the men, constantly watching over them in their desperate drunkenness and quarrels, with their utmost solicitude and anxiety. . . ." ⁴¹

"A stranger going into the country must feel distressed, when he sees naked women bringing in huge burdens of wood on their backs, or bent under the scorching sun, at hard labor in the field; while the indolent, robust young men are riding about, or stretched at ease on some scaffold, amusing themselves with a pipe, or a whistle." ⁴²

In another place we read:

"The men, in general, are of a good size, stout, athletic and handsome: the women are of good height, but coarse, thick-necked and ugly. Being condemned, by the custom of the country, to carry burdens, pound corn, and perform all the hard labor, they are universally masculine in appearance, without one soft blandishment to render them desirable or lovely. Both sexes have a phlegmatic coldness and indifference, uncommon and unknown to most white people." ⁴³

This last statement Swan confirms by citing the apparent indifference exhibited by a husband and wife when they met after a long separation.

I may add that in 1911-12 I was several times told that Creek Indians would let their wives walk home from town carrying heavy loads, while they hung about for some time and finally hired a liveryman to take them, perhaps passing their wives on the way.

Nevertheless, the condemnation of the Indians by Pope, Swan, and others is as unintelligent as the praises bestowed by Bartram. A people or a person can be judged properly only by observing the conformity or lack of conformity which their actions bear to the ethical and social standards among them, not by the measure of ethical or social standards among other people. And secondly, the presence or absence and in general the intensity of emotions can not be assumed because their expression is less or different from that to which the critic is himself accustomed. I have already called attention to Swan's misconception regarding marriage relations owing to the difference between the significance of Indian and white terms

⁴¹ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 272.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

of relationship.⁴¹ In the quotation given above he makes another blunder when he assumes that from the apparent indifference exhibited by an Indian couple when they meet after a long separation a constitutional "phlegmatic coldness and indifference" may be inferred. The self-restraint and seeming unconcern exhibited was simply a native custom from which nothing at all regarding the real feelings could be deduced. It may be added that the hard life of Indian women to which he refers was not usually considered hard by them but as the customary and essential, and it was in large measure but their share of a life which was harder all around than the lives of many civilized human beings. It was certainly not as hard as the lives of many of our sweatshop and mill operatives, and there is this to be said for it besides that it did not exist side by side with and thereby shame a theoretically lofty moral standard. On the other hand the "care and attention" which Creek women bestowed upon their men must be read in connection with the drastic regulations to which a widow was subjected.^{44a} Collective virtues and vices are so closely bound up with economic conditions that it would be easy to show how both as they exist among Indians show to advantage or suffer in comparison with virtues and vices among ourselves. It is probably true also that white contact by putting an end to intertribal warfare and to hunting, the chief occupations of the men in olden times, has shown up the division of labor between men and women with some disadvantage to the men, because the old traditions regarding division of labor have persisted into a period when a new arrangement is rendered necessary. This is not said with the idea of justifying Indian or European customs. Some of these were doubtless due to economic conditions which were indeed their sufficient excuse at one time. Many, too, may be perversions of customs which once had some reason for their existence though the perversions themselves have not and never had any such basis. In these cases history may furnish a palliation and an excuse but it can not give a justification, and the sooner such custom is abolished the better.

It is not just then to condemn the Creeks on account of some of their customs or to praise them overmuch on account of others. But, abstracting the customs themselves from the people, we may say that those of the Creeks were upon the whole on a distinctly higher level than the customs of most of the hunting tribes of American Indians and indeed than those of most of the agricultural tribes about them.

BURIAL

In the accounts of burial customs, as well as in those of marriages, there are considerable differences, and here again it is evident that

⁴¹ See p. 376.

^{44a} See pp. 382-384

the customs themselves were diverse. As usual, I place first what Adair has to say upon the subject, his account being one of the oldest. It probably contains the best exposition of the ancient rites among the Chickasaw. In these as in so many other matters the Chickasaw were nearer to the Creeks than to the related Choctaw.

After stating that the bones of those who had died at a distance from home were gathered and brought back and that in burying they separated them carefully from the remains of other people—by which he probably means not only other tribes but other clans of the same tribe—Adair continues as follows:

“When any of them die at a distance, if the company be not driven and pursued by the enemy, they place the corpse on a scaffold, covered with notched logs to secure it from being torn by wild beasts, or fowl of prey; when they imagine the flesh is consumed, and the bones are thoroughly dried, they return to the place, bring them home, and inter them in a very solemn manner. They will not associate with us, when we are burying any of our people, who die in their land; and they are unwilling we should join with them while they are performing this kindred duty to theirs. Upon which account, though I have lived among them in the raging time of the small-pox, even of the confluent sort, I never saw but one buried, who was a great favourite of the English, and chieftain of *Ooehasa* as formerly described.

“The Indians use the same ceremonies to the bones of their dead, as if they were covered with their former skin, flesh, and ligaments. It is but a few days since I saw some return with the bones of nine of their people, who had been two months before killed by the enemy. They were tied in white deer-skins, separately; and when carried by the door of one of the houses of their family, they were laid down opposite to it, till the female relations convened, with flowing hair, and wept over them about half an hour. Then they carried them home to their friendly magazines of mortality, wept over them again, and then buried them with the usual solemnities; putting their valuable effects, and as I am informed, other convenient things in along with them, to be of service to them in the next state. The chieftain carried twelve short sticks tied together, in the form of a quadrangle; so that each square consisted of three. The sticks were only peeled, without any paintings; but there were swans feathers tied to each corner, and . . . they called that frame, *Tereckpe tobch*,⁴⁸ ‘a white circle,’ and placed it over the door, while the women were weeping over the bones. . . .

“When a warrior dies a natural death (which seldom happens) the war-drums, musical instruments, and all other kinds of diversion, are

⁴⁸ Byington gives *tilikpi* as an ancient word meaning “shield” and distinct from the word for circle. *Tobhi* is “white.”

laid aside for the space of three days and nights. . . . [And whether the deceased is a warrior or not] "they wash and anoint the corpse, and soon bring it out of doors for fear of pollution; then they place it opposite to the door, on the skins of wild beasts, in a sitting posture, as looking into the door of the winter house, westward, sufficiently supported with all his movable goods; after a short eulogium, and space of mourning, they carry him three times around the house in which he is to be interred, stopping half a minute each time, at the place where they began the circle, while the religious man of the deceased person's family, who goes before the hearse, says each time, *Yáh*, short with a bass voice, and then invokes in a tenor key, *Yo*, which at the same time is likewise sung by all the procession, as long as one breath allows. Again, he strikes up, on a sharp treble key, the fœminine note, *He*, which in like manner, is taken up and continued by the rest: then all of them suddenly strike off the solemn chorus, and sacred invocation, by saying in a low key, *Wáh*. . . . This is the method in which they performed the funeral rites of the chieftain before referred to; during which time, a great many of the traders were present, as our company was agreeable at the interment of our declared friend and patron. . . .

"When they celebrated these funeral rites of the above chieftain they laid the corpse in his tomb, in a sitting posture, with his face towards the east,⁴⁹ his head anointed with bear's oil, and his face painted red, but not streaked with black, because that is a constant emblem of war and death; he was drest in his finest apparel, having his gun and pouch, and trusty hiccory bow, with a young panther's skin, full of arrows, along side of him, and every other useful thing he had been possessed of,—that when he rises again, they may serve him in that tract of land which pleased him best before he went to take his long sleep. His tomb was firm and clean inside. They covered it with thick logs, so as to bear several tiers of cypress bark, and such a quantity of clay as would confine the putrid smell, and be on a level with the rest of the floor. They often sleep over those tombs; which, with the loud wailing of the women at the dusk of the evening, and dawn of the day, on benches close by the tombs, must awake the memory of their relations very often; and if they were killed by an enemy, it helps to irritate and set on such revengeful tempers to retaliate blood for blood. . . .

"These rude Americans . . . imagine if any of us were buried in the domestic tombs of their kindred, without being adopted, it would be very criminal in them to allow it; and that our spirits would haunt the caves of the houses at night, and cause several misfortunes to their family. . . .

⁴⁹ In later times, when the body was buried at full length, the head was consequently toward the west. This seems to have been the custom of most of the Southeastern Indians.

“To perpetuate the memory of any remarkable warriors killed in the woods, I must here observe, that every Indian traveller as he passes that way throws a stone on the place, according as he likes or dislikes the occasion, or manner of the death of the deceased.

“In the woods we often see innumerable heaps of small stones in those places, where according to tradition some of their distinguished people were either killed, or buried, till the bones could be gathered; there they add Pelion to Ossa, still increasing each heap, as a lasting monument, and honor to them, and an incentive to great actions. . . .

“The Indians place those heaps of stones where there are no dividings of the roads, nor the least trace of any road. And they then observe no kind of religious ceremony, but raise those heaps merely to do honor to their dead, and incite the living to the pursuit of virtue. . . .

“To prevent pollution, when the sick person is past hope of recovery, they dig a grave, prepare the tomb, anoint his hair, and paint his face; and when his breath ceases, they hasten the remaining funeral preparations, and soon bury the corpse. One of a different family will never, or very rarely, pollute himself for a stranger; though when living, he would cheerfully hazard his life for his safety; the relations, who become unclean by performing the funeral duties, must live apart from the clean for several days, and be cleansed by some of their religious order, who chiefly apply the button-snakeroot for their purification, as formerly described: when they purify themselves by abluton. After three days, the funeral assistants may convene at the town-house, and follow their usual diversions. But the relations live recluse for a long time, mourning the dead. . . .

“The modern Indians bury all their movable riches, according to the custom of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, insomuch, that the grave is heir of all. . . .

“Notwithstanding . . . they never give them the least disturbance; even a blood-thirsty enemy will not despoil nor disturb the dead. The grave proves an asylum, and a sure place of rest to the sleeping person, till at some certain time, according to their opinion, he rises again to inherit his favorite place,—unless the covetous, or curious hand of some foreigner, should break through his sacred bounds.”⁵⁰

Adair cites an instance of reform, however, in the case of Malahche, chief of Coweta, and a long-standing friend of the whites, who left all of his property to his relations instead of allowing it to be buried with his corpse.⁵¹

In another place Adair says that—“When any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at

⁵⁰ Adair, *Ilist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 178-181.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbors [the souls of the departed]: all the adjacent towns also on the occasion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed place, till they return at some certain time, to repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise."⁵²

In still another place he notes that immediately after anyone had died the father or a brother of the deceased took a live firebrand, brandished it two or three times about his head with lamenting words, dipped it into the water with his right hand and let it sink down.⁵³

Romans states that—

“The dead are buried in a sitting posture, and they are furnished with a musket, powder and ball, a hatchet, pipe, some tobacco, a club, a bow and arrows, a looking glass, some vermilion and other trinkets, in order to come well provided in the world of spirits.”⁵⁴

Pope says that the articles buried with the deceased included, besides inanimate objects, “horses, cows, hogs, and dogs,” and he cites the case of a girl with whose corpse a favorite pig was buried.⁵⁵

It seems improbable that large animals like horses and cows should be disposed of in such a manner, yet Hitchcock supports Pope's statement in the matter of horses and dogs.^{55a}

Bartram's account perhaps applies to a period when the custom of burying things with the deceased had begun to decline. He says:

“The Muscogulgees bury their deceased in the earth. They dig a four-square deep pit under the cabin or couch which the deceased lay on, in his house, lining the grave with cypress bark, where they place the corpse in a sitting posture, as if it were alive; depositing with him his gun, tomahawk, pipe, and such other matters as he had the greatest value for in his life time. His eldest wife, or the queen dowager, has the second choice of his possessions, and the remaining effects are divided amongst his other wives and children.”⁵⁶

The Creek burial is thus described by Swan:

“When one of a family dies, the relations bury the corpse about four feet deep, in a round hole dug directly under the cabin or rock whereon he died. The corpse is placed in the hole in a sitting posture, with a blanket wrapped about it, and the legs bent under it and tied together. If a warrior, he is painted, and his pipe, ornaments, and warlike appendages are deposited with him. The grave is then covered with canes tied to a hoop round the top of the hole, and then a firm layer of clay, sufficient to support the weight of a man. The relations howl loudly and mourn publicly for four days.

⁵² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 36.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

⁵⁴ Romans, *Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla.*, pp. 98-99.

⁵⁵ Pope, *Tour*, p. 58.

^{55a} See p. 393.

⁵⁶ Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 513-514.

If the deceased has been a man of eminent character, the family immediately remove from the house in which he is buried, and erect a new one, with a belief that where the bones of their dead are deposited, the place is always attended by 'goblins and chimeras dire.'⁵⁷

Elsewhere he says:

"If a man dies in the town the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage."⁵⁸

Hitchcock's notes shed new light upon the subject:

"The custom of firing four guns, one at each corner of a grave, has for its object to send the spirit of the deceased off. This custom is still prevalent.

"At a burial everything of the nature of personal property is buried with the body of the deceased. Formerly horses were killed and buried, a dog, and the like. The clothing is still buried with the dead. The dead have no shoes or moccasins on, but are buried in stockings or barefooted. Their friends don't wish to hear them walking about. The face of the dead is painted red and black, ear bobs are put on, etc., and their friends frequently throw tokens into the grave. The dead are buried with a handkerchief in each hand. If a man dies from drunkenness, a bottle of whiskey is buried with him, as they say that, dying from liquor, he will want a dram when he awakes in the other world.

"The male and female friends of the dead, meet for four successive mornings after the burial and cry. When a chief dies his friends take the black drink eight successive mornings and live on gruel or white sofkee made without salt. All those who are engaged in the burial of a dead body are obligated to wash their hands in the same bucket of water before they touch anything. They think that to touch a child or anything a child eats from before purification will make the child sickly. It is a common belief that only the relations of the dead must bury the dead and that if any other person, not a relative, touches a dead body that person will be the next to die. In consequence of this, when sickness prevailed to a great extent and great numbers died in 1837 and 1838 many were not buried, but their bones yet whiten upon the surface of the ground in various parts of the nation."⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 265.

⁵⁹ Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

He does not speak of the grave as situated under the house floor in the above account but in another place he indicates that, if it were not then the custom to place it there, it had been such only a short time before.

"Mr. Chapman told me at the North Fork that there were not more than 300 remaining of Black Dirt's party of Seminoles, about 200 having died. 'There are two under that bed,' said he, pointing to the bed where I had slept the night preceding. I looked toward the bed, when he added 'and one under our feet' (just in front of the fire place). When Black Dirt first came to this country [by the Canadian in Oklahoma] from Florida in 1836 he settled on the North Fork and occupied the house we were then in and, it seems, had buried some of his family or friends under it. That was the friendly part of the Seminoles who separated from the hostiles in 1835 on the death (murder) of Charley Emathla, who was killed by the hostiles for consenting to emigrate."⁶⁰

Following is Doctor Speck's account of the burial rites in use among the Tuskegee Creeks:

"The body, as soon as the soul, residing in the heart, has left it, is treated as follows: The male members of the family take their guns and go outside of the house and there fire them off to make known the death to the rest of the village. The friends and relatives then assemble at the house and spend some time in mourning and expressing grief. No one, however, cares to touch the corpse in fear of evil consequences. It is said that during an epidemic some time ago there was such difficulty in getting persons to dispose of the dead that the bodies lay around the village unburied until the people had to leave. Only persons who have been properly fortified by magic rituals dare handle the body.

"The corpse is then carried to the burying ground, where a grave has been dug, and lowered in. Some relative then discharges a rifle toward the four cardinal points. Slabs of elm-bark are put over the body, and as soon as the earth is thrown in they clap their hands and shout and laugh. Coffee is put in a cup over the left shoulder and clothes are laid along the side of the body. The fresh earth dug from the grave is believed to produce sickness in the form of rheumatism in the person who steps on it. A small house, either of logs or of boards, is then constructed over the grave. A fire is kindled at the head of the grave and tended for four days by the relatives until the soul is believed to have reached the passage to the sky. As soon as they reach home after the interment the members of the family put some powdered ginseng, or white root, into a cup and blow it around the house and yard to keep the spirit of the dead from returning. Formerly horses were killed at the grave in order that their spirits might carry the soul toward the spirit land.

⁶⁰ Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

“The fire, which was always burning in the house, was allowed to go out when a death occurred, so when the mortuary rites were concluded a new fire was kindled with a ceremony and song called *tū' tkamodjása ingasúpid*, ‘fire new its cooling.’ ”⁶¹

Jackson Lewis told me that in Alabama, where he was born, burial inside the house was usual. The grave was dug in one corner flush with the wall, for there were then no floors, and after the body had been placed within, they raised a little house over it, 2½ or 3 feet high, and covered it with split planks laid close together. They daubed the sides and top with a thick coating of clay and used the grave as a bed. But before doing so they made some medicine and sprinkled the walls, the ceiling, and in fact the entire house with it in order to counteract any evil influences that might emanate from the body. Jackson Lewis's own father, who had been killed by a white man in the old country, was cared for in this manner. After moving to Oklahoma the Creeks buried mostly away from the houses. The body was drawn up and placed in a sitting posture facing the east, because that quarter is associated with the renewal of life. The grave was lined with split planks, and a rug, or else some cloth, was laid on the bottom. The man who dug the grave and handled the body had been provided with a medicine made of four herbs—horsemint, marent, spicewood, and everlasting—and he anointed himself with this from time to time. After they had placed the body in the grave each of those present brought a handful of earth and threw it in. Then, at the direction of the man who had charge of the ceremony, all marched down to the creek and plunged under water four times, after which they rubbed medicine on their bodies. No food was placed by the body, only certain articles of which the deceased had been very fond. A fire was lighted near by and kept burning for four days, because, as one informant explained, the ghost of a dead man stays about for that length of time. When his soul was supposed to be taking its departure from his body guns were discharged. The ceremony of throwing earth on the corpse was also related by a Cherokee Indian as a custom of his people, and it may have been introduced by the whites, although the man who gave me most of the above information was advanced in years and well up in the old customs of his people. The Cherokee Indian just mentioned was present once at the burial of a Creek woman, and he says that all sorts of things were inhumed with the body, including nice dresses and the varieties of food that she liked best. When the first earth was being put in they added some live coals. Then the body was covered over completely, and the medicine man blew into a pot of medicine in which everyone present washed his or her face and hands, sprinkling some over the clothing. The medicine man

⁶¹ Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, pp. 118, 119.]

also had all of them drink a little of it. The mention of food is in disagreement with what I was told by others, and no one else seemed to know about the live coals. The doctor, however, was a Natchez, and the customs observed may have been in part Natchez customs. A little structure of logs laid lengthwise and surmounted by a shingled roof was built in later times over each grave, and made just large enough to cover it (pl. 1, *c*). A half mile south of Seminole, Okla., I saw a grave in which slabs of stone took the place of wood. Eakins says that "The ages of deceased persons or number of scalps taken by them, or war-parties which they have headed, are recorded on their grave posts by this system of strokes,"⁶² meaning single strokes for units and crosses for tens. This recording of ages can have been only in very late times, if at all, as they were generally ignorant of these. During the period of mourning the relatives of the deceased painted their faces black all over. Unlike the custom in many tribes, the name of the deceased could be mentioned, but he was always referred to in the plural as "they."

From Sonak hadjo, chief of the Mikasuki, I obtained the following information which is of particular importance because there is evidence that the Mikasuki are a branch of the Chiaha Indians and through them related to the ancient Yamasee and the Indians of the Georgia coast.

In very old times when a Mikasuki died they took his body to a forked tree and laid it in the fork face down and head to the west. They burned his property. Later they left it by his body instead. Before the Civil War, however, they changed the custom of burying. They then laid down some split logs, placed the body upon these, and arranged other split logs at the sides and over the top. Then they set up a couple of logs at each end in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, laid another log upon the crotches, and along each side placed a row of short logs, with their upper ends resting on the long log. A number of persons prepared this grave, working at night, and they laid the body in it. After they had gotten through and had returned to the house from which the body had been taken a pot of medicine was prepared, the medicine man blew into it, and they then had to drink this and vomit it up. After that they could eat. The persons who performed this service were taken from several different clans.

A fire was formerly built at the head of the grave, and it was kept up for four days. At the end of that time the fire was put out in the house where the man had died and a new one was built. Before the Civil War, if a man had a horse that he loved very much, they shot it close to his grave; they also broke his favorite gun on a tree and threw the pieces by the body. The same thing would be done to the leg-rattles of a woman, and they also burned up her property.

⁶² Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 273.

After the Civil War they began to bury in the ground, lining the grave with split logs and also covering it with them. Then, too, only about four persons did the work. While they were so employed they had their faces painted red, and this paint was called *tisi'*. For the space of four months after the duty had been accomplished they had to eat apart out of a separate dish. If they belonged to different houses each man had his own dish. If the burial was in winter they hoed away the grass, leaves, branches, etc., from the grave so that the grave house would not be burned.

Before the Civil War there was a chief of the Mikasuki named *Kapitca miko* (Mikasuki *Kapitca miki*). When he died they laid his body away, south of *Wetumka*, in the old manner, without digging a grave. Afterward the Negro slaves went there and piled a great quantity of stones above it. *Sonak hadjo* himself saw it in that place after the war. This was not a regular custom, but the Indians did it at that time because they had Negro slaves to command and because they thought a great deal of that chief.

"While the Yamacraw Indians were in England with *Tomochichi* one of their number died and was buried by his companions in the ground, strapped between two boards."⁶³

Bossu has the following regarding the burial customs of the Alabama in the middle of the eighteenth century:

"The *Allibamons* bury their dead in a sitting position; in order to justify this usage they say that the man is upright, and has his head turned toward the heaven his dwelling, and that it is for this reason that they bury their fellowmen in this attitude; they give him a calumet and tobacco to smoke in order that he may make peace with the people of the other world; if he is a warrior he is buried with his arms, which are a gun, powder, and balls, a quiver provided with arrows, a bow, a *casse-tête*, whether a wooden club or a hatchet, and moreover a mirror, and some vermilion with which to make his toilet in the world of souls.

"When a man kills himself whether from despair or in sickness, he is deprived of burial, and thrown into the river, because he is then considered a coward."⁶⁴

In another place he speaks of the mourning on account of a war chief in the following terms:

"When a great war chief of the nation dies the mourning consists in refraining from painting oneself and bathing; the men daub the whole of their bodies with soot which they dilute with bear's oil; in a word they renounce all kinds of diversions."⁶⁵

As the southern Indian world of the dead was overhead Bossu's explanation of their reason for burying the body sitting up probably

⁶³ Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 185.

⁶⁴ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 49-50.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

involves one real aboriginal explanation of the custom. His account of the treatment accorded the body of a suicide I have seen nowhere else.

The Alabama now living in Texas give the following account of their old burial customs:

Nowadays several persons dig a grave, but in former times a single old man performed the office. While he was at work upon it he ate by himself, for it was thought that anyone who ate with him would fall sick. He did not smoke, and, no matter how hot the sun was, he drank no water. Anciently the body was bundled tightly together, wrapped about, and placed upon a board which was then sunk into the earth, head to the east, so that when his spirit got up it would be in the right position to start on the spirit trail westward.⁶⁶ A framework of poles was afterwards put all about the grave. Afterwards the gravedigger washed his clothes, took some of the button-snake root, and vomited. Then he could eat, and the relatives of the deceased gave him a horse in payment. Those who attended to burials in later times must duck all over in the creek four times no matter how cold the weather. My informant had done this when ice was on the water and the snow flying, and he almost fainted from the cold. Blankets were put under the head of the corpse as a pillow and a butcher knife in his hand with which to fight off an eagle supposed to infest the trail of the dead. For four days the wife or husband and the children and near relatives visited the grave every morning before breakfast and every evening before supper, and at their evening visits they lighted a fire at the head. After each of these visits they went to a stream, bathed all over, and washed their clothing before they ate. For four days they must eat no food that contained salt, and during the same period they remained quiet and made no noise. Not only the family but all of the people abstained from playing ball then, though they might do some hunting.

Although the later accounts do not mention the custom of discharging a gun the moment a death took place, it appears from Gregg that it was maintained until after the Creeks had removed west.⁶⁷

Among all of the Creek tribes a miscarriage, a stillborn child, or a very young child was laid away in a hollow tree where it was nicely ceiled in. Otherwise it was thought that there would be a drought, that a pestilence would break out, or that deaths from other causes would occur.

THE DIURNAL CYCLE

Adair has the following regarding divisions of the day recognized among the Chickasaw, with which those of the Creeks were practically identical:

⁶⁶ This means that the body was laid flat on its back. The orientation must have been different from that common among the Creeks generally.

⁶⁷ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, in *Early Western Travels*, vol. xx, p. 316.

“They count the day also by the three sensible differences of the sun, like the Hebrews—sunrise, they term, *Hassé kootcha meente* [háshi kucha nünti], ‘the sun’s coming out’;—noon, or mid-day, *Tabookòre* [tabokohi]; and sun-set, *Hassé Oobea* [háshi ábia], literally, ‘the sun is dead’; likewise, *Hasse Ookka’tòra* [háshi okatula], that is, ‘the sun is fallen into the water’; the last word is compounded of *Ookka* [oka], water, and *Etòra* [itola], to fall; it signifies also ‘to swim,’ as instinct would direct those to do, who fell into the water. And they call dark, *Ookkille* [okhili]—derived from *Ookka* [oka], water and *Ilch* [illi], dead;⁶⁸ which shews their opinions of the sun’s disappearance, according to the ancients, who said the sun slept every night in the western ocean. They subdivide the day, by any of the afore-said three standards—as half way between the sun’s coming out of the water; and in like manner, by midnight, or cock-crowing, etc.”⁶⁹

The Creeks rose early, and, as we have already described, ran to the creek or the nearest water to plunge in four times before they returned to the fire. Perhaps they owed to this regulation in a measure their skill as swimmers.

Adair says:

“Except the Choktah, all our Indians, both male and female, above the state of infancy, are in the watery element nearly equal to amphibious animals, by practice: and from the experiments necessity has forced them to, it seems as if few were endued with such strong natural abilities,—very few can equal them in their wild situation of life.”⁷⁰

He attributes the deficiencies of the Choctaw in this particular to an absence of deep rivers or creeks in their country and he was so much impressed by the failing that he mentions it four times and gives it as the principal cause of the greater part of the losses they had suffered in their wars with the Muskogee.⁷¹ How much truth there may have been in this we do not know. Whatever there was could probably have been traced to something in their environment or their customs.

While in later times, at least, the ancient Creeks did not have meals at regular hours as with us, they had two meals at irregular hours, one between 7 and 10 in the morning, the other around 2 in the afternoon. There was always a pot of sofki ready into which anyone could dip whenever the spirit moved him, and Swan says they resorted to it about once an hour.⁷² This was their only supper. Labor was performed early by both men and women, and ordinarily it was laid aside about 2 o’clock, after which a ball game might be indulged in, and in the evening a dance until late at night.

⁶⁸ The etymology is probably altogether wrong.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 283, 291-292, 304, 404.

⁶⁹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 76.

⁷² Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 274.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

The following cross-section of a Seminole Indian village "in action" is given by Bartram, and is interesting in this connection:

"As I continued coasting the Indian shore [i. e., the west shore of the St. Johns River] . . . on doubling a promontory, I suddenly saw before me an Indian settlement, or village. It was a fine situation, the bank rising gradually from the water. There were eight or ten habitations, in a row or street, fronting the water, and about fifty yards distant from it. Some of the youth were naked, up to their hips in the water, fishing with rods and lines; whilst others, younger, were diverting themselves in shooting frogs with bows and arrows. On my near approach, the little children took to their heels, and ran to some women who were hoeing corn; but the stouter youth stood their ground, and, smiling, called to me. As I passed along, I observed some elderly people reclined on skins spread on the ground, under the cool shade of spreading Oaks and Palms, that were ranged in front of their houses: they arose, and eyed me as I passed, but perceiving that I kept on without stopping, they resumed their former position."⁷³

THE ANNUAL CYCLE

Adair says that the Indians divided the year into four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, and numbered the years by any one of them. He gives the names of these periods in the Cherokee and Chickasaw languages. The last are Otoolpha, Tóme palle, Ashtòramóona, and Ashtòra.⁷⁴ He derives Otoolpha from "oolpha, the name of a bud or to shoot out," but I am unable to identify the word in Choctaw unless it is *alba*, "vegetation, herbs, plants, weeds," and it may be a Chickasaw term. Tóme palle signifies "bright and warm" or "warm brightness." Palle, or pállì, is a Chickasaw word and it would seem from Byington's dictionary⁷⁵ that it was later used by itself to signify "summer." The next name would be in Choctaw *hàshtula himona* or *hàshtulàmmona*, "the beginning of winter," and the last *hàshtula*. *Hàshtula* means "winter" in Choctaw as well as Chickasaw, but autumn is *hàshtulahpi*, "beginning of winter," the significance being about the same. The Choctaw, however, use *tofa* for summer and *tofahpi* for spring.

In Creek, while the distinction of four seasons was probably made, at least at times, out of regard for the sacred number four, summer and winter were, as Swan tells us, principally used in counting the years, and the months were divided into two series which were supposed to correspond to those two seasons but in fact cut both summer and winter about in half.⁷⁶ The existence of the two series

⁷³ Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 90-91.

⁷⁴ Bull. 46, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

⁷⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 74.

⁷⁶ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, pp. 276-277.

accounts for a discrepancy between the statements of Adair and Swan, the former asserting that the year began with "the first appearance of the first new moon of the vernal equinox,"⁷⁷ while the latter placed it at the time of the busk,⁷⁸ though even then the correspondence is not perfect. Nevertheless Adair says in another place that from the period of the busk "they count their beloved, or holy things."⁷⁹ Adair's first statement was no doubt influenced by a desire to square Indian and Hebrew customs, and it is perfectly evident that from the Creek point of view the busk was the real new year. The Creek months were named as follows:

WINTER SERIES

August, Hayo lako, "much heat" (or "big ripening" month).
 September, Otowoskutci, "little chestnut" (month).
 October, Otowoski lako, "big chestnut" (month).
 November, Iholi or Yihull, indicating a change in the weather.
 December, Lāfo lako, "big winter" (month).
 January, Lāfo teusi, "little winter" (month).

SUMMER SERIES

February, Hotāli hāsi, "wind month."
 March, Tasahtcutci, "little spring" (month).
 April, Tasahtci lako, "big spring" (month).
 May, Ki hāsi, "mulberry month."
 June, Kāteo hāsi, "blackberry month."
 July, Hayutci, "little warmth" (or "little ripening") (month).

The list recorded by Swan, which is divided as above, is the oldest known. Other lists were made by Buckner and Herrod, Loughridge and Hodge, Gatschet, and the writer. My own was obtained from Jackson Lewis and agrees substantially with that given above except in the interpretation of the names for September and October. Lewis called these "little-change-of-weather month" and "big-change-of-weather month," respectively, deriving them evidently from *otuhī*, "damp," "moist," and a term *waski*, "to scatter," appearing in *ūski waski*, "drizzling rain." In the face of all of the other authorities this can hardly be accepted. Buckner and Herrod⁸⁰ invert the names given December and January, calling the former Lāfo teusi and the latter Lāfo lako. They stand alone in this. All authorities except Jackson Lewis interpret *Iholi*, "frost month," but, while this may be correct, the usual word for "frost" is *hituti*.

A note by Doctor Gatschet states that they attempted to restore the months to their proper positions in the annual cycle by inserting a supernumerary month every second year. No doubt some such device was resorted to, but it was probably only in later times that the correction was made with such regularity.

⁷⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 76. A writer in Schoolcraft says "they compute the year from the budding of the trees." And he adds that it consisted of an indefinite number of moons. (*Ind. Tribes*, vol I, p. 271.)

⁷⁸ Swan, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

⁷⁹ Adair, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

⁸⁰ *Grammar of the Maskōke, or Creek Language*, p. 29.

The native names for the months in Alabama and Koasati have almost passed out of memory. The following is a nearly complete list, but there is still some doubt as to whether the terms are all accurately applied. A in parenthesis indicates the Alabama term, K the Koasati term.

August, *Tá'kola waya' hase'*, "Wild peaches ripe moon" (A).

September, ?.

October (?), *Tokobe' háse'*, "Frog moon" (A).

November, *Oki lútea'*, "Black water" (water black with leaves, etc.) (A). *Bohole'x teoba'*, or *Boholo's kona'*, "Whippoorwill moon" (the former a big, the latter a small variety) (K).

December, *Lá'fi teoba'*, "Big winter" (K).

January, *Lá'fotcose'*, or *Lá'fi otcose'* "Little winter" (K).

February, ?.

March, *Mahále' hase'*, "Wind moon" (A and K).

April (?), *Nasá'ltei hase'*, "Planting moon" (A and K).

May, *Bá'kteo tábátle' hase'*, "May haws ripe" (A and K).

June, *Hase' báka'pka'*, "Half way month" (because the sun then turns south again) (A). *Hase' táteoláfka'* (K).

July, *Behe' lebátka' hase'*, "Mulberries ripe" (A). *Behe' waya' hase'*, "Mulberries ripe" (K).

The Alabama term for June is given on the authority of John Scott, the chief of the tribe; the others are from George Henry, a Koasati, Celissy Henry and Charlie Thompson, Alabama Indians. The last thought that there was also a "yellow leaf" month.

On comparing the Creek and Alabama lists it is seen that four of the names agree in both and two of these, the terms for December and January, agree in application also, while the application of the term Windy moon differs so slightly that it is evidently intended for the same period. The Mulberry months in these lists are, however, two months apart, and there is evidently some mistake. This may be due to a failure in the memories of my Alabama and Koasati informants, or it may have begun in aboriginal times on account of the lack of agreement between the number of lunations in successive solar years. Evidently some rough correspondence must have been brought about in ancient days by shifting the names slightly in order to make them fit the seasonal change to which they referred. Such a shift was by no means confined to the Alabama, for it appears in the lists of Choctaw months recorded by Cyrus Byington, in which the Wind month is given as June-July, Mulberry month as September-October, and Blackberry month October-November.⁵³ The appearance of these names in Choctaw also shows that certain of the month names were once identical throughout the South, although at the same time it is probable that there was considerable local variation.

⁵³ Bull. 46, Bur. Amer. Ethn., art. *háshí*.

In the Yuchi calendar recorded by Doctor Speck five months agree with those in Swan's list, with but slight variation, both in name and in the period of the year to which they were applied. It seems rather curious that these all belonged to the summer series.⁸⁴

Adair says of the Indians of his acquaintance: "They pay great regard to the first appearance of every new moon, and, on the occasion, always repeat some joyful sounds, and stretch out their hands toward her—but at such times they offer no public sacrifice."⁸⁵ And in another place he remarks that they "annually observed their festivals . . . at a prefixed time of a certain moon."⁸⁶

House building was a social affair and was distributed between the spring and fall. Adair gives a very lively account of the operation.

"While the memory of the bleak pinching winds lasts, and they are covered with their winter-blackened skins, they turn out early in the spring, to strip clap-boards and cypress-bark, for the covering of their houses: but in proportion as the sun advances, they usually desist from their undertaking during that favourable season; saying, 'that in the time of warm weather, they generally plant in the fields, or go to war; and that building houses in the troublesome hot summer, is a needless and foolish affair, as it occasions much sweating,'—which is the most offensive thing in life to every red warrior of manly principles. On this account, if we except the women chopping firewood for daily use, it is as rare to hear the sound of an ax in their countries, as if they lived under the inhospitable torrid zone; or were nearly related to the South-American animal *Pigritia*, that makes two or three days journey in going up a tree, and is as long in returning. When the cold weather approaches, they return to their work, and necessity forces them then to perform what a timely precaution might have executed with much more ease. When they build, the whole town, and frequently the nearest of their tribe in neighboring towns, assist one another, well knowing that many hands make speedy work of that, which would have discouraged any of them from ever attempting by himself. In one day, they build, daub with their tough mortar mixed with dry grass, and thoroughly finish, a good commodious house.⁸⁷

"They first trace the dimensions of the intended fabric and every one has his task prescribed him after the exactest manner."⁸⁸

There was, of course, nothing like a week among them in olden times, though Bartram assures us that the Creeks at one of the towns through which he passed remained quietly in their houses on Sunday out of respect to the white people.⁸⁹ The Alabama have the following

⁸⁴ Speck, in *Anthr. Publs. Univ. Mus., Univ. Pa.*, vol. I, p. 67.

⁸⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 76.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

⁸⁷ But see p. 372.

⁸⁸ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

⁸⁹ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 456.

terms for the days of the week: *ni'ta holo'*, "holy day," Sunday; *ni'ta ho'lin ni'ta*, "day after holy day," Monday; *ni'ta ato'kla*, "second day," Tuesday; *ni'ta tutei'na*, "third day," Wednesday; *ni'ta ostā'ga*, "fourth day," Thursday; *âtā'lapi*, "fifth day," Friday; *ni'ta holosi*, "little holy day," Saturday. Christmas is *ni'ta holo' tcoba'*, "big holy day," in Koasati, and *Kilisme'*, "Christmas," in Alabama.

After the busk men and women alike devoted the rest of the summer largely to the cultivation and harvesting of their crops. In the fall took place the Skunk Dance. After that the hunting began, and the men were away from town much of the time, but, when there was plenty of food or the game was near town, ball contests in which hunting played a part took place, accompanied with feasting and dancing, and these lasted until very cold weather.

The following account of these feasts and sports was given me by one of the Texas Alabama and is typical:

Sometimes a woman would make a ball and give it to one of the men who in turn must kill a deer for her. This the women cut up and prepared for all of the people in the village and they assembled at the ball ground to eat it. Then they feasted, played ball, and frequently danced in the evening. Sometimes several balls would be made at the same time and given out by as many women. After the ball or balls were used up another woman made one for another man and the games and feasts were thus continued at the pleasure of the tribe. Sometimes, when a woman gave a ball to a man in this way, she would say she wanted bear meat. Then they would play ball for a while, after which the man would go out with three or four others and kill a bear. They gave this to the woman, who distributed the meat as before. While the men were away the women were out after kanta roots⁹⁰ and they prepared a quantity of kanta bread. Kanta was always eaten with bear meat and corn bread (and potatoes) with deer meat. When the kanta was used up the men went for bear once more and the women went to the store and bought wheat flour. These celebrations lasted for some time.

Sometimes, when a woman gave out a ball in this way, she would say she wanted squirrels and the men would kill enough of them for the village, bring them to her and let her distribute them, when the same festivities were repeated. Again she might say she wanted coffee, and the man whom she addressed would go and buy enough for the village. It was brought to the ball ground and prepared there. This giving was often repeated many times.⁹¹

Often, however, the families were separated all winter, those who were related camping together. In the old country, at least, all but

⁹⁰ The word kanta was applied to several species of smilax.

⁹¹ See also pp. 525-527, 555-556. Charlie Thompson, my informant, and another Indian now long dead first began to have dinners after the white men's style, and now they are all of that character.

the old people usually remained in the camps during that time. Bossu says:

"The savages usually set out on the hunt at the end of October. The Allibamons go to a distance of 60, 80, and even 100 leagues from their village, and they carry along with them in their pirogues their entire family; they return only in March which is the season for sowing their fields. They bring back many skins and much smoked meat. When they have returned to their villages, they feast their friends, and make presents to the old people who have been unable to follow them, and who have protected the cabins of the village during this hunting period."⁹²

War parties were usually started as soon as the weather began to warm up a little. The labor of planting was, as we shall see, interspersed with ball playing and dancing. Right afterwards the men went out again on a hunt. According to one of my informants they thought if they did not do this the crows would eat the corn and the weevil would get into the beans. Then their summer duties began once more, taking care of the harvest occupying first place. War, ball games, riding, horse racing, and dancing also consumed a great deal of the time. Women naturally made their pots and most of their baskets during this period of the year.

WAR

Out of consideration for standard classifications of customs I retain the name "war" for this section, but it might rather be called "institutional killing," if not "institutional murder." For while the occasions of war were various and "retaliation" for past offenses by the hostile tribe and the necessity of placating the souls of the slain were always the professed objects, the truth of the matter was that war among the southern Indians was a social institution and warlike exploits necessary means of social advancement.⁹³ This being the case it is easy to see that the score between most tribes was certain never to be evened permanently and that only a social revolution could abolish the custom in spite of the alliances by which certain single units agreed to settle their differences on other grounds. Ambition for scalps was carried so far, Adair assures us, that "sometimes a small party of warriors, on failing of success in their campaign, have been detected in murdering some of their own people, for the sake of their scalps."⁹⁴ This result of economic or rather social determinism reminds us of that canny Scotch captain caught in the Baltic Sea in the act of supplying Russia with the sinews of war when his own

⁹² Bossu. *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 51-52.

⁹³ Bossu gives the abduction of women as one of the most important causes of war. If this happened to the wife of a chief he says that the entire nation was obliged to avenge the insult.—*Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 51. I confess to have read few accounts of wars started in this manner.

⁹⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 259.

country was engaged in fighting her, and of more recent dealings of the same kind. It shows also how the customs of a people react inevitably upon themselves for good or for evil.

In the case of the confederacies above mentioned the very abolition of war between certain units increased the power of the aggregate body and at the same time their temptation to use this advantage in the exploitation of their less well-organized neighbors. And in the Creek confederacy, for instance, while its very existence depended on the fact that certain tribes had agreed to live without fighting, social advancement and the whole structure of the state was dependent on war to such a degree that a complete account of the institution involves an almost complete account of the Creek social system. This having already been given, we are now in a position to take up more particularly the method of waging war.



FIG. 103.—Head of a Creek warrior. (After Romans)

in earlier times of a bow and arrows, a knife and a tomahawk hanging at the side, and a war club stuck through his belt. Adair mentions a javelin which would be a short spear or throwing knife.⁹⁵ In later times the bow and arrow gave place to the gun, though the former were used along with the latter as late as Adair's time. The war club (*átasa*) was, however, the principal symbol of the institution. Stiggins describes it as "shaped like a small gun about 2 feet long, and at the curve near where the lock would be is a thin square piece of iron or steel with a sharp edge drove in to leave a projection of about 2 inches."⁹⁶ It is remembered at the present day as an implement like a combined hatchet and knife, which could either be retained in the hand or thrown. One form of headdress of a Creek warrior is shown in the accompanying illustration, taken from the work of Romans (fig. 103).

Intertribal warfare among the southern Indians was suppressed so long ago that not much is remembered regarding it. In this

⁹⁵Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 386.

⁹⁶Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, p. 35.

particular the earlier writers were at a better advantage even than in other matters connected with the customs of the aborigines. Perhaps no account of native Indian warfare ever published excels that given by James Adair. We have frequently had to remark on the excellence of his information and have often quoted him, but in this place he surpasses himself.

War expeditions were undertaken as early in spring as possible and lasted through the summer. Adair remarks "in our Indian-trading way, we say that, when the heat of the new year enables the snakes to crawl out of their lurking holes, the savages are equally moved to turn out to do mischief."⁹⁷ He gives the following account of the disturbances leading up to wars and the method of raising and conducting a war party:

"Should any of the young warriors through forwardness, or passion, violate the treaty of peace, the aggressing party usually send by some neutral Indians, a friendly embassy to the other, praying them to accept of equal retribution, and to continue their friendship, assuring them that the rash unfriendly action did not meet with the approbation, but was highly condemned by the head-men of the whole nation.⁹⁸ If the proposal be accepted the damage is made up, either by sacrificing one of the aggressors, of a weak family, or by the death of some unfortunate captive, who had been ingrafted in a wasted tribe. If a person of note was killed, the offended party take immediate satisfaction of their own accord, and send back the like embassy, acquainting them, that as crying blood is quenched with equal blood, and their beloved relation's spirit is allowed to go to rest, they are fond of continuing the friend-knot, and keeping the chain of friendship clear of rust, according to the old beloved speech: but, if they are determined for war, they say *Mattle*, *Mattle*, 'it is finished, they are weighed, and found light.'^{98a} In that case, they proceed in the following manner.

"A war captain announces his intention of going to invade the common enemy, which he, by consent of the whole nation, declares to be such: he then beats a drum three times round his winter house, with the bloody colours flying, marked with large strokes of black,—the grand war signal of blood and death. On this, a sufficient number of warriors and others, commonly of the family of the murdered person, immediately arm themselves, and each gets a small bag of parched corn-flour, for his war stores. They then go to the aforesaid winter house, and there drink a warm decoction of their supposed

⁹⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 347.

⁹⁸ Says Bossu: "When there is among them a roisterer or disturber of the public peace, the old people speak to him thus: 'You can go, but remember, that if you are killed, you will be disavowed by the nation, that we will not weep for you at all, and that we will not exact vengeance for your death.' Such a disorderly life is branded among these people, as everywhere else, with the last degree of contempt."—*Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 50-51.

^{98a} Chickasaw ma, "that"; *âhi* "it is ended."

holy consecrated herbs and roots for three days and nights, sometimes without any other refreshment. This is to induce the deity to guard and prosper them, amidst their impending dangers. In the most promising appearance of things, they are not to take the least nourishment of food, nor so much as to sit down, during that time of sanctifying themselves, till after sunset. While on their expedition, they are not allowed to lean themselves against a tree, though they may be exceedingly fatigued, after a sharp day's march; nor must they lie by, a whole day to refresh themselves, or kill and barbecue deer and bear for their war journey. The more virtuous they are, they reckon the greater will be their success against the enemy, by the bountiful smiles of the deity. To gain that favorite point, some of the aged warriors narrowly watch the young men who are newly initiated, lest they should prove irreligious, and prophane the holy fast, and bring misfortunes on the outstanding camp. A gentleman of my acquaintance, in his youthful days observed one of their religious fasts, but under the greatest suspicion of his virtue in this respect, though he had often headed them against the common enemy: during their three days purification, he was not allowed to go out of the sanctified ground, without a trusty guard, lest hunger should have tempted him to violate their old martial law, and by that means have raised the burning wrath of the holy fire against the whole camp. Other particulars of this sacred process for war, have been related in their proper place.

"When they have finished their fast and purifications, they set off, at the fixed time, be it fair or foul, firing their guns, whooping and hallooing, as they march.⁹⁹ The war-leader goes first, carrying the supposed holy ark: he soon strikes up the awful and solemn song before mentioned, which they never sing except on that occasion. The rest follow, in one line, at the distance of three or four steps from each other, now and then sounding the war whoo-whoop, to make the leader's song the more striking to the people. In this manner they proceed, till quite out of the sight, and hearing of their friends. As soon as they enter the woods, all are silent; and, every day they observe a profound silence in their march, that their ears may be quick to inform them of danger: their small black eyes are almost as sharp also as those of the eagle, or the lynx; and with their feet they resemble the wild cat, or the cunning panther, crawling up to its prey. Thus they proceed, while things promise them good success; but, if their dreams portend any ill, they always obey the supposed divine intimation and return home, without incurring the least censure. They reckon that their readiness to serve their country,

⁹⁹ "To this day, a war-leader, who, by the number of his martial exploits is entitled to a drum, always sanctifies himself, and his outstanding company, at the end of the old moon, so as to go off at the appearance of the new one by daylight; whereas, he who has not sufficiently distinguished himself must set out in the night."—Adair, pp. 99-100.

should not be subservient to their own knowledge or wishes, but always regulated by the divine impulse. I have known a whole company who set out for war, to return in small parties, and sometimes by single persons, and be applauded by the united voice of the people; because they acted in obedience to their *Nana Ishtohollo*,^{90a} 'or guardian angels,' who impressed them in the visions of night, with the friendly caution.¹ As their dreams are reckoned ominous, so there is a small uncommon bird, called the 'kind ill messenger,' which they always deem to be a true oracle of bad news. If it sings near to them, they are much intimidated: but, if it perches, and sings over the war camp, they speedily break up. . . .

"Every war captain chuses a noted warrior, to attend on him and the company. He is called *Etissû*, or 'the waiter.' Every thing they eat or drink during their journey, he gives them out of his hand, by a rigid abstemious rule—though each carries on his back all his travelling conveniencies, wrapt in a deer skin, yet they are so bigoted to their religious customs in war, that none, though prompted by sharp hunger or burning thirst, dares relieve himself. They are contented with such trifling allowance as the religious waiter distributes to them, even with a scanty hand. Such a regimen would be too mortifying to any of the white people, let their opinion of its violation be ever so dangerous.

"When I roved the woods in a war party with the Indians, though I carried no scrip, nor bottle, nor staff, I kept a large hollow cane well corked at each end, and used to sheer off now and then to drink, while they suffered greatly by thirst. The constancy of the savages in mortifying their bodies, to gain the divine favour, is astonishing, from the very time they beat to arms, till they return from their campaign. All the while they are out, they are prohibited by ancient custom, the leaning against a tree, either sitting or standing: nor are they allowed to sit in the day-time, under the shade of trees, if it can be avoided; nor on the ground, during the whole journey, but on such rocks, stones, or fallen wood, as their ark of war rests upon. By the attention they invariably pay to those severe rules of living, they weaken themselves much more than by the unavoidable fatigues of war: but, it is fruitless to endeavor to dissuade them from those things which they have by tradition, as the appointed means to move the deity, to grant them success against the enemy, and a safe return home."²

^{90a} Lit. "Holy great ones."

¹ In another place (p. 313) Adair refers to this again and cites an instance in the war between the Creeks and Choctaw. Stiggins says that nearly a thousand Creek warriors were upon one occasion routed by 17 Chickasaw, thanks to an unaccountable panic with which the former were seized.

² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 379-382.

In an earlier part of his work Adair gives another account of the organization of the war party and adds a considerable description of the sacred ark:

“When the leader begins to beat up for volunteers, he goes three times around his dark winter-house, contrary to the course of the sun, sounding the war-whoop, singing the war-song, and beating the drum. Then he speaks to the listening crowd with very rapid language, short pauses, and an awful commanding voice, tells them of the continued friendly offices they have done the enemy, but which have been ungratefully returned with the blood of his kinsmen; therefore as the white paths have changed their beloved colour, his heart burns within him with eagerness to tincture them all along, and even to make them flow over with the hateful blood of the base contemptible enemy. Then he strongly persuades his kindred warriors and others, who are not afraid of the enemies bullets and arrows, to come and join him with manly cheerful hearts: he assures them, he is fully convinced, as they are all bound by the love-knot, so they are ready to hazard their lives to revenge the blood of their kindred and country-men; that the love of order, and the necessity of complying with the old religious customs of their country, had hitherto checked their daring generous hearts, but now, those hindrances are removed: he proceeds to whoop again for the warriors to come and join him, and sanctify themselves for success against the common enemy, according to their ancient religious law.

“By this eloquence, but chiefly by their own greedy thirst of revenge, and intense love of martial glory, on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend, and which they constantly instil into the minds of their youth—a number soon join him in his winter-house, where they live separate from all others, and purify themselves for the space of three days and nights, exclusive of the first broken day. In each of those days they observe a strict fast till sun-set, watching the young men very narrowly who have not been initiated in war-titles, lest unusual hunger should tempt them to violate it, to the supposed danger of all their lives in war, by destroying the power of their purifying beloved physic, which they drink plentifully during that time. This purifying physic, is warm water highly imbittered with button-rattle-snake-root, which as hath been before observed, they apply only to religious purposes. Sometimes after bathing they drink a decoction made of the said root—and in like manner the leader applies aspersions, or sprinklings, both at home and when out at war. They are such strict observers of the law of purification, and think it so essential in obtaining health and success in war, as not to allow the best beloved trader that ever lived among them, even to enter the beloved ground, appropriated to

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the religious duty of being sanctified for war;³ much less to associate with the camp in the woods, though he went (as I have known it to happen) on the same war design;—they oblige him to walk and encamp separate by himself, as an impure dangerous animal, till the leader hath purified him, according to their usual time and method, with the consecrated things of the ark. . . .

“The Indian ark is of a very simple construction, and it is only the intention and application of it, that makes it worthy of notice; for it is made with pieces of wood securely fastened together in the form of a square. The middle of three of the sides extend a little out, but one side is flat, for the conveniency of the person’s back who carries it. Their ark has a cover, and the whole is made impenetrably close with hiccory-splinters; it is about half the dimensions of the divine Jewish ark, [just stated to have been three feet nine inches in length, two feet three inches broad, and two feet three inches in height] and may very properly be called the red Hebrew ark of the purifier, imitated. The leader, and a beloved waiter, carry it by turns. It contains several consecrated vessels, made by beloved superannuated women, and of such various antiquated forms, as would have puzzled Adam to have given significant names to each. The leader and his attendant, are purified longer than the rest of the company, that the first may be fit to act in the religious office of a priest of war, and the other to carry the awful sacred ark. All the while they are at war, the *Hetissu*, or ‘beloved waiter,’ feeds each of the warriors by an exact stated rule, giving them even the water they drink, out of his own hands, lest by intemperance they should spoil the supposed communicative power of their holy things, and occasion fatal disasters to the war camp.”⁴

In another place Adair says:

. . . “It is also highly worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground, nor sit on the bare earth while they are carrying it against the enemy. On hilly ground where stones are plenty, they place it on them: but in level land upon short logs, always resting themselves on the like materials. Formerly, when this tract was the Indian Flanders of America, as the French and all their red Canadian confederates were bitter enemies to the inhabitants, we often saw the woods full of such religious war-reliques. . . . *Opae* [Hopaii], ‘the leader,’ obliges all during the first campaign they make with the beloved ark, to stand, every day they lie by, from sun-rise to sun-set—and after a fatiguing day’s march, and scanty allowance, to drink warm water imbittered with rattle-snake-root very plentifully, in

³ In another place Adair says: “But a few weeks since, when a large company of these warlike savages were on the point of setting off to commence war against the Muskohge, some of the wags decoyed a heedless trader into their holy ground, and they stript him, so as to oblige him to redeem his clothes with vermilion. And, on account of the like trespass, they detained two Indian children two nights and a day, till their obstinate parents paid the like ransom.” (pp. 101-102.)

⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 159-161.

order to be purified—that they have also as strong a faith of the power and holiness of their ark, as ever the Israelites retained of their's, ascribing the superior success of the party, to their stricter adherence to the law than the other; and after they return home, hang it on the leader's red-painted war pole. . . .

“The Indian ark is deemed so sacred and dangerous to be touched, either by their own sanctified warriors, or the spoiling enemy, that they durst not touch it upon any account. It is not to be meddled with by any, except the war chieftain and his waiter, under the penalty of incurring great evil. Nor would the most inveterate enemy touch it in the woods for the very same reason. . . .

“The leader virtually acts the part of a priest of war, *pro tempore*, . . . If they obtain the victory, and get some of the enemies' scalps, they sanctify themselves when they make their triumphal entrance, in the manner they observed before they set off to war; but, if their expedition proves unfortunate, they only mourn over their loss, ascribing it to the vicious conduct of some of the followers of the beloved ark. . . .

“The Indians will not cohabit with women while they are out at war; they religiously abstain from every kind of intercourse even with their own wives, for the space of three days and nights before they go to war, and so after they return home, because they are to sanctify themselves. . . . The warriors consider themselves as devoted to God apart from the rest of the people, while they are at war accompanying the sacred ark with the supposed holy things it contains.”⁵

This law of sexual abstinence accounts for the comparative respect with which female captives were treated by most of the eastern Indians.⁶

Adair cites the case of an Indian iconoclast who went to war without the accompaniment of an ark, to the great anxiety of his friends. He has the following to say regarding the numbers taking part in an expedition and their method of conducting it after they had left home:

“It may be expected I should describe the number of men their war companies consist of, but it is various, and uncertain: sometimes, two or three only will go to war, proceed as cautiously, and strike their prey as panthers. . . .

“The common number of an Indian war company, is only from twenty to forty, lest their tracks should be discovered by being too numerous: but if the warring nations are contiguous to each other, the invading party generally chuses to out-number a common company, that they may strike the blow with greater safety and success,

⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 161-164.

⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

as their art of war is chiefly killing by surprise; confident that in case of a disappointment, their light heels will ensure their return to their own country. When a small company go to war, they always chuse to have a swamp along side of them, with a thick covert for their shelter, because a superior number will scarcely pursue them where they might reasonably expect to lose any of their warriors. When they arrive at the enemies hunting ground, they act with the greatest caution and policy. They separate themselves, as far as each can hear the other's travelling signal, which is the mimicking such birds and beasts as frequent the spot. And they can exactly imitate the voice and sound of every quadruped and wild fowl through the American woods. In this way of travelling, they usually keep an hundred yards apart on the course agreed upon at camp. When the leader thinks it the surest way of succeeding against the enemy, he sends a few of the best runners to form an ambuscade near their towns: there, they sometimes fix the broad hoofs of buffalos, and bear's paws upon their feet, to delude the enemy: and they will for miles together, make all the windings of these beasts with the greatest art. But, as both parties are extremely wary and sagacious, I have known such arts to prove fatal to the deluders. At other times, a numerous company will walk in three different rows by way of a decoy, every one lifting his feet so high, as not to beat down the grass or herbage; and each row will make only one man's track, by taking the steps of him who went before, and a gigantic fellow takes the rear of each rank, and thereby smooths the tracks with his feet. When they are convinced the enemy is in pursuit of them, at so considerable a distance from the country, as for themselves not to be over-powered by numbers, they post themselves in the most convenient place, in the form of an half-moon, and patiently wait a whole day and night, till the enemy runs into it; and in such a case, the victory at one broad-side is usually gained.

“When they discover the tracks of enemies in their hunting ground, or in the remote woods, it is surprising to see the caution and art they use, both to secure themselves, and take advantage of the enemy. If a small company be out at war, they in the day time crawl through thickets and swamps in the manner of wolves—now and then they climb trees, and run to the top of hills, to discover the smoke of fire, or hear the report of guns: and when they cross through the open woods, one of them stands behind a tree, till the rest advance about a hundred yards, looking out sharply on all quarters. In this manner, they will proceed, and on tiptoe, peeping everywhere around; they love to walk on trees which have been blown down, and take an oblique course, till they inswamp themselves again, in order to conceal their tracks, and avoid a pursuit. . . .

“When the invaders extend themselves across the woods, in quest of their prey, if they make a plain discovery, either of fresh tracks, or of the enemy, they immediately pass the war-signal to each other, and draw their wings toward the centre. If the former, they give chase, and commonly by their wild-cat-method of crawling, they surround, and surprise the pursued, if unguarded—however, I have known them to fail in such attempts; for the Indians generally are so extremely cautious, that if three of them are in the woods, their first object is a proper place for defence, and they always sit down in a triangle, to prevent a surprise. When enemies discover one another, and find they can take no advantage, they make themselves known to each other; and by way of insulting bravado, they speak aloud all the barbarities they ever committed against them; that they are now, to vindicate those actions, and make the wound for ever incurable; that they are their most bitter enemies, and equally condemn their friendship and enmity. In the mean while, they throw down their packs, strip themselves naked, and paint their faces and breasts red as blood, intermingled with black streaks. Every one at the signal of the shrill-sounding war-cry, instantly covers himself behind a tree, or in some cavity of the ground where it admits of the best safety. The leader, on each side, immediately blows the small whistle he carries for the occasion, in imitation of the ancient trumpet, as the last signal of engagement. Now hot work begins—The guns are firing; the chewed bullets flying; the strong hiccory bows a twanging; the dangerous barbed arrows whizzing as they fly; the sure-shafted javelin striking death wherever it reaches; and the well-aimed tomahawk killing, or disabling its enemy. Nothing scarcely can be heard for the shrill echoing noise of the war and death-whoop, every one furiously pursues his adversary from tree to tree, striving to incircle him for his prey; and the greedy jaws of pale death are open on all sides, to swallow them up. One dying foe is intangled in the hateful and faltering arms of another: and each party desperately attempts both to save their dead and wounded from being scalped, and to gain the scalps of their opponents. On this the battle commences anew—But rash attempts fail, as their wary spirits always forbid them from entering into a general close engagement. Now they retreat: then they draw up into various figures, still having their dead and wounded under their eye. Now they are flat on the ground loading their pieces—then they are up firing behind trees, and immediately spring off in an oblique course to recruit—and thus they act till winged victory declares itself.

“The vanquished party makes for a swampy thicket, as their only asylum; but should any of them be either unarmed, or slightly

wounded, the speedy pursuers captivate them, and usually reserve them for a worse death than that of the bullet. On returning to the place of battle, the victors begin, with mad rapture, to cut and slash those unfortunate persons, who fell by their arms and power; and they dismember them, after a most inhuman manner. If the battle be gained near home, one hero cuts off and carries this member of the dead person, another that, as joyful trophies of a decisive victory. If a stranger saw them thus loaded with human flesh, without proper information, he might conclude them to be voracious cannibals. . . . Their first aim however is to take off the scalp, when they perceive the enemy hath a proper situation, and strength to make a dangerous resistance. Each of them is so emulous of exceeding another in this point of honour, that it frequently stops them in their pursuit.

“This honourable service is thus performed⁷—They seize the head of the disabled, or dead person, and placing one of their feet on the neck, they with one hand twisted in the hair, extend it as far as they can—with the other hand, the barbarous artists speedily draw their long sharp-pointed scalping knife out of a sheath from their breast, give a slash round the top of the skull, and with a few dextrous scoops, soon strip it off. They are so expeditious as to take off a scalp in two minutes. When they have performed this part of their martial virtue, as soon as time permits, they tie with bark or deer’s sinews, their speaking trophies of blood in a small hoop, to preserve it from putrefaction, and paint the interior part of the scalp, and the hoop, all around with red, their flourishing emblematical colour of blood.”⁸

“When they have succeeded in killing the enemy, they tie fire-brands in the most frequented places, with grape vines which hang pretty low, in order that they may readily be seen by the enemy. As they reckon the aggressors have loudly declared war, it would be madness or treachery in their opinion to use such public formalities before they have revenged crying blood; it would inform the enemy of their design of retaliating, and destroy the honest intention of war. They likewise strip the bark off several large trees in conspicuous places, and paint them with red and black hieroglyphics, thereby threatening the enemy with more blood and death.”⁹

“They are now satisfied for the present, and return home. Tradition, or the native divine impression on human nature, dictates to them that man was not born in a state of war; and as they reckon they are become impure by shedding human blood, they hasten to

⁷ Speck’s Tuskegee informant said that this act “was accompanied with a whoop terminating in several tremulous throat tones in imitation of a turkey’s gobble. This was to announce success to the band.” (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. n, p. 118.)

⁸ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 382-388. A single scalp was often cut up and distributed among the warriors. Adair mentions a case in which a scalp of a Koasati had been taken by some Choctaw and the warriors of the separate towns divided it and carried the parts to their respective homes. (Adair, p. 298.)

⁹ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

observe the fast of three days, as formerly mentioned, and be sanctified by the war-chieftain, as a priest of war, according to law. While they are thus impure, though they had a fair opportunity of annoying the common enemy again, yet on this account they commonly decline it, and are applauded for their religious conduct, by all their countrymen. Indeed, formerly, when the whole combined power of the French, and their Indians, was bent against the warlike Chikkasah, I have known the last sometimes to hazard their martial virtue and success, and to fight three or four companies of French Indians, before they returned home; but the leaders excused themselves, by the necessity of self-defence. They have no such phrase as the 'fortune of war.' They reckon the leader's impurity to be chief occasion of bad success; and if he lose several of his warriors by the enemy, his life is either in danger for the supposed fault, or he is degraded, by taking from him his drum, war-whistle, and martial titles, and debasing him to his boy's name, from which he is to rise by a fresh gradation. This penal law contributes, in a good measure, to make them so exceedingly cautious and averse to bold attempts in war, and they are usually satisfied with two or three scalps and a prisoner."¹⁰

The following account of the torture inflicted upon prisoners is given by the same author:

"It has been long too feelingly known, that instead of observing the generous and hospitable part of the laws of war, and saving the unfortunate who fall into their power, that they generally devote their captives to death, with the most agonizing tortures. No representation can possibly be given, so shocking to humanity, as their unmerciful method of tormenting their devoted prisoner; and as it is so contrary to the standard of the rest of the known world, I shall relate the circumstances, so far as to convey proper information thereof to the reader. When the company return from war, and come in view of their own town, they follow the leader one by one, in a direct line, each a few yards behind the other, to magnify their triumph. If they have not succeeded, or any of their warriors are lost, they return quite silent; but if they are all safe, and have succeeded, they fire off the Indian platoon, by one, two, and three at a time, whooping and insulting their prisoners. They camp near their town all night, in a large square plot of ground, marked for the purpose, with a high war-pole fixed in the middle of it, to which they secure their prisoners. Next day they go to the leader's house in a very solemn procession, but stay without, round his red-painted war-pole, till they have determined concerning the fate of their prisoners. If any one of the captives should be fortunate enough to get loose,

¹⁰ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 388.

and run into the house of the archi-magus, or to a town of refuge, he by ancient custom, is saved from the fiery torture—these places being a sure asylum to them if they were invaded, and taken, but not to invaders, because they came to shed blood.

“Those captives who are pretty far advanced in life, as well as in war-gradations, always atone for the blood they spilt, by the tortures of fire. They readily know the latter, by the blue marks over their breasts and arms; they being as legible as our alphabetical characters are to us. Their ink is made of the soot of pitch-pine, which sticks to the inside of a greased earthen pot; then delineating the parts, like the ancient Picts of Britain, with their wild hieroglyphics, they break through the skin with gair-fish-teeth, and rub over them that dark composition, to register them among the brave; and the impression is lasting. I have been told by the Chikkasah, that they formerly erased any false marks their warriors proudly and privately gave themselves—in order to engage them to give real proofs of their martial virtue, being surrounded by the French and their red allies; and that they degraded them in a public manner, by stretching the marked parts, and rubbing them with the juice of green corn, which in a great degree took out the impression.

“The young prisoners are saved, if not devoted while the company were sanctifying themselves for their expedition; but if the latter be the case, they are condemned, and tied to the dreadful stake, one at a time. The victors first strip their miserable captives quite naked, and put on their feet a pair of bear-skin maccaseenes, with the black hairy part outwards; others fasten with a grape-vine, a burning fire brand to the pole, a little above the reach of their heads. Then they know their doom—deep black, and burning fire, are fixed seals of their death-warrant. Their punishment is always left to the women; and on account of their false standard of education, they are no way backward in their office, but perform it to the entire satisfaction of the greedy eyes of the spectators. Each of them prepares for the dreadful rejoicing, a long bundle of dry canes, or the heart of fat pitch-pine, and as the victims are led to the stake, the women and their young ones beat them with these in a most barbarous manner. Happy would it be for the miserable creatures, if their sufferings ended here, or a merciful tomahawk finished them at one stroke; but this shameful treatment is a prelude to future sufferings.

“The death-signal being given, preparations are made for acting a more tragical part. The victims arms are fast pinioned, and a strong grape-vine is tied round his neck, to the top of the war-pole, allowing him to track around, about fifteen yards. They fix some tough clay on his head, to secure the scalp from the blazing torches. Unspeakable pleasure now fills the exulting crowd of spectators, and the circle fills with the Amazon and merciless executioners—The

suffering warrior however is not dismayed; with an insulting manly voice he sings the war-song! and with gallant contempt he tramples the rattling gourd with pebbles in it to pieces, and outbraves even death itself. The women make a furious on-set with their burning torches: his pain is soon so excruciating, that he rushes out from the pole, with the fury of the most savage beast of prey, and with the vine sweeps down all before him, kicking, biting, and trampling them, with the greatest despte. The circle immediately fills again, either with the same, or fresh persons: they attack him on every side—now he runs to the pole for shelter, but the flames pursue him. Then with champing teeth, and sparkling eye-balls, he breaks through their contracted circle afresh, and acts every part, that the highest courage, most raging fury, and blackest despair can prompt him to. But he is sure to be over-power'd by numbers, and after some time the fire affects his tender parts.—Then they pour over him a quantity of cold water, and allow him a proper time of respite, till his spirits recover, and he is capable of suffering new tortures. Then the like cruelties are repeated till he falls down, and happily becomes insensible of pain. Now they scalp him, in the manner before described: dismember, and carry off all the exterior branches of the body, (*puendis non exceptis*) in shameful, and savage triumph. This is the most favourable treatment their devoted captives receive: it would be too shocking to humanity either to give, or peruse, every particular of their conduct in such doleful tragedies. . . .

“Not a soul, of whatever age or sex, manifests the least pity during the prisoner's tortures: the women sing with religious joy, all the while they are torturing the devoted victim, and peals of laughter resound through the crowded theatre—especially if he fears to die. But a warrior puts on a bold austere countenance, and carries it through all his pains:—as long as he can, he whoops and out-braves the enemy, describing his own martial deeds against them, and those of his nation, who he threatens will force many of them to eat fire in revenge of his fate, as he himself had often done to some of their relations at their cost.

“Though the same things operate alike upon the organs of the human body, and produce an uniformity of sensations; yet weakness, or constancy of mind derived from habit, helps in a great measure, either to heighten, or lessen the sense of pain. By this, the afflicted party has learned to stifle nature, and shew an outward unconcern, under such slow and acute tortures: and the surprising cruelty of their women, is equally owing to education and custom. . . .”¹¹

¹¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 388-391. Romans seems to think that the Creeks were the most cruel of all southern Indians. He says: “As hospitable as this nation is to friends, as irreconcilably inhuman as they to their enemies; there is hardly an instance of one miserable prisoner's ever having escaped their barbarity; the torments they put the wretched victims to, are too horrid to relate, and the account thereof can only serve to make human nature shudder.” (*Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla.*, p. 9.)

Next comes the disposition of the scalps, rejoicing over their victory, and the conferring of new war titles:

“When the Indians have finished their captive tragedies, they return to the neighboring town in triumph, with the wild shrieking oise of destroying demons: there, they cut the scalps into several pieces, fix them on different twigs of the green leaved pine, and place them on the tops of the circular winter houses of their deceased relations—whose deaths (if by the hand of an enemy) they esteem not revenged till then, and thus their ghosts are enabled to go to their intermediate, but unknown place of rest, till, after a certain time, they return again to live for ever in that tract of land which pleased them best, when in their former state.^{11a} They perform this supposed religious duty with great solemnity, attended by a long train of rejoicing women, chanting with soft voices, their grateful song of triumph to *Yo He Wah*; while the favoured warriors echo their praises of the giver of victory, with awful notes, and intermix with them the death whoo-whoop. They dance for three days and nights, rejoicing before the divine presence, for their victory; and the happiness of sending the spirits of their killed relations from the eaves of their houses which they haunted, mourning with such painful notes as *Koo-Koo-Koo*, like the suffering owls of night in pinching winter, according to their creed. In their dance, they represent all the wild-cat movements they made in crawling to surprise the enemy, and their wolfish conduct in killing with safety; or the whole engagement, when they could no way attack by surprise. Now, they lift up one foot, then put it down slowly on tip-toe in a bent posture, looking sharply every way. Thus, they proceed from tree to tree, till the supposed enemy be either defeated by stratagem, or open battle. Then they strut about in parade, and the chief will tell the people he did not behave like a blind white man, who would have rushed on with his eyes shut, improvident of danger; but having wisely considered that his bare breast was not bullet proof, he cunningly covered himself from tree to tree, and by his skilful conduct vanquished the hateful enemy, without exposing his own valuable life to danger. All people praise, or blame another’s conduct, in proportion to the parity or disparity it bears to their own standard, and notion of virtue.

“In the time of their rejoicings, they fix a certain day for the warriors to be crowned; for they cannot sleep sound or easy, under an old title, while a new, or higher one is due. On that long-wished for day, they all appear on the field of parade, as fine and cheerful as the birds in spring. Their martial drums beat, their bloody

^{11a} See succeeding article, p. 511.

colours are displayed, and most of the young people are dancing and rejoicing, for the present success of their nation, and the safe return and preferment of their friends and relations. Every expectant warrior on that joyful day wears deer-skin maccaseenes, painted red, his body is anointed with bear's oil, a young softened otter-skin is tied on each leg, a long collar of fine swan feathers hangs round his neck, and his face is painted with the various streaks of the rain-bow. Thus they appear, when two of the old magi come forth holding as many white wands and crowns, as there are warriors to be graduated: and in a standing posture, they alternately deliver a long oration, with great vehemence of expression, chiefly commending their strict observance of the law of purity, while they accompanied the beloved ark of war, which induced the supreme chieftain to give them the victory, and they encourage the rest to continue to thirst after glory, in imitation of their brave ancestors, who died nobly in defence of their country. At the conclusion of their orations, one of the magi calls three times with a loud voice, one of the warriors by his new name, or war title, and holds up the white crown, and the scepter, or wand. He then gladly answers, and runs whooping to, and around them, three times. One of the old beloved men puts the crown on his head, and the wand into his hand; then he returns to his former place, whooping with joy. In like manner, they proceed with the rest of the graduate warriors, to the end of their triumphal ceremony, concluding with this strong caution, 'Remember what you are (such a warrior, mentioning his titles) according to the old beloved speech.' This is equal to the bold virtuous lessons of the honest Romans, and uncorrupted Greeks. The concluding caution of the magi to the warriors, points at the different duties of the honourable station, that they should always aspire after martial glory, and prefer their own virtue, and the welfare of their country, more than life itself. The crown is wrought round with the long feathers of a swan, at the lower end, where it surrounds his temples, and it is curiously weaved with a quantity of white down, to make it sit easy, and appear more beautiful. To this part that wreathes his brows, the skilful artist warps close together, a ringlet of the longest feathers of the swan, and turning them carefully upward, in an uniform position, he, in the exactest manner, ties them together with deer's sinews, so as the bandage will not appear to the sharpest eyes without handling it. It is a little open at the top, and about fifteen inches high. The crowns they use in constituting war-leaders, are always worked with feathers of the tail of the cherubic eagle, which causes them to be three or four inches higher than the former."¹²

¹² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 397-399.]

There are some instances on record of women who received the rank and title of warriors,¹³ but in a Hitchiti story collected by Gatschet a woman's brave deed was recompensed by conferring a war title upon her son.

That the scalps might be repainted from time to time and made to play a part in later ceremonies is shown by what Adair says of the Choctaw. "At the time Mobile . . . was ceded to Great-Britain, the lower towns of the Choktah brought down all the Chikkasah scalps they had taken, in their thievish way of warring, and had them new painted, and carried them in procession on green boughs of pine, by way of bravado, to show their contempt of the English."¹⁴

The following account of ceremonies actually witnessed by Adair is most interesting in this connection:

"In the year 1765, when the Chikkasah returned with two French scalps, from the Illinois, (while the British troops were on the Mississippi, about 170 leagues below the Illinois) as my trading house was near the Chikkasah leader, I had a good opportunity of observing his conduct, as far as it was exposed to public view.

"Within a day's march of home, he sent a runner ahead with the glad tidings—and to order his dark winter house to be swept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient custom, when the outstanding party set off for war, the women are so afraid of the power of their holy things, and of prophaning them, that they sweep the house and earth quite clean, place the sweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undisturbed, till *Opáe*, who carries the ark, orders them by a faithful messenger to remove it. He likewise orders them to carry out every utensil which the women had used during his absence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with swan-down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the scalps on a branch of the ever-green pine, singing the awful death song, with a solemn striking air, and sometimes *Yo He Wah*; now and then sounding the shrill death *Whóo Whoop Whoop*. When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company, round his winter hot-house contrary to the course of the sun, singing the monosyllable *Yo*, for about the space of five seconds on a tenor key; again, *He He* short, on a bass key; then *Wah Wah*, three times, gutturally on the treble, very shrill, but not so short as the bass note. In this manner they repeated those sacred¹⁵ notes, *Yo, He He, Wah Wah*, three times, while they were finishing the circle, . . .

¹³ For one such see Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 42.

¹⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 310.

¹⁵ Adair calls them "sacred" because he believed the Indians to be descended from the Hebrews and these meaningless syllables to be an attempt at the name Jehovah.

“The leader’s *Hetissu*, or ‘waiter,’ placed a couple of new blocks of wood near the war pole, opposite to the door of the circular hot-house, in the middle of which the fire-place stood; and on these blocks he rested the supposed sacred ark, so that it and the holy fire faced each other. The party were silent a considerable time. At length, the chieftain bade them sit down, and then enquired whether his house was prepared for the solemn occasion, according to his order the day before; being answered in the affirmative, they soon rose up, sounded the death whoop, and walked round the war pole; during which they invoked and sung three times, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, in the manner already described. Then they went with their holy things in regular order into the hot-house, where they continued, exclusive of the first broken day, three days and nights apart from the rest of the people, purifying themselves with warm lotions, and aspersions of the emblematical button-snake-root, without any other subsistence between the rising and the setting of the sun.

“During the other part of the time, the female relations of each of the company, after having bathed, anointed, and drest themselves in their finest, stood in two rows, one on each side of the door, facing each other, from the evening till the morning, singing Ha Ha, Ha He, with a soft shrill voice and a solemn moving air for more than a minute, and then paused about ten minutes, before they renewed their triumphal song. While they sung, they gave their legs a small motion, by the strong working of their muscles, without seeming to bend their joints. When they had no occasion to retire, they have stood erect in the same place, a long frosty night; and except when singing, observed a most profound silence the whole time. During that period, they have no intercourse with their husbands; and they avoid several other supposed pollutions, as not to eat or touch salt, and the like.

“The leader, once in two or three hours came out at the head of his company, and raising the death whoop, made one circle round the red painted war pole, holding up in their right hands the small boughs of pine with the scalps fixed to them, singing as above, waving them to and fro, and then returned again. This religious order they strictly observed the whole time they were purifying themselves, and singing the song of safety, and victory, to the goodness and power of the divine essence. When the time of their purification and thanksgiving expired, the men and women went and bathed themselves, returned in the same manner, and anointed again, according to their usual custom.

“They joined soon after in a solemn procession, to fix the scalps on the tops of the houses of their relations who had been killed without revenge of blood. The war chieftain went first—his religious attendant followed him; the warriors next, according to their rising merit; and the songstresses brought up the rear. In this order they went

round the leader's winter-house from the east to the north, the men striking up the death whoop, and singing the death song; and then Yo, He He, Wah Wah, as described; the women also warbling Ha Ha, Ha He, so that one might have said according to the sacred text, 'great was the company of the women who sung the song of triumph.'¹⁶ Then they fixed on the top of the house, a twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a small piece of one of the scalps fastened to it; and this order they observed from house to house, till in their opinion they had appeased the ghosts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal solemnity—only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themselves. I afterward asked the reason of this—they replied they were *Ishtohoollo*.¹⁷

In other words these men were temporarily of the same class as the priests of whom he says elsewhere:

"The Indian *Ishtohoollo* "holy men" [ishto, "great," holo, "holy"] are by their function absolutely forbidden to slay; notwithstanding their propensity thereto, even for small injuries. They will not allow the greatest warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand sacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occasion, except the leader. All must be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every stain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with streaks of white clay."¹⁸

Regarding the devotion of prisoners to death in advance Adair speaks more at length elsewhere. As already stated, the younger captives were frequently adopted and the lives of others were sometimes spared, but all would be killed indiscriminately if, before they started upon the expedition, the warriors had devoted them to death. Apparently this "devotion to death" might take many forms. They might vow to kill all they should meet on a certain trail, or all of a certain nation, or all during a certain time. The old Indians informed Adair that formerly they had devoted to death only the guilty and had adopted the rest,¹⁹ but inasmuch as a clan or tribe according to Indian law was responsible for the actions of all of its members this signifies little. It was because of a previous "devotion to death" that the English traders could not save those Frenchmen captured in their unsuccessful invasions of Chickasaw territory.¹⁹ In the same way Adair accounts for the burning by the Creeks of an Indian who happened to be a Cherokee only in part on his mother's side.²⁰ Adair continues regarding this matter:

"The Indians use no stated ceremony in immolating their devoted captives, although it is the same thing to the unfortunate victims,

¹⁶ Last year I heard the Choktah women, in those towns which lie next to New Orleans, sing a regular anthem and dirge, in the dusk of the evenings, while their kinsmen were gone to war against the Muskoghe.—Note by Adair.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 164-167.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

what form their butchers use. They are generally sacrificed before their conquerors set off for war with their ark and supposed holy things. And sometimes the Indians devote every one they meet in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occasioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753, to kill two white men on the Chikkasah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muskohge. And the Shawànoh Indians who settled between the *Ooe-Asa* and *Koosah-towns*, told us, that their people to the northward had devoted the English to death for the space of six years; but when that time was expired and not before, they would live in friendship as formerly."²²

From all this it may be seen that the main object of fighting was not to defeat the enemy from any such sentiment as devotion to country or desire for plunder, but to obtain scalps and thereby social advancement and to placate the souls of the departed. From this fact and the heavy penalties laid upon the war leader in case of failure it transpired that the Indians seldom attacked against odds unless they believed their attack to be unexpected. A small, resolute body time and again beat off odds that could easily have wiped them out had it not been for the great fear of even slight loss on the part of the attackers. Adair mentions an instance in which 80 Choctaw would not attack the party to which he belonged, consisting of about 40 Chickasaw with women and children to protect, because they knew that their presence had been discovered.²³ On another occasion he states that 17 Chickasaw, accompanied by their wives and children, fought off more than 60 Choctaw.²⁴ In the time of an attack on the town or camp, Adair says, "It is usual for the women to sing the enlivening war songs; and it inflames the men's spirits so highly that they become as fierce as lions. I never knew an instance of the Indians running off, though, from a numerous enemy and leaving their women and children to their barbarous hands."²⁴ In another connection Adair mentions as a war custom the killing of a great number of captives because the leader of the war party had been wounded and his life was despaired of.²⁵ He cites an instance in which a Chickasaw had been killed by some Choctaw after having been given food and, since this fact was cast up against the Choctaw by the avenging party, it would seem to have been contrary to native laws of war. This is further strengthened by the fact that the Chickasaw thus killed was not scalped. In consequence the Chickasaw left the Choctaw whom they killed in retaliation also unscalped.²⁶

These statements apply with greatest force, of course, to the Chickasaw, but the essential features recur in the Southeast where-

²² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp 155-156.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 318-319.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 322-323.

ever we can get independent testimony from writers familiar with other tribes. As Adair's account is the best, I have chosen it as a nucleus about which to assemble the facts recorded by others. From the Alabama living in Texas I have obtained a little information confirmatory of what Adair tells us concerning the ark.

According to traditions they formerly had an ark which they took to war and which enabled them to defeat all of their enemies. When they camped they hung this ark upon a tree, or anything else, a short distance in front of them, and if a cry was heard coming from it during the night it meant that next day they would find and kill enemies. If the cry was like that of a woman, it meant that they would find and kill a woman, for the cry meant that the ark had caught the enemy. If no cry was heard from the ark, they would kill no one.

My informant spoke as if the tribe were possessed of but a single medicine of this kind, but there was probably at least one to each town and most likely more.

By the Indians of Tuskegee Speck was told that one of the medicines in the war bundle or "ark" "was believed to be parts of the horns of a certain mythical snake that was captured and killed by the people after it had destroyed many of them for generations. These horns were believed to render the warriors immune to wounds. Another object remembered as part of the bundle's contents was cedar leaves, *atcína*. When a warrior became wounded he called for the *hobáya* to come to him and give him an emetic of the *atcína* which was thought to insure recovery. A wounded man had little hope for recovery if this could not be done."²⁸ The "snake medicine" is also mentioned by Hawkins,²⁹ along with a medicine derived from the bones of a supernatural mythic panther, destroyed in the distant past by the remote ancestors of the Creeks. This last also appears in the migration legend related by Chekilli.³⁰

Before proceeding to the Creek customs proper, some scraps of evidence may be added regarding ancient Alabama war customs as contained in the traditions concerning their wars with the Choctaw.

The Alabama and Choctaw fought against each other for a long time. They used to take each other's scalps. A party of Indians would come near an enemy's house and hide, and, if a man came out of it, they would kill and scalp him and run off. They attacked on dark nights when the people in the houses could not see, and covered themselves with leaves so that they could not be detected even if the people hunted about outside. If a woman went down to a creek to wash clothing she would perhaps be killed and scalped by a man

²⁸ Speck in Mem. Am. Anthropol. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 118.

²⁹ See p. 429.

³⁰ See p. 36.

lying in ambush there. Sometimes, when people of all ages and both sexes were camping in a certain place, a hostile tribe would come when the men were all off hunting and kill the women and children. They would run a stick through a child and put it over the fire, so that the returning hunters would find it roasted like a squirrel.

The Choctaw once captured an Alabama boy. When he grew up the Choctaw fought against the Alabama, and he helped them, so the Alabama wanted to capture him. They went to a conjurer and asked his aid. He promised them that he would aid them and told the women to get sticks with which to whip the prospective captive. Then the Alabama captured him, tied him to a tree, and whipped him for a long time. After a while they piled weeds all about him and set them on fire but still he did not die. Then they tied dry grass around him by means of a rope fastened about the tree, set it on fire, and danced about him shaking their rattles. When he was nearly dead he fell down, and they shook their gourd rattles over him until he expired.

The best account of institutional killing among the Creeks themselves, except that of Milfort, is given by Swan and is as follows:

“Every individual is at liberty to choose whether or not he shall engage in any warlike enterprise. But the rage of young men to acquire war-names, and the thirst of plunder in the elder ones and leaders, are motives sufficient to raise gangs of volunteers to go in quest of hair and horses at any time when they are disengaged from hunting. It is little matter with them what the pretence for going to war may be. They think that force constitutes right; and victory is an infallible proof of justice on their side; and they attack as boldly as they are indefatigable in securing a scalp, or to obtain plunder.

“Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair.

“When a young warrior, after a successful expedition, approaches the town he belongs to, he announces his arrival by the war-whoop, which can be heard a mile or more, and his friends go out to meet him. The scalp he has taken is then suspended on the end of a red painted wand, and, amidst the yelling multitude, accompanied with the war-song, is brought in triumph by him into the square, or centre of the town, where it is either deposited, or cut up and divided among his friends, who then dub him a man and a warrior,

worthy of a war-name, and a seat at the ceremony of the black-drink, which he receives accordingly.

“Those who have seldom been abroad, and are not distinguished by war-names, are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. They have also one other common term of reproach, viz.: *Este dogo*, i. e. *you are nobody* [*isti toko*, ‘person is not’]; this is a very offensive expression, and cautiously to be used; to say, *you are a liar*, is a common and harmless reply; but to use either of the two expressions would bring on a quarrel at once.

“The complete equipment of a war-party is simply to each man a gun and ammunition, a knife, a small bag of gritz, or pounded corn, and two or three horse-ropes, or halters. These parties are commonly small; never more than forty, fifty, and sixty go out together, as may be seen by their war-camps frequently to be found in the woods, which are so constructed that the exact number of men in the party can at once be ascertained. They make a point of taking boys and girls prisoners, whom they carefully preserve to supply the places of such of their people as have been, or may be killed from among them. But they save grown men and women as prisoners only when avarice takes precedence of barbarity; and they set the price of ransom upon them according to the rank and estimation in which they may be held among their countrymen.

“When prisoners of the latter description are brought into any of their towns, the Indian women, by paying a small premium of tobacco to the victorious warriors, are permitted to have the honor of whipping them as they pass along. This is often practised, to the pain and ridicule of the unfortunate victim of their sport and barbarity.

“It is asserted, that in most cases, if the Indians are warmly attacked by their enemy, and can once be dislodged from their several towns, that they will content themselves with one scalp, which they divide among the whole, then scatter and make the best speed home to their several towns to tell their friends of the affair. They are much given to lying and exaggeration on these occasions.

“Their ruling passion seems to be war; and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government.”³¹

The following by Stiggins adds interesting particulars:

“They wage war thus: The national council is convened, and the nature of the offence is examined in a council of head chiefs and warriors, and if they conclude that the cause of collision is of so glaring a nature as to admit of no compromise or palliation, of nothing but the blood of the enemy, it is a positive declaration of war. The

³¹ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, pp. 279-281.

final conclusion of the chiefs is announced to the assembled body of the chiefs and warriors by the orator explaining to them and the assembly the reasons why they are justified in a declaration of war, before they make a descent on their enemy. On a day appointed they assemble at their town house square in complete armour all stript and painted red, black, and white as they go into action with their guns on their shoulders, their knife and tomahawk hanging to their side and war club stuck in their belt. . . . They all take their seats as they come. When assembled the man who is honored to be the town leader rises and takes his stand in the square where he raises the sacred war whoop and begins to sing and dance in the circle and as the rest rise they raise the same whoop and drop in behind the other; in a very little time their singing and dancing, is drowned by one eternal whooping and firing of guns. When they are assembled on their way to their enemy at the appointed rendezvous they hold a general war dance in the same way as described above.

“I will try to return to the former subject. After a declaration of war and before they commence hostilities they proceed to gathering every man, woman, and child belonging to the nation to their respective town and relations, let them be far or near. After they have collected all their kindred, they are ready to commence hostilities on the enemy. Then if one of the other nation is seen by them he is certainly destroyed; their petty wars are wars of extermination. They commence by small parties on venture, not man against man but tribe against tribe. It is a praiseworthy action for a man or a party of men to kill the women and children of their enemy, more so than to kill a man, who is frequently in the forest, whereas to kill a woman shews evidently that he [the slayer] was not afraid to go into his enemy's country but achieved the manly deed in their very house door and escaped.”³²

The following statement from Hawkins gives an excellent idea of the voluntary character of war parties, and the relation of the war to the civil chiefs. War “is always determined on by the Great Warrior [i. e. the *Tástánági Iáko*]. When the Micco and counsellors are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it is taken up, the Micco and counsellors may interpose, and by their prudent councils, stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous, the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among them, it is not recollected, that more than one half the nation have

³² Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 34-35.

been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk.

"The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off."³³

Regarding the fasts which preceded such expeditions the same writer says:

"When young men are going to war, they go into a hothouse of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau [miko hoyanidja] and the pos-sau [pasa], and they eat the Sou-watch-cau [sawatcka].³⁴ The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by³⁵ and Is-te-pau-pau,³⁶ the bones of the snake and lion.

"The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him, and reserved his bones.

"The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great way physic."³⁷

Considerable discredit has been cast upon Milfort by his pronounced egotism and the evident exaggerations introduced into his version of the migration legend of the Creeks, also by the picture of unity in the Creek confederacy which he presents. There are internal evidences of reliability about much of his information, however, and it must be remembered that his acquaintance with the confederacy was during the period of McGillivray's dictatorship when centralization of authority was at its height. I therefore believe that considerable value attaches to the following information; at least it gives us nearly all we know about the conduct of military operations in which

³³ Hawkins, Oa. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

³⁴ Cf. Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n., vol. II, p. 118.

³⁵ This is intended for teito yabi, "horned snake." The Creek chief Chicota told Doctor Gatschet that this medicine was used in hunting, not in war, but such customs change from decade to decade.

³⁶ Isti papa, "person eater."

³⁷ Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

several towns joined. There was not before or after this time the same unity of action, not even in the Creek-American War. The general correctness of Milfort's account is indicated by numerous points of agreement with the facts recorded by Adair and the other writers quoted above; in particular the prominent position he gives the war club as a war symbol tallies exactly with every scrap of information derived from other sources. The war medicines spoken of by Hawkins and in Chekilli's migration legend do not appear here; they were probably carried only by the head chief, or perhaps only by the chief of Kasihta.

Milfort claims to have been instrumental in doing away with the custom of burning captives at the stake,³⁸ but from what Bartram says^{38a} it is evident that it had begun to decline several years before. Milfort also says that he induced the Indians to rate the taking of a prisoner at three scalps which should belong to the captor.³⁹

His account follows:

"When he [the head war chief] had made known the necessity of calling together the warriors, a club was immediately exposed in public, part of which was painted red; that signified that a part of the nation, that is the young men, must hold themselves in readiness to march; for if the club had been colored red all over the entire nation would have had to prepare itself, something which happens only under extraordinary circumstances. The manner of painting this club red also lets each particular chief know at the same time how many men he must bring with him to the appointed rendezvous, so that the head war chief is always certain of the number of soldiers he will have at his disposal, a number which he regulates according as circumstances demand, and which he is able to fix absolutely.

"When it is thus necessary to assemble the warriors at a common rendezvous, the head war chief has a club partly colored red given to each subordinate chief; it is usually accompanied by a certain number of little sticks, which serve to inform the warriors who carry them into the different cantons of the nation, of the day when they must be at the general rendezvous, with the number of young men needed for the march. Each day at sunrise a stick is thrown away, and the day on which they throw away the last must be that of their arrival at the place of meeting; there have been few cases of delay in this general muster. In order to provide against every slip of the memory, the bearers of the red club are obliged to give to each chief every day the watchword, which is usually the name of the place and the day of the meeting. I am going to give here a more detailed account of this red club, to say how it is given and what is its use.

³⁸ Milfort, *Mém.*, p. 219.

^{38a} Bartram, *Travels*, p. 211.

³⁹ Milfort, *op. cit.*

“Before the Indians were acquainted with firearms, they used in combats only arrows and clubs; they have now entirely abandoned these arms, but they have preserved the club, as a sign of war only, and have replaced it in battle with the tomahawk or little hatchet.

“When the nation is forced to take arms, the head war chief or Tastanégý has exposed in the public squares a club, part of which is painted red; he also sends one to each band chief, accompanied by a number of sticks equal to that of the days which must elapse before he must present himself at the rendezvous. The head chief has absolute authority in fixing this day.

“When this club comes, each band chief has the drum beaten in front of the grand cabin [teokofa] of the town or village where he lives. All of the inhabitants repair thither immediately; he makes known to them the day and the place where he is going to light his fire; he repairs to this place before the appointed day, and lights the fire by rubbing two sticks of wood against each other; he places it in the middle of a square formed of four stakes, which is only large enough to hold the number of warriors which he wishes to assemble.

“At daybreak the chief places himself between the two stakes which face the rising sun; he holds in his hand a bundle of sticks. When a warrior enters the enclosure, which is open only on this side, he throws down a stick and continues until he reaches the last, when the number equals the number of soldiers which he needs. All of those who present themselves afterward are not admitted, and return home to take their hunting weapons, leaving directions where they are going to hunt, so that they can be found if they are needed. Those who thus present themselves too late are ill received when they return to their families, who reproach them for the lack of enthusiasm which they have shown in defending their fatherland.

“The warriors who are within the enclosure take there, for three days, a war medicine, of which I will speak presently; their women bring their arms and the things needed in the campaign; they place everything a hundred paces from the square; they add to these a little sack, in which is some corn or maize meal, an ounce of which suffices to make a pint of porridge. It is only necessary to dilute it with cold water and in five or six minutes it becomes as thick as porridge cooked over the fire: two ounces are sufficient to nourish a man for twenty-four hours. The savages make use of this porridge only when they are in the presence of the enemy, because then they are unable to go hunting.

“The three medicine days having expired, the chief leaves with his warriors, in order to be present at the general rendezvous indicated by the head chief. Independently of this medicine, taken generally, each band chief has a particular medicine, or rather

talisman, which he carries with himself religiously; it is a little sack in which there are certain stones and some pieces of cloth which he has taken from the clothing of the head chief, on returning from war. If the band chief should forget the sack he would not be able to command, and he would become a simple soldier during the entire expedition.⁴⁰

"The Tastanégy or head war chief presents himself at the rendezvous promptly on the day indicated, and he is sure to find the youth assembled there; then he places himself at the head of the army, makes all of the arrangements he considers proper, without being obliged to render an account to anyone, and, certain that the discipline and his orders will be punctually observed, he marches against the enemy with confidence.

"When the army is thus prepared to march, each subordinate chief must be provided with a drink which they call the war medicine. This medicine consists in a slightly purgative liquor, which each warrior must take for three successive days before setting out to war.

"The Indians attach very great virtue to this war medicine and they have such confidence in it that it would be difficult for a head war chief to take any part of his army if it were deprived of it. He would be exposed to the greatest danger, if, by a surprise, he was forced to make [his army] fight before having complied with this duty. If he suffered a reverse, which could not fail to happen, because the soldiers would have no confidence, and would be defeated in advance by their superstitious fears, the chief would be accused of having brought on [the disaster] by his negligence in not having had the war medicine distributed, and he would become responsible for all of the events resulting from it.

"If this custom presents such dangers to the chief of the army, it furnishes him in exchange with exceptional means for the success of his enterprises. There are two medicines, the great and the little, and it is for the head chief to designate which must be taken. The great medicine makes a fanatic, so to speak, of the soldier; when he is filled with this medicine, he believes himself invulnerable, like Achilles dipped in the Styx. The little medicine serves to diminish the dangers in his eyes. Full of confidence in his chief, he is easily persuaded that, if he offers him only the little war medicine, it is

⁴⁰ Elsewhere Milfort gives the following account of the way in which the bits of clothing were obtained:

"When a campaign is finished, and the army has returned, all the band chiefs accompany the Tastanégy or head war chief as far as the door of his house; and there the two oldest war chiefs descend from their horses, and set about stripping him completely; during this time two other chiefs present him with a piece of bark and some leaves of trees out of which a belt is made for him. As soon as he is disrobed, the two old men who have taken off his clothes tear them into small pieces and distribute them among all of the band chiefs who have been engaged in the expedition, and each of them puts his portion into the little medicine sack of which I have spoken.

"The army attaches such great virtue to this little sack that the chief who should forget it would not be able to command. When this distribution has been made, they sing a war song, each discharges his gun, and they separate to return to their respective homes." (Mém., pp. 321-322.)

because the circumstances do not demand the great one. It is for the sagacity of the chief to turn this superstition to advantage.

"This medicine, of the moral effect of which I have just spoken, has two effects purely physical. The first is that the Indians are very fond of getting drunk on strong liquors, and it is necessary to find a means of depriving them of these without exciting their murmurs. The medicine, great or little, offers this means, since, before taking it, they may not drink any liquor, a matter which they observe very religiously; and the chief, having the right to order it when he thinks that it is proper, can, in that way, preserve the utmost sobriety in the army. The second is that this medicine is really purgative, and the warrior thus purged is less endangered by the wounds which he receives, and which, in consequence, heal very promptly unless they are mortal. These people have still another means of diminishing the danger from their wounds, which is to fight almost naked. They recognize that a woolen garment, some particles of which almost always remain in the wounds, makes them much more difficult to heal and more dangerous. Thus shrewdness and religion, supporting each other, lend mutual assistance, and turn to the profit of those who know how to use them.

"The Moskoquis observe, during war, a very rigorous discipline; they can neither eat nor drink without the order of their chiefs. I have seen them go without drinking, even when swimming across a river, because circumstances had obliged their chief to forbid it to them under pain of depriving them of their little war medicine, that is, of the influence of the talisman."⁴¹

"When they go to war they observe a very rigorous discipline. At the moment when they approach the enemy, they march in single file, the chief of the party at their head, and so arrange it that all the following warriors step in the footprints of the first. Even those are sometimes concealed by the last man by means of grass. In this manner they prevent the enemy from telling their number. When they halt or camp they form a circle, and leave open only one passage large enough to admit one man. They seat themselves with their legs crossed, and each has his gun beside him. The chief faces the entrance of the circle, where no soldier can go out without his permission. When it is time to rest he gives the signal, and then no one is allowed to move. The awaking is also by a signal.

"It is usually the head chief who indicates the positions,⁴² and who has the sentinels placed charged with caring for the safety of the

⁴¹ "I have already said that the great medicine or general medicine is taken before setting out."—Milfort. It is not altogether clear whether Milfort means that they were to be threatened with deprivation of the little war medicine taken internally or the medicine sack, but the former was probably intended. Milfort, *Mém.*, pp. 238-249.

⁴² Elsewhere he tells us that particular clans had the right to certain positions when on a war expedition. "These same [privileged] families, that is, the young warriors who belong to them, usually march to war ahead, and the war chief takes care to preserve this prerogative, unless circumstances compel another disposition. It is a means of emulation from which he sometimes derives great advantage." (p. 255.)

army. He always has a great number of scouts in advance and behind, so that the army is very seldom surprised. On the other hand the savages wage a war of surprise on Europeans, and it is very dangerous for those who do not understand it."⁴³

"These peoples, although endowed with a very warlike spirit, live very quietly and do not trouble their neighbors; but, when an enemy compels them to gather and take up arms, they do not return home without having fought, and having taken scalps from them; which may be compared to banners among European troops. When a Moskoqui has killed his enemy, he carries off his entire scalp, and it is a token very honorable for him, when he returns to the nation. You would be surprised at the skill and the swiftness with which they take off the skin of the head of a man whom they have killed. These scalps are not all of the same value; they are classified, and it is for the chiefs, as witnesses of noble actions, to pronounce on the merit of each of them. It is on the basis of the number and merit of these scalps that advancement takes place, as well in civil as in military affairs. Here I am going to give the reader an idea of the value which the Creeks place on carrying away the scalps of their enemies.

"The greater number of savage nations of North America took almost no prisoners of war; when, by chance, they did take some, they burned them or made them die in the most cruel torments after they had returned home. It was a feast day both for the victim and the executioners; the latter rejoiced at destroying an enemy of their country, and the former at dying for his. As it was a great honor for a warrior to kill many of his country's enemies, each pretended to have killed the most. At the period when I arrived among the Creeks, it was necessary, in order to occupy any place at all, to have carried away at least seven enemy scalps. A young Creek who, having been at war, did not bring back at least one scalp, always bore the name of his mother,⁴⁴ and he was not able to get a wife. . . .

"When a young warrior brings back a scalp for the first time, the chief and the warriors of the place where he lives, assemble in the great cabin in order to give him a name, and to take from him that of his mother. It is usually the chiefs who judge of the value of a scalp, based upon the dangers which have been gone through in order to carry it off; and they are, as I have said above, titles of advancement and consideration.

"At the moment of combat the head chief usually stations himself in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever the danger seems to him most pressing; and, when he perceives that his army is faltering and he fears lest it give way before the efforts of the enemy, he advances in person and engages in hand to hand

⁴³ Milfort, *Mém.*, pp. 217-219.

⁴⁴ Milfort means his childhood name, taken from the list of names belonging to his mother's clan. See Swan's remarks, pp. 426-427.

combat. A cry, repeated to left and right, informs all of the warriors of the danger to which their chief is exposed. Immediately all of the bodies of reserves unite and march to the place where the head chief is in order to compel the enemy to leave him; if he is dead they would all die rather than abandon his body to the enemy without having carried off his scalp. They attach such honour to the loss of this scalp that, when the danger is too great, and they are unable, in spite of all their efforts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, the warrior who is nearest to the chief kills him himself, removes his scalp, and takes to flight uttering a cry which is known only to savages, and repairs at once to the place which had been indicated by this same chief whither they should retire in case they were beaten. All of the under chiefs, informed by this cry of the death of the head chief, prepare to retreat; and as soon as it [the retreat] is brought about, before taking any other measure, they proceed to the nomination of a new head war chief in order that the enemy may not perceive the loss of the first which they have suffered.⁴⁵

Bartram speaks of a "royal standard" made of the tail feathers of the *Vultur sacra*, "which is called by a name signifying the eagle's tail." "This," he goes on to say, "they carry with them when they go to battle, but then it is painted with a zone of red within the brown tips; and in peaceable negotiations it is displayed new, clean, and white; this standard is held most sacred by them on all occasions, and is constructed and ornamented with great ingenuity. These birds seldom appear but when the deserts [i. e., uninhabited areas] are set on fire (which happens almost every day throughout the year, in some part or other, by the Indians, for the purpose of rousing the game, as also by lightning)."⁴⁶

This can only have been the calumet, which was often detached from the pipe and borne about separately. It is not mentioned by the other writers as an article carried along by a war party, unless Adair has it in mind when he says that the Muskogee "had exchanged their bloody tomohawks, and red and black painted swans wings, a strong emblem of blood and death, in confirmation of their offensive and defensive treaty."⁴⁷ It may be that their swan-feather crowns were painted and worn in war but he nowhere so says. He mentions the war pipes, however, to which the tribal beaus used to fasten fawns' trotters, small pieces of tinkling metal, or wild turkey-cock spurs "with the addition of a piece of an enemy's scalp with a tuft of long hair hanging down from the middle of the stem, each of them painted red: and they still observe that old custom, only they choose bell-buttons, to give a greater sound."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Milfort, *Mém.*, pp. 249-254.

⁴⁶ Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 149-150.

⁴⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 252.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7

Red and black are well known as war colors down to the present day. Milfort states that the Creeks painted their bodies all over when going to war⁴⁹ but my own informants mentioned only the face and breast. Half of the face is said to have been painted red and half black, the first for war and the warpath, the second for the death that was to be dealt at the end of the warpath. Before being applied these paints were conjured in the usual Creek manner—i. e., the medicine man repeated a formula over them and blew into them through a reed. Mr. Grayson has told me that during the Civil War, when the Creeks enlisted in the Confederate army were about to go into action, the Indian doctor who was with them, who was in fact my informant Jackson Lewis, smeared a mixture of red paint and charcoal upon the cheeks and breasts of the Indians, and made a sign like a cross upon them. This last may have been an idea borrowed from Catholic priests. The red paint and charcoal were evidently a survival of the red and black paints of olden times. After the fight he made them bathe in a creek, and then drink some water and throw it up again.

Besides the feathers already mentioned I am told that the crow feather was anciently the great feather among the Creeks used principally in war. It probably signified death, but it was conjured over when a party was on the warpath in order to put the enemy into a sound sleep. To counteract this influence the feathers of the blue jay were used. Eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers might be employed in war, but the principal is said to have been the crow feather as mentioned above. The feathers of the white crane signified peace. A formula or song, known as *ina hīta*, was sung by a warrior just before he went into battle. This was to preserve him from harm.

Jackson Lewis asserted that war leaders were taken only from men who had passed through the period of training described in the section on education, which was undertaken in periods of from 4 to 12 days and involved the acquirement of numerous incantations and medical practices.^{49a} They could not, however, be graduates of White clans, and it is evident that they must also be men who had attained distinction in previous warlike enterprises. From the same authority I also obtained the following account of Creek war officers.

The highest of these officers, the one who had particular charge of the war interests of the town, was called *hobayī mi'ko*, "far-away-chief," and he is probably identical with the man usually known as *tāstānāgi lāko*. He was the man who declared war. Next in command was the *hobayutei*, "little-far-away." Third came the *tāstānāk hobayī*, "far-away-warrior," fourth the *tāstānākutei*, "little warrior," fifth the *lihomāhti* or "trailer," and sixth the *lihomahtūtei*, or "little trailer." These two last were

⁴⁹ Milfort, *Mém.*, pp. 33-34.

^{49a} See p. 367 and also pp. 617-620 in the second paper of this volume.

scouts whose duties were to determine whither the enemy had gone. Seventh and lastly there was an officer known as the *minkiso* or *inkisu*, who looked after the supplies—i. e., he was the head of the commissary department. If another tribe had committed some depredation the sufferers would send runners out who uttered a peculiar whoop, and when this was heard the people would meet at some designated spot and these officers would put themselves at their head. Or if some young men desired to go out after scalps they would signify their desire and these officers would head them.

As it seems unlikely that so many officers would go out at the same time in order to satisfy the thirst for glory of one or two youths, we are probably to understand that this represents the complete quota of officers for a party of some size. That the leader of every party was ordinarily called *hobayi* seems to be established by the testimony of Adair⁵⁰ and Jackson Lewis. Adair states that he was a kind of temporary war priest, and Jackson Lewis, as above stated, declared that he was always selected from among those men who had received the training of a doctor.⁵¹ Doctor Speck's informant, it will be noticed, distinguishes the *hobayi* or "*hobaya*" from the war leader ("*imissi*"), and lays particular emphasis on the religious functions of the former. He is described as "a shaman and prophet," as "a busy man in battle," who "besides carrying the fetishes and administering the emetic . . . had to sing and shout certain songs and formulas which would frighten and confuse the enemy."⁵² It is possible that, while the war leader was normally a *hobayi*, one who had received a doctor's training, there were exceptions, and that, in such cases, for reasons that we can well appreciate, it was thought necessary that a *hobayi* accompany the expedition. This would account very satisfactorily for the discrepancies between Doctor Speck's description of a war party and the others.

It will be remembered that Bartram, in his account of the *chunkey* yard, speaks of two "slave posts" to which captives were tied when they were to be tortured and burned to death.⁵³ It is doubtful whether the number and position of these was very definite. They are still faintly remembered by some of the old Indians and are said to have been in the shape of war clubs (*atasa*). It is also recalled that they tied grass about the bodies of the captives and set it on fire. As in the case of the Chickasaw, older captives were usually burned at the stake, and the younger ones adopted unless they had been devoted in advance.

⁵⁰ See p. 411. Mr. McCombs says that only the *miko* ranked higher.

⁵¹ See p. 436.

⁵² Speck in Mem. Am. Anthropol. Assn., vol. II, p. 118.

⁵³ See p. 175.

From Adair's account it will be seen that killing and scalping had a religious as well as a social basis, the former being the necessity the people felt themselves under—in this respect like the ancient Greeks—of placating the souls of the dead. There is every reason to think that ancient Creek belief was practically the same, but this side of the institution appears to have died first, the social advancement to be won through scalps being a more persistent motive.

In the most ancient times stockades, in which natural features were taken advantage of and which sometimes had moats, played a great part in warfare, especially in regions often harried by war parties. It is significant that the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition do not mention such structures until they reached the tribes near Tennessee River—i. e., the frontiers of the Muskogean peoples toward the north.⁵⁴ In this quarter they were probably subject to incursions of Cherokee, Iroquois, and Shawnee and other Algonkian peoples. Stockades were again found along Alabama River, and from thence to the Mississippi—i. e., on the western Creek boundary. Ulibahali and a deserted town near it were stockaded, also Mabila, Chickasaw, and Alibamo.⁵⁵ The following description of a stockade is given by Ranjel:

“Three days march southeast of Tuasi (Tawasa) and two days before they came to Talisi (Tulsa) the Spaniards “came to an old village that had two fences and good towers, and these walls are after this fashion: They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with long withes, and then overlaid with clay within and without. They make loopholes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best. And at a distance it looks like a fine wall or rampart and such stockades are very strong.”⁵⁶

Similar to this is Elvas's account of the stockade of Ulibahali. “The fence,” he says, “which was like that to other towns seen afterwards, was of large timber sunk deep and firmly into the earth, having many long poles of the size of the arm, placed crosswise to nearly the height of a lance, with embrasures, and coated with mud inside and out, having loopholes for archery.”⁵⁷

Methods of constructing fences of this character were well known throughout the Southeast, and Le Moyne gives what purports to be a picture of one seen in Florida, though it appears to be utterly unreliable.⁵⁸

When De Soto and his companions entered the temple, or rather ossuary, of Talimeco they found there “breastplates like corselets

⁵⁴ Bourne, *Narr. of De Soto*, vol. II, pp. 15, 108.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 85, 90, 104, 103; vol. II, pp. 18, 24, 115, 123, 125, 136.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 115.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 85.

⁵⁸ This description is given in *Bulletin* 73, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, pp. 379-380. Cf. also *Bulletin* 43, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, pp. 133-134.

and headpieces made of rawhide, the hair stripped off; and also very good shields."⁵⁹ Farther on the Indians who came across the Mississippi to oppose the Spaniards "had shields made of canes joined, so strong and so closely interwoven with such thread that a crossbow could hardly pierce them."⁶⁰ The existence of armor and shields among the southern Indians is therefore proved, although they were given up soon after white contact because the introduction of guns rendered them useless.

In their fights with the Spaniards the Indians usually went naked, and they had carried the science of warfare with the bow and arrow to a high level, as the Spaniards freely testify. Elvas says: "The Indians are exceedingly ready with their weapons, and so warlike and nimble, that they have no fear of footmen; for if these charge them they flee, and when they turn their backs they are presently upon them. They avoid nothing more easily than the flight of an arrow. They never remain quiet, but are continually running, traversing from place to place, so that neither crossbow nor arquebuse can be aimed at them. Before a Christian can make a single shot with either, an Indian will discharge three or four arrows; and he seldom misses of his object. Where the arrow meets with no armour, it pierces as deeply as the shaft from a crossbow."⁶¹ He adds that the arrows with heads generally broke on a target, but those made of sharpened cane would go through, and they would split against armor but penetrate it.⁶¹ Cabeza de Vaca, in speaking of an encounter between the people of Narvaez and the Apalachee, says: "There were men that day who swore they had seen two oak trees, each as thick as the calf of a leg, shot through and through by arrows, which is not surprising if we consider the force and dexterity with which they shoot. I myself saw an arrow that had penetrated the base of a poplar tree for half a foot in length."⁶² Says Ranjel, in describing the battle of Mabila: "The arrow shots were tremendous, and sent with such a will and force that the lance of one gentleman named Nuño de Tovar, made of two pieces of ash and very good, was pierced by an arrow in the middle, as by an augur, without being split, and the arrow made a cross with the lance."⁶³ By means of arrows on which flaming tree moss had been tied houses and other constructions were set on fire by the Florida Indians as described and illustrated by Le Moyne. The Chickasaw used another device to fire their town when it was occupied by the Spaniards, the same resorted to by Gideon. They brought fire past the sentinels in little pots, two to four getting by at a time.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Bourne, *Narr. of De Soto*, vol. II, p. 101.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 25-26.

⁶² *Jour. of Alvar. Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, *Bandelier Narr.*, p. 31.

⁶³ Bourne, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 127.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

De Soto found the Apalachee as intrepid and warlike as did Narvaez. To Garcilasso, Alonso de Carmona thus described them and their method of fighting:

“Those Indians of Apalache are very tall, very valiant and full of spirit; since, just as they showed themselves and fought with those who were with Pamphilo de Narvaez, and drove them out of the country in spite of themselves, they kept flying in our faces every day and we had daily brushes with them; and as they failed to make any headway with us, because our Governor was very brave, energetic, and experienced in Indian warfare, they concluded to withdraw to the woods in small bands, and as the Spaniards were going out for wood and were cutting it in the forest, the Indians would come up at the sound of the axe and would kill the Spaniards and loose the chains of the Indians whom they brought to carry back the cut wood and take the Spaniards’ scalps, which was what they most prized, to hang upon the arm of their bows with which they fought; and at the sound of the voices and of arms we would immediately repair thither, and we found the consequences of a lack of precaution. In that way they killed for us more than twenty soldiers, and this happened frequently. And I remember that one day seven horsemen went out from the camp to forage for food and to kill a little dog to eat; which we were used to do in that land, and a day that we got something we thought ourselves lucky; and not even pheasants ever tasted better to us. And going in search of these things they fell in with five Indians who were waiting for them with bows and arrows, and they drew a line on the ground and told them not to cross that or they would all die. And the Spaniards, who would not take any fooling, attacked them, and the Indians shot off their bows and killed two horses and wounded two others, and also a Spaniard severely; and the Spaniards killed one of the Indians and the rest took to their heels and got away, for they are truly very nimble and are not impeded by the adornments of clothes, but rather are much helped by going bare.”⁶⁵

Canoe fights took place at times, most frequently in Florida or on the Mississippi. The following from Garcilasso will give some idea of a canoe fight and of the strategy employed by the Indians:

“When the enemy had been some time following us in order to reconnoitre, they separated their fleet into three divisions. The troops of Quigaltanqui put themselves at the head, but they could not really learn whether he commanded them himself, although they often heard him mentioned in the songs of the barbarians. Afterwards, all the vessels of the fleet advanced to the right towards the bank of the river, and got the lead. Those of the first division immediately attacked our caravels, in crossing to the other side of the

⁶⁵ Garcilasso in Bourne, *Narr. of De Soto*, vol. II, pp. 151-152.

river, and covered them with arrows, so that there were several Spaniards wounded. The first division was no sooner on the left than it recrossed and came and recovered its place; nevertheless, always advancing beyond the brigantines. The second division, which crossed after having attacked with fury, returned to the right and placed itself at the head of the first. The third passed in the same manner, and having showered a quantity of arrows upon the soldiers, they rejoined those of their party and came and posted themselves in front of the second division. In the mean time, as our caravels did not cease rowing, they arrived at the position of the barbarians who had first attacked them, and who began to attack them in the same manner as before. The others also attacked, each in their order and their accustomed manner, and harassed the Spaniards all the day. Even during the night they tormented them, but not with so much persistency, for they made but two attacks, the first a little before sunset, and the other before daybreak." ⁶⁶

A little beyond he records the adroit manner in which the Indians withdrew before a party of Spaniards who were advancing in canoes, suddenly rushed upon them from all sides, and upset their boats, thereby destroying all but four of the occupants.⁶⁶ Doubtless such scenes as these were many times repeated in desperate intertribal wars waged along this river and in the coast regions.

Peace making was, naturally enough, a prerogative of the miko or civil chief and his counsellors, as Hawkins says.⁶⁷ He adds that "peace talks are always addressed to the cabin of the Mic-co," and that in some cases, where the resentment of the warriors has run high, the Micco and council have been much embarrassed." ⁶⁷

The only accounts of peace making ceremonies of any length are two from Adair. They are in a way complementary but indicate some slight divergence in the customs under different conditions. His first statement is as follows:

"When two nations of Indians are making, or renewing, peace with each other, the ceremonies and solemnities they use, carry the face of great antiquity, and are very striking to a curious spectator, which I shall here relate, so far as it suits the present subject. When strangers of note arrive near the place, where they design to contract new friendship, or confirm their old amity, they send a messenger a-head, to inform the people of their amicable intention. He carries a swan's wing in his hand, painted all over with streaks of white clay, as an expressive emblem of their embassy. The next day, when they have made their friendly parade, with firing off their guns

⁶⁶ Garcilasso in Shipp's History of De Soto and Florida, pp. 466-467.

⁶⁷ Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

and whooping, and have entered the beloved square, their chieftain, who is a-head of the rest, is met by one of the old beloved men, or magi, of the place. He and the visitant approach one another, in a bowing posture. The former says, *Yò, ish la chu Anggóna?*⁷⁰ . . . The other replies, *Yah—Arahre-O, Anggona.*⁷¹ The magus then grasps the stranger with both his hands, around the wrist of his right hand, which holds some green branches—again, about the elbow—then around the arm, close to his shoulder, as a near approach to the heart. Then his immediately waving the eagles tails over the head of the stranger, is the strongest pledge of good faith.”⁷²

The later statement runs thus:

“I can not however conclude this argument, without a few remarks concerning the Indian methods of *making peace*, and of renewing their old friendship. They first smoke out of the friend-pipe, and eat together; then they drink of the *Cusseena*, using such invocations as have been mentioned, and proceed to wave their large fans of eagles-tails, concluding with a dance. The persons visited, appoint half a dozen of their most active and expert young warriors to perform this religious duty, who have had their own temples adorned with the swanfeather-cap. They paint their bodies with white clay, and cover their heads with swan-down; then approaching the chief representative of the strangers, who by way of honour, and strong assurance of friendship, is seated on the central white or holy seat, ‘the beloved cabin’ (which is about nine feet long and seven feet broad),^{72a} they wave the eagles tails backward and forward over his head.⁷³ Immediately they begin the solemn song with an awful air; and presently they dance in a bowing posture; then they raise themselves so erect, that their faces look partly upwards, waving the eagles tails with their right hand toward heaven, sometimes with a slow, at others with a quick motion; at the same time they touch their breast with their small calabash and pebbles fastened to a stick about a foot long, which they hold in their left hand, keeping time with the motion of the eagles tails; during the dance, they repeat the usual divine notes, *Yo*, etc., and wave the eagles tails now and then over the stranger’s head, not moving above two yards backward or forward before him. They are so surprisingly expert in their supposed religious office, and observe time so exactly, with their particular gestures and notes, that there is not the least discernible discord. . . .

⁷⁰ *Yò*, excl.; *ishla*, thou hast come; *cho*, sign of interrogation; *a^okana*, my friend.

⁷¹ *Yau*, yes; *alali*, I am come; *O*, strengthening particle; *a^okana*, my friend.

⁷² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 60.

^{72a} The dimensions given show that Adair is speaking merely of the central section of the west bed. See pp. 181, 185.

⁷³ When they are disaffected, or intend to declare war, they will not allow any of the party against whom they have hostile views, to approach the white seat; as their holy men, and holy places, are considered firmly bound to keep good faith and give sure refuge.—Adair.

“The Indians can not shew greater honour to the greatest potentate on earth than to place him in the white seat—invoke Yo He Wah, while he is drinking the Cusseena, and dance before him with the eagles tails. When two chieftains are renewing, or perpetuating friendship with each other, they are treated with the same ceremonies. And in their circular friendly dances, when they honour their guests, and pledge themselves to keep good faith with them, they sometimes sing their divine notes with a very awful air, pointing their right hand towards the sky. Some years ago, I saw the Kooasahte Indians (two hundred miles up Mobile River) perform this rite with much solemnity; as if invoking the deity by their notes and gestures, to enable them to shew good-will to their fellow-creatures, and to bear witness of their faithful vows and conduct.”⁷⁴

A peace-making ambassador, besides carrying the swans' wings, was provided with eagles' tails, white beads, white pipes, and tobacco.⁷⁵ When Adair visited the Choctaw for the purpose of concluding peace with them, they tied strings of beads about his neck, arms, and legs, and in return he presented to them silver arm-plates, gorgets, wrist plates, ear bobs, and so on.⁷⁶

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture among the Creeks had both an economic and a social side. We are here concerned only with the latter. Each town, in addition to small garden plots worked by individual families, or rather by their female members, had a large common field located as near the town as possible. This was planted with corn chiefly, although beans, squashes, pumpkins, melons, potatoes, and rice are mentioned by early travelers, the last three contributions from the whites. The allotments of the different households were separated by a narrow strip of grass, poles, or any suitable natural or artificial boundary. In caring for this the town acted together, under the charge of an overseer said to have been appointed annually. He called the men to the square by going through the town blowing upon a conch shell or uttering a loud cry. Immediately they gathered with hoes and axes, and then marched in order to the field as if they were going to battle, headed by their overseer. The women followed in detached parties bearing the provisions for the day. Anyone who attempted to shirk was fined. In the field they also worked together, beginning with the patch at one end and going through to the last. In this way they prepared the field, planted it, and cultivated it from time to time until the harvest was ready. While they were at work they sang certain special songs. Generally they suspended work early in the afternoon and indulged in ball games or other sports, which were

⁷⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 167-169.

⁷⁵ These things are enumerated by Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 269-270, and 316.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

followed by a dance in the evening. While the corn was in the ground the young people, under the supervision of some of their elders, were stationed in the fields, where small shelters were often built for them, and drove away any animals and birds coming to disturb it. The boys were armed with bows and arrows, and had acquired such skill with these that Bartram says they loaded themselves with squirrels, birds, and other small game in the course of the day.⁷⁷ According to the same writer the men took turns patrolling the field at night, "to protect their provisions from the depredations of night rovers, as bears, raccoons, and deer, the two former being immoderately fond of young corn, when the grain is filled with a rich milk, as sweet and nourishing as cream; and the deer are as fond of the Potatoe vines."⁷⁷

When the harvest was ripe all proceeded to the field in the same manner, but this time each family garnered from his own plot. The women made sacks out of cowskins, and the corn was carried home in these after it had been shucked. Then it was laid away in rows in the different granaries, the better corn farther back as that which would last longest, the worse nearer the entrance. A portion of the harvest, however, each family contributed to a large cornerib, which Bartram says was called "the king's crib."⁷⁸ This constituted a reserve supply upon which to fall back when the private granaries gave out. Or it was used to succor other towns, to feed travelers, to supply to war parties, and so on. It was, in fact, a kind of public commissary.

I was told that the ground of the *hili-haya* or physic maker was planted by some of the old women in return for his services. This must refer to his garden plot. At *Tukabahchee* and *Kealedji* it was close to the northwestern edge of the grounds.

HUNTING

Hunting and the ball play were close rivals for the second place after war in the esteem of the ancient Creeks. The former was of course a necessity and has its strictly economic side which does not here concern us. A few words may, however, be said regarding it from the social and religious points of view.

Elsewhere I have spoken of the ancient rights to hunting grounds and of the times of the year when hunting expeditions were undertaken.^{78a}

The Creeks usually took medicines and washed their guns in them before they went after game. The Alabama, and probably the Creeks in general, steamed themselves thoroughly in the sweat house and then plunged into a cold stream before they set out. If several

⁷⁷ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 192.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

^{78a} See pp. 336-337, 404-405.

hunters were going together they took the sweat bath one at a time. While they were out they put Indian tobacco (*hitei pákpági*) under every campfire both going and returning in order to keep away the maleficent spirits of the dead. Before leaving home the hunters prepared a pot of medicine. The last of the ingredients to be put into this were four sticks of *miko hoyanīdja* which went on top. This medicine was used for four successive days, and afterwards the four sticks of *miko hoyanīdja* were taken out and carried along by the party. Afterwards the same medicine was employed by them in all kinds of ways, as an emetic, to bathe in, steam in, etc. If the hunter were not successful he might use another such as the "devil's shoestring" or a vine called *itco hīlīswa* ("deer medicine"). These matters were of course under the direction of a medicine man, since one of these accompanied each party. According to an Alabama informant when deer were killed each hunter gave the medicine man a skin by way of payment, but this probably applied only when the hunt was reasonably successful.

Eakins says that each hunting party made its own regulations regarding the distribution of the game. "The person who starts an animal and wounds it, is entitled to the skin. The meat is divided according to agreement. Each one bags his own game. In cases of thefts from traps, the offenders are punished by law."⁷⁹

When an Alabama hunter gave a bear bone to his dogs he laid it down near by, for if he threw it some distance off he feared that the bear would run away. In fact he threw bear bones far from him at no time. Dishes soiled with bear grease must not be washed at the creek, but instead a bucket of water must be brought to the camp and the dishes must be washed there. The same thing must be done with dishes soiled with deer grease; deer bones could, however, be thrown anywhere. If these regulations were not observed it was believed the hunters would kill nothing. Boys were not allowed to wrestle about in camp: if they did a bear would jump upon someone and kill him. After his return the successful hunter divided his meat among all of the houses in the yard and sent a little to his own parents. Nevertheless, the cooking was done by each family separately. "I have often observed," says Bossu, "that when they returned from the chase the chiefs took great care, before dividing the food, to set aside the share of the old men who were to return to the widows and the orphans whose fathers had been killed in war in defense of the fatherland."⁸⁰

After an Indian had chased a bear, deer, or other game animal for a long time until he had become tired and sweaty he would take a fish-tooth scratcher and scratch one thigh until the blood ran. This would prevent him from getting tired out. Long ago the Indians

⁷⁹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 278.

⁸⁰ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 26-27.

scratched their bodies all over so that the loss of blood would lighten them and they would be able to run long distances without becoming weary. Regarding the Indian runners in his time Adair says:

“Though some of us have often ran the swiftest of them out of sight, when on the chase in a collective body, for about the distance of twelve miles; yet, afterward, without any seeming toil, they would stretch on, leave us out of sight, and out-wind any horse.” He reinforces this statement by telling how the Choctaw chief Red Shoes had run down and killed a French trader mounted on a fast horse.⁸¹

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

The languages of the southern Indians are matters for separate discussion, and, as our classification is based on language, that in itself will indicate the number of dialects so far as they are known. Some other means of communicating intelligence were also in existence. I shall speak presently of mnemonic devices such as notches, knots, beads, and pictures.^{81a} Smoke signals were also in use. In the Elvas account of the De Soto expedition we read that “so soon as the Christians appeared in sight of land [near Tampa Bay, Florida], they were descried, and all along the coast many smokes were seen to rise, which the Indians make to warn one another.”⁸² And I was told myself that when the Seminole in Oklahoma went out hunting they divided into parties which preserved the proper distance from one another by smoke signals. They would light a fire, and, as the film of smoke rose they would stop it at intervals by throwing a blanket over it. Whooping also formed a kind of means of communication. The death whoop and the whoop of the successful warrior coming in with a scalp were well known. Adair also speaks of “the whoop of friendship,” “the whoop of defiance,” and the “news whoop.”⁸³ Most interesting of all was a sign language. The existence of such a language among the Plains Indians is well recognized and by them it was carried to a high point of development. It is not so well known that there was such a language among the southern Indians, but the existence at least of a rough and ready device of the kind seems to be proven by Adair, who says:

“The present American Aborigines seem to be as skilful Pantomimi, as ever were those of ancient Greece or Rome, or the modern Turkish mutes, who describe the meanest things spoken, by gesture, action, and the passions of the face. Two far-distant Indian nations, who understand not a word of each other’s language, will intelligibly converse together, and contract engagements, without an interpreter, in such a surprising manner, as is scarcely credible.”⁸⁴

⁸¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 318.

^{81a} See pp. 453-456.

⁸² Bourne, *Narr. of De Soto*, vol. 1, p. 22.

⁸³ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 165, 166, 254, 273, 276, 277, 301, 318, 323, 326.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

TRAVEL AND GREETINGS

The material I have collected under this head may well be introduced by the following from Adair, which pictures the primitive customs in that regard very satisfactorily:

“When the Indians are travelling in their own country, they enquire for a house of their own tribe [i. e., clan]; and if there be any, they go to it, and are kindly received, though they never saw the persons before—they eat, drink, and regale themselves, with as much freedom, as at their own tables; which is the solid ground covered with a bear-skin. It is their usual custom to carry nothing along with them in their journies but a looking-glass, and red paint, hung to their back—their gun and shot pouch—or bow and quiver full of barbed arrows; and, frequently, both gun and bow; for as they are generally in a state of war against each other, they are obliged, as soon as able, to carry those arms of defence. Every town has a statehouse, or synedrion, as the Jewish sanhedrin, [i. e., the *teokofa*] where, almost every night, the head men convene about public business; or the town’s-people to feast, sing, dance, and rejoice, . . . as will fully be described hereafter. And if a stranger calls there, he is treated with the greatest civility and hearty kindness—he is sure to find plenty of their simple home fare, and a large cane-bed covered with the softened skins of bears, or buffaloes, to sleep on. But, when his lineage is known to the people, (by a stated custom, they are slow in greeting one another) his relation, if he has any there, addresses him in a familiar way, invites him home, and treats him as his kinsman.”⁸⁵

Bartram has the following to say about the hospitality of these people and it is confirmed in the main by Adair who remarks like all early writers that hospitality was considered a cardinal virtue among them and its absence a serious blemish.⁸⁶

“A man goes forth on his business or avocations; he calls in at another town; if he wants victuals, rest or social conversation, he confidently approaches the door of the first house he chooses, saying ‘I am come’; [and] the good man or woman replies, ‘You are; it’s well.’ Immediately victuals and drink are ready; he eats and drinks a little, then smokes tobacco, and converses either of private matters, public talks, or the news of the town. He rises and says, ‘I go!’ the other answers, ‘You do!’ He then proceeds again, and steps in at the next habitation he likes, or repairs to the public square, where are people always conversing by day, or dancing by night, or to some more private assembly, as he likes.”⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 17-18.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁷ Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 488-489.

The following from Stiggins may also be included:

"The most prominent and I believe it to be the most uniform feature in their national character which shows itself constantly is in their civility and innocent deportment to each other and especially to a stranger that may travel among them and is sociable and seems to wish to conform to their customs and manners, without being self important or asking too many impertinent questions, which will often disgust them and conclude in bad consequences. . . . [One 'churlish of his eatables'] is termed by them a (nobody). So of all people they are the most tenacious of their reputation in hospitality, for on the entrance of a stranger into one of their huts he is immediately requested to sit down and as an introduction to his acquaintance he is asked his residence, destination, and business. Such questions are so common to them that they are replied to satisfactorily and in a brief manner, and in the meanwhile he is supplied with eatables, which is uniformly done at every house at which he may call. Their provisions bestowed on an acquaintance or stranger are put forth with a welcome which need not be doubted, should it compose the last morsel that they have got, as the provisions they bestow on a man are one of the links of their chief pride, and to doubt his hearty welcome in that case would unutterably hurt his feelings."⁸⁸

Although Romans was no lover of the Creeks his testimony in this particular is equally favorable. He says:

"They are very hospitable and never fail of making a stranger heartily welcome, offering him the pipe as soon as he arrives, while the good women are employed to prepare a dish of venison and homany, with some bread made of maize and flour, and being wrapped in maize leaves, baked under the ashes; when it is served up they accompany it with bears fat purified to a perfectly chrystalline oyl, and a bottle of honey with which last article the country abounds, and it is so good a quality, as in my opinion to exceed that of *Calabria* and *Minorca*.

"In the lower nation and the allied tribes, there are many who keep rice by them and have plenty of beef; of all which articles they are profusely liberal, and I believe had they only a single potatoe, they would share it with a stranger. In the fruit season they never fail to accompany these regales with melons, peaches, plums, grapes, or some other wild fruit.

"After the traveller is made welcome by his host, the latter introduces him into the assembly, which is kept every evening at a place called the square, of which we find one in each town. At this place he is entertained with tobacco and cassine drink; this is also the common resort of their old men and warriors to deliberate on matters of peace and war, to judge what steps are to be taken for the welfare

⁸⁸ Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 16.

of the nation, and to decide the fate of their neighbours; so that this square doth not ill answer to the description we have of the Roman *Forum* or Athenian *Areopage*; the evening ends in a dance, which is the common practice every night."⁸⁹

The public welcome extended to visitors from other tribes is perhaps well exemplified in Bartram's account of the way in which he was received by the Oconee chief, called by the British "the Cowkeeper," when he visited him at his town in Florida near Alachua. He says:

"We were welcomed to the town, and conducted by the young men and maidens to the chief's house, which stood on an eminence, and was distinguished from the rest by its superior magnitude, a large flag being hoisted on a high staff at one corner. We immediately alighted: the chief, who is called the Cowkeeper, attended by several ancient men, came to us, and in a very free and sociable manner, shook our hands, or rather arms, (a form of salutation peculiar to the American Indians) saying at the same time, 'You are come.' We followed him to an apartment prepared for the reception of their guests.

"The pipe being filled, it is handed around; after which a large bowl, with what they call, 'thin drink,' [sofki?] is brought in and set down on a small low table. In this bowl is a great wooden ladle; each person takes up in it as much as he pleases, and after drinking until satisfied, returns it again into the bowl, pushing the handle towards the next person in the circle; and so it goes round."⁹⁰

Attention is called to the shaking of the arms. This was evidently but one form of the usual American Indian greeting by rubbing the body of oneself and the visitor.

When Milfort reached the town of Coweta after traveling westward from the Georgia settlements he was taken to the square ground, given *âsi* to drink, and afterwards conducted to the old men who sat in the cabin on the east side of the square ground, and who were probably *isti âteagâgi*. They made him "a speech of welcome" and then an orator made him a long address lasting nearly an hour. At each pause in this address the assembly shouted "Ka" ("Yes"), and at the end all said "Mado" ("Very good" or "thank you")! Afterwards all of the old men marched past him shaking his hands in turn and presenting their tobacco pouches so that he might take a pinch of tobacco from each. And last of all an old man presented him with a tobacco pouch made of swanskin.⁹¹ He adds that this tobacco pouch was white as a sign of peace and friendship, and he claims that his reception had been particularly cordial because

⁸⁹ Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 92-93.

⁹⁰ Bartram, Travels, p. 182; see also Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. n, pp. 17-18.

⁹¹ Milfort, *Mém.*, pp. 208-209. The shaking of hands was of course a later substitute for rubbing the body.

of the affection which the Creek Indians retained for the French nation.⁹²

In the following quotation from Stiggins something of the native etiquette and the native psychology associated with these gatherings is shown:

"I have observed among them another trait of national character. In the public meetings whether for black drink or national council the Indians appear studiously to wish to shew an importance in themselves and an independence of character for they will perceptibly assume a grave, sedate, consequential deportment, especially their chiefs, and head men. They would appear for a while to a bystander to be careless of all nature and each other. At length nature seems to predominate and shew their true disposition. When they commence smoking the spell seems to be removed for after a few draws of smoke from their pipe they cordially hand it to the next with whom it is optional to make use of the contents of the pipe or pass it to the next man, which is frequently done. By a constant repetition of such civilities a familiarity is engendered in the community at large by slow degrees that would not have taken place otherwise, as they seldom have any interesting conversation to impart or attend to with a stranger. [With the latter] it is customary with them to use hesitation. Even should they wish to converse with him they accost each other with studied and manifest civility to which they reciprocally receive an answer equally ceremonious and apposite until an acquaintance takes place."⁹³

The common Chickasaw greeting as recorded by Adair 150 years ago has been given in translation above. The host said *Ish-la chu?* (*Ishla cho?*), "Are you come?" and the guest replied *Arahre-O* (*Alali-o*), "I am come."⁹⁴

This was similar to the Creek form of salutation. When a Chiaha, for instance, came to visit a Coweta, the two towns being close friends, the latter would say, "My big friend (*ánhisi láko*), are you come?" and the Chiaha would reply "Yes, I am come." If the Coweta were the visitor the formula was the same, and it was the same if the two individuals belonged to another pair of friendly towns such as *Kásihta* and *Talwá láko*. What greetings passed between men of opposing towns I have not heard.

The following greetings were in use among the Alabama in Texas.

Boso' teika'noso', "howdy, are you good?" or *boso* alone, to which the reply was *teákū'noso'*, "I am well." Another was *ticihoke'po'*, "you are not sick," and the reply *teahoke'pobe'*, "I am not at all sick." Another was *tei'matiksaháme'*, "how are your family?" Reply, *oi-hat hokā'nobe'*, "they are all well." Another: *isnápo'*, "how are you?" Reply, *teákū'nobe'*, "I am well." The first two are the oldest forms.

⁹² Milfort, *Mém.*, p. 211. ⁹³ Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, p. 20. ⁹⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 60.

Adair and Swan both remark on the apparent coldness exhibited by a married couple on meeting after a long separation. Adair says:

"I shall give an instance of this [incapability for lasting affection]. If the husband has been a year absent on a visit to another nation, and should by chance overtake his wife near home, with one of his children skipping along side of her; instead of those sudden and strong emotions of joy that naturally arise in two generous breasts at such an unexpected meeting, the self-interested pair go along as utter strangers, without seeming to take the least notice of one another, till a considerable time after they get home."⁹⁵

Swan says:

"When a man meets his wife and children, after the absence of some months, in which time she has not heard a word from him, it is with a perfect seeming indifference. Perhaps the first word spoken will be—So, you have got back again, I see. He answers—Yes. She may then reply—Momuscha [Mohmistea]—i. e., Very well—and there ends the conversation. The man reserves the tale of his adventures, to be told to his other friends over a cup of black drink the next morning, at the square; and there it is retailed, in a tedious, circumlocutory conversation of many hours."⁹⁶

As I have explained in another connection this "coldness" was principally etiquette and custom rather than native character.

The terms for "husband" and "wife" were not used by a married couple, because it was thought a married pair were too nearly connected to employ anything so formal. If they had to use any expression it would be "my old man" or "my old woman."

A man would not speak to his mother-in-law nor a woman to her father-in-law, or vice versa. They communicated through the wife or the husband. One of these tabooed couples would go a long way around to avoid meeting the other, and it was thought that if they did speak to each other or even touch each other they would itch all over. In speaking about such a person the other used the dual number. This information was obtained particularly from the Alabama in Texas. Chickasaw custom was about the same.

The usage may have differed among the constituent tribes of the Confederacy, however, for one of the best living authorities on old Creek customs (1924) declares that there was no regulation of "bashfulness" in force between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and that the only time when the latter avoided his mother-in-law was for about a week before and a week after his marriage because he was actually bashful.

If the Indians have friendly dealings with you they always want to associate you with them in some way, particularly by giving you sofki or other food, as has happened several times in my own case.

⁹⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 99.

⁹⁶ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 274-275.

I have been told that a Creek woman would never cut off a piece of tobacco for a man but would always bite it off, while she would cut off a piece for herself and never bite it. The cutting off of tobacco was thought to imply the severance of friendship. I have been unable to confirm this. Friendships of the kind common among Indian tribes generally outside of all blood or other natural affiliations were frequently struck up and were cemented by mutual scratching. Swan says:

“Scratching is also practised among young warriors, as a ceremony or token of friendship. When they have exchanged promises of inviolable attachment, they proceed to scratch each other before they part. This is more frequently done in drunken frolics than any other time. After a rum-drinking, numbers of them appear covered with blood, and lacerated from their shoulders down to their heels. Such marks of friendship are indelible, and effectually remind them of their friendly promise so long as they live.”⁹⁷

The southern tribes had the usual Indian dread of ridicule and the usual willingness to indulge in it at anyone's expense, even at times when pity and sympathy would appear more in order. Says Adair: “If the Indians saw their grandmother break her neck by a fall from a horse, or any other accident, they would whoop and halloo.”⁹⁸

Yet ridicule was seldom carried far. Stiggins says:

“To my knowledge they are not a people to utter a remark or word to hurt the feelings of any one, without they would be in a state of intoxication, for should they press a joke even on a friend or acquaintance so far as to be disagreeable and likely to ruffle his temper they will immediately surcease, apologize, and withhold, and it rarely happens to hear one of them at any time reflect on the conduct or reputation of another. If there should be a man of general bad repute [the matter] will be taken up and related by one of their nieces without pointing out any person in particular, but [he will] lay open the ill consequences in any person of such, and such, ill conduct. His comments would be more pointed and acrimonious should there be an instance of a person in the town so churlish of his eatables as to be inhospitable to one of their own people, [and] especially to a traveling stranger.”⁹⁹

TRADE

The standards of value to be presently discussed show that trade was developed even in pre-Columbian times. The inland tribes could furnish mica, copper, pipe stone, flint for arrows, and angelica roots, while the coast tribes had sea shells, dry fish, *Ilex vomitoria*, and salt. This last commodity was also obtained from the trans-Missis-

⁹⁷ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 274.

⁹⁸ Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, p. 16.

⁹⁹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 296.

sippi tribes by those on the eastern side. When Bartram was on the Suwanee River, Fla., he learned that the Indians of that region went trading and hunting in their cypress canoes all along the coast as far as the southern end of Florida and even to Havana. He himself encountered a party which had just returned from the latter place. He states that they carried thither in trade "deer skins, furs, dry fish, bees-wax, honey, bear's oil, and some other articles."¹ Elsewhere he notes that the same articles, minus the dry fish, were traded to the American settlers and several Indians had become very well to do in consequence of this industry.² The following from Swan shows how and where they obtained their firearms at the end of the eighteenth century.

"The Creek Indians are very badly armed. The chief has made it a point to furnish them with muskets in preference to rifles, which, from the necessity of being wiped out after every shot, have been found less convenient than the former. Their muskets are of the slender, French manufacture, procured through the Spanish government at Pensacola, but are so slightly made, that they soon become unfit for any service.

"If the Indians were able to purchase for themselves, they would, however, prefer rifles in all cases, because they find them more sure and lasting: a good one will, at any time, command the price of 100 chalks, or \$50, to be paid in skins or horses in the country."³

That some of the Indians of this tribe readily took to trading is reiterated by Romans, who says: "There are few towns in this nation where there is not some savage residing, who either trades of his own flock, or is employed as a factor."⁴

COUNTING

The Muskogean systems of numeration are all decimal. In Adair's time the Chickasaw figured out mercantile transactions on the ground, a system which they called *yakâ-ne Tlápha*,⁵ or "scoring on the ground."⁶ They made single marks for each unit and a cross for 10. Adair believed that this latter mark was borrowed from the whites, but I have seen computations by the northwest coast peoples in which straight marks are used for units and a cross inserted to mark off every 20 units, the system of notation being vigesimal with them. The cross in the south may have been used for the same purpose in marking off tens. It is to be added that Adair's statements are confirmed by Eakins.⁷ Eakins also says that they used

¹ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 225.

² Bartram, *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 39.

³ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. V, p. 263.

⁴ Romans, *Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla.*, pp. 93-94.

⁵ *Yakni tapa*, "ground spread out."

⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 77.

⁷ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. I, p. 273.

their fingers in counting from one decimal to another.⁸ One of my Creek informants in using his fingers to aid his memory began with the little finger of his left hand, which he doubled over, and followed with his other fingers in order. Then he passed to his right hand where he again began with the little finger and proceeded as before.

Measures of length were based on various parts of the body, as was originally the case with us, the fingers, hands, arms, etc., being used.

Distances between places far apart were measured by the time consumed in getting from one to the other—i. e., by the number of camps or “sleeps” or by the number of moons. Regarding their sense of the passage of time generally Swan has the following very pertinent remarks:

“They count the number of days or years, either past or to come, by tens. Having no exact method of keeping or reckoning their time they seldom tell nearer than within one month of the time any remarkable occurrence took place in the preceding year; but circumstances, or any speeches that might have attended such occurrence, they remember accurately. There is not one in the whole nation knows how old he is.”⁹

The natural measures of time marked off by the altered positions of the sun and moon—i. e., days, months, and years, and their subdivisions—have already been discussed. When they wished to keep in mind a certain number of these or to remember certain ones among them they employed several devices.

The commonest method of determining a fixed date in the future upon which some event was to take place was by wrapping up a number of short sticks into a little bundle and throwing one away each day. When but one remained the person who had the bundle knew that the appointed day had arrived. This was the method employed every year to enable all of the families of each town to assemble on the busk ground at the proper date. As many bundles were distributed as there were families and the head of each family threw away the sticks. It is to be noted that a stick was thrown away immediately on receipt of the bundle—i. e., the count began with the day on which the bundle was received; in fact the messenger who brought the bundle usually threw away the first stick himself. This is said by French writers to have been the method by which the date of the Natchez massacre was fixed, and the tribes confederate to the conspiracy were able to tell when to rise. Such sticks were called “the broken days,” and according to Adair the same name was applied to certain square notched sticks which were used for a similar purpose. In the latter case the sticks were sent about with a definite

⁸ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 273.

⁹ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 277.

number of notches in them and each day the man in charge cut one notch out. At other times notches were made instead of being cut out, especially when the future date was indefinite.¹⁰ I have seen this method employed on the north Pacific coast. Eakins saw still another method in use among the Creeks in recording the days of the week. This consisted of a series of holes made in a board into which a peg was inserted.¹¹

A third and particularly important method is mentioned by Adair. It was the use of cords on which were a definite number of knots. The time was determined by untying one of these knots each day, or perhaps by tying it, similarly to the usage in the case of notches. They employed all these devices not merely to keep run of the days but of the months and years as well, and Adair says of the last: "They count certain very remarkable things, by knots of various colours and make, after the manner of the South-American Aborigines."¹² Of course Adair is referring to the famous quipu of Peru, and it is very interesting to find that our southern tribes had a similar mnemonic system, especially as he implies that this was used to some extent to mark important events in past history. Adair's statement also serves to confirm an analogous assertion by Milfort, except that, according to the latter, beads strung on threads took the place of knots. Still there is no good reason why both devices should not have been employed. The idea once established would have seized upon any convenient means of expression. Milfort's statement runs thus:

"Since my arrival among the Creeks the old chiefs had often spoken to me of their ancestors, and they had shown me the belts (*banderoles*), or species of chaplets, which contained their histories. These chaplets were their archives; they are of little seeds like those which are called Cayenne pearls; they are of different colors and strung in rows; and it is on their arrangement and their pattern that their meaning depends. As only the principal events are preserved on these belts and without any details, it sometimes happens that a single chaplet contains the history of twenty to twenty-five years. These pearls are placed in such a manner as to preserve the various periods exactly; and each year is easily distinguished by those who know the arrangement."¹³

It furthermore appears from the speech of Chekilli to Governor Oglethorpe painted on a bison skin¹⁴ that pictorial mnemonics or "picture writing" was known.

¹⁰ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 75.

¹¹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 273.

¹² Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹³ Milfort, *Mémoire*, pp. 47-48. Such devices were in use also among the tribes of the Carolinas and Virginia.

¹⁴ See p. 33.

These facts all tend to show that the Creeks anciently had made some endeavors to record their history and serve to strengthen our respect for certain of the features of their migration legends. It will also prevent us from dismissing as an altogether idle tale De la Vente's assertion that the Natchez had preserved a record of 45 or 50 of their Great Suns.¹⁵ At the best the attempts were, of course, crude, but in Peru the device of the quipu seems to have preserved a great amount of extremely valuable history extending to a remote antiquity.

Before white contact value was measured by means of shell money, but we have not from the southern Indians as full an account of this as from the northern Indians. The following from Adair contains nearly all that we know about it:

"Before we supplied them with our European beads, they had great quantities of wampum; (the *Buccinum* of the ancients) made out of conch-shell, by rubbing them on hard stones, and so they form them according to their liking. With these they bought and sold at a stated current rate, without the least variation for circumstances either of time or place; and now they will hear nothing patiently of loss or gain, or allow us to heighten the price of our goods, be our reasons ever so strong, or though the exigencies and changes of time may require it. Formerly, four deer-skins was the price of a large conch-shell bead, about the length and thickness of a man's fore-finger; which they fixed to the crown of their head, as an high ornament—so greatly they valued them."¹⁶

GAMES

As with so many other American tribes, the two-goal ball game, resembling in many respects that known as lacrosse, was the leading game among southern Indians. I will begin an account of it by prefixing Adair's description as he witnessed it among the Chickasaw, though the Creek game as it has come down to us differed in several important particulars. He says:

"The Indians are much addicted to gaming, and will often stake every thing they possess. Ball-playing is their chief and most favourite game; and is such severe exercise, as to shew it was originally calculated for a hardy and expert race of people, like themselves, and the ancient Spartans. The ball is made of a piece of scraped deer-skin, moistened, and stuffed hard with deer's hair, and strongly sewed with deer's sinews. The ball-sticks are about two feet long, the lower end somewhat resembling the palm of a hand, and which are worked with deer-skin thongs. Between these, they catch the ball, and throw it a great distance, when not prevented by some of the opposite party, who fly to intercept them. The goal is about

¹⁵ *Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér.*, 15th sess., vol. 1, p. 37.

¹⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 170. Cf. also Lawson, *Hist. Car.*, pp. 315-317. The use of the term "wampum" here is erroneous; wampum was of a wholly different type.

five hundred yards in length: at each end of it, they fix two long bending poles into the ground, three yards apart below, but slanting a considerable way outwards. The party that happens to throw the ball over these, counts one; but, if it be thrown underneath, it is cast back, and played for as usual. The gamesters are equal in number on each side; and, at the beginning of every course of the ball, they throw it up high in the center of the ground, and in a direct line between the two goals. When the crowd of players prevents the one who catches the ball, from throwing it off with a long direction, he commonly sends it the right course, by an artful sharp twirl. They are so exceedingly expert in this manly exercise, that, between the goals, the ball is mostly flying the different ways, by the force of the playing sticks, without falling to the ground, for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. It is surprising to see how swiftly they fly, when closely chased by a nimble footed pursuer; when they are intercepted by one of the opposite party, his fear of being cut by the ball sticks, commonly gives them an opportunity of throwing it perhaps a hundred yards; but the antagonist sometimes runs up behind, and by a sudden stroke dashes down the ball. It is a very unusual thing to see them act spitefully in any sort of game, not even in this severe and tempting exercise.

“Once, indeed, I saw some break the legs and arms of their opponents, by hurling them down, when on a descent, and running at full speed. But I afterward understood, there was a family dispute of long continuance between them: that might have raised their spleen, as much as the high bets they had then at stake, which was almost all they were worth. The Choktah are exceedingly addicted to gaming, and frequently on the slightest and most hazardous occasions, will lay their all, and as much as their credit can procure.

“By education, precept, and custom, as well as strong example, they have learned to shew an external acquiescence in every thing that befalls them, either as to life or death. By this means, they reckon it a scandal to the character of a steady warrior to let his temper be ruffled by any accidents,—their virtue they say, should prevent it. . . . To move the deity to enable them to conquer the party they are to play against, they mortify themselves in a surprising manner; and, except a small intermission, their female relations dance out of doors all the preceding night, chanting religious notes with their shrill voices, to move *Yo He Wah*¹⁷ to be favourable to their kindred party, on the morrow. The men fast and wake from sunset, till the ball play is over the next day, which is about one or two o'clock in the afternoon. During the whole night, they

¹⁷ Adair is reverting again to his favorite theory that these meaningless syllables had reference to the Jehovah of the Hebrews, from which people he believed the American Indians were descended.

are to forbear sleeping under the penalty of reproaches and shame; which would sit very sharp upon them, if their party chanced to lose the game, as it would be ascribed to that unmanly and vicious conduct. They turn out to the ball ground, in a long row, painted white, whooping, as if Pluto's prisoners were all broke loose: when that enthusiastic emotion is over, the leader of the company begins a religious invocation, by saying *Yah*, short; then *Yo* long, which the rest of the train repeat with a short accent, and on a low key like the leader: and thus they proceed with such acclamations and invocations, as have been already noticed, on other occasions. Each party are desirous to gain the twentieth ball, which they esteem a favourite divine gift. As it is in the time of laying by the corn, in the very heat of summer, they use this severe exercise, a stranger would wonder to see them hold it so long at full speed, and under the scorching sun, hungry also, and faint with the excessive use of such sharp physic as the button snake root, the want of natural rest, and of every kind of nourishment. But their constancy, which they gain by custom, and their love of virtue, as the sure means of success, enable them to perform all their exercises, without failing in the least, be they ever so severe in the pursuit."¹⁸

The Chickasaw ball stick as here described differs considerably from that of the Creeks and was probably like the one used by the Choctaw. The goal was also arranged very differently. The fullest account of a Creek game given by early writers is from Pope, in the case of an actual contest witnessed by him. It is as follows:

. . . "He [Alexander McGillivray] invited me to a Ball-Match, about 10 miles from his house, between two Townships. Sixty-two alert young Fellows were selected from each Town. The Goals were set up about a quarter of a Mile apart, near the Center of an extensive Campaign or Prairie.—They consist of two blazed Saplings fixed in the Ground about 10 Feet asunder at either End, thro' which every Time either Party throws the Ball with their Rackets, they are entitled to count one—The Number of the Game is arbitrary.—Midway between the Goals, the Ball is thrown up alternately by two old Men, who are mutually chosen by the contending Parties to decide all Controversies which may arise in the course of the Game—Upon throwing up the Ball a violent Struggle ensues between the Parties which sometimes lasts 8 or 10 Minutes, before either Side can give it a cast; and when they do, there are others of their Opponents ready to intercept and give it an adverse Direction.—On this Game Property to a very considerable Amount is generally risked, consisting of Broaches, Bracelets, Gorgets, Medals, paints, Arms and Ammunition piled up in a pyramidal Form. Sometimes their whole Family Stock of Food and Raiment is hazarded.—A dislocated Joint or Fractured

¹⁸ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 399-401.

Bone is not uncommon: Suffer what they may, you'll never see an angry look or hear a threatening Word among them.

"The Players divest themselves of all their Cloaths, except their Flaps. They ingeniously disguise themselves with various coloured Paints and assume the Semblance of Rattle-Snakes entwin'd. Spiral Streaks of *red*, *white* and *blue*, alternately adorn their other Parts.—The vanquished Party immediately upon the Conclusion of the Game, betake themselves to their Heels, in Order to avoid the Scoffs and Ridicule of their boastful Conquerors."¹⁹

It will be noticed that the goals described here agree somewhat with those mentioned by Adair, both differing from the modern goals in having no crossbar at the top. Bartram speaks as if there were but one "pillar" at each end to which the ball was carried by the opposing party.²⁰ This is the style in vogue at the present day among the Choctaw of Mississippi. In the first section of the present paper some further information regarding the ball game will be found.^{20a}

Under another heading I have said a great deal about the social significance of the ball game and I have explained that the regular games were played only between towns belonging to the two opposite fires. I have also given the traditional origin—or a traditional origin—of these encounters—i. e., as a substitute for war. In common parlance it was often called "the brother of the war." The social divisions concerned in the ball game have been treated at length. Among the Texas Alabama, in which the older organization has been long broken down, various other ways of dividing up were resorted to. One of the prominent men among the Yuchi assured me that one of the oldest divisions in that tribe was between the men who had children and those who had none.

To frame the ball sticks pieces of hickory were tapered off, steamed and turned over at the ends, to the right for a right-handed player and to the left for a left-handed man, after which the ends were bound over on the handle. Two buckskin cords were then run across each opening and fastened through small holes made with an awl, thus furnishing a cage for the ball. Lard was next heated, and rubbed at the base of each loop. The loops were then inserted into a crack in a wall or floor and bent sideways a trifle so that the player could hold the ball between the two sticks. I was told that the makers of these sticks did not fast while at work but that after they were done medicine was put on them. The ball was made exactly as described by Adair, of deer hair covered with a piece of dressed deerskin tied by means of deerskin thongs. The ball sticks formerly

¹⁹ Pope, *Tour*, pp. 49-51. For another printed account see "Narrative of a Mission to the Creek Nation," by Col. Marius Willett, pp. 108-110, copied into Pickett's *History of Alabama*, pp. 89-90, and Claiborne, *Miss.*, vol. 1, pp. 496-497.

²⁰ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 506.

^{20a} See pp. 60-61.

used by the Choctaw and Chickasaw were not as powerful as the Creek ball sticks.

As has already been stated, in games between the Whites and Teilokis the former wore white crane feathers in their hair and the latter eagle feathers. They had no other clothing in olden times except the breechclout and moccasins. Fastened over the breechclout behind was often a "tiger tail." It was used because this animal is strong and courageous. If the father of a player had belonged to the Panther clan that would be an additional reason for selecting it. A bison tail, and eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers were also used because they belonged to "masterful animals." I am told that the paint had no significance except that red was generally used as representing war, the ball game being "brother of the war." Nevertheless, I believe that in ancient times the paintings did sometimes have significance. If the other adornments were adopted with the idea of assisting the player there is every reason to suppose that the paintings would sometimes be put on with the same object in view. The following account of the manner in which a regular match game was conducted was given me by Jackson Lewis.

Each party calls the other *itc inkipai'a*, and each person so names one who always opposes him in the ball play. In proposing a game a messenger from one town goes to the chief of another and says, "Here is a proposition to engage you in a game," upon which he lays down a ball stick with a feather tied to it. The chief then calls his people together, especially those who are interested in the game, and says: "We are challenged by our well-known opponents. What are you going to do?" Then they count noses to see whether they have enough expert ball players to stand a contest. If they decide that they can do so they send word back "We will try you one game." Then each town selects four contract makers who meet at some appointed place midway between the towns to arrange the terms of the contest. They agree when to play, where to play, but above all who are to play on each side—i. e., whether the men married into both towns are to play, the men married out and living elsewhere, etc. One side says "We will play our sons-in-law," which another will object to, saying, "No, but we will play our sons," etc. The referees on both sides are very sharp to see that no advantage is yielded to the enemy. Finally they settle upon the terms or else call the game off. In each party of four chosen to make the contract there must always be one man of the Bear clan.²¹ Although the contract makers do not agree to have wrestling when the young men are going into a contest the old men will say to them, "You are now privileged to treat your opponents in any way you choose." Wrestling is called *ikán wá'kita*, "lying down on the ground." Now, after both towns have encamped in the

²¹ This statement applies particularly to Upper Eufaula.

neighborhood of the place selected, the eight referees agree upon the precise plot of ground upon which it shall be played. The people of each town fell trees and lay the logs round their camps for the spectators to sit upon while the ball dance is held. The spectators sit in a semicircle. The dancing is carried on almost entirely by the women, though there is some dancing by the men. After the women have danced four times to songs sung by the others they retire to a distance, and those who have been selected to play take their ball sticks, and rush out, yelling, whooping, running around, and making hideous shouts. This is called *ya'hkita*. The drum is beaten during all of this time. This whole performance is repeated four times during the night, and it takes until midnight or a little longer. The players have the ball they expect to use next day tied to a twig and the twig set in the ground with the end directed toward the camp of their opponents "much as cannon are trained on the enemy." After the dance the women retire, while the men may sit around in their seats until daylight when the game begins. That time having come they cut down a sapling 12 to 16 feet high and about 6 inches thick, and split it in two.

They carry this from the place where they have been dancing to their end of the selected ball ground. Then they agree about the distance apart of the two goals which is generally from 150 to 200 yards. There they dig holes and set the two pieces upright about 3 to 3½ feet apart. Across the top they put a crosspiece. After the goals have been set up the players on each side go up to the median line and throw their sticks down so that they match each other, the end of each stick on one side being directly opposite the end of a stick on the other side. This is to show that the number of players is exactly even on each side. Meanwhile the players jest with one another, and all kinds of things are wagered by the men and women of both parties. All the details are fixed in advance. Then three places are marked off, one exactly half way between the goals, the two others half way from the center to each goal. Each side divides its players into parties, placing one in the center, one at each of the midway points, and one near each goal. Finally a person steps to the center and throws the ball up into the air about 10 feet, whereupon all the players rush in, and each tries to throw it toward his own goal. The struggle now rages furiously. Two persons are appointed, one from each side, who sit midway between the goals. Each is provided with 10 sticks, and when a point is made by one side the representative of that side sticks one of his sticks into the ground. After all 10 are stuck in they begin to withdraw them until the representative of one side has withdrawn all, making 20 points, when the side he represents wins, and the scorers say *Īlātītō'tōtō'*, "He is dead, dead, dead, dead." Then the winners run to their

goal and whoop and rush around it raising the same ya'hkita. As many play on each side as the eight referees agree upon, sometimes as many as 60. The game sometimes lasted till dark unless it broke up in a fight. Meanwhile each side has a medicine man back in the woods making medicine as hard as he can for his own side. Any doctor may be selected, but they are so suspicious that only one of whose sympathies they are certain is likely to be chosen. Jackson Lewis was once induced to make medicine for the Indians of a Choctaw town, and he sent them some medicine to rub on their bodies. They were successful, the opposing side making but one goal.

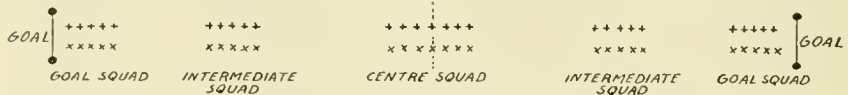


FIG. 104.—Arrangement of players at the opening of the Creek ball game

The following notes, furnished by Zachariah Cook, supplement the foregoing in many important particulars:

The sides pair off as indicated in the accompanying sketch (fig. 104), each party facing the other and occupying one side all the way along. If the ball goes under the crossbar of the goal and between the side posts it counts, or if it hits the posts or crossbar, no matter from which side thrown. Each side has previously provided itself with a medicine ball, called "a chief ball," inside of which is a measuring worm, because that is a worm supposedly invisible to a bird, and so the ball will not be seen by the other party.^{21a} After either side has made its third goal it can use this ball to make its fourth; that having been accomplished, they go on playing with a common ball. Behind the goal post is a dish in which is a piece of the hide of a bull turtle and some medicine. The ball is supposed to be attracted to the dish like a turtle to the water. They also paint medicine on the ball stick strings so as to attract the ball to them. For these things they depend entirely on the medicine maker (*hilis-haya*) and follow his directions, but who is making the medicine for them is kept a secret. The ball posts are only conjured a little just after they are cut. The medicine maker also prepares a medicine out of the track of a wolf and the burrow of a crawfish to rub on the shoulders of the players.

The first ball to be thrown up is not by the regular ball throwers, but by the best speaker they can find who gives a talk first, counselling fair play, etc., and then throws the ball, saying, "Here goes up a ball for twenty stakes." Afterwards the regular throwers are used, one from each side.

The man representing the side that challenges begins. The paints that were put on their bodies were only for ornament. There

^{21a} It seems that part of a "snake's nest" was also an efficient medicine to be used in this manner. See p. 492.

is a man at each goal to see that the goals are made fairly, and two men on each side (called *mádjokálgi*) to umpire and keep order. They tell the players to play hard without fighting. Sometimes they have four of these men on a side. There is also one scorer for each side, each provided with a number of broken sticks. Each scores for his own side, stieking one stick after another in the ground until there are 10 and then withdrawing them until all of the sticks belonging to one side are out.

If any one gets knocked out in play they even up again by throwing down their ball sticks opposite each other to be sure that neither side has an advantage. The players wear red fringes around their necks, and cows' tails, panthers' tails, and bison tails on their buttocks. They run with the ball or throw it, whichever way will advance the ball fastest. When they are through, the winning side marches around its goal, goes home, and has a "stomp dance." The others may set a time and hold a "stomp dance" afterwards.

A man had to play on the side of his own town even against the people of the town into which he had married, but if he lived in a third town not involved in the game, he could join the town that asked him first. This, therefore, gave a man an opportunity to play on the side opposite that of his proper town, but in olden times it is probable that it did not happen very often. When preparing for the ball game at Teatoksofka the town chief talked the players over with one *heniha* (of the Wind clan) and one man of the Raccoon clan, or sometimes he consulted two members of each clan. According to Zachariah Cook, at Tukabahchee there were two men known as *imagálgi* who divided up the men or else called upon some experienced men to do it for them. Two *mikági* had charge of the women's dance. Although Jackson Lewis speaks of the place where the contest was to be held as being agreed upon in advance by the eight men who arranged it, this was not done finally until just before the game, each side fearing lest the opponents should bewitch it. This was given me as the reason why it was not known where the Talahasutei and Liwahali Seminole were going to play in the summer of 1913. When the wife of a ball player was pregnant the doctor prepared a medicine for him different from that taken by the others. The middle ground, half way between the ball posts, was called *wáskita*; and each station halfway between that point and either goal was known as *nálkáptká'ga*. The side which threw through one goal called the other party *fúlúdjí* and vice versa. It is asserted that there was little or no fighting in olden times during the ball game, and this assertion is borne out by what the older writers tell us—although legs and arms were sometimes broken in the scrimmages—but in recent years it has been almost impossible to play a game through without a free fight. A game between the Nuyaka and Łapláko towns ended

this way, and the same fate befell one started between the Eufaula and Abihka towns. In the latter case the very first time the ball was thrown up a free fight began which lasted three hours, and, according to report, the county sheriff and his deputies were utterly unable to stop it.

Sometimes the parties to a ball game had to march some distance to reach the place agreed upon for the encounter. When that was the case they would go by easy stages, hold a rally in the evening, the night before, and dance all night. I have one account which states that they held such a dance the first evening, reached the place appointed the next day, held another dance there, and then began the game. A great amount of property was wagered on the outcome of one of these games by both men and women, who would even strip clothing off of their bodies for that purpose.

It is to be observed that the Indian attitude with reference to the goals is just opposite to that taken by white men in their games, for with us the idea is to drive the ball through the enemy's goal, but the Indian considered that he was bringing the ball home to his own goal.

Among the Texas Alabama the method of counting points was different from that used by the Creeks, but it was probably a later innovation. There a straight line was drawn and transverse marks made on one side of this for one party and on the other side for the other party, twelve constituting the game. Figure 105 will illustrate.



FIG. 105.—Alabama method of recording scores in the ball game

I will now give an account of a practice game between *Laplako* Indians witnessed by myself in 1913. We drove from *Wetumka* Sunday afternoon, July 27, and found the Indians seated on logs around the dance ground while the medicine maker at the other end was blowing into the medicine (pl. 7, *b*). There were two tubs, each said to contain *miko hoyanidja*, but each treated differently by the doctor, so that the men drank from both. He did his work very deliberately, sitting motionless for a long time and afterwards taking some time in blowing into the medicine. He probably did this four times, though we did not watch him long enough to be certain. He sat facing the east. After that the *yatika* made an announcement and all went to the medicine, formed two rows, facing east, and took the medicine in the usual manner, afterwards vomiting it out, though some did not choose to take it (pl. 7, *c*). Before and during this ceremony the chief held in his hand a short stick on the end of which was fastened two balls and a bunch of small sticks. The last were the scoring sticks; the former comprised a large ball with which they were going to play next day and a smaller ball, the "chief ball" above mentioned, used when one side has scored three goals. It is said that each side

has such a ball but I saw only one. When they went to take medicine each player took his ball sticks and belt down from the rack, on which they were hung in pairs, and when his turn came to take medicine each first poured a little upon these. The chief led and poured a little upon the balls. When all were through and had gotten back to their seats announcement was made that the players would be scratched. This was done on the west side of a large oak tree west of the medicine man's position. Each player in turn placed one hand on the tree and raised one leg at a time to the scratcher who scratched him four times on the back of the calf and four times on the thigh in front just deep enough to draw blood. He was also scratched four times on the upper arms and four times on the lower arms.

Meanwhile the medicine maker was treating more medicine, water having been brought by water boys, and soon after the scratching was completed they took medicine again. Previously, a number of boys had been sent to get wood for the fire to be built up that night, although a fire had been smoldering in the middle of the dance ground all the afternoon. After they had taken medicine for the last time the fire was poked up a little. The yatika, who was a Tukabahchee Indian, now made a short speech, when all ran and got their ball sticks, and marched around a little tree that had been set up near the medicine. After circling about it a few times they filed off to the stream and bathed. Some time later they came back and were dismissed to supper with another short speech. After supper they danced the "old dance" four times when the dance became free to all, both men and women joining in. Dancing continued almost all night.

On the day of the ball game, July 28, 1913, we reached the grounds about 8 a. m. The two sides were already made up. After waiting to see that all were present, each side went off by itself and held a council. Then each leader made a speech and they filed off to dress for the game. Presently they came back, part retaining their "store clothes," part wearing only the breechelout and belt with perhaps a feather in the hair. One or two had red paint on their faces and at least one wore a tiger tail strapped straight up along his back. Each party walked to its own goal and circled about it for a few minutes, shouting. Then they lined up across the center and after some parley threw down their sticks opposite each other to see that the numbers were even. Then they went to their appointed places, the ball was thrown up, and the game began. The sides were called simply "East" (hasosa) and "West" (akalatka) and the two scorers, each marking up for one side, sat on the south side of the grounds. As the game proceeded the enthusiasm increased, the rival sides shout-

ing "hasosa," "akalatka." The game lasted from about 9 until 10.30 and ended in favor of the west side by a score of 20 to 16.

Another very ancient game was called by white traders the chunkey game and gave its name to the chunk yards of Creek towns, later devoted solely to the single stick game to be described presently. The chunkey, although once extremely popular, could be played by but few persons on a side and never had the significance, so far as we know, of the game already considered. It has now passed out of use so completely as barely to be remembered, but there are several accounts of it by those French writers who tell us of the tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley,²² and Adair has the following excellent description:

"The warriors have another favourite game, called *Chungke*; which, with propriety of language, may be called 'Running hard labour.' They have near their state house, a square piece of ground well cleaned, and fine sand is carefully strewed over it, when requisite, to promote a swifter motion to what they throw along the surface. Only one, or two on a side, play at this ancient game. They have a stone about two fingers broad at the edge, and two spans round: each party has a pole of about eight feet long, smooth, and tapering at each end, the points flat. They set off a-breast of each other at six yards from the end of the play ground; then one of them hurls the stone on its edge, in as direct a line as he can, a considerable distance toward the middle of the other end of the square: when they have ran a few yards, each darts his pole anointed with bear's oil, with a proper force, as near as he can guess in proportion to the motion of the stone, that the end may lie close to the stone—when this is the case, the person counts two of the game, and, in proportion to the nearness of the poles to the mark, one is counted, unless by measuring, both are found to be at an equal distance from the stone. In this manner, the players will keep running most part of the day, at half speed, under the violent heat of the sun, staking their silver ornaments, their nose, finger, and ear rings; their breast, arm, and wrist plates, and even all their wearing apparel, except that which barely covers their middle. All the American Indians are much addicted to this game, which to us appears to be a task of stupid drudgery: it seems however to be of early origin, when their fore-fathers used diversions as simple as their manners. The hurling stones they use at present, were time immemorial rubbed smooth on the rocks, and with prodigious labour; they are kept with the strictest religious care, from one generation to another, and are exempted from being buried with the dead. They belong to the town where they are used, and are carefully preserved."²³

²² See Bulletin 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 90-91.

²³ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 401-402.

At the present time the game next in importance to the one first described is the single pole game. Every square ground is supplemented with a circular area having a single pole 25 to 30 feet high in the middle. This circular area is all that is left of the old chunkyard already described. Sometimes there is a sacred yard and pole not used in actual games, a second pole in another place being devoted to the play. The games here were of a purely social character; I have not heard that any ceremonies or medicine performances accompanied them. They play this game down to the present time, especially on Sundays, and the men and women play against each other, although sometimes the women are allowed to strengthen their forces by choosing two of the best male players. The ball used is similar to that employed in the men's game, and the men are obliged to throw it with their ball sticks, while the women use their hands. As elsewhere described, on the top of the pole is hung a cow's or horse's skull, or a wooden image such as a fish, as in the Fish Pond towns; at Eufaula, an eagle is used. Part way up the pole is a mark and if anyone throws the ball so as to hit the pole above this his or her side scores one, while if it hits the skull or image at the top it scores more, sometimes five. The following is perhaps an older form of counting. If the skull or image is hit it counts one. If the pole above the mark is hit twice in succession by one side it counts one also, but if the side makes one hit and then the other makes one the score of the first is canceled. The whole number of points, as in the case of the men's game, was 20, and scored in the same manner by sticking ten sticks into the ground and then pulling them out again. Jackson Lewis, speaking of an earlier time, said that they generally managed to let the women win, and then the men went after game which the women cooked, the whole ending with a feast and dance. This was evidently in connection with the social feasts more specifically described elsewhere.^{23a}

Hitchcock gives the following lively picture of a game which he witnessed in the Creek country in 1842:

"The players mingle, or scatter about as they please, the men on one side of the game and the women on the other aided by a few men. The men use sticks, the women their hands. The chief throws the ball up nearly vertically, standing near the pole,—the game has commenced. All rush to seize the ball, men and women pell mell together. One gets it. His party tries to give him an opportunity of throwing it. The opposite party, to embarrass him, rush on him, catch his arm, and in the whirl he loses the ball. Another rush. A woman gets it. She holds it firmly in one hand and walks towards the pole followed and surrounded by men and women. She is about to throw it. A ball stick is interposed over her. She

^{23a} See pp. 404, 555-556.

sees one of her own side a little way off and tosses the ball to her. The latter catches it and, throwing it instantly, hits the pole. There is a general scream and one point is marked to the women's side. The ball is taken and thrown up as before, and again the play is all life. A man bearing the ball is pursued. He rushes along with it in his sticks with his arms extended upward, strikes his foot against an obstacle, and falls to the ground headlong, losing the ball. There is a loud laugh and a general rush after the ball. A woman is near it. The ball is rolling on. She leans forward. She thinks she can reach it by throwing herself at full length on the ground, and doing so, reaches forward to grasp it but misses it and it is seized by another. And thus the play proceeds."²⁴

It is perhaps to the above game that Le Moyne refers when he says, in describing a game of the Florida Indians: "In the middle of an open space is set up a tree some eight or nine fathoms high, with a square frame woven of twigs on the top; this is to be hit with the ball, and he who strikes it first gets a prize." This description is accompanied by a picture showing such a pole,²⁵ but it is of doubtful reliability. This game is at least as old as the time of Adair.^{25a}

In later times the Creek men and women also played against each other in a kind of game of football. Two goals were made, each of two sticks inclining to a point at a height of about 4 feet. The game was to drive the ball through these goals. It was thrown up in the middle and the men were allowed only to kick it while the women might use their hands also.

They also pitched arrows against each other. If the arrow of one player touched the feather of the other's arrow he kept it.

Both the Creeks of Oklahoma and the Alabama of Texas remember a game played with four pieces of cane, each half of a section made by splitting the cane lengthwise. This was primarily a women's game but men sometimes played it also. The canes were thrown into the air by each player in turn and the points determined by counting the number of canes with the convex and the concave sides up. Among the Alabama the following system of counting was in use. If all of the canes came to rest with their rounded sides up it counted 10; if all came to rest with their concave sides up it counted 5; if three came down concave side up and one convex side up it counted 3; if two were convex and two concave it counted 2; and if three were convex side up and one concave side up it counted 1.

Among the same people these canes were employed in lieu of dice in a game something like pachisi. A board was laid out as in the accompanying figure (fig. 106), sometimes not more than 10 by 15 inches in dimensions, but sometimes designed on a bearskin of a

²⁴ Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

²⁵ Le Moyne, Narr., p. 13 (ill.).

^{25a} See p. 551.

width of 4 feet and a length of 6 or 7 feet. At these latter as many as four men and four women would sometimes play; at the smaller ones, four or five in all. Counters were moved around from the starting point at the middle of the left side to the same point again. To pass the place marked "5" five points were needed, and four of these points, the four in the corners, had a special name, *sákteiyi*, "crawfish feet."

The game of "hiding the bullet," elsewhere known as the "moccasin game," was played with a bullet or buckshot and a number of hats, gloves, etc. Each player was provided with 15 strips of cane of the size of a match. Each tried his hand in turn at concealing the bullet under one of the hats or gloves. As long as the one who guessed failed to find the bullet he continued to pay out cane strips. If he guessed right before all of his canes were gone he took the ones he had lost back. If he found the bullet on one of the first three trials he made four points; if he lost on them he lost four points.

Jackson Lewis told of another game which they used to play by the hour at night. They took a number of grains of corn, gouged out the germinal parts and blackened them. Then they put them into

a wide shallow basket known as a *tiwa*, tossed them up into the air, and let them fall upon the ground. The players bet as to whether there would be more black or more white sides uppermost.

Jackson Lewis also told of a game called *Teato teáli'teka*, "rolling a stone," sometimes played between drinks at the busk. A large marble was rolled along the narrow excavated path shown in the accompanying diagram (fig. 107) in the endeavor to roll it into one of the five holes in the side of the wider excavation, each of which counts a certain

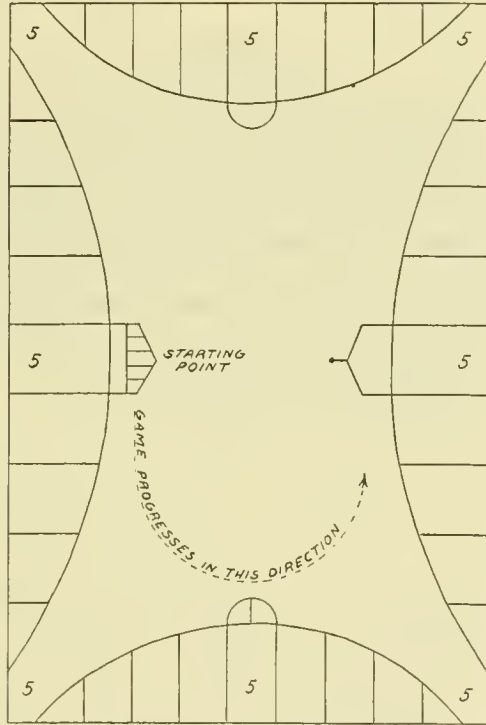


FIG. 106.—Design marked upon a bear skin in preparation for an Alabama game resembling pachisi

number of points. The hole outside and some distance away counts 10. The marble used was made of the same kind of soapstone as were pipes. This game is referred to by Hawkins, who calls it *Thla-chal-liteh-cau*, [*Ēi teálitcka*], "roll the bullet."²⁸

The following is a simple boys' game current among the Alabama for many years but apparently not aboriginal. One boy would make a circular mark on the ground by digging his heel into it and moving



FIG. 107.—Preparation of ground for the Creek game of *Teato teálitcka*

his foot around on that as an axis. Then he would take another boy on his back, carry him to the place and drop him there. Then all of the other boys came together and each put a hand on his hair. Each would pretend to pull out hairs, and they would offer them to him as if they were money, telling him to buy such and such things with them. When the last had spoken all ran away and the first boy chased them, catching one after the other until he had caught all. The same thing was repeated over again and again until they got tired.

²⁸ Hawkins, *Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. III, p. 71.

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By JOHN R. SWANTON

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CONTENTS

	Page
General remarks.....	477
The cosmos.....	477
The supernatural beings.....	481
Charms.....	498
The fate of souls.....	510
Miscellaneous beliefs.....	515
Sacrifices.....	516
Taboos.....	517
Music and dancing.....	521
Ceremonies.....	534
Miscellaneous ceremonies.....	534
Ceremony of the <i>ási</i>	538
Minor ceremonies connected with the square grounds.....	544
The great annual ceremony or busk.....	546
Shamanism and medicine.....	614
General remarks.....	614
The "knowers".....	615
The "fasters" or doctors.....	617
Methods of practicing.....	622
Weather controllers.....	629
Witchcraft.....	631
Diseases and remedies.....	636
General remarks.....	636
Creek medicines.....	639
Alabama medicines.....	663
Natchez medicines.....	667
Supplementary note.....	670
Bibliography.....	672
Index.....	859

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

8. The Creek Busk: The Women's dance.....	588
9. The Creek Busk: Women's dance at the Okchai Busk in 1912.....	588
10. The Okchai Busk. <i>a.</i> Box for tobacco, medicine, and drum in the Chiefs' Bed. <i>b.</i> Rite of the emetic.....	588
11. Taking the emetic at Okchai.....	588
12. The Creek Busk. <i>a</i> and <i>b.</i> The Teitahain or "Feather dance." <i>c.</i> The Square Ground just after the fasters have left to bathe in a neighboring creek.....	588
13. The Creek and Natchez Indians. <i>a.</i> Drum. <i>b.</i> Ceremonial ground near Braggs, Okla., used by the Natchez, Creek, and Cherokee Indians. <i>c.</i> Home of the Kila or Prophet Yahoia.....	588

TEXT FIGURE

108. Arrangement of ears of corn on the fire sticks at the Chiaha busk....	555
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RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND MEDICAL PRACTICES OF THE CREEK INDIANS

By JOHN R. SWANTON

GENERAL REMARKS

The southern Indians, like other peoples, dealt not only with their environment as it was but with their environment as they conceived it to be, and one of the most important branches of ethnology is that which concerns this latter concept. Unfortunately, at the present day comparatively little may be gathered regarding their attitude on the broader aspects of belief that is free from suspicion of white influence, while on the other hand no early traveler among the Indians was sufficiently interested in them and sufficiently sympathetic to obtain and transmit a correct account of it. The writer who most nearly filled these requirements was the trader Adair so often quoted in previous papers, but unfortunately his assistance on this particular side of aboriginal life is seriously injured by a prepossession that the Indians were descendants of "the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel," and he read this prepossession into all of the religious activities of the people observed by him. Particularly he concluded that the meaningless vocalic sounds used by his red friends in songs were so many forms of the name Jehovah and that their repetition was a conscious or subconscious adoration of the Hebrew deity. Nevertheless he was an acute and honest observer and faithful recorder of the things he actually heard and saw, so that it is usually possible to separate the facts from his deductions. With his help, the little that is furnished us by other writers, the information that I have myself been able to collect, and that obtainable from native myths and legends, the following outline of Creek religious beliefs has been put together.

THE COSMOS

Like all other primitive peoples, the southeastern Indians conceived of the earth as a flat plane overarched by a solid vault. To General Hitchcock Tukabahechee miko expressed the opinion that the world is square. Eakins, whose information comes principally from an Alabama Indian, says "they generally entertain the belief that the earth is a square figure, and entirely surrounded by water; and by going to the verge of the plain, they could step off."¹ And, in another

¹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 269.

place he observes "they believe the sky to be a material mass of some kind" and "that it is of a half-circular form, but that its truncations do not touch the earth."² The vault or sky was supposed to rise and fall upon the earth at intervals so that, by watching his opportunity, a person could pass under its edge. According to the same authority and my native informant, Jackson Lewis, the old people believed that the stars were stuck upon the under side of the sky, some of them, along with the sun and moon, revolving around the earth.² The constellation of the Great Dipper was called Pilo hagi, "the image of a canoe." The North Star was known as Kolasniegu, "the stationary star," the Morning Star as Hayáitea, "bringer of daylight," and the Pleiades as Tukábofka.³ A few other constellations and stars were also named.⁴ Meteors were supposed to be "excrement cast upon the earth," and they mixed what they took for this with their medicines.⁵

Comets were thought to portend war. Some Natchez and Cherokee beliefs regarding them may here be inserted. In the language of the former a comet was called an'c tsū'ná, "chief of war"; it was believed to portend trouble for the whole people and a short life for the chief, or for the white men's President. The Cherokee are said to have called it "the big lion"; with them it was also a sign of war. The following story of a comet well illustrates the belief regarding such bodies and incidentally shows the small value of information when it comes from the superstitious. Watt Sam was my chief Natchez informant.

"Thirty one or thirty two years ago [from 1912] Watt Sam's grandmother, his brother, his sister, and Nancy Taylor, all of whom except the last are dead, had the following very singular experience. They lived close to Twin Springs, a mile to three-quarters of a mile north of where Watt Sam now lives. They were going to the cow lot a little after dark to turn the cows out when they heard a noise wí'dzidzidzidziti, and, looking up, they saw a snake chasing the moon. They were so frightened that they ran back to the house without letting the cows out. The snake chased the moon to a point half way between the zenith and the western horizon and stopped. Then it began moving its head back and forth, and they could see something green that looked like a snake's tongue. Its body extended half way across the sky, the tail being pointed toward the east. They could see something at the end of its tail which looked like rattles four feet long and a foot wide. The markings were like those of a diamond-backed rattlesnake. Its head was

² Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 269.

³ Loughbridge and Hodge have *tok-lofka*.—English and Muskokee Dictionary.

⁴ From the Natchez I heard of a right-angled constellation which they called *dū'gūl gonō'gop*, "the elbow stars." A tailed star, probably a meteor, was known as a "smoke star" (*dū'gūl bu'p'gubie*).

⁵ Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*

about four feet broad. They walked out into the yard and looked at it while the snake and moon remained still. Then they got frightened and went into the house, and the three children went to sleep. Their grandmother, however, was in distress, and did not know what to do. She went to the door every little while to look at the snake. By and by she got sleepy and fell into a doze. Then she awoke, went to the door, and looked again. She could not see it very plainly because it had grown dim. Then she went to bed again and slept a very long time, and when she looked once more she could see nothing of the snake and the moon had gone back to the east, to the place from which it had started. Watt was at Muskogee at that time with his mother. He has asked a number of people but never learned of anyone else who had seen this snake. At the time when this happened Creek Samy, an old Cherokee Indian, was out in the yard of his house with some other Indians playing cards. They did not see it either, but when they heard about it they said it was a lion that had flown across the sky. They claimed that a lion flew across the sky twenty or twenty-five years before that."

The galaxy was called *poya fik-tealk innini*, "the spirits' road."⁷ The aurora borealis was supposed to indicate changes in the weather "and always for the worse."⁸

The sun and moon were considered the abodes of powerful beings, or at least as connected with such beings; the former was evidently associated with the chief deity of the southern Indians to be considered below. Tukabahchee miko quoted the old people to the effect that the sun must be a great way off, "for if it came near it would burn everything up." When the sun or moon was eclipsed they said that a great toad (*sábakti*) was about to swallow it, and in order to help drive it away they discharged their guns at it and shot at it with arrows until they "hit" it. Instead of a toad, Eakins was told of a "big dog," representing perhaps a distinctively Alabama idea.⁹ My own informants asserted that the moon was not shot at when eclipsed, but this is an error. Tuggle adds his testimony to what has been given and on the occasion of a total eclipse of the moon, October 22, 1790, Caleb Swan says: "The Indians in all the surrounding [Creek] villages are yelling with fear, and firing guns in all directions. They have an opinion, on those occasions, that a frog is swallowing the moon; and make all their most hideous noises to frighten it away."¹⁰ Adair tells us that the Indians of his acquaintance rejoiced at the appearance of the new moon¹¹ from which

⁷ It was known to the Natchez as *wágup ú'ic*, "dog trail," because it is supposed to have owed its origin to a dog who dragged a sack of flour along it, spilling the flour as he went, but this is also a Cherokee story (Mooney, *Cherokee Myths*, p. 259). A Cherokee informant added that his people sometimes said that the dog caused this whiteness from having gotten his paws into mortar.

⁸ Eakins in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 269.

⁹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 269.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 254.

¹¹ Adair, *Ilist. Am. Inds.*, p. 76; see also Bartram, *Travels*, p. 495.

it is probable that they considered its waxing and waning either as a successive birth and death of entirely distinct bodies or as a wasting away and regrowth of one and the same. Another idea is suggested by Bartram in a footnote: "I have observed the young fellows very merry and jocose, at the appearance of the new moon, saying, how ashamed she looks under the veil, since sleeping with the sun these two or three nights, she is ashamed to show her face, &c."¹² In this connection might be quoted a speech which Pope states was delivered by an old doctor to the Coweta, Kasihta, and Broken Arrow people, after a very wet season, in which he says that the moon "had covered her face with a bear-skin" and concealed the stars with the tails of numerous beaver.¹³ These declarations sound genuine though there is abundant evidence of "reading in" in parts of this speech. The moon was supposed to be inhabited by a man and a dog. Eakins, who makes this statement, also refers to a native idea that it is "a hot substance."¹⁴ This smacks of white acculturation.

The rainbow was believed to be a great snake called Oskin-tateá, "cutter off of the rain," its connection with clearing weather being well understood. "The old people knew," says Tuggle, "when they saw 'O-ccc-kee-ecr-tah-cher' that the rain would stop and that enough rain would never fall to drown the earth." He adds the important information that the rainbow cut off the rain by resting its two ends "on great springs of water." The Natchez call it *et gwáht*, "house neck." People spoke of running past it.

They believed in inhabited worlds—i. e., planes, both below and above that on which we dwell. Tuggle says:

"The earth is a very small island. . . . Indians live [on this and] also in the world under the earth. The third world is the sky world. The people of 'Esar-kee-tum-me-see' the Source of Life, the Life Controller, live in the sky world.

"Some say people (Indians) came down from the sky world, others say that they sprang from the earth, the soil, and hence the earth is man's mother and therefore sacred, and man cannot sell his own mother."

Tukabahchee miko told General Hitchcock that there are people living in the water and under the ground as well as upon the ground, and that the old people told him they had heard the drum [to accompany their dances].¹⁵ Eakins heard of a succession of inhabited planes underneath ours.¹⁶ On the other hand no one seems to have mentioned a belief in more than one world above. This world above was thought to be the realm of departed souls as well as the dwelling place of many supernatural beings. The latter were considered benef-

¹² Bartram, *Travels*, p. 496.

¹³ Pope, *Tour*, p. 61.

¹⁴ Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Hitchcock, *Ms. notes*.

¹⁶ Eakins in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 269.

icent and are said by Adair to have been called by the Chickasaw "Hottuk Ishtohoollo" (Hâták ishto holo, holy great men) or "Nana Ishtohoollo" (Nana ishto holo, holy great persons). With them he contrasts the "Hottuk ookproose (Hâták okpulosi), or "Nana ookproose (Nana okpulosi)," "very bad men," or "very bad people," who, he says, were supposed to inhabit the dark regions of the west.¹⁷ While Adair and other writers were likely to have interpreted Indian beliefs in the light of Christian teachings I believe this statement to be in the main correct. Swan mentions a good and bad region to which the souls of the dead go, and he says that a good spirit was over the one and an evil spirit—*isti fâtcasigo*, "person not good"—over the other.¹⁸ This has a still stronger appearance of Christian influence, and, as I do not find the bad ruling spirit spoken of again by other writers, it may be doubted whether there was such a conception.

THE SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Unlike the case of the bad spirit, a great good spirit ruling in the world above is mentioned by all early writers yet it is a question whether this was a native conception or not; the ease with which this spirit could be identified with the Christian deity and the fact that it was so identified in later times render the aboriginal character of the entire conception somewhat doubtful. The older Creeks assert that the name by which this being is now generally known, *Hisagita imisi*—now abbreviated to *Hisagita misi*—"the breath holder," is not the original term, but came in use after contact with white people. In explanation of the name it should be said that when an official was sent out in charge of a body of men at the time of the busk he was called an *imisi*, or "holder," because he held the body of men together. According to one informant the old name for God was *Puyáfiktea lâkât*, "the great spirit," but this man was a Baptist preacher and I believe the idea originated with the white people. Jackson Lewis, one of my best native informants, said that he recollected very well when the old people instead of calling the deity *Isagita imisi* used the term *Ibofánaga* (or *Ibofânga*), which means "the one above us." Nevertheless, as we find the name *Hisagita imisi* used by Adair¹⁹ and all those of his contemporaries who enter deeply into the subject of Creek religion, we must assume that it is at least as ancient as the other term. What Lewis had in mind is probably indicated by another statement of his that in order not to use the term "Master of Breath," which was a very sacred name, directly, people often spoke of "the ones over and above us." The plural form in use here

¹⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 36.

¹⁸ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, pp. 269-270: Hitchcock (Ms. notes) reports a similar belief.

¹⁹ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

suggests that originally the Creeks may have intended by the expression and the ceremonies directed toward the sky all of the spirits in the world above collectively. But, while there is probably some truth in this view, it seems pretty clear from the statements of early writers and mention of the "One Above" by the Chitimacha, Atakapa, and most of the other southeastern peoples, that they recognized a chief among these. Such a being was undoubtedly believed in by the Natchez, for their entire social system revolved about him, and there is every reason to think it was a prevailing southern belief. Bossu says that the Alabama called their supreme deity "Soulbiéche,"²⁰ a word probably derived from solopi, "ghost," or "spirit," and ēsa, or īsa, "to live," to "dwell."

Adair gives the Chickasaw name of the supreme deity as "Loak-Ishtō-hoollo-Aba" [Luak Ishtō Holo Āba], which appears to signify "the great holy fire above," and indicates his connection with the sun. Adair adds that he "resides as they think above the clouds, and on earth also with unpolluted people. He is with them the sole author of warmth, light, and of all animal and vegetable life."²¹ His name at once suggests the Uwa' shil ("Big fire") of the Natchez, which was their name for the sun, the highest object of their worship, or rather the abode of that highest object, and a connection between the Chickasaw and Natchez conceptions is thereby indicated. As to the regard in which the sun was held among the Creeks, Bartram says: "At the treaties they first puff or blow the smoke from the great pipe or calumet towards that luminary; they look up towards it with great reverence and earnestness when they confirm their talks or speeches in council, as a witness of their contracts; and also when they make their martial harangues and speeches at the head of their armies, when setting out, or making the onset, etc."²² The idea involved, however, was probably much broader than that of the mere visible sun, because the latter was not considered a particularly imposing object. Adair says: "The American Indians do not believe the Sun to be any bigger than it appears to the naked eye. . . . Conversing with the Chikkāsah archi-magus, or high-priest, about the luminary, he told me, 'It might possibly be as broad and round as his winter-house; but he thought it could not well exceed it.'"²³ Compare, also, the statement of their beliefs which some Chickasaw are reported to have given to John Wesley: "We believe there are four Beloved Things above; the Clouds, the Sun, the clear Sky, and He that lives in the clear sky."²⁴

Little else remains regarding the attributes of this deity which has not been entirely obscured by European beliefs. To show how far such beliefs had worked into the native conception, I will cite the

²⁰ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 48.

²¹ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²² Bartram in *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 26.

²³ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²⁴ Jones, *Hist. of Savannah*, p. 85.

following stories regarding the "Breath Holder" which were related to one of my oldest informants, a man born in Alabama before the migration to Oklahoma, by a very old Hitchiti Indian. This man said that a child was born in a certain country and a time came in the history of those people when children were to be killed. Rather than lose their child its parents put it into a basket, pitched it with gum, and set it afloat upon the water. Afterwards it was seen by the king, who told an attendant to bring it in, and he did so. Fascinated by its beauty he adopted it and reared it. One day after he grew up this child was walking along and saw a man planting seed. He asked him what it was and the man answered "I am planting stones." Later he went to this place again, dug into the earth, and found a great many stones there. Another time when he met this man the latter had some white corn flour. He threw a handful of this into the air and it turned into white water herons found along streams, the feathers of which were used in the Creek peace dance. The old man said that the man who did this was Christ and added that "a darn Frenchman came along and killed him." The myth of seed turning into stones is recorded in various versions by Dähnhardt, in his *Natursagen*, vol. II, p. 95, under the heading *Die Verwandlung des Saatfeld*. The other is a well-known episode in apocryphal church history. The first part of the narrative is of course taken from the story of Moses.

One further point regarding this spirit deserves notice, as it is certainly not European in origin, and that is his connection, in the minds of the Indians, with the sacred fire as several times mentioned by Adair. In one place he says, "they worship God, in a smoke and cloud, believing him to reside above the clouds, and in the element of the, supposed, holy annual fire."²⁵ Further on he goes into this more at length, as follows:

"Though they believe the upper heavens to be inhabited by *Ishtoollo Aba*, and a great multitude of inferior good spirits; yet they are firmly persuaded that the divine omnipresent Spirit of fire and light resides on the earth, in their annual sacred fire while it is unpoluted; and that he kindly accepts their lawful offerings, if their own conduct is agreeable to the old divine law, which was delivered to their forefathers."²⁶

Again, he quotes a Chickasaw seer to the effect that "he very well knew, the giver of virtue to nature resided on earth in the unpoluted holy fire, and likewise above the clouds and the sun, in the shape of a fine fiery substance, attended by a great many beloved people."²⁷ Adair backs these statements up with the following incident, which is of more importance than his bare assertion, and especially in this connection, as it is from the Creeks instead of the Chickasaw:

²⁵ Adair, *Ilist. Am. Inds.*, p. 35.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

"In the year 1748, when I was at the Koosah on my way to the Chikkasah country, I had a conversation on this subject, with several of the more intelligent of the Muskohge traders. One of them told me, that just before, while he and several others were drinking spirituous liquors with the Indians, one of the warriors having drank to excess, reeled into the fire, and burned himself very much. He roared, foamed, and spoke the worst things against God, that their language could express. He upbraided him with ingratitude, for having treated him so barbarously in return for his religious offerings, affirming he had always sacrificed to him the first young buck he killed in the new year; as in a constant manner he offered him when at home, some of the fattest of the meat, even when he was at short allowance, on purpose that he might shine upon him as a kind God. And he added, 'now you have proved as an evil spirit, by biting me so severely who was your constant devotee, and are a kind God to those accursed nothings [i. e., the white people], who are laughing at you as a rogue, and at me as a fool, I assure you, I shall renounce you from this time forward, and instead of making you look merry with fat meat, you shall appear sad with water, for spoiling the old beloved speech. I am a beloved warrior, and consequently I scorn to lie; you shall therefore immediately fly up above the clouds, . . .'"²⁸

In still another place he says: "The Muskogee call the fire their grandfather—and the supreme Father of mankind Esakata-Emishe 'the breath master,' as it is commonly explained."²⁹ Fire is called "grandfather" to the present day.³⁰

After describing the method of deadening trees and clearing fields among the southern Indians, Adair goes on thus:

"With these trees they always kept up their annual holy fire; and they reckon it unlawful, and productive of many temporal evils, to extinguish even the culinary fire with water. In the time of a storm, when I have done it, the kindly women were in pain for me, through fear of the ill consequences attending so criminal an act. I never saw them to damp the fire, only when they hung up a brand in the appointed place, with a twisted grape-vine, as a threatening symbol of torture and death to the enemy; or when their kinsman dies. In the last case, a father or brother of the deceased, takes a firebrand, and brandishing it two or three times round his head, with lamenting words, he with his right hand dips it into the water, and lets it sink down."³¹

All of the facts brought out must mean that an actual connection was supposed to exist between the sun and the busk fire and thus between the celestial deity behind the sun and this fire, and, as Adair himself points out elsewhere, that the renewal of the fire was an actual renewed presence of the deity among them, the old fire having

²⁸ Adair, *Ilist. Am. Inds.*, p. 116.

³⁰ Cf. Bartram in *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 26.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

³¹ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

become polluted by long separation from its source.³² It is unfortunate that we have no further information on this important point.

Swan, the only writer who has much to say of a great evil spirit, remarks that "they have an opinion that droughts, floods, and famines, and their miscarriages in war, are produced by the agency of the bad spirit. But of these things, they appear to have confused and irregular ideas, and some sceptical opinions."³³ I have already expressed doubts about the primitive character of the bad spirit but it is possible that a kind of dualism based on the opposing activities of the good and bad spirits collectively may have grown up.

Yahola and Hayū'ya were two important male deities supposed to reside together in the air without any other companionship. When novices were being instructed regarding the sacred medical formulæ and other mysteries in a way to be described presently the teacher sang songs in which the names of these two beings were mentioned very often. From the general drift of these songs it would appear that the two beings were perfect, clean, undefiled, and were in this manner implored to act as guardians and good geniuses of the pupils. To Jackson Lewis, to whom I am indebted for all of this important information, these beings seemed to endow one with strength, physical activity, and clearness of vision and thought. Yahola was also sometimes appealed to in sickness. If a person was shot and appeared to be dying some ginseng would be cut up and placed in a cup of water and a song sung over it containing the name of Yahola and appealing to his aid in this great emergency. Then the drink would be administered to the sufferer and by doing so it was thought that his life could be prolonged until a more thorough treatment could be undertaken. Also in cases of difficult childbirth the doctor would make medicine and over it utter an appeal to Yahola. "And," concluded Lewis, "this is the real Yahola, though you will find persons so named who do not know what the word means." This word was, in fact, employed in numerous war titles, and a cry called "the Yahola cry" and supposed to resemble the call of the deity himself, was uttered when black drink was taken, and on some other occasions during the annual busk. The name Hayū'ya gives us a clew to the four "Hi-you-yul-gee" from the four corners of the world who brought fire to the ancestors of the Creeks.

The being who produced thunder and lightning is identified by Adair with the supreme deity, for in one place he calls the latter "Ishtohollo Aba Eloa" (the big holy one above who thunders).³⁴ He tries to represent what he conceives to be the native idea when he says that the divine power of distributing rain at his pleasure

³² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 105, 107.

³³ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 270.

³⁴ Adair, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

"belonged only to the great beloved thundering Chieftain, who dwells far above the clouds, in the new year's unpolluted holy fire."³⁵ We are here reminded of a doctor encountered by Pope, who spoke of "the great God of Thunder and Lightning and of Rain."³⁶ The real native idea seems to be set forth, however, in the following quotation:

"The Indians call the lightning and thunder, *Eloha* [Hiloha, is thunder] and its rumbling noise, *Rowah*, . . . and the Indians believe . . . that *Minggo Ishto Eloha Alkaiasto*, 'the great chieftain of the thunder, is very cross, or angry when it thunders' and I have heard them say, when it rained, thundered, and blew sharp, for a considerable time, that the beloved, or holy people, were at war above the clouds. And they believe that the war at such times, is moderate, or hot, in proportion to the noise and violence of the storm.

"I have seen them in these storms, fire off their guns, pointed toward the sky; some in contempt of heaven, and others through religion—the former, to shew that they were warriors, and not afraid to die in any shape; much less afraid of that threatening troublesome noise and the latter, because their hearts directed them to assist *Ishthoollo Eloha*."³⁷

Here it is said that the cause of the thunder and lightning was warfare between many celestial beings, not the prerogative of a single one.

Jackson Lewis stated that it used to be said that the thunder was a person who possessed missiles (*li*, the word employed here, may mean an arrow, a bullet, a sting, or a thunderbolt) and would dart them out toward the earth with great noise. There is also, they said, a long snake that rises out of the water and can produce the same kinds of noises as the thunder man, but the noises of the former are accompanied by blue lightning and are without a bolt. These two sometimes amuse each other, the thunder man making noises and throwing his bolts down while the thunder snake thunders back and shows the blue lightning. The snake is sometimes in the ground or under a rock out of sight when this happens, and the thunder man throws his bolts into the trees or rocks near by. It has been thought by some that the thunder man kills the snake with his bolts. Lewis claimed to have seen thunderbolts (*tinitki inli*) which looked like crystals, or at least had similar facets. Sometimes they are found where a tree has been shivered by lightning and sometimes in the water, but if one puts his hand into the water to get them the hand will become paralyzed. They are of the colors red, yellow, white, and blue,³⁸ and thus seem to resemble the *sabia* to be described presently, but they were not identified with these.

³⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 92.

³⁶ Pope, *Tour*, p. 60.

³⁷ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

³⁸ In one place I have noted the colors as "blue, black, red, and white."

It is interesting to compare with this the notes on the subject by Tuggle, written at a much earlier period:

"The Muskogee say of lightning that a little man rides a yellow horse, and when he shoots his arrows, it thunders. Sometimes he shoots at a tree.

"When lightning—'Ah-tee-ya-hal-tee' (Atoyahâti)—strikes a tree and slightly injures it, some say this is caused by the terrapin. When the tree is torn to pieces, this is caused by the big noise (thunder)."

Tuggle recorded the following regarding the wind:

"The Wind was very destructive. The people wanted him to go away.

"The Wind said: 'I am going away to the other end of the world. I will sometimes send some of my servants back to visit you. Some will be soft and gentle, some will be rough and loud. When the end comes, the last day, I will come with great power and will sweep all to one place from the four corners of the earth.'

"So the Wind went away."

Reference to the earth as an island has already been quoted. Further light on the native conception of it may be gained from the several creation stories, which are in fact stories of how the present order of things was instituted out of a previous order of things of an analogous nature. I have been told that there was once a long myth of this kind, most of which has been lost. The following fragments will, however, present the native idea in general outlines very well. The creation story and the flood story are so mingled that it will be well to include both.

The agent Eakins, who obtained most of his information from an Alabama Indian, says on this point:

"They believe that before the Creation there existed a great body of water. Two pigeons were sent forth in search of land, and found excrements of the earth-worm; but on going forth the second time, they procured a blade of grass, after which, the waters subsided, and the land appeared."³⁹

Speck secured the following myth from a Tuskegee medicine maker:

"The time was, in the beginning, when the earth was overflowed with water. There was no earth, no beast of the earth, no human being. They held a council to know which would be best, to have some land or to have all water. When the council had met, some said, 'Let us have land, so that we can get food,' because they would starve to death. But others said, 'Let us have all water,' because they wanted it that way.

"So they appointed Eagle as chief. He was told to decide one way or another. Then he decided. He decided for land. So they

³⁹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 266.

looked around for some one whom they could send out to get land. The first one to propose himself was Dove, who thought that he could do it. Accordingly they sent him. He was given four days in which to perform his task. Now, when Dove came back on the fourth day, he said that he could find no land. They concluded to try another plan. Then they obtained the services of Crawfish (sákdju). He went down through the water into the ground beneath, and he too was gone four days. On the fourth morning he rose and appeared on the surface of the waters. In his claws they saw that he held some dirt. He had at last secured the land. Then they took the earth from his claws and made a ball of it. When this was completed they handed it over to the chief, Eagle, who took it and went out from their presence with it. When he came back to the council, he told them that there was land, an island. So all the beasts went in the direction pointed out, and found that there was land there as Eagle had said. But what they found was very small. They lived there until the water receded from this earth. Then the land all joined into one."⁴⁰

According to one of the fragments collected by myself, water covered everything in the beginning and no living beings existed except two red-headed woodpeckers, which hung to the clouds, with their tails awash in the waters.⁴¹ When the water went down it left marks on their tails which remain to-day. It also left a muddy island, and on this seven persons were created, apparently by The One Above. By extending their thoughts these seven persons extended the boundaries of this island until it took on the dimensions of the present dry land. This fragment was from Tál muteási, late medicine maker of the Fish Pond and Ásilanabi towns. Big Jack, a leading repository of native lore among the Iilibi, said that anciently there was a flood of waters, upon which floated a canoe in which were some human beings and animals of all kinds. The opossum hung to the side of the canoe with its tail in the water, and that is how it happens to have a tail practically devoid of hair at the present time.⁴² The red-headed woodpecker hung to the sky and the tip of his tail was discolored permanently. Afterwards the creatures wanted to get some earth. First the earthworm started down after it, but the fishes seized him and ate him up. Next the crawfish started down, but he did not come up again. Finally the dove flew away and brought earth from beyond the horizon, and from this the dry land of to-day was formed.

⁴⁰ *Memoirs Am. Anth. Asso.*, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 145-146.

⁴¹ According to Tuggle they were sitting on the side of the ark, a later Christian adaptatiou. While Tuggle calls this bird "Phe-tuk-kee" (ítuki), the yellow-hammer, my Alabama informants considered it was a bird a little larger than the common red-headed woodpecker (waháwágwá), called in their language títka.

⁴² See also Tuggle Ms.

This last story and the one obtained by Doctor Speck are interesting because they combine the peculiar Southeastern tale in which a bird brings the first land with the well-known quest for earth beneath the waters, a story found over the whole of the eastern part of North America.

According to the idea of the southern Indians, something of the supernatural attached to every created thing, every animal, plant, stone, stick, body of water, geographical feature, and even to objects which man himself had made. While these things did, indeed, have certain characteristic appearances and activities which were "natural"—that is, the things normally expected from them—they owed these to a certain impression made upon them in the beginning of things, or at least at some time in the distant past, and it was not to be assumed that they were all the powers which such beings and objects—or, assuming the Indian point of view, we might say simply beings—possessed. The expected might give way at any moment to the unexpected. In such cases the thing itself might exert power in its own right or it might be a medium of power from another being. It might manifest this power at one particular time to one particular person, it might have the faculty of exerting its power constantly, or its power might be brought out from it by the observance of certain regulations. In such cases the response might be an infallible result of performing the regulations, or the charm might be capable of exercising a modicum of volition.

An ability to talk on occasion was attributed to animals. Once a prophet heard an owl and a dog talking to each other. The owl said, "People must be afraid of me." The dog answered, "No, but if there is a big stick lying across the road they will be afraid of that." "Would they be afraid of a bush?" inquired the owl. "They would not be afraid of that; they would go around it." "But would they not be afraid if I should get on top of the bush?" "If you do it, they will kill you." They disputed about this for some time and at last the owl perched on a bush in the middle of the road to try and scare passers-by, but in vain.

The beings most important in the lives of the Indians or those which, for any reason, were most conspicuous were of course the ones which attracted the most regard from them, were oftenest referred to in their stories, and were made the occasion of something approaching a cult. Still this statement needs modification, since some of their conceptions were the result of evolution, and can not be said to have been due to any apparently greater significance of the objects or creatures in the lives of the present-day Indians. It is even uncertain that they ever were of cardinal significance; some chance association, or the influence of foreign peoples, may have given them

their superior position. It should be added that some of the beings by which they believed themselves to be surrounded were purely imaginary. Their attitude toward these was theoretically the same as that toward the common creatures, but as they were not of everyday experience, the supposed encounters with them were of course always believed to have supernatural significance.

According to both the early writers and the present day Indians, in ancient times the Indians would not willingly kill a wolf or a rattlesnake. I was told that not many stories were related about the former because it was considered the friend of the red men and they were afraid it would injure them.

Not many stories were told about snakes for fear of receiving injury, and Bartram says that the Indians whom he met would not willingly kill any sort of snake, believing that if they did so the spirit of the snake would excite or influence his living kindred or relatives to revenge the injury done to him when alive.⁴⁴ Upon one occasion he killed a rattlesnake that had driven some Seminole from their camp, whereupon several of them came to him and performed a kind of ceremonial dry scratching upon him. This was evidently in order to make the relatives of the snake believe that the injury had been atoned for.⁴⁵ Adair records that misfortune was predicted by a Chickasaw doctor because he (Adair) had killed one of these reptiles.⁴⁶

A great deal was made of "masters of waters," water creatures such as the beaver, otter, and water snake. They are often associated together in the linking of clans. When I was in Oklahoma during a very dry season, which had been preceded by two or three very dry seasons, some of the Indians said that this was due to the fact that since the coming of the whites the masters of waters, who anciently protected the earth from dryness, had lost control.

Just as we find on the north Pacific coast and elsewhere that the supernatural beings live when at home like men on earth, we hear in Creek stories of animal towns scattered about like those of the Indians, each with its square ground, though of course there are always supernatural accompaniments, and curious features reminding one of the animals which live there. The following story gives an experience with the under water people.

A man who was at some distance from his town fasting in order to obtain medicine was once out after wood, and saw a man up the creek from him, whom he presently met and conversed with. When he got back, he picked up his kettle and started after water, but, on reaching the branch, he threw his kettle into it. Then he stripped off

⁴⁴ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 261, note.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-261.

⁴⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 272-273.

his shirt and dived under water after it. Two little snakes then took hold of him and guided him along, making a way for him so that he could breathe exactly as if he were on land. By and by they came to a place like a Creek square ground, but the beds were all made of snakes plaited together, and there was a big turtle in front for a footstool. Then the old snakes said "Why did you bring that person here?" But as long as they had done so, the old people told him to sit down. When he tried to step on the turtle, however, it raised up, and it did this three times. The fourth time it stopped and he stepped on its back. When he was about to sit down the snakes began crawling, but at the fourth attempt they also stopped and he seated himself. Then they asked him if he wanted a feather which was fixed in the roof above his head, and he said "Yes," but, when he tried to seize it, it flew up out of reach. At the fourth attempt he got it. Again they said to him, "Do you want that hatchet?" "Maybe I do," he answered. This also rose out of his reach three times and the fourth time he got it. "If you are a man," they said, "let us see you strike off the head of that turtle." So he got off of the turtle's back, aimed a blow at its neck, and, zip! off flew its head while its blood spattered round about. "This will do for you," they said, and they gave him all sorts of instructions as to how he could visit them. From that time on he went back to see them frequently, but presently he began violating their instructions, and they in turn began to dash water on him, so that at last he could not reach them. The man's name was "Horned" (Yâbi odjá). He used to dive under water and return about noon with a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark. There was a whirlpool under some rocks in the South Canadian below the standing rock near the mouth of the North Canadian, and there he said he saw some creatures that looked like dogs and he thought that they might be dangerous, but he said that they did him no harm. One day, however, he got drunk and was found dead on the bluff just above that place.

Another boy, a grandson of the preceding, was able to stay under water so long that his companions thought he was drowned. But one time he saw something that scared him, and afterward he remained on shore. He said that the place to which he went was like an open space. It was thought that his grandfather must have taught him how to stay under water, as he would come out in the same way carrying a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark.

My informant affirms that these are true stories, and that an old Indian named Judge Nokosi with whom he was acquainted knew "Horned" personally. "Horned" was a Tukabahchee; the grandson, a Laplako.

A similar experience is related thus. It shows how a supernatural object was obtained for the inside of the "chief ball" used in the ball game.

An old Alabama doctor living in Oklahoma told a certain man to go into a creek to get part of the nest of a corduroy snake (tie snake) from a cave there, and he gave him a magic cane with which to quiet the serpents. The man went to the water, but, when he saw the snakes, he was afraid and went back. Then the doctor gave the cane to another man. This person went to the creek and began walking into the water, when it was just as if he were walking on dry ground. He saw the cavern with the snakes lying all about. Then he touched them with his cane and they did not hurt him. So he got a little of the nest of the snakes and brought it back, and that was what they put into the center of the ball with which they played.

According to one of my informants the "tie snake" referred to in this story was a long slender snake which made progress by a succession of jumps or flips and was so powerful that it could carry a full-grown horse along with it. Upon one occasion such a snake seized a horse near Wetumka, Okla., and was carrying it along to its den in this manner when the horse in its struggles kicked the snake on the head and killed it. Jackson Lewis, however, gave a somewhat different account of this snake, which I quote along with a story regarding it said by him to belong to very recent times.

The "tie snake" is an inch and a half in diameter and short, but it is very strong. It is white under the throat, but black over the rest of the body, and its head is crooked over like the beak of a hawk. It lives in deep water, usually in small deep water holes from which it makes excursions into the woods, drawing its prey down into the water to its den. There are many tales told of this tie snake, of which the following is a specimen.

A Creek Indian named Ogue hili imāla, now dead, who used to live about 3 miles from Eufaula, told this to Lewis as a personal experience. He once owned a mare which had a colt. Having missed his mare from the range, he hunted for some time, and finally found her by means of the colt, which he saw running about but always returning to a certain spot. Finally he went to this place and saw that a large tree had been uprooted there, leaving quite a hole where its roots had been—a hole partially filled with water. There he found his mare with her hind quarters under water and her head and shoulders out. As he could not get her out alone he gathered his neighbors together and they went to the place with ropes which they tied about the mare's body and pulled on all together in order to draw her out. But their efforts were at first fruitless. Making a supreme effort, however, they were successful, whereupon the water seemed to flow in from all quarters and fill up the hole. The

mare was not much hurt, and they took her away and cared for her until she recovered. Her hind quarters were at first numbed, however, and upon them was a spot about an inch and a half across from which the hair had been rubbed. The skin there became black and finally scaled off. When the hair came out again it was black and the animal was quite a curiosity on account of the black ring. Everybody, including Lewis, felt perfectly satisfied that a tie snake had caught this mare and dragged her into the water hole.

This snake is said to have originated from a transformed human being. Two hunters were out together and in a certain place they found two eggs. One of them was suspicious of these but the other was a rash, heedless youth, and he ate them. That night he began to feel strange and his companion observed that he was changing his shape. This change went on until he became a great serpent which continued to live in a water hole near by. Afterwards his mother came to see him and he recognized her but returned again into the water.⁴⁷

In the Tuggle collection there is a note of another snake, known as "the sharp breasted snake,"⁴⁸ but I obtained a very much better account of this creature from Jackson Lewis. The two accounts disagree in no particular. Lewis's account is as follows:

The sharp-breasted snake is a serpent which goes along with its head up and its breast advanced. It is rarely seen but you can tell where it has passed along. These snakes are not thought to be very long, but they appear to vary in size. The largest would probably measure a foot and a half in diameter. With its sharp breast this snake tears up the earth, making a deep furrow. It is supposed to be covered with a crust of scales, and where it has touched against stones, and even rocks, it can be seen that they give way to its great power. It can cut through the roots of trees, making the trees keel over, and throw mud high up on the trunks of trees near by. These snakes, when they move in this way, appear to be changing their places of residence and this is always done during a rainstorm. You can see where lightning has struck all along where this snake has been. Such things prove to the Indians that such a snake exists. A Choctaw Indian named John Wesley, in the old Choctaw country south of the Canadian, told Lewis that one of these snakes had in some way been mortally wounded and lay up in the mountains. A number of people saw it and told Wesley about it, and he thought of going to see it but did not. The snake lay there until it was dead, however, and the skeleton was seen by people and spoken of frequently. Wesley knew where this could be found and told Lewis that if he came over they would go over there together and see the bones, but Lewis did not go. This happened in 1905.

⁴⁷ For another version see pp. 71-72.

⁴⁸ Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

The origin of the conception of this snake is without doubt to be found in the tracks made by lightning, and the bones supposed to have been left by one of them might well have been those of some animal exposed at the time of a thundershower.

The horned snake was probably held in highest esteem by the Indians on account of the value placed upon its horns as hunting charms. The following account of it is mainly from Jackson Lewis.

This snake lives in water and has horns like the stag. It is not a bad snake. It crawls out and suns itself near its hole, and on one occasion Lewis claimed to have seen such a snake. It does not harm human beings but seems to have a magnetic power over game. If any game animal, such as a deer, comes near the place where this snake is lying it is drawn irresistibly into the water and destroyed. It eats only the ends of the noses of the animals which it has killed. The old Creeks sometimes got hold of the horns of this snake, and they were broken up into very minute fragments and distributed among the hunters of the Creek Nation. These fragments are red and look like red sealing wax. A Creek hunter is always exceedingly anxious to obtain even the most minute fragment of such a horn, because it is said to give luck and success in hunting and killing deer. "I myself," said Lewis, "have at two times in my life owned a small fragment of one of these horns, and as you yourself know [speaking to Mr. G. W. Grayson] I have always been looked upon as a great deer killer." These snakes are very rarely seen.

The Alabama living in Texas also know of this snake, which they call *tcinto saktco*, "crawfish (i. e. long-horned) snake." They say they are of four kinds according as their horns are yellow, white, red, or blue.

Tuggle makes mention of another snake described as living under ground. "It is never seen, but it emerges sometimes from the ground, with a great noise, and leaves a large hole in the earth where it came out. It is called the Celestial One, or Good Snake."⁴⁹ This snake is probably identical with that described by Jackson Lewis, a most remarkable snake, since it consists principally of head and lacks a body. It lives on the dew from the grass and leaves. It swirls round and round in the air and goes upward until it disappears, from which fact it would seem to typify the whirlwind.

Jackson Lewis told me of a certain set of supernatural beings residing in the waters and therefore called "the inhabitants of the waters." One of these was the horned snake already mentioned. A second was "the long snake," which coils itself up round and round to a height of perhaps 3 feet. This is perhaps identical with the snake which produces thunder. Another was "the great yellow snake," which is under the ground ordinarily but also burrows its way into

⁴⁹ Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

the waters. Still another was a snake as large around as a stovepipe. Several of these sometimes get together and raise themselves straight up until they can not go higher, when they fall over with a splash. Occasionally they sport in the water by extending themselves across running water in the form of a bow and bending back and forth while the water roars over them. According to Lewis these snakes seem to be chiefs among all the inhabitants of the waters. Other "inhabitants of the waters" are the water bear, water calf, water bison, water tiger, and water person. The water tiger is spotted like a leopard, and is now often identified with that animal.⁵⁰ The water person is about 4 feet tall and has long hair.

My Natchez informant had heard a tradition that his people once worshiped a snake to which the women gave their children as food from time to time, but this seems to be a modern myth about the doings of the remote ancestors which has secured a foothold among several tribes.

There are many stories about a monster lizard supposed to live like a bear in hollow trees. It is called by the same name, *atcukliba*, as a small, inoffensive striped lizard found on trees. It is related that at one time some hunters were encamped near the tree in which such a giant lizard lived. One of the men "had a word," that is a formula of supernatural power, and he said that he could get the best of this animal. He went to the place where it lived and shouted "Come out. We will race." Immediately the *atcukliba* came out and started in pursuit of the man who ran on across country uttering a peculiar yell. The lizard was close behind him, but the man kept ahead until they were out of sight. By and by the people saw them coming back, the man still in the lead, and, when they got near, the lizard was so much exhausted that it had to lie down. Later a man without power thought he could do the same thing. He kept ahead of the lizard until they were out of sight, but when it was time for them to reappear they saw the *atcukliba* coming with the man in its mouth. Upon this the onlookers set the woods on fire so that the creature could not pursue them and fled. This lizard appears also in the tales of the Texas Alabama.

The eagle and a small sparrow hawk that eats chickens each receives the name of "the king of birds." The feathers of the former were highly prized, and were used in dances and games, particularly by members of the *Teiloki* clans; from this and other circumstances it is evident that it was a war emblem. Adair says that the whole town would contribute, "to the value of 200 deer-skins," to the killing of a large eagle, and the man who did so received an honorable title for the exploit, just as if he had brought in the scalp of an enemy. The bald-headed eagle was not esteemed. According

⁵⁰ A famous story in which this snake figures has been given on pp. 70, 71 of the preceding paper.

to Adair all of the Indian nations with which he was familiar considered the raven impure, yet had a kind of superstitious regard for it.⁵¹ Crow feathers were among the war feathers of the Creeks.

Among the Texas Alabama the hoot owl (o'pa) informed prophets when a death or some other misfortune was about to take place. A man who was fond of joking and a prophet were once out hunting when one of these birds flew near and hooted. The former then asked the prophet in a jesting way if he knew what the owl said, and the prophet answered, "He said another man is going with your wife." Upon this the jester cut 12 long sticks, went home, found that the prophet had spoken truly, and beat the guilty pair in accordance with native custom. My informant seemed to think that in cases of death the owl was the man's soul, but this is doubtful. Another prophetic bird was a small red-headed woodpecker having speckled wings which makes a noise resembling biciei, and is hence called in Alabama biciei'hka. When the nephew of one of my informants died, the wife of the former was away in a river bottom. While she was there and before the news had reached her she saw one of these birds flying about. Adair tells us that on one occasion he observed the Indians "to be intimidated at the voice of a small uncommon bird, when it perched, and chirped on a tree over their war camp."⁵² This may have been one of the birds above mentioned or a third of similar character.

Dogs are sometimes fabled to have helped men and there are stories which represent them as living in towns with square grounds like those of human beings. It is said that upon one occasion a boy found a deserted house in which was a bitch with a litter of puppies. He took care of them, and when the pups grew up they went out and drove bear up to him so that he could shoot them with arrows. The skunk is once referred to as "chief of all the animals."^{52a}

As stated in the beginning, supernatural power of some sort was believed to attach to all animals and plants, and to natural objects generally, even to artificial objects, and when we come to discuss Creek medicine a great deal more will be said about their various powers, because each is supposed to have been able to produce certain diseases.

Some mythic supernatural beings have already been mentioned, but there were a number of others, many of which caused sickness. Among these were a race of little people, called by Tuggle "fairies."⁵³ They lived in hollow trees, on tree tops, in the holes in the rocks, and in other similar places. They were strong and handsome, with fine figures, and sometimes they allowed themselves to be seen by a human being, who then talked about them continually

⁵¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 131, 173, 194.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

^{52a} See p. 529.

⁵³ Tuggle, *Ms.*, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*

and followed wherever they led, into forests, swamps, etc. Sometimes the victim died in these desolate spots, but at others he came to his senses and got back home. The mental disease which they thus induced seems to have been a kind of temporary insanity. They rather bewildered the victim, then put him permanently out of his head. One man told me he had been led astray twice by these beings; they conducted him across a river in this state, and he was never able to explain how he got there. This was a favorite trick of the little people.

Once, when the father of one of my Natchez informants was out hunting, and could get nothing, he heard little people calling to him. He could not see them until he looked down near the ground. They wore caps and some had bows and arrows. They directed him to a place where medicine was to be found and to a place where there was game, so he followed their directions. First he found a little stone cup filled with medicine which he drank, and then he went on and killed a deer.

There were also giants whose eyes opened vertically instead of horizontally. They treated human beings in the same way as the little people. The Choctaw and Chickasaw have the same beliefs regarding giants and dwarfs as have the Creeks.

There is supposed to be an animal called *hâteko-teâpko*—"long ears." It is about the size of a mule, has immense ears, and a very hideous appearance generally. It has a disagreeable odor and causes a dangerous disease, but fortunately it is rarely seen. There are two varieties of this animal, one of a brown color nearly black, the other of a slate color.

Another creature is called *nokos oma*, "like a bear." It is of about the size of an ordinary black bear, but it always carries its head near the earth. It has immense tusks which cross each other and when seen it is going along a trail with the gait of a pacer. More often, however, only the noise made by the males is heard, and this sounds something like "*kâp kâp kâp kâp*."

The *hâteko fâski*, "sharp ears," seem to go in pairs and never travel east or west but always north or south. They are observed especially near the sources of small streams. They have sharp noses, bushy tails, and globular feet.

There are some animals, usually pied in color, which look like big steers. They are called *wak oma*, "like a cow." Several travel together and they move in single file and alternately. One moves on for a certain distance and stops and then moves on again. The one behind moves up to the place which the first had occupied, stops, and moves on again in the same manner.

There is an animal called *lohka* which sometimes appears in the shape of a cat, sometimes as a chicken.

There is also a bird called so'datèà'kalà which never looks toward the earth but always straight up into the sky. It makes a noise like a woodpecker, and my informant thought he had heard it at times in the dead hours of the night far up in the air.

Another bird is like a woodpecker but much larger. It lives in pine forests, but the old doctors when they made medicine, and had occasion to refer to it, sang of it as if it originated in the skies. These two last may be real creatures, the former the "sun gazer," the latter a woodpecker.

There was said to be a little deer about 2 feet high and either speckled like a fawn or white, but it differed from a fawn in having very lofty horns. This is called "the chief deer." My informant claimed to have killed one of these.

The water king deer (Wiofù'te miko) is mentioned as causing certain diseases, and Speck's informant attributed others to the "sky-hog" and the "wolf-in-the-water."

There is also mention of the "spirit of war," which appears to have been in human shape.

Besides the above, in the doctoring formulæ and in the myths we hear of a cat-like creature called isti-papa, "man-eater." This is usually identified with the "lion," while the panther is commonly referred to as a "tiger." It is possible that the conception may have come in after white contact, but on the other hand it might preserve a memory of the jaguar which anciently came as far north as the Brazos River and probably to the Mississippi. The Alabama identify the "man-eater" (Ala. atipa-teoba) with the elephant, of which they had of course no knowledge until late times.

Alabama Indians also told of certain beings with penises so long that they reached high up into the trees; they were in the habit of striking the trees with these and the noise resulting could be heard for long distances.

The monsters of Muskhogean legend frequently trail their intended victims by means of a roller which is spoken of as if it were endowed with a conscious or semiconscious life of its own. It is described in one place as about 3 inches in diameter and the idea of it is evidently derived from the roller formerly used in the chunkey game.^{53a}

CHARMS

Among these objects, which are rather means of securing supernatural help than active helpers themselves, the *sabia* were the most important, and they are said to be known to all of the Five Civilized Tribes. I have heard of them personally among the Creeks, Alabama, and Natchez. They were very small objects looking like crystals and when properly treated would bring the possessor success in any

^{53a} See p. 466 in the preceding paper.

emergency of life, in public speaking and in war, but particularly in hunting and in love. If the owner of a *sabīa* asked for a thing he would never be refused. The Texas Alabama claim that with them it was only a love charm and had nothing to do with hunting. However, it was a saying that anything that will charm a deer will charm a woman. The word is said to convey the impression of a group of men starting off carrying some particular article, but its origin may have had nothing to do with this. The best account of it was obtained from Jackson Lewis, and in substance it is as follows:

There are different kinds of *sabīa*—white, blue, red, yellow, and one that is nearly black. All have a luster like that of glass except the black, which looks like the graphite of a lead pencil. The red and yellow *sabīa* are considered the strong ones or the males; the white and blue are the females. If one sits down and watches them a moment they gleam and flash as if they were live things moving about. Lewis owned a white *sabīa* and also a blue one for a long time but sold them when he partially lost his eyesight. Upon one occasion he took one of these out, laid it upon the table, and was about to touch it with the point of his penknife when it sprang off to a distance of 2 or 3 feet like a thing alive. According to tradition *sabīa* and the knowledge of how they should be used came from the Yamasee, so that in singing the long song which goes with them, but is not used much on account of its sacredness, the word Yamasee continually occurs. The *sabīa* was kept in a little piece of buckskin along with red paint, and when a man went out hunting he opened this up, took a little red paint out on the end of a match or straw, and put it on his cheek. Then the deer did not seem wild and there was little trouble experienced in finding and shooting them. This is not done until one has gotten a little distance from camp, and the action is accompanied by a song intended to make the deer approach. Another song may be sung to blind the deer after one has seen him so that you can get as near to him as possible before shooting. During the *sabīa* songs the charm itself is not unwrapped. Some *sabīa* now in use are said to have been obtained from the Yamasee, while others are reputed to have been borne upon a plant which grows in out-of-the-way places. This plant has minute seeds which fall off when they are ripe and form such crystals. Numerous songs were connected with this charm, and it is said that "one could never finish telling the myths concerning it." Sometimes a *sabīa* is found whirling around on gravelly or sandy soil and acting as if it were alive.

Another man, who claimed merely to have seen imitations of the yellow and blue varieties but not the true *sabīa*, said that they were so powerful that the owner would not keep one in the house. It was put in the middle of a circular piece of buckskin taken from the flank of a deer and tied up tight until it was to be used. When a

hunter having one of these failed to kill a deer and the sun was already high in the heavens he untied this charm and held it in his hand so that the rays of the sun might fall upon it. Then he sang a song to it which made it wriggle in the paint. Forthwith the deer would be charmed and would sometimes come straight toward the hunter. This man, it is to be noted, differs from Jackson Lewis regarding the unwrapping of the *sabia*. He was less likely to be correct, but on the other hand there were probably many different ways of treatment.

Cook said that unless it is carefully handled and controlled by the right formula the *sabia* will injure its owner by exciting him "sexually" or affecting his wife and daughters in the same manner. Therefore it was generally not carried on the person unless its owner was ready for an emergency and had his formula constantly in mind, which makes it entirely safe. It is easily lost, and will jump away quickly. The roots of the *sabia hálgi* ("sabia wife") were also used as a charm. This is one of the first plants to come out in spring. These charms are still in use, being employed largely as love charms.

Still another informant suggested that the "fox fire" sometimes seen in punk perhaps originated the *sabia* idea; the phosphorescent light was associated with the daylight luster of these crystals and hence supposed to be self-derived—i. e., the result of a volitional act on the part of the stone. The following account of the plant and mineral *sabias* is from the Tuggle collection:

"A man once went to the woods and remained in solitary meditation for four days. He wandered alone till he heard a soft, low, sweet voice, singing a song. He listened and watched. He saw a beautiful little flower, swaying gracefully back and forth. He knew the song came from the little flower. Around the flower the ground was swept clean. He listened until he had learned the song. Suddenly he felt that he possessed a wonderful power, which he could impart to any object. Any one who had such an object in his possession became lucky. He could succeed in love, in the chase, and in war. Often bits of stone possess this power. The color of these charmed stones is white, red, and yellow. They are called 'Sar-pee-yah.'" ⁵⁴

One of the vegetable *sabias* was called *sabia hagi* ("like a *sabia*"). It has a globular root and a white flower, said to be the first flower to appear in spring. When a man discovered such a plant he set up a stake near by to mark it so that he could dig it up when it got big enough. That time having arrived, the prospective owner went to the river and dived into it four times. Then he procured a piece of white buckskin, put some red paint on this, and placed the root on the paint. It was then laid away carefully in a secure, dry place

⁵⁴ Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

away from the house, for if it were in the latter place the whole family would go wild and act like deer at the rutting season. When the owner wanted to go hunting he took a little paint from around the root and put it on his face, and if he were going far the whole charm could be carried along.

Another *sabīa* was known as *sabīa hātki* ("white *sabīa*"). It has small leaves and a bunch of black berries at the top, and grows to the height of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet. If a man chewed a little of this when he was out hunting he would immediately encounter a deer. It also had power to attract women.

The *sabīa* crystal was, at least by some, believed to come from a plant. This is shown by the following account of this charm taken down by Mr. G. W. Grayson from an Indian doctor, Caley Proctor, the use of which has been kindly allowed me by Mr. Grayson's family.

"The *subbea* is often found in the bulb of a rare plant. The plant is never found growing abundantly in any locality. It is pulled from the ground and from the bulb is stripped off each outer coating until the center is reached when there will be found something, a very small piece of broken glass, red, amber, or of some other color. It is taken out and put into a small quantity of red paint, and the whole is securely wrapped in a small piece of white dressed buckskin. This is the famous *subbea*, especially useful in giving luck to hunters who know the song and sing it to the enclosed *subbea*, or success to him who desires to win the affections of one of the opposite sex."

Jackson Lewis had heard of two other roots used by the Creeks in hunting, though they were not spoken of as *sabīas*. One he had never seen. The other was a very small plant with a very small bulbous root. The root is rubbed over the eyelashes two ways, horizontally and vertically, when it produces success in hunting. If one has had bad or inauspicious dreams during the night and does not feel encouraged to go out hunting these bulbs will free him of this feeling and "set him up" for the day.

A third root had been obtained from the wild tribes of the west. If one made lines with this one on the face and hands and a straight mark on the bottom of the foot he would have good luck. It would also stop nosebleed. The western Indians claim that when they administer it to a horse about to run a race the horse always wins. Jackson Lewis himself once had a piece of this medicine and testified to its power.

As a charm against snake bite they hung the thigh bone of the highland terrapin about the necks of children.

Adair speaks of a beaded string of bison hair which Indian women tied around their legs as "a great ornament, as well as a preservative against miscarriages, hard labor, and other evils."⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 169.

When a nail or some similar object was run into the body the red-headed woodpecker called *títka* was used as a charm to get it out.

The "ark" which they carried to war was another kind of charm. When they defeated the French under D'Artaguette they insisted on killing the priests because they believed the articles for the performance of the mass which the latter carried were the French ark and the priests its keepers.⁵⁶

A piece of the horn of a horned snake was one of the greatest charms. Some men claimed that they had been able to charm such a snake by their songs so as to bring it to the bank of the stream, when they obtained a piece of one of its horns. This was kept in a hollow tree or some other place remote from the house lest it should make the children sick.^{56a}

An Alabama hunter carried a piece of the root of the *wátola im-bákea* ("crane's cord") in his ball pouch, and if he could not find deer he would sing and talk to it, blow upon it, and then chew it. Then he was sure to find and kill the animals.

Bartram speaks of the "physic-nut, or Indian olive" as similarly used, and says: "The Indians when they go in pursuit of deer carry this fruit with them, supposing that it has the power of charming or drawing that creature to them."⁵⁷ Although the identification is a little uncertain this seems to be the fruit of the *Triosteum perfoliatum* or "horse gentian."

The early white traders were often so affected by native superstitions regarding charms that they placed unbounded confidence in them themselves. Thus Adair says that he took the foot of a "guinea deer" out of the shot pouch of one of these men "and another from my own partner, which they had very safely sewed in the corner of each of their otter-skin pouches, to enable them, according to the Indian creed, to kill deer, bear, buffalo, beaver, and other wild beasts in plenty." Argument proving unavailing he was constrained to return them to their owners lest an accident might befall them and the blame be laid upon him.⁵⁸

At times, it would seem, an Indian would turn upon his charm and throw it away if it did not appear to him to be sufficiently active in his behalf. Adair mentions a case in which an Upper Creek Indian burned himself so badly in the fire when under the influence of liquor that he became furiously angry with it, upbraiding it for its treatment of him after all of the food he had given it. It is added that from then on he became godless, though perhaps only with respect to that particular element. Adair says that he had witnessed several instances of "impiety" of like nature.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 154-155. See pp. 411-412, 425.

^{56a} See p. 429.

⁵⁷ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 41.

⁵⁸ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116. Also see p. 484.

Magical songs or formulas accompanied the use of most medicines and charms, and very wonderful things were supposed to be accomplished by these. "By a word" a man could stand aside in the war-path and render himself invisible to the enemies. "By a word" a man could even condense the whole world in such a way that he could go around it in four steps. A certain Indian in recent times "conjured" his field and sprinkled it with miko hoyanidja, and, "while the crops all about were ruined, he had a good harvest."

Tribal medicines or palladia such as are often met with in other parts of America were almost unknown to the Creeks unless we include the "ark" or war medicine under this head. Adair and some later writers mention a human figure carved out of wood in one of the upper towns,⁶⁰ and I myself was told of a wooden eagle with drops of blood represented issuing from the corners of its mouth which was brought out and planted in front of the miko's bed at Coweta when anything of importance was to be discussed. The Creek chief James Islands spoke of articles used by various towns during the celebration of the busk and held in great reverence, and he instanced large conch shells out of which the Coweta Indians took their black drink. These, he said, they had had for a long time and preserved with great care. But there is no certainty that these things were really palladia. Nevertheless, there is one apparent exception, the famous copper and brass plates preserved by the town of Tukabahchee. Hitchcock says that, in his time, these were kept in a small house which stood by itself tightly shut up, situated near the *tcokofa*, but at a later period, and apparently at an earlier one also, they were in the sanctuary behind the middle section of the Chiefs' bed. The small detached houses, such as Hitchcock describes, were built in several of the square grounds and I have seen some of them, but I was given to understand that they represented a recent institution, being used probably as a protection against the all-consuming curiosity of the white man. The plates were brought out once annually at the time of the busk and formed the principal feature in one of their dances to be described presently. The first account of them that has come down to us is by, or rather through, Adair and is of the utmost importance. It runs as follows:

"In the Tuccabatches on the Tallapoosa river, thirty miles above the Allabahamah garrison, are two brazen tablets, and five of copper. They esteem them so sacred as to keep them constantly in their holy of holies, without touching them in the least, only in the time of their compounded first-fruit-offerings, and annual expiation of sins; at which season, their magus carries one under his arm, a-head of the people, dancing round the sacred arbour; next to him their head-warrior carries another; and those warriors who chuse it,

⁶⁰ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 22-23.

carry the rest after the manner of the high priest; all the others carry white canes with swan-feathers at the top. Hearing accidentally of these important monuments of antiquity, and enquiring pretty much about them, I was certified of the truth of the report by four of the southern traders, at the most eminent Indian trading house of all English America. One of the gentlemen informed me, that at my request he endeavoured to get a liberty of viewing the aforesaid tables, but it could not possibly be obtained, only in the time of the yearly grand sacrifice, for fear of polluting their holy things, at which time gentlemen of curiosity may see them. *Old Bracket*, an Indian of perhaps 100 years old, lives in that old beloved town, who gave the following description of them:

“*Old Bracket's* account of the *five copper* and *two brass* plates under the beloved cabin in Tuccabatchey-square.



The shape of the five copper plates; one is a foot and a half long and seven inches wide, the other four are shorter and narrower.

The largest stamped thus:



The shape of the two brass plates,—about a foot and a half in diameter.

“He said he was told by his forefathers that those plates were given to them by the man we call God; that there had been more of other shapes, some as long as he could stretch with both his arms, and some had writing upon them which were buried with particular men; and that they had instructions given with them, viz. they must only be handled by particular people, and those fasting; and no unclean woman must be suffered to come near them or the place where they are deposited. He said, none but this town's people had any such plates given them, and that they were a different people from the Creeks. He only remembered three more, which were buried with three of his family, and he was the only man of the family now left. He said, there were two copper plates under the king's cabin, which had lain there from the first settling of the town.

“This account was taken in the Tuccabatchey-square, 27th July, 1759, per Will. Bolsover.”⁶¹

Swan, writing in 1791, mentions them again in these words:

“There are preserved in the Tuckabatches' town, on the Tallapoosee river, some thin pieces of wrought brass, found in the earth when the Indians first dug for clay to build in this place. Nobody can tell how long since they were dug up; but the Indians preserve them as proofs of their right to the ground, having descended to them by their departed ancestors, from time immemorial.”⁶²

⁶¹ Note in Adair, pp. 178-179.

⁶² Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 283.

If Swan means that the plates had been dug up at the place where the Tukabahchee then were he is in error, since the tribe had occupied that place probably not a hundred years. He may have been led into a misunderstanding owing to the fact that some of them were buried in the earth, under the Chiefs' bed.⁶³ Pickett gives the following account of the ceremony observed in carrying them beyond the Mississippi at the time of the Creek removal:

"When the inhabitants of this town, in the autumn of 1836, took up the line of march for their present home in the Arkansas Territory, these plates were transported thence by six Indians, remarkable for their sobriety and moral character, at the head of whom was the Chief, Spoke-oak, Micoo [Ispokōgi miko].⁶⁴ Medicine, made expressly for their safe transportation, was carried along by these warriors. Each one had a plate strapped behind his back, enveloped nicely in buckskin. They carried nothing else, but marched on, one before the other, the whole distance to Arkansas, neither communicating nor conversing with a soul but themselves, although several thousands were emigrating in company; and walking, with a solemn religious air, one mile in advance of the others."⁶⁵ As to their origin he says:

"Another tradition is, that the Shawnees gave these plates to the Tookabatchas, as tokens of their friendship, with an injunction that they would annually introduce them in their religious observances of the new corn season. But the opinion of Opothleoholo, one of the most gifted of the modern Creeks, went to corroborate the general tradition that they were gifts from the Great Spirit."⁶⁵

Most of this information was obtained from Barent Dubois, whom Pickett describes as "an intelligent New Englander"⁶⁶ but Schoolcraft terms a citizen of New York.⁶⁷ There is no doubt of its substantial accuracy. What he says regarding the manner of transporting the plates west is confirmed by General Hitchcock on the authority of a half-breed Creek chief who told him that "when the general emigration took place in 1836 a number of people were selected to convey those articles to the west and they went in advance of the nation. No man was allowed to precede the party in charge of those articles."^{67a}

Schoolcraft includes a particular account of the plates in the third volume of his great work, and adds a little information which we may infer from the context was obtained from Walter Lowrie, Esq., president of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, who

⁶³ See p. 504.

⁶⁴ This was not the town chief but a chief who seems to have had peculiar priestly functions. See p. 66.

⁶⁵ Pickett, *Hist. Ala.*, vol. I, pp. 86-87. Charleston, 1851.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶⁷ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. III, p. 90.

^{67a} Hitchcock, *Ms. notes*.

examined them in the Choctaw country in 1852. According to this statement "Muscogee tradition affirms that there were more of these plates possessed by them at former periods, of different kinds, some of which had letters or figures, but that the number was diminished by the custom of placing one or more of them with the body of a deceased chief of the pure or reigning blood. The plates remaining are placed in the hands of particular men. They are guarded with care, and kept from being touched by women." He repeats the tradition that they had been derived from the Shawnee, which I also heard. It was supposed that they were handed down from above and given to the Shawnee who turned them over to the Ispokogi. Schoolcraft's reproductions of these plates agree substantially with those of Adair, except that the letters are placed nearer the center of the "shield," and the two black dots are shown clearly to have been intended for holes. They were based on information furnished by the Walter Lowrie above mentioned.⁶⁸

A second account appears in the Appendix to the fifth volume of Schoolcraft contributed by the Creek missionary Loughridge, joint author of a dictionary of the Creek language. It is as follows:

TULLAHASSEE MISSION,

*Creek Agency, W. Ark., 14th Sept., 1852.*⁶⁹

Having understood that the Tukkabachee town or clan of Creek Indians, were holding their annual festival, ("the green corn dance,") and that they would exhibit the much talked of "brass plates," I determined to examine them, and therefore proceeded to their town, and camped for the night, on the 7th of August, 1850.

Before daylight next morning, I was aroused by the singing, dancing and whooping, of the Indians, and was informed that the dance with the plates had commenced.

"On reaching the place, I found 200 or 300 men assembled in the Square, with fires burning to give them light. About 80 or 100 of them were formed into a procession, marching with a dancing step, double file, around their "stamping ground," which is about 240 feet in circumference. The procession was led by seven men, each of whom carried one of the plates with much solemnity of manner. After the dance was over, (which lasted about an hour,) I sent in my request for permission to inspect the plates.

"The old chief Tukkabachee Mikko, came out and said that I could see them, on condition that *I would not touch them.* They profess to believe, that if any person who has not been consecrated for the purpose, by fasting or other exercises, six or eight days, should touch them, he would certainly die, and sickness or some great calamity would befall the town. For similar reasons, he said it was unlawful

⁶⁸ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. iii, pp. 87-90.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 660.

for a woman to look at them. The old chief then conducted me into the square, or public ground, where the plates had been laid out for my inspection. There were seven in all, three brass and four copper plates.

"The brass plates are circular, very thin, and are, respectively about twelve, fourteen, and eighteen inches in diameter. The middle sized one has two letters (or rather a double letter) near its centre, about one-fourth of an inch in length; thus, Æ, very well executed, as if done by a stamp. This was the only appearance of writing which I could discern on any of them.

"The four copper plates (or strips) are from four to six inches in width, and from one and a half to two feet in length. There is nothing remarkable about them. Like the brass plates, they are very thin, and appear as if they had been cut out of some copper kettle or other vessel.

"The Indians cannot give any satisfactory account of any of these plates. They say that they have been handed down from father to son, for many generations past, as relics of great value, on account of the blessing supposed to be attached to the proper attention to them. They hold, that the health and prosperity of the town, depend in a great measure upon the proper observance of the rites connected with them. It is said, that this town is known to have had these plates in their possession for 200 years past.

"There has been much conjecture about the writing upon them. Some supposed that it was Hebrew, and hence concluded that they might be descendants of the Jews. I was, therefore, the more anxious to see the plates, and very particular in examining them. But I could discover no appearance of writing, and not a single letter, but the above mentioned Roman letters.

"Some have supposed the brass plates to be old shields. The largest one, (which I could not examine very closely), appeared more like the remains of a shield than any of them.

"But upon the whole, I am inclined to adopt the opinion given me by one of their dancers in the procession, that *"they appear to have been covers for pots, or for some other vessel, taken a great while ago from the Spaniards perhaps, in Florida."*

"Yours truly,

R. M. LOUGHRIDGE."

Stiggins's account of them again brings in the Shawnee:

"It is related that once in times past, the Ispocoga and Shawanose tribes, made a resolution and formed a compact by which they were thereafter to consolidate their interests and the two tribes to be but one in future, and perform their yearly custom of Thanksgiving and other rites of religious ceremony as one people. For they at that [time] lived bordering on each other's Territory, the Shawanose in

and about Savannah in the state of Georgia, therefore, in accordance with their compact, they deposited with the keepers of the national square of one of the tribes, their calumet tobacco pipes, belts, and war club called by them *Attussa*, with all their emblems of peace and friendship together with twelve pieces of brass described as follows: Six of them were oval of about eight inches long and seven in the widest part and the other six about nine inches long and four in width, made square, bearing a resemblance to the breast plates of ancient soldiers. They all belonged to the Ispocoga tribe, and were three of the oval and three of the square kind making six to a set when exhibited for they are never exhibited but in their fasting and feasting to commemorate the new corn crop. So they deposited two sets of the above plates in the national square according to compact, and the united tribes of Ispocoga and Shawanose performed their ceremonies together with concord for a length of time. But for some unknown reason or on account of some occurrence—the Ispocogas attributing it to the instable and fickle disposition of the Shawanose—the latter formed a resolution to secede from the union and national compact and remove. No remonstrance of the other tribe against it could alter their determination for they dissolved their union by emigrating northwardly, and when they moved they carried off six of the sacred brass plates, three oval and three of the square kinds, which the Shawanose have retained possession of ever since. They were seen by some Creeks first in the care of the old prophet at Tippacanoë about the time he fought Genl. Harrison and not long since they were still in his possession over the Mississippi, and seen by some Creek chiefs who visited that tribe, to whom they were exhibited with a traditional account of how they came into their possession with all its circumstances, which account agreed with the Ispocoga tradition of their loss.”⁷⁰

Although there are other incidental references to these plates, including several newspaper accounts of more or less value, the only one with which we need concern ourselves is that given by Tuggle and preserved among the ethnological papers in the Bureau of American Ethnology. I quote it entire:

“The Tookabatchees have in their possession certain copper or brass vessels, which their town has owned for generations . . .

“These sacred vessels consist of twelve pieces. The largest is circular in shape, about eighteen inches in diameter and has two holes near the center through which a string passes. Two other pieces are circular and about fifteen inches in diameter with two holes near the center. Nine other pieces are smaller, being twelve or fifteen inches long and six inches wide.

“The Tookabatchees give the following account of the origin of these vessels:

⁷⁰ Stiggins, Ms.

“A long time ago Is-poke-o-goes, persons, came from Esar-keetum-mee-see, the Life Controller, Source of Life, and brought the vessels to us. After staying some time one of the “Is-poke-o-goes” went back to Esarkeetum-meesee. The other Ispokegee remained with our people. He was without beginning. He told us always to preserve these vessels and carry them wherever we went. He told us how to live and do right and tell the truth. He told us that after a while a great many white people would come from the east and drive us away, but always to carry these vessels and good luck would be with us, in hunting and in war. He told us that the Shawnees also had such vessels and some day they would unite with us and we would be one people.

“The Ispokegee took the wrong medicine and died. Four days after he was buried, a beautiful white flower was seen growing on his grave and from this flower the Tookabatchees obtained their medicine (the wild tobacco), and keep it to this day.

“These vessels are kept buried under the town house and at the busk, or annual festival, they are unearthened, washed in a running stream, and rubbed by certain persons to whom they are entrusted, and they are used during the festival for certain ceremonies. When the festival is over the seed of their medicine is put with these sacred vessels, and they are returned to their hiding till the next annual busk.’

“Strangers can not look on these vessels except at the festival and it is claimed that should a stranger look on them at other times he would die before he reached his home.”

In some notes made by Mr. G. W. Grayson after a visit to the Tukabahechee busk of 1917 occurs the following reference to these plates:

“The Indians declare they were given to them from on high at a very early period of their existence as a people, and attribute to them profound sacredness. From such information as I have been able to secure respecting these curious objects it would seem that some 70 or more years ago they were much more come-at-able, in other words that the custodians were more readily induced to permit them to be seen than in later times. I find that the present custodians appear to regard them with a degree of awe that is more pronounced than in earlier periods. It is asserted that these objects have not been disturbed or removed from their present inclosure for many years because, as it was explained, the old medicine men who by their powers of magic could handle them without detrimental consequences had all passed away. It seems to be firmly believed that should they now be taken out or handled by persons untaught in the mysteries and magic of the old medicine men of the past, dire results such as sickness in inordinate degrees of virulence, fatalities

in the families of the town, destructive wind storms, and various other sinister phenomena would occur. So, when one was asked why they did not take the plates out and wash and brighten them up as was the early practice, the answer came promptly, 'Because there is none competent.' They must neither be handled nor touched by water lest great evils result. Moreover, they seem to speak of them with care and caution, closely bordering on fear, lest some evil befall them as a punishment for having spoken too freely of such sacred objects."

But some of these plates are now reported to be broken and parts lost, which is not to be wondered at, as for a long time they were kept in a box back of the miko's bed, along with the atasa carried by the women, exposed to any inquisitive passer-by not overblessed with scruples. In 1914, however, they were still held in the greatest esteem and fear by the leading Tukabatchee. The chief of the town at that time said he could never handle them without becoming sick, and when I drew outlines of the plates from my memory of Adair's figures he recommended that I tear them up and throw them away or ill would certainly befall me before I got home. The continued handling is supposed to drive one crazy. If some of these are brass, as stated by Adair and conceded by subsequent writers who have had a chance to examine the plates, the European origin of at least a portion of them is assured, and it is plainly indicated also by the letters, if they have been correctly copied. Barent Dubois, mentioned above in the quotation from Pickett, who is said by him to have "long lived among the Tookabatchas," believed that these plates owed their origin to De Soto and his companions.⁷¹ There can be little reasonable doubt that they are of Spanish origin, but, as the Shawnee and "Kaskinampos"⁷² were trading at St. Augustine in the latter part of the seventeenth century it is equally possible that they were obtained there at that period. They share with certain objects among the Plains tribes in a veneration bestowed upon European articles when they first made their appearance, and which they would certainly have failed to elicit at a later time after that familiarity had developed that "breeds contempt."

THE FATE OF SOULS

According to Adair the good spirits of the world above attend and favor the virtuous while the bad spirits in the west accompany and have power over the vicious,⁷³ but this probably gives a somewhat distorted view of the actual native belief. It is probable that the good spirits of which he speaks included most of those who became human helpers, whether in the sky or in other parts of the universe,

⁷¹ Pickett, *Hist. Ala.*, p. 84. ⁷² See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 214. ⁷³ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 36.

while the bad spirits were the ghosts of the dead, or at any rate spirits associated with the western world through which the soul first passed. This is suggested by what he states immediately afterwards. "On which account, when any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbors [i. e., the evil spirits of the west]: all the adjacent towns also on the occasion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed places, till they return at some certain time, to repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise."⁷⁴ The good spirits could be attached to individuals somewhat like the personal manitous of the Algonkian tribes. This is also made evident in the case of the Chickasaw by Adair, who says: "Several warriors have told me, that their *Nana Ishtohollo*, 'concomitant holy spirits,' or angels, have forewarned them, as by intuition, of a dangerous ambuscade, which must have been attended with certain death, when they were alone, and seemingly out of danger; and by virtue of the impulse, they immediately darted off, and, with extreme difficulty, escaped the crafty, pursuing enemy."⁷⁵ At the present time it is not thought that spiritual experiences are enjoyed by any except those who take the higher courses of training already spoken of, most of whom are doctors. It may be that the persons who gave the above information to Adair belonged to that class, or it may be that personal manitous were more widely enjoyed in primitive times than later became usual, but of this last there is no proof. Even in the cases of the graduates the power acquired through their training no longer appears to be associated with supernatural guardian spirits. Such, however, was evidently the case in former days.

The fear of ghosts expressed in the quotation from Adair given above was marked and has persisted down to our own times. Certain diseases, to be considered presently, are attributed to dead bodies. Anciently, when an Indian passed a graveyard, in order to drive away the ghosts he would take a little ginseng (*hilis hátki*) into his mouth, chew it, and spit it out on each side alternately until he had spit four times each way. People would not eat cold food that had been kept overnight for fear the ghosts had partaken of it. Sometimes encounters with ghosts were fatal. Thus there is a Texas-Alabama story about a man who went out to hunt raccoons and on the way was joined by a ghost under the guise of a person well known to him. By and by they saw a raccoon run up a tree, and the ghost climbed up and threw it down. Presently they came to a tree where there was another raccoon, and this time the man climbed up. After he had gotten up 30 feet or so the ghost shouted, "Look at me." The

⁷⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 36.⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

man looked and discovered the nature of his companion. Then he began to climb down and when he was nearly to the ground took off his moccasins and threw them, one in one direction and one in another. The ghost, however, ran after the moccasins, picked them up, and then pursued the man, whom he threw down and killed.

Speaking of the site of old Okmulgee, Adair says that the Indians "strenuously aver, that when necessity forces them to encamp there, they always hear, at the dawn of the morning, the usual noise of Indians singing their joyful religious notes, and dancing, as if going down to the river to purify themselves, and then returning to the old town-house: with a great deal more to the same effect."⁷⁶ Adair adds that they attributed his own inability to hear such things to the fact that he was "an obdurate infidel that way."⁷⁷

Says Pope:

"The *Creeks* in approaching the Frontiers of *Georgia*, always encamp on the right hand side of the Road or Path, assigning the left, as ominous, to the *Larvæ* or Ghosts of their departed Heroes who have either unfortunately lost their scalps, or remain unburied. The Ghost of an Hero in either Predicament, is refused Admittance into the Mansions of Bliss, and sentenced to take up its invisible and darksome Abode, in the dreary Caverns of the Wilderness; until the Indignity shall be retaliated on the Enemy, by some of his surviving Friends."⁷⁸

Pope's authority is not the best, but this certainly establishes the fact that the Creeks had the same belief as the Chickasaw regarding the necessity of placating spirits of the slain.

Adair is probably correct in attributing fatalistic beliefs to the southern Indians as to the time when each man's life was to come to an end. He says that they had a common proverb "*Neetak Intahāh* [Ni'tak intaha], 'The days appointed, or allowed him, were finished' [the days finished for him]. And this is their firm belief; for they affirm, that there is a fixt time, and place, when, and where, every one must die, without any possibility of averting it. They frequently say, 'Such a one was weighed on the path, and made to be light.'⁷⁹

He also says that many believed marriages to be equally fated.⁸⁰

We learn from Adair, in places already quoted, that the Chickasaw discharged guns and whooped in order to drive the ghost of a dead man to his fixed abode, but that it was believed that if he had been slain in war his soul would haunt the eaves of the house until equal blood had been shed for him.⁸¹ All accounts agree that after the soul had been induced to leave the neighborhood of his living relatives he traveled westward, passed under the sky and proceeded

⁷⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 36.

⁷⁸ Pope, *Tour*, pp. 63-64.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷⁹ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁸¹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 310.

upward upon it to the land of The One Above or the Breath Holder. The name "spirits' road" given to the milky way shows that this was regarded as the trail upon which they went.

The Alabama "land of the blest" was also above. Eakins says: "They say their paradise, or happy hunting-grounds, is above; but where, they have no definite idea."⁸² Bossu obtained a longer if not a more accurate statement, without, however, any localization of the realms of the hereafter:

"I have asked them what they thought of the other world, and they have answered that if they have not taken away any other man's wife, if they have not committed theft, nor killed anyone during their lives, they will go after death into an extremely fertile country, where they will lack neither women nor good grounds for hunting, which will become very easy for them; that if on the other hand they have done foolish things, if they have made fun of the Great Spirit, they will go after death into a sterile country full of thorns and brambles, where there will be neither hunting nor women; this is all I have been able to learn concerning the belief of these people regarding the other life."⁸³

According to the living Alabama, who perhaps preserve the ancient conception in the best form, the souls had to encounter several dangers on this journey. First they came to a body of water, but this divided to right and left at their approach. Next they reached a place where were great numbers of serpents. These they passed safely by wrapping *báksha* branches about their bodies so that the fangs of the reptiles could not reach them. Finally they came to a place where a battle was in progress, but they avoided this by blowing out tobacco smoke which rendered them invisible. Still another danger to be encountered, in just what order with reference to the others I do not know, was a great eagle, and that this might be fought off a large "butcher knife" was buried with the body of the deceased. From the extent to which property was buried with the dead it is evident that this was also supposed to accompany them into the hereafter. According to my Alabama informants the ghost remains near its body for four days. Adair is our only early authority for the expected ultimate return of souls to earth,⁸⁴ but there appears to be no good reason to doubt that such an idea prevailed with certain Indians, and he is confirmed by the Chickasaw interviewed on Schoolcraft's behalf during the middle of last century. "They believe," he says, "that the spirits of all the Chickasaws will go back to Mississippi, and join the spirits of those that have died there; and then all the spirits will return to the west before the world is destroyed by fire."⁸⁵

⁸² Schoolcraft, *Indl. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 273.

⁸³ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 48-49.

⁸⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 178, 182, 397.

⁸⁵ Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 310.

Bartram and Swan both testify to Creek belief in a future state of existence. The former says:

"They believe in a future state, where the spirit exists, which they call the world of spirits, where they enjoy different degrees of tranquility or comfort, agreeably to their life spent here: a person who in his life has been an industrious hunter, provided well for his family, an intrepid and active warrior, just, upright, and done all the good he could, will, they say, in the world of spirits, live in a warm, pleasant country, where are expansive, green, flowery savannas and high forests, watered with rivers of pure waters, replenished with deer, and every species of game; a serene, unclouded and peaceful sky; in short, where there is fulness of pleasure, uninterrupted."⁸⁶

Says Swan:

"They believe there is a state of future existence, and that according to the tenor of their lives, they shall hereafter be rewarded with the privilege of hunting in the realm of the Master of Breath, or of becoming Seminoles in the regions of the old sorcerer.

"But as it is very difficult for them to draw any parallel between virtue and vice, they are most of them flattered with the expectation of hereafter becoming great war leaders, or swift hunters in the beloved country of the great Hesakkdum Esee."⁸⁷

He adds elsewhere that the land of the good was "some distant, unknown region, where game is plenty, and goods are very cheap; where corn grows all the year round, and the springs of pure water are never dried up," while the other is "a great ways off, in some dismal swamp, which is full of galling briars," and that there is no game or bear's oil in all that country.⁸⁸

In reply to the queries of Hawkins, Ifa hadjo, the great Medal chief of Tukabahece, and speaker for the Creek Nation in the national council, affirmed that his people believed that "the spirit (po-yau-ficpchau [poya-fiktea]) goes the way the sun goes, to the west, and there joins its family and friends, who went before it." He also affirmed "that those who behaved well, are taken under the care of E-sau-ge-tûh Emis-see and assisted; and that those who have behaved ill, are left there to shift for themselves; and that there is no other punishment."⁸⁹

Upon the whole, it is rather likely that native belief postulated the alternative that some of the souls of the dead, necessarily the bad ones, would not get past the great eagle and the other dangers to be encountered on the way to the land of souls and would remain in the realm of ghosts and other evil spirits in the west, but the reward of the good hereafter was identified for the most part with

⁸⁶ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 496.

⁸⁷ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 270.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.

⁸⁹ Hawkins, *Sketch*, *Oa. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, vol. III, p. 80.

their reward here, positions of esteem in the tribe, plenty to eat and wear, and plenty of enemies to kill, for the Creek social system rewarded so well in this world virtue of the kind these Indians recognized that it was not necessary to postpone all enjoyment of it to an uncertain hereafter.⁹⁰

Bartram adds that according to native belief not merely man but every living creature had a spirit or soul that could exist apart from the body and that some had reported that "a pattern or spiritual likeness of everything living, as well as inanimate, exists in another world."⁹¹ This, of course, is true of practically all primitive peoples, the only question being whether the term "other world" may be properly applied here.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

Dreams and visions seen in trances were one means of learning about the spirit world, and they were very generally credited. Bartram says: "They relate abundance of stories of men that have been dead or thought dead for many hours and days, who have revived again, giving an account of their transit to and from the world of souls, and describing the condition and situation of the place and spirits residing there."⁹¹ A curious expression was used by the Creeks when they were about to go to bed. They would say *Posálkán hoboyālānās*, "I am going to hunt a dream." If a man made a noise like an animal in his sleep those who heard him would say "that is his sleep (or dream) [*inuteká*, his sleep; *imboiteka* or *imposálga*, his dream]. If any person in a family dreamed of fire it foreboded sickness, especially bilious fever, and all of them took *miko hoyanīdja* and afterwards dipped in the creek four times. If they happened to have no medicine they at least bathed.

When a person sneezed it was supposed that someone was saying something good about him, and he would remark "Oh yes, that is what they always say about me." There is a jesting relation regarding a man who began sneezing and kept repeating the above words, while he was really coming down with pneumonia. Next day, when his friends were asked about him, they said: "Yes, some one was saying something good about him yesterday, and now we are afraid we are going to lose him."

According to a Natchez informant, sneezing when eating meant that one would hear of a death; also that someone was talking about him. If one sneezed when he had pneumonia it was a sign he would get well.

When it began to rain after a dry spell the old Creeks would not take things in under cover too hurriedly lest the rain should stop.

⁹⁰ For some further light on this subject see the section on burial customs, pp. 388-398 in the preceding paper.

⁹¹ Bartram, *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 27.

If the bodies of young children were not put into trees in the way elsewhere described it was thought there would be a drought.⁹³ If, after they had been so disposed of, it began to get dry, the people would go to the tree where the body had been placed and sprinkle water all about it.

That locations might be considered lucky was shown in the case of my Alabama interpreter. After he had lost two wives in succession the people said that something about the situation of his house was "wrong," so he changed it.

An Indian preacher, who, of course, was glad to see Biblical resemblances in native lore, told me that there was a story of a great and long-continued drought in which the people were fed on bread and meat by The One Above. This bread is said to have been "something like white peas" (lady peas).

The annual busk was the principal occasion with them. Bartram observed in one town that they kept Sunday in his time out of respect to the white people,⁹⁴ but this custom could never have been very widespread.

SACRIFICES

Sacrifices or offerings similar in kind were made by all of the southern Indians. Adair says:

"They sacrifice in the woods, the milt, or a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, both in their summer and winter hunt; and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health and for their former success in hunting; or that the divine care and goodness may be still continued to them. . . . Formerly, every hunter observed the very same religious economy; but now it is practised only by those who are the most retentive of their old religious mysteries. . . .

"The Muskohge Indians sacrifice a piece of every deer they kill at their hunting camps, or near home; if the latter, they dip their middle finger in the broth, and sprinkle it over the domestic tombs of their dead, to keep them out of the power of evil spirits, according to their mythology. . . .

"The common sort of Indians, in these corrupt times, only sacrifice a small piece of unsalted fat meat, when they are rejoicing in their divine presence, singing Yo Yo, etc. for their success and safety [in case they have lost none of their companions]: but . . . both the war-leader and his religious assistant go into the woods as soon as they are purified, and there sacrifice the first deer they kill. . . .

"They who sacrifice in the woods, do it only on the particular occasions now mentioned; unless incited by a dream, which they esteem a monitory lesson of the Deity."⁹⁵

⁹³ See p. 398.

⁹⁴ Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 455-456.

⁹⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 117-119.

Elsewhere he states that "when in the woods, the Indians cut a small piece out of the lower part of the thighs of the deer they kill, length-ways and pretty deep. Among the great number of venison-hams they bring to our trading houses, I do not remember to have observed one without it."⁹⁶ Again "the Indian women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. Sometimes they view it with a pleasing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. They firmly believe such a method to be a great means of producing temporal good things, and of averting those that are evil."⁹⁷ He was informed by those whites who had become used to living in the Indian manner "that the Indian men observe the daily sacrifice both at home, and in the woods, with new-killed venison; but that otherwise they decline it."⁹⁷

Of course most of these are merely taboos connected with the hunting of deer. Pope says on this point:

"The *Creeks* regularly make a Burnt Offering of what they conceive to be the most delicious Parts of every Animal taken in Hunting, before they presume to taste a Mouthful. The Parts they commit to the Flames are proportioned to the Size of the Animal, probably about 2 or 3 lb. from a *Buffalo*, and still less in a regular gradation down to the smallest Quadrupede, Fish or Bird."⁹⁸

I have no confirmation or contradiction of the gradations of sacrifice here mentioned, but it is well known even to the living Indians that the old people used to put a little food into the fire before eating. The same thing is noticed in Adair's account of the Creek who railed upon the fire for burning him after the good treatment he had given it.⁹⁹ One of my informants had seen the Nuyaka Indians "feed the fire" with turkey during their fall festivities accompanied by hunting and ball games.

TABOOS

The religion of these people, and, as we shall presently see, their medicine, was seamed through and through with the idea that similarity in appearance means similarity in nature, that similarity in one property involves similarity in all the other properties, and that association of any kind will result in communicating properties from one thing or person to another. This is particularly true about things which are taken into the system by eating and drinking, but applies in other ways as well. Adair says on this point:

"They believe that nature is possess of such a property, as to transfuse into men and animals the qualities, either of the food they use, or of those objects that are presented to their senses; he who

⁹⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 137-138.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁹⁸ Pope, *Tour*, p. 59.

⁹⁹ See p. 484.

feeds on venison, is according to their physical system, swifter and more sagacious than the man who lives on the flesh of the clumsy bear, or helpless dunghill fowls, the slow-footed tame cattle, or the heavy wallowing swine. This is the reason that several of their old men recommend, and say, that formerly their greatest chieftains observed a constant rule in their diet, and seldom ate of any animal of a gross quality, or heavy motion of body, fancying it conveyed a dulness through the whole system, and disabled them from exerting themselves with proper vigor in their martial, civil, and religious duties."¹

A little farther on he tells us that it was customary in all the Indian tribes to eat the heart of a slain enemy "in order to inspire them with courage." He had seen some of their warriors drink out of a human skull in order to "imbibe the good qualities it formerly contained."²

This idea is one of the cardinal principles on which their medicine is built and was shared by every tribe in America that has been investigated. Adair introduces it in order to draw a parallel between the taboos of the Israelites and those of the Indians, but most of the Indian instances which he cites are to be accounted for in the way explained by him above or because it was believed that the animal in question would bring on a certain disease, a matter to be elaborated presently. Nevertheless it is worth while to take note of the things from which they abstained in his time, even though we fail to discover in that traces of a Jewish origin. He says that they refused to eat all birds of prey and birds of night, and a little farther on he mentions specifically eagles, ravens, crows, buzzards, swallows, bats, and every species of owl. He also adds flies, mosquitoes, and gnats. They did not eat many carnivorous animals or such as lived on nasty food, as hogs, wolves, panthers, foxes, cats, mice, rats. All beasts of prey except the bear were "unhallowed"—also all amphibious quadrupeds, horses, fowls, moles, the opossum, and all kinds of reptiles.³ He says that the old traders could remember when they first began to eat beaver.⁴

Hogs and domestic fowls were probably tabooed at first because strange to the Indians and in the case of the hog because it is a heavy, awkward looking animal and might communicate such properties to the eater.

"When swine were first brought among them, they deemed it such a horrid abomination in any of their people to eat that filthy and impure food, that they excluded the criminal from all religious communion in their circular town-house, or in their quadrangular holy ground at the annual expiation of sins, equally as if he had eaten unsanctified fruits. After the yearly atonement was made at the temple, he was indeed re-admitted to his usual privileges."⁵

¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-138.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

From want of any independent information on this point this must be left without comment. Of course, Adair is anxious to make the most of such a taboo in his desire to establish a Hebrew origin for his red friends, and this is naturally extended to the opossum, after which the Indians named the hog. Still, what he says may be true, that "several of the old Indians assure us, they formerly reckoned it as filthy uneatable an animal, as a hog."⁶ The instances which Adair gives in proof of the existence of these taboos all tend to prove that they abstained from them generally for fear of some disease or limitation which the animal might communicate. He says that they abstained from swallowing flies, mosquitoes, or gnats because they believed that they bred sickness or worms, "according to the quantity that goes into them."⁷ Upon one occasion Adair shot a small fat hawk which he strongly importuned an old woman to take and dress, but although there was no meat of any kind in camp, "she, as earnestly refused it for fear of contracting pollution, which she called the 'accursed sickness,' supposing disease would be the necessary effect of such an impurity."⁸ Again he says that "they abhor moles so exceedingly that they will not allow their children even to touch them for fear of hurting their eye-sight; reckoning it contagious."⁹

Other food taboos mentioned by Adair are against eating an animal that had died of itself, a young animal newly weaned, and blood. The first of these may be commended as a taboo of real medicinal value and the reason given by themselves, that the animal might have died of a contagious disease, is just as valid to-day. Adair has the following to say regarding this taboo.

"None of them will eat any animal whatsoever, if they either know, or suspect that it died of itself. I lately asked one of the women the reason of throwing a dung-hill-fowl out of doors, on the cornhouse; she said, that she was afraid, *Oophe Abeeka Hakset Illch*,^{9a} 'it died with the distemper of the mad dogs,' and that if she had eaten it, it would have afflicted her in the very same manner. I said, if so, she did well to save herself from danger, but at the same time, it seemed she had forgotten the cats. She replied, 'that such impure animals would not contract the accursed sickness, on account of any evil thing they eat; but that the people who ate of the flesh of the swine that fed on such polluting food, would certainly become mad.'

"In the year 1766, a madness seized the wild beasts in the remote woods of West-Florida, and about the same time the domestic dogs were attacked with the like distemper; the deer were equally infected. The Indians in their winter's hunt, found several lying dead, some in a helpless condition, and others fierce and mad. But though they

⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

^{9a} *Ofi abeka haksit illih.*

are all fond of increasing their number of deer-skins, both from emulation and for profit, yet none of them durst venture to flay them, lest they should pollute themselves, and thereby incur bodily evils. The headman of the camp told me, he cautioned one of the *Hottuk Hakse*, who had resided a long time at Savannah, from touching such deer, saying to him *Cehaksinna*, 'Do not become vicious and mad,' for *Isse Hakset Illehtàhah*, 'the deer were mad, and are dead'; adding, that if he acted the part of *Hakse*, he would cause both himself, and the rest of the hunting camp to be spoiled; nevertheless he shut his ears against his honest speech, and brought those dangerous deerskins to camp. But the people would not afterward associate with him; and he soon paid dear for being *Hakse*, by a sharp splintered root of a cane running almost through his foot, near the very place where he first polluted himself; and he was afraid some worse ill was still in wait for him."¹⁰

Adair is also very insistent regarding the blood taboo, and cites the case of a woman who believed "she had *Abeeka Ookproo*, 'the accursed sickness,' because she had eaten a great many fowls after the manner of the white people, with the *Issish Ookproo*, 'accursed blood,' in them." Afterwards she would never eat fowls unless they had been bled to death.¹¹ This must also be left unverified. While there was probably truth in it it is doubtful whether it had the importance attributed to it by Adair, who is again anxious to make a point for his Hebrew theory. The taboo against eating a newly weaned animal is probably correct, since one kind of disease was traced to such an animal in later times, as we shall presently see. Adair says that the old men not merely refrained from eating it but thought "they would suffer damage, even by the bare contact."¹² He also cites instances of Indians refusing to eat with the traders for fear of pollution,¹³ but this was less on account of the whites themselves than what might be contained in their dishes. Taboos were so numerous with the old time Indians that parallels with the taboos of any other nation could be found without a great deal of difficulty.

A few miscellaneous beliefs bearing upon taboos may be added, obtained principally from the Natchez doctor so frequently quoted.

If a hunter ate the head of a turkey, gnats and similar flying insects would come about him so closely and in such numbers as to interfere with his vision.

If he ate the tail of a deer the deer would become wild and the hunter could not approach them.

Nothing half cooked and nothing young was to be eaten, nor should one wash his face with soap or bathe in warm water. On

¹⁰ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 131-132. Chickasaw words: *hatòk haksì; chihaksina; isì haksit illitòhò.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 135. Chickasaw words: *abeka okpulo; issish okpulo.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

the contrary he must go to cold running water in the morning, even though it were covered with ice, and, breaking the ice, if necessary, plunge into that. He must go in when daylight first showed itself and remain until the sun was up.^{13a} This, of course, applies to the baths universally taken in the Southeast every morning and may be overdrawn in details.¹⁴

An individual taboo of my informant, or means of obtaining luck, was to drink from a cup held in his right hand while he faced the east.

The Natchez and Cherokee ate their food cold, believing it was better for their teeth.

Breaking wind was associated with manliness.

Among the Creeks I was told that when a story-teller finished his narrative he would spit, and then another would have to contribute a story in return, and in this way the cue was taken up by one after another "until the children went to bed."

MUSIC AND DANCING^{14a}

Their musical instruments were the drum, rattle, and a kind of flute. Adair makes mention of a stringed instrument, and the mere notice of this would be important if we could prove that it was truly aboriginal. Pope speaks of the Indians in his time dancing for several hours to the music of the violin; but if so, this was a late innovation. The flute was used only by individuals and was never employed in ceremonies, as was constantly the case with the drum and rattle. The Alabama flute was made of two pieces of cedar hollowed out and fastened together with buckskin. There were six holes along the sides toward one end and on top toward the other was placed a separate piece of cedar covering two additional holes. All were bound with buckskin at frequent intervals. Flutes were sometimes made of cane. It may be said of the drum and rattle that the one was an almost invariable and the latter a very frequent accompaniment of their dances.

The drum was made by sawing off a cypress knee close to the ground and stretching a buckskin over the wide end (pl. 13, *a*). This buckskin was wet from time to time to make it sound properly. Anciently an earthen pot was also employed, and in later times they resorted to a keg partly filled with water and covered with buckskin or cowhide. The rattle was made of a gourd containing 30 or 40 small pebbles, with a stick about a foot long run through it as a handle. In later times a coconut was substituted for the gourd. The chief of the Mikasuki remembered to have heard of still another kind of

^{13a} Or as another informant expressed it, "from the second call of the crow until sun up."

¹⁴ See pp. 365-366.

^{14a} The interested reader should consult "Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians," by Frank G. Speck, in *Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1, no. 2, Philadelphia, 1911.

rattle as being in use in old times. It was said to be large and flat, but he had never seen one. Very likely it was the turtle-shell rattle, for we know that such a rattle was employed. The women dancers, or rather the leaders among them, as we know, had several tortoise-shell rattles fastened to their calves. Neither the drum nor the rattle was painted. An experienced man or woman acted as leader, and sometimes there were two or more. The usual circuit was sinistral, and this was departed from only to introduce variety. One reason given for the accustomed circuit is that the dancers carried feather fans in their left hands to screen their eyes from the fire while their right hands, the more serviceable ones, were left free for any other purpose. Another reason was that the sun goes that way, for in almost everything observance of the signs of the sun and moon are in evidence. Purely social dances were held most often, it is said, when the moon was full, but ceremonies were performed near the period of the new moon. The fact that dances were held so often in the full of the moon, however, gave early travelers an impression that the Indians observed a ceremony every month. While there were, as we shall note presently, certain ceremonies observed from time to time, most of those that have passed as such were little more than social dances. Although nearly all Indians were intensely fond of dancing, I was told that some persons did not like to dance because they thought dancing would hurt their bones. On the other hand there was a saying among the Creeks that they had to dance after taking medicine in order to overcome it. Otherwise they thought it would get the better of and kill them.

Regarding their songs and dances Bartram remarks as follows:

“They have an endless variety of steps, but the most common, and that which I term the most civil, and indeed the most admired and practised amongst themselves, is a slow shuffling alternate step; both feet move forward one after the other, first the right foot foremost, and next the left, moving one after the other, in opposite circles, i. e. first a circle of young men, and within, a circle of young women, moving together opposite ways, the men with the course of the sun, and the females contrary to it; the men strike their arm with the open hand, and the girls clap hands, and raise their shrill sweet voices, answering an elevated shout of the men at stated times of termination of the stanzas; and the girls perform an interlude or chorus separately.

“To accompany their dances they have songs of different classes, as martial, bacchanalian and amorous; which last, I must confess, are extravagantly libidinous; and they have moral songs, which seem to be the most esteemed and practised, and answer the purpose of religious lectures.

“Some of their most favourite songs and dances, they have from their enemies, the Chactaws; for it seems these people are very

eminent for poetry and music; every town amongst them strives to excel each other in composing new songs for dances; and by a custom amongst them, they must give at least one new song, for exhibition, at every annual busk."¹⁵

The last paragraph records an important tendency observed in many other parts of America, and in this case we have it confirmed by personal observation, for a few days after the arrival of Bartram at Muklasa town a youth in his party who had spent some time in the Choctaw country communicated to the townspeople at their earnest solicitation certain of the songs he had learned.¹⁶

Swan says:

"In general, their dances are performed with the most violent contortions of the limbs, and an excessive exertion of the muscular powers.

"They have sometimes most farcial dramatic representations, which terminate in the grossest obscenity."¹⁷

The dances peculiar to the busk will be considered in connection with that ceremonial. The others were principally animal dances, some of which were danced at the time of the busk and some not. Jackson Lewis gave me the following names of dances:

Teoláko obánga, "the horse dance."

Totolos obánga, "the chicken dance."

Yanása obánga, "the bison dance."

Okiánwa obánga, "the catfish dance."

Futeo obánga, "the duck dance."

Akátálāsawá obánga, "the small frog dance" (the akátálāswa is a small and very noisy frog).

Isábá obánga, "the garfish dance."

Yábifega obánga, "the sheep dance."

Yifolo obánga, "the screech-owl dance."

Teula obánga, "the fox dance."

Istikini obánga, "the horned-owl dance."

Itchas obánga, "the beaver dance."

Kowegi obánga, "the quail dance."

Hitute obánga, "the snow dance."

Kono obánga, "the skunk dance."

Teito obánga, "the snake dance."

Wátolá obánga, "the crane dance."

Nokos obánga, "the bear dance."

Ogiyiha obánga, "the mosquito dance."

Suli obánga, "the buzzard dance."

Atculálgi obánga, "old people's dance."

¹⁵ Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 503-504.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

¹⁷ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 277.

Poko imobānga, "the ball dance." (I presume this was danced in connection with the ball games.)

My most complete list was from the Alabama in Texas and was as follows:

- Teitcoba bitka, "the horse dance."
- Nita bitka, "the bear dance."
- Yanasa bitka, "the bison dance."
- Kono bitka, "the skunk dance."
- Teoskāni bitka, "the duck dance."
- Teola bitka, "the fox dance."
- Teinteuba bitka, "the alligator dance."
- Kitini bitka, "the horned-owl dance."
- Ōfolō bitka, "the screech-owl dance."
- Akāga bitka, "the chicken dance."
- Teofkoni bitka, "the bone dance."
- Wokaskila bitka, "the tree-frog dance."
- Īlālo bitka, "the fish dance."
- Isbāk tokolo bitka, "the double-headed dance."
- Pāspa bitka, "the bread dance."
- Sātāne bitka, "the wood-tick dance."
- Sinte bitka, "the snake dance."
- Sātā bitka, "the terrapin dance."
- Okadjibāndja bitka, "the parroquet (?) dance."
- Itibitilga bitka, "the war dance."
- Okteāl'ā bitka, "the blackbird dance."
- Kowegi bitka, "the quail dance."
- Teukfi bitka, "the rabbit dance."
- Teokce bitka, "the pumpkin dance" (a very old dance).
- Iteheci bitka, "the friends' dance."
- Pātka bitka, "the bed dance."
- Bitka atēōba, "the old dance."
- Taske bitka, "the scalp dance."
- Akita bitka, "the ākita dance."
- Kinia bitka, "the kinia dance."

The aged chief of the Mikasuki knew of the horse, chicken, quail, skunk, old man's, duck, garfish, alligator, terrapin, crow, corn, hair, and chigoe dances, the last four of which do not occur in the other lists. David Cummings knew of cow and wolf dances, and Zach Cook of leaf and hināta dances. My most complete account of the native dances being from the Alabama, the following descriptions will be based upon them.

When they dressed for the dances the Alabama men frequently painted a large red spot on each cheek and a red line down the nose. The women put a smaller red spot on each cheek and omitted the line. Occasionally yellow was used instead of red, and in the times of which my informant had any remembrance the paints were obtained from stores. Charcoal was used to blacken the upper lip.

These colors were for appearance only; they had no religious or other significance. The silver crowns and the pouches hung at the side and fastened by straps over the opposite shoulder were worn only at dances, except that the last were taken when traveling or going to town. New buckskin leggings were also worn at dances, but the handkerchief turbans were worn all of the time. The silver gorgets were generally assumed only for dances, but occasionally old ones were carried about at all times. While the hair was always made into four braids the beaded ornaments at the ends were for festivals or when the owner was going to town.

Two of these dances, the horned-owl dance and the snake dance, were never performed by the Alabama in June, July, or August, because in both they followed a serpentine course like that of a snake and people feared that those reptiles would be offended with them and bite them. The horned-owl dance is said to have been danced only in September. Every night, after these dances were over, the participants put their feet up to the fire so that the snakes could not see to bite them, and they warmed their hands and rubbed their eyes with them so that they themselves could see the snakes easily and would not step on them. The snake dance was danced a long time ago. All that I can add regarding it is Jackson Lewis's statement that it was danced entirely by women, and an implication on the part of Swan that the leader of this dance carried a wooden snake in his hands, but what Lewis said does not seem to be in agreement with what my Alabama informant had heard.

The horned-owl dance was evidently a greater favorite and was danced more frequently, and it was connected with those feasts to which reference has already been made. To summon people to this dance a man went around on horseback—sometimes accompanied by a second—carrying in his hands a peculiar baton. This was made of a cane about 12 feet long, at the outer end of which was a hoop made of hickory, white oak, or some other suitable wood. About five deer tails, and sometimes a loaf of bread, were fastened to this. Bearing it, he visited every house to make the announcement.

The horned-owl dance was always in September. There was no drummer but one old man walked about perhaps 10 feet from the fire shaking a rattle and singing, while the men and women danced around the fire inside sinistrally. The rattler was also song leader; the men sang with him but the women did not sing. There was no definite order in which the men and women danced, except that one man did not immediately follow another. Each man held a handkerchief by one corner and a woman following held the opposite corner of the handkerchief. If another woman, or other women, danced beside her, they held her by the elbows. The dancers were

led by a second old man, and all of the men carried turkey-tail fans. They danced for a while sinistrally, and then turned around and danced dextrally. When they were through the women remained standing in a row southeast of the fire. Then the old man took the baton already mentioned, stood opposite them and let the hoop fall on the head of each woman in succession, saying as he did so, "pâteicpâlō', make bread." This was because the women were to make bread while the men were off hunting. Another old man stood beside the first and counted the women off, "one, two, three," etc., and when he made the last count all of the men said "Ōh" in a very high-pitched voice. Then all the men went after venison, and at the end of two weeks all brought roast venison to the dancing ground on the same day. When they were within about half a mile they discharged their guns and shouted to let it be known that they were coming. They took the venison to a house at the dance ground built like a corner crib and laid it down there. That night they began the horned-owl dance again, and after it was over the men sat down on sheepskins, bearskins, or blankets all around the fire. Then the women came with dishes of bread and set them down by the men, one dish by some, two by others, three or four by others, etc., as they chose. Two old men now came, each with a kolbe' (a large flat basket made of cane). They gathered up the bread and redistributed it to all of the men and boys. Then the old men went to a scaffold near by and brought a number of sharp sticks already prepared. They laid one of these by every man who had received one dish of bread, two by those who had received two dishes, and so on. Then the two old men took their kolbes again and brought the venison which they also distributed. The men took it and put one, two, three, or more pieces of meat on each stick. Then they held these up in their hands and each woman got a stick of venison and her dish. Then the men began to sing while still seated, one man leading with a rattle. All sang four times and then they stood up and sat down in their usual places, on logs about 20 paces back from the fire. They now stood up again and formed a circle surrounding and facing the women. First the men danced backward, the women following facing them; then they filed off round the fire in couples, a man and a woman together. They went around four times and then went off to one side of the fire, the north for instance, danced inward in an ever narrowing spiral, turned around and danced out again in the same way, danced around the fire four times more, and then danced in a spiral in and out to the west of the fire. In this way they went all the way round, dancing on the south and east sides also. Finally they danced four times round the fire. Bread and venison were given out for four successive nights, and the same dance followed.

This dance was known to Zachariah Cook and William Berryhill and the latter gave the following account of it which shows that it was the same thing and was known over the entire Creek country:

The men started out to hunt while the women were making bread. If the men brought home a deer the first day they gave it to the women who cooked it and put the flesh into the meat house. That night they danced, and they did the same thing four days in succession, putting what they killed each day into the meat house. Then they sacked the bread and meat up, and the women carried the sacks into the square and danced with them on their backs—though it was rather hard work. After the dance they handed these sacks to the male waiters, who distributed them to everyone in the town. Enough was usually left to supply the visitors among the various camps—i. e., those who happened to be in the town camping about the square, not persons especially invited. Then they usually dispersed, eating their food at once or carrying it with them. This dance was danced just after all the snakes were supposed to have gone into their holes for the winter. They would not dance it in summer lest the snakes should bite them. The words of the song were like this: Dje'hose djehō'se yū'liwá yuhe'á.

Conversely from the custom with regard to the last two, the Alabama avoided dancing the bear dance in winter, for they went hunting then and they were afraid if they did so a bear would catch and hurt one of them or one of their dogs. This dance was always at night, the music being furnished by a drummer and a singer, the latter without a rattle. The dancers circled about the fire in single file, men and women alternating and pawing at the air with their hands in imitation of the bear.

Nearly all of these dances were at night, but the bison dance was, among the Alabama, always held in the morning before sunrise, though it could be performed at any time of the year. One man stood near the fire and furnished the music by beating on a drum and singing while the participants ran around the fire very rapidly and at a certain beat of the drum all shouted. This agrees with what Zachariah Cook says of this dance as seen by him. He states they went two and two around the fire and at a certain beat came down together on the ground with both feet. The dance would seem to have been brought by the Alabama from their old home, for they say that when they came to east Texas there were no bison there.¹⁸

¹⁸ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 277. It was made the subject of a painting by Mr. J. M. Stanley, which was one of those destroyed in the Smithsonian fire. He has the following note regarding it: "This dance is enacted every year during the season of their busk or green-corn dances; and the men, women, and children all take an active part in the ceremony. They invest themselves with the scalp of the buffalo, with the horns and tail attached, and dance about in a circle, uttering sounds in imitation of the animal they represent, with their bodies in a half-bent position, supporting their weight upon their ball-sticks, which represent the forelegs of the buffalo."—*Smithson. Misc. Colls.*, no. 53, p. 10. He is the only observer mentioning the participation of children.

With the Mikasuki, the Chiaha, and probably the Creeks generally, the bison dance was held just at sundown of the day of the busk, but while there was still light.^{18a} The music was furnished by one drummer and one rattler. At the beginning these two men stood near the ball post and the dancers assembled there, the male dancers each carrying a cane. When all was ready the musicians walked into the yard between the beds and the dancers followed them in couples, two men and two women alternating. Then they danced around the fire until the three songs belonging to this dance, which were rather long, were finished. This dance was followed by the long or old dance.

The fox, ākitā, kinia, and skunk dances are said to have been danced exclusively by women. Jackson Lewis and Cook confirmed this for the Creeks so far as the fox dance is concerned and the chief of the Mikasuki asserted it for the skunk dance. Therefore the custom must have been fairly widespread. At least among the Alabama these dances were always in June, July, or August. Before the fox dance was held two men went all around the grounds to drive the dogs away, for, if any dogs should come in or any men except the two musicians, it would be unlucky. The two musicians, a drummer and a rattler, sat near the fire and they did all of the singing. One of the women acted as leader of the dancers and they went around the fire in sinistral circuit. The dance began slowly and increased in rapidity until it became very fast at the end. The two "dogwhippers" were provided with long sticks with needles, gar teeth, or crawfish claws at the ends, and, if a woman was slow or lazy in dancing, they reached these out and scratched her ankles. Sometimes old women performed this function. My informant himself never saw this, but he has often heard it described. The fox dance may have had some of the other features of the skunk and kinia dances.

The ākitā is said to be a small animal living in the woods and looking like a rat. Charlie Adams, my informant, has never seen one and the creature may be entirely fabulous. During this dance every woman carried in each hand a stick about 2 feet long. On the ends of each stick were four crane feathers of different colors—white, black, blue, etc. The leading woman and the last woman each had entire crane wings on the ends of their sticks. The women would dance around for a certain time sinistrally, and when the singer struck a certain note all turned about, the last woman leading, and danced around dextrally until the note again sounded. They danced twice each way in all.

The kinia is said to be an animal like the ākitā. In this dance the women started around sinistrally, and at certain beats stopped and danced where they were and then at other beats went on again and again stopped. This was repeated about ten times.

^{18a} See pp. 573-574.

The skunk dance was like the kinia, but in this two men came out in front of the file of dancing women holding a stick, one at each end, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground. The women dodged under this one after the other and if one of them touched it, even with her hair ribbons, she, in company with all other women who had touched it, had to cook for all the men and bring the food up to the dance ground. Otherwise the last three dances were like the first.

The chief of the Mikasuki said that the skunk dance took place when peanuts, beans, etc., were ready for gathering—i. e., in September. A drummer and a rattler furnished both instrumental and vocal music for it, but, unlike most dances, in this the women sang in response.

According to Silas Jefferson it took place in October. One man sang the skunk songs while the women danced dressed in men's clothing. They danced four times every night for four nights and on the morning after the last the men went out to drive deer.

From what William McCombs, a Chiaha Indian, has told me of this dance there must, if his memory serves him well, have been considerable variation. He says that this dance was the most sacred of all the animal dances and that for some reason the skunk was considered as chief of all the animals. It was held at the square ground in winter, but without secret ceremonies. A person starting in to dance in this had to keep it up during all four nights. After it was over a great hunt and a great feast took place.

Another dance confined to women was the snow dance, regarding which I have no other information.

The pumpkin and bed dances were danced a long time ago, and my informants knew nothing about them but the names. The same was true of the war and scalp dances.

The blackbird dance is also obsolete, the following reason being given for it. The last time it was performed by the Koasati, whose town was near that of the Alabama, they somehow offended the blackbirds, who bewitched them, causing them to die out. Therefore this is now considered a "wrong dance," and it is used no more.

In the duck dance two men sat on a bench to furnish the music, one drumming and one singing. The dancers formed two files in the following manner: First two men, then two women, then two men, and so on, but the men danced around the fire sinistrally and the women dextrally, the women between the two files of men. Each of the two pairs of men held one end of a handkerchief, and the women passed under it. They danced around the fire four times slowly and four times rapidly, completing the dance. The Mikasuki chief described it in exactly the same way, except he said the dancers danced a minute in front of each other before the women passed under and the men clasped their hands instead of using a handker-

chief. They used a rattle but no drum. The men danced dextrally; the women sinistrally. Three songs belonged to it. Cook merely stated that they imitated ducks.

The horse dance was as follows: The music was furnished by two drummers near the fire—or sometimes by only one. They drummed and sang. The men danced in two bands and in single file. The two came from opposite sides of the fire, one from the south, we will say, circling sinistrally outside, and the other, from the north, circling dextrally inside. As the two lines passed the men would kick out at each other like horses. Meantime the women were standing on the outside, each holding a handkerchief by one end, and the second time around each man seized the end of a handkerchief and danced around, the woman following him dancing, until they had danced four times in all. Then all went back to their places and the same thing was repeated three times more, four in all. The Mikasuki horse dance was practically the same except that there was no drummer and but one rattler. There were two songs.

In the alligator dance there was no rattle or drum and no special singers, the men furnishing all of the singing. They danced in one file, men and women alternating, holding the ends of handkerchiefs in front and behind so as to make a continuous string. Although they moved rapidly they arrested their feet in midair for a moment before letting them down, probably imitating the supposed gait of the alligator. There were two songs, repeated indefinitely. This was danced at any time, summer or winter. My informant had seen this twice.

The Mikasuki varied this somewhat. There was one rattler who stood by the fire around which the dancers passed in single file. A man and a woman danced together, the man going backward and holding by both hands the woman, who danced forward. At a certain turn in the music they reversed their positions, the woman dancing backward and the man forward. There were about seven songs to this dance.

The screech-owl dance was performed at any time and it was like the alligator dance but there were five or six songs. The songs were like those of the horned-owl dance except that there were over 30 songs for the latter.

In the chicken dance two men sat by the fire, one beating a drum, the other helping him sing. The women came together on the east side of the fire and from there danced all around it once when the drummer struck the drum hard. All the women then went out and each got a man, and brought him in. The partners then clasped hands and danced around the fire, the men going backward first until a certain drumbeat, when they turned around and the women danced backward. There was just one song and they danced until the song

had been repeated four times. Then the women assembled at the same place as before, only the men came and got them in their turn; the same thing was repeated four times in all, when they stopped. It was danced at any time, but usually in summer. The Mikasuki had one rattler for this dance and the dancers went around about as in the alligator dance.

In the tree-frog dance there were also two men by the fire singing, one beating on a drum. The dancers were in two files, two men alternating with two women. When the drummer beat the drum all of the men squatted down on their haunches, the woman remaining standing. Then the two singers and the squatting men all sang a song. At a certain beat of the drum all stopped singing and began dancing around again. They danced around the fire four times and stopped, and the men squatted down once more. The whole was repeated four times. It was danced at any season.

The bone dance was danced at night at any time of the year and it was very fast, "like a nigger dance." Because it was so fast some women did not like to participate in it. One man beat the drum and sang. The dancers were in couples, a man and a woman side by side, holding hands. They danced forward for a while and at a certain beat turned round and danced backward, at another beat danced forward, and so on. They went around the fire four times. There were two songs, one sung while they were standing still, another while they were dancing.

The dance often spoken of as "the fish dance" (*Lálo obànga*, in Creek) is identical with the garfish dance, although, as we have seen, there was a catfish dance. Among the Alabama the garfish dance was said to be just like the chicken dance, only faster. There was one drummer and one person to help him sing, and there were eight songs. According to the Mikasuki chief it was almost the same as the alligator dance except that the songs were shorter. This dance seems to have been in especial favor with the Koasati, and according to one informant the garfish was their tribal mark. It would seem from the account of it, however, that the Koasati garfish dance was either a distinct dance or very much modified. David Cummings, who passed his early youth with the old Koasati, had the following to say about it:

In the fall, September or October, the men went out hunting and stayed out about a month. When they got near home on their return they uttered whoops, and when the women heard that they said, "The hunters are coming home with deer meat and turkeys." After that they appointed a day on which to dance the fish dance. Every man who danced this had a stick made like a garfish, its mouth being open and a piece of cedar placed in it. About a dozen men were invited to take part in this dance, word being sent to them by two *ta'palas*.

They formed a complete circle under the arbor which covered the Koasati square and, holding the wooden fish in their hands, jumped up and down and danced. The musicians sat in the chiefs' bed. At a certain time in the song all of the dancers said "yū+ē" and all changed places, each moving to the station vacated by the man next in front of him. In this manner they moved about the entire circle. Except for the above exclamation the singing was all done by the musicians in the chiefs' bed. Afterwards there was a great feast (*hompila*), consisting of all sorts of cooked foods, everybody being invited into the square ground. Then they danced the common or stomp dance all that night, and everyone was compelled to attend, the old women and children being the only persons exempted.

William McCombs stated that in the garfish dance, as he knew it, the participants grouped themselves together in four circles at each of the four corners of the square in succession, beginning at the southeast and passing in the usual direction. This appears to have been like the Koasati dance just described, as was probably the fish dance mentioned by Swan in which the leader, male or female, carried a wooden fish.¹⁹

In the double-headed dance, there was one drummer and one other person to help him sing. There were two parties of dancers and a leader for each, which went round the fire in opposite directions, one outside of the other. After they had gone round four times the leaders took each other by the hand and all of their followers did the same, and they danced backward and forward a few times, away from and toward the fire. Then they let go and danced around the fire in the same manner four times more. After dancing backward and forward for the fourth time all shouted and stopped. There were two songs.

When the quail dance was to be undertaken one man sat close to the ball posts away from the fire beating a drum and all of the men and women danced around him. The men and women alternated and walked like quails. There were two songs and they made four circuits during each. This was danced at night and sometimes just before a ball game. The Mikasuki used a rattler instead of a drummer and he stood close by the fire. The dancers went by couples, a man and a woman holding each other's hands. There were four songs.

In the terrapin dance a drummer and an assistant singer sat by the fire to furnish the music. The dancers went in single file, men and women alternating. Each dancer clasped both hands together and moved them about to right and left, jumping a little at times. The leaders kept repeating "kwi" over and over and the rest of the dancers said "haha." There was only one song, and they stopped

¹⁹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 277.

after they had danced around four times. According to the Mikasuki chief the dancers went in double file, men and women alternating but not holding each other's hands. One rattler furnished the music and there were four songs.

In the tick dance no drum was used and there were no special singers, the men doing all the singing. They went in single file, men and women alternating, and holding the ends of handkerchiefs to make a continuous line. They assumed a kind of staggering step. There were 10 songs and when the last was sung they raised a shout and stopped. This might be danced at any time.

The Okádjibándja dance was almost the same as the tick dance. It was danced by men and women in two files side by side. All of the men were outside and all of the women inside. The men and women held each other's hands and all went around the fire with an undulating motion, sometimes near the fire and sometimes removed from the fire. There were two songs. They danced eight times and then stopped. The men all sang; there was no other music. It was danced at any time.

In the rabbit dance there was no drummer, only one man with a rattle who was assisted in singing by all of the other men. There were three songs. The dancers were arranged in couples, a man and a woman, the women all being inside, with one old woman acting as leader. They danced around the fire four times and then stopped. They went faster and faster until some fell down. After they had gone round the fire twice more they went out to one side as in the horned-owl dance, then round the fire twice more, out at another side, round the fire again, and so on until they had been to all four sides. They sang the first song while standing still, the second song while going round the fire, and the third song while circling at the side of the fire.

In the friends' dance one man sitting on a bench near the fire drummed and was assisted in singing by a second man. When they began singing two men came in, walked all the way round the fire, went out again, and brought in two women. The four walked around the fire, a man and a woman side by side, and then the two women went out and brought in two more men. They went around again when the two last men went for two more women. This was kept up until all were brought in. After they were thus made friends the women danced around inside and the men outside about four times and then all stopped. There were two songs, one sung after all had been brought in. This could be danced at any time.

The following dances were described by the Mikasuki chief, but were unknown to, or forgotten by, the Alabama.

In the crow dance they went around in two files, first two women, then two men, and so on. At a certain time in the dance the women

turned around and danced backward facing the two men and then turned back again. There were two songs; a rattle only was used.

In the corn dance they went in two files, a man and a woman side by side. The rattle was used alone and there were six songs.

In the hair dance two women went together and then two men alternately. There were four songs and the rattle only was used.

In the ehigoe dance men and women mingled, joined hands, and danced round the fire in single file. A rattle was used and one song.

The old men's dance was danced about the time when pokeweed berries are ripe—i. e., about the middle of October. Young men were usually the performers. They fixed themselves up in imitation of old-time Indians. Each wore a mask made out of a pumpkin, gourd, or melon, holes being cut for the eyes and mouth and the latter provided with teeth made out of grains of corn. A headgear was constructed out of leaf stalks of the sumac, the small ends of which were tied together and the body opened out and fitted over the head. Long earrings were fastened to the mask and a shawl thrown over the head behind. They stained the outside of the mask with the berries of the pokeweed (*osá* in Creek). Finally the performer fastened tortoise-shell rattles on his legs, drew a blanket round himself, and performed all sorts of antics to make people laugh. He carried a bow and arrows improvised for the occasion, pretended to see game, and did other things supposed to be amusing. The children were scared half to death with his performances and William Berryhill, one of my informants, well remembers how frightened he was at them. The dance was known also to the most of my other old informants.^{19a}

Regarding the catfish, small frog, sheep, beaver, cow, crane, and wolf dances I have no information other than that they existed. In the mosquito dance the women played jokes on the male dancers by pricking them with pins. The buzzard dance is said to have been a very pretty affair, the arms of the dancers being spread out and made to flap like the wings of buzzards.

The drunken dance was used just before gatherings broke up. The people formed a circle, acted as if they were intoxicated, and gradually scattered backward into the bushes and disappeared. It is said to have been like the skunk dance.

CEREMONIES

MISCELLANEOUS CEREMONIES

In the section on music and dancing I have spoken of the monthly ceremonies which early writers, including Bartram and Du Pratz, allege were performed by the southern Indians. This may be explained partly on the ground that social dances took place oftenest near the full of the moon. But, while most of the dances and feasts which I have described elsewhere can be explained as furnishing

^{19a} See p. 556.

outlets for the purely social instincts, ceremonial elements entered into certain of them in such a way that it might be difficult to say where the social element ended and the ceremonial element began. There is a suggestion of this sort in the regulations connected with the snake, horned-owl, and skunk dances. Ceremonies or fasts of a somewhat extemporaneous character were undertaken from time to time in cases of national distress, as we learn from Bartram, who says:

“At this time the town [Atasi] was fasting, taking medicine, and I think I may say praying, to avert a grievous calamity of sickness, which had lately afflicted them, and laid in the grave abundance of their citizens. They fast seven or eight days, during which time they eat or drink nothing but a meagre gruel, made of a little cornflour and water; taking at the same time by way of medicine or physic, a strong decoction of the roots of the *Iris versicolor*, which is a powerful cathartic.”²⁰

Religious ceremony was more or less mixed up with social relaxation in the feasts held after a successful hunt or upon the arrival of strangers. Bartram again gives us a view of one of these impromptu gatherings which he witnessed in the Seminole town of Talahasutci, of which a man called by the whites the White King was then miko.

“On our arrival at the trading house, our chief was visited by the head men of the town, when instantly the White King’s arrival in town was announced: a messenger had before been sent in to prepare a feast, the king and his retinue having killed several bears. A fire was now kindled in the area of the public square; the royal standard was displayed, and the drum beat to give notice to the town of the royal feast.

“The ribs and the choice pieces of the three great fat bears already well barbecued or broiled, were brought to the banqueting house in the square, with hot bread; and honeyed water for drink.

“When the feast was over in the square (where only the chiefs and warriors were admitted, with the white people), the chief priest, attended by slaves, came with baskets and carried off the remainder of the victuals, etc. which was distributed amongst the families of the town. The king then withdrew, repairing to the council-house in the square, whither the chiefs and warriors, old and young, and such of the whites as chose, repaired also; the king, war chief, and several ancient chiefs and warriors were seated on the royal cabins; the rest of the head men and warriors, old and young, sat on the cabins on the right hand of the king’s: the cabins or seats on the left, and on the same elevation, are always assigned for the white people, Indians of other towns, and such of their own people as choose.

“Our chief, with the rest of the white people in town, took their seats according to order: tobacco and pipes were brought; the calu-

²⁰ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 454.

met was lighted and smoked, circulating according to the usual forms and ceremony; and afterwards black drink concluded the feast. The king conversed, drank cassine, and associated familiarly with his people and with us.

“After the public entertainment was over, the young people began their music and dancing in the square, whither the young of both sexes repaired, as well as the old and middle aged: this frolic continued all night.”²

Bartram has the following regarding the ceremonies connected with an ordinary Creek council:

“As their virgils and manner of conducting their vespers and mystical fire in this rotunda [the teokofa], are extremely singular, and altogether different from the customs and usages of any other people, I shall proceed to describe them. In the first place, the governor or officer who has the management of this business, with his servants attending, orders the black drink to be brewed, which is a decoction or infusion of the leaves and tender shoots of the Cassine: this is done under an open shed or pavilion, at twenty or thirty yards distance, directly opposite the door of the council-house. Next he orders bundles of dry canes to be brought in: these are previously split and broken in pieces to about the length of two feet, and then placed obliquely crossways upon one another on the floor, forming a spiral circle round about the great centre pillar, rising to a foot or eighteen inches in height from the ground; and this circle spreading as it proceeds round and round, often repeated from right to left, every revolution encreases its diameter, and at length extends to the distance of ten or twelve feet from the centre, more or less, according to the length of time the assembly or meeting is to continue. By the time these preparations are accomplished, it is night, and the assembly have taken their seats in order. The exterior extremity or outer end of the spiral circle takes fire and immediately rises into a bright flame (but how this is effected I did not plainly apprehend; I saw no person set fire to it; there might have been fire left on the earth, however I neither saw nor smelt fire or smoke until the blazo instantly ascended upwards), which gradually and slowly creeps round the centre pillar, with the course of the sun, feeding on the dry canes, and affords a cheerful, gentle and sufficient light until the circle is consumed, when the council breaks up. Soon after this illumination takes place, the aged chiefs and warriors are seated on their cabins or sophas on the side of the house opposite the door, in three classes or ranks, rising a little, one above or behind the other; and the white people and red people of confederate towns in the like order on the left hand; a transverse range of pillars, supporting a thin clay wall about breast high, separating them: the king's

² Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 233-235.

cabin or seat is in front; the next to the back of it the head warriors; and the third or last accommodates the young warriors, etc. The great war chief's seat or place is on the same cabin with, and immediately to the left hand of the king, and next to the white people; and to the right hand of the mico or king the most venerable head-men and warriors are seated.

"The assembly being now seated in order, and the house illuminated, two middle aged men, who perform the office of slaves or servants, pro tempore, come in together at the door, each having very large conch shells full of black drink, and advance, with slow, uniform and steady steps, their eyes or countenances lifted up, singing very low but sweetly; they come within six or eight paces of the king's and white people's cabins, when they stop together, and each rests his shell on a tripos or little table, but presently takes it up again, and, bowing very low, advances obsequiously, crossing or interesecting each other about midway: he who rested his shell before the white people now stands before the king, and the other who stopped before the king stands before the white people, and as soon as he raises it to his mouth, the slave utters or sings two notes, each of which continues as long as he has breath; and as long as these notes continue, so long must the person drink or at least keep the shell to his mouth. These two long notes are very solemn, and at once strike the imagination with a religious awe or homage to the Supreme, sounding somewhat like a-hoo—ojah and a-lu—yah.²² After this manner the whole assembly are treated, as long as the drink and light continue to hold out; and as soon as the drinking begins, tobacco and pipes are brought. The skin of a wild cat or young tyger stuffed with tobacco is brought, and laid at the king's feet, with the great or royal pipe beautifully adorned; the skin is usually of the animals of the king's family or tribe, as the wild-cat, otter, bear, rattle-snake, etc. A skin of tobacco is likewise brought and cast at the feet of the white chief of the town, and from him it passes from one to another to fill their pipes from, though each person has besides his own peculiar skin of tobacco. The king or chief smokes first in the great pipe a few whiffs, blowing it off ceremoniously, first towards the sun, or as it is generally supposed to the Great Spirit, for it is puffed upwards, next towards the four cardinal points, then towards the white people in the house; then the great pipe is taken from the hand of the mico by a slave, and presented to the chief white man, and then to the great war chief, whence it circulates through the rank of head men and warriors, then returns to the king. After this each one fills his pipe from his own or his neighbour's skin."²³

²² Possibly intended for Yahola and Hayuya (see pp. 485, 544).

²³ Bartram, Travels, pp. 448-452.

By "the royal standard" Bartram means nothing more than the feathered calumet. The drum, as we learn on all hands, was used to call assemblies at the square for whatever purpose, and bear skins were usually laid down for the principal men and their guests on such occasions. The all-night dance mentioned at the end was a familiar accompaniment of the daily lives of the people.

CEREMONY OF THE ASI

At least one ceremony is involved here which was more religious than social and I will proceed to a more intimate account of it. This is the ceremony connected with the taking of the *Ilex vomitoria* or "black drink." The longest and best description of this is given by Swan and is as follows:

"The ceremony of the Black-drink is a military institution, blended with religious opinions.

"The black-drink is a strong decoction of the shrub well known in the Carolinas by the name of Cassina, or the Uupon tea.

"The leaves are collected, parched in a pot until brown, boiled over a fire in the center of the square, dipped out and poured from one pan or cooler into another, and back again, until it ferments and produces a large quantity of white froth, from which, with the purifying qualities the Indians ascribe to it, they style it white-drink; but the liquor of itself, which, if strong, is nearly as black as molasses, is by the white people universally called black-drink.

"It is a gentle diuretic, and, if taken in large quantities, sometimes affects the nerves. If it were qualified with sugar, etc., it could hardly be distinguished in taste from strong bohea tea.

"Except rum, there is no liquor of which the Creek Indians are so excessively fond. In addition to their habitual fondness for it, they have a religious belief that it infallibly possesses the following qualities, viz.: That it purifies them from all sin, and leaves them in a state of perfect innocence; that it inspires them with an invincible prowess in war; and that it is the only solid cement of friendship, benevolence, and hospitality. Most of them really seem to believe that the Great Spirit or Master of breath has communicated the virtues of the black-drink to them, and them only (no other Indians being known to use it as they do),^{23a} and that it is a peculiar blessing bestowed on them, his chosen people. Therefore, a stranger going among them can not recommend himself to their protection in any manner so well as by offering to partake of it with them as often as possible.

"The method of serving up black-drink in the square is as follows, viz:

^{23a} This was by no means the case since, in one form or another, the drink was used by practically all Southeastern tribes. See below.

"The warriors and chiefs being assembled and seated, three young men acting as masters of ceremony on the occasion, each having a gourd or calabash full of the liquor, place themselves in front of the three greatest chiefs or warriors, and announce that they are ready by the word *choh!* After a short pause, stooping forward, they run up to the warriors and hold the cup or shell parallel to their mouths; the warriors receive it from them, and wait until the young men fall back and adjust themselves to give what they term the *yohullah*, or black-drink note. As the young men begin to aspirate the note, the great men place the cups to their mouths, and are obliged to drink during the aspirated note of the young men, which, after exhausting their breath, is repeated on a finer key, until the lungs are no longer inflated. This long aspiration is continued near half a minute, and the cup is taken from the mouth of the warrior who is drinking at the instant the note is finished. The young men then receive the cups from the chiefs or head warriors, and pass them to the others of inferior rank, giving them the word *choh!* but not the *yohullah* note. None are entitled to the long black-drink note but the great men, whose abilities and merit are rated on this occasion by the capacity of their stomachs to receive the liquor.

"It is generally served round in this manner three times²⁴ at every meeting; during the recess of serving it up, they all sit quietly in their several cabins, and amuse themselves by smoking, conversing, exchanging tobacco, etc., and in disgorging what black-drink they have previously swallowed.

"Their mode of disgorging, or spouting out the black-drink, is singular, and has not the most agreeable appearance. After drinking copiously, the warrior, by hugging his arms across his stomach, and leaning forward, disgorges the liquor in a large stream from his mouth, to the distance of six or eight feet. Thus, immediately after drinking, they begin spouting on all sides of the square, and in every direction; and in that country, as well as in others more civilized, it is thought a handsome accomplishment in a young fellow to be able to spout well.

"They come into the square and go out again, on these occasions, without formality."²⁵

The following is Adair's account, which shows that the ceremony was almost identical among the Chickasaw:

"There is a species of tea, that grows spontaneously, and in great plenty, along the sea-coast of the two Carolinas, Georgia, and East and West Florida, which we call *Yopon*, or *Cusseena*: the Indians transplant, and are extremely fond of it; they drink it on certain

²⁴ Probably this should be "four times."

²⁵ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, pp. 266-267.

stated occasions, and in their most religious solemnities, with awful invocations; but the women, and children, and those who have not successfully accompanied their holy ark, *pro Aris et Focis*, dare not even enter the sacred square, when they are on this religious duty; otherwise they would be dry-scratched with snakes teeth, fixed in the middle of a split reed, or a piece of wood, without the privilege of warm water to supple the stiffened skin.^{25a}

“When this beloved liquid, or supposed holy drink-offering, is fully prepared, and fit to be drank, one of their *Magi* brings two old consecrated conch-shells, out of a place appropriated for containing the holy things, and delivers them into the hands of two religious attendants, who, after a wild ceremony, fill them with the supposed sanctifying, bitter liquid: then they approach near to the two central red and white seats, (which the traders call the war, and beloved cabbins) stooping with their heads and bodies pretty low; advancing a few steps in this posture, they carry their shells with both hands, at an instant, to one of the most principal men on those red and white seats, saying, on a bass key, *Yàh*, quite short: then, in like manner, they retreat backward, facing each other, with their heads bowing forward, their arms across, rather below their breast, and their eyes half shut; thus, in a very grave, solemn manner, they sing on a strong bass key, the awful monosyllable, *O*, for the space of a minute: then they strike up majestic *He*, on the treble, with a very intent voice, as long as their breath allows them; and on a bass key, with a bold voice, and short accent, they at last utter the strong mysterious sound, *Wah*, and thus finish the great song, or the most solemn invocation of the divine essence . . . The favoured persons, whom the religious attendants are invoking the divine essence to bless, hold the shells with both hands, to their mouths, during the awful sacred invocation, and retain a mouthful of the drink, to spurt out on the ground, as a supposed drink-offering to the great self-existent Giver; which they offer at the end of their draught. If any of the traders, who at those times are invited to drink with them, were to neglect this religious observance, they would reckon us as goddess and wild as the wolves of the desert. After the same manner, the supposed holy waters proceed, from the highest to the lowest, in their synedrion: and, when they have ended that awful solemnity, they go round the whole square, or quadrangular place, and collect tobacco from the sanctified sinners, according to ancient custom.”²⁶

Still another description of this ceremonial is given by Stiggins:

“I shall now enter on their uniform custom of drinking their *āssēe* which is a very strong black tea used by them without any sugar,

^{25a} See pp. 363-364.

²⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 46-48.

made of eupon or Cassene leaves. Said drink is called by the white men among them the *Black drink*. It is customary at this time and may have been for ages back for the men to meet at their town house or square in every town at least once a week. In the Tuckabatchies, the principal town, they meet every morning to drink their assee, which is prepared for use in the following manner at all places. It is parched first in a large pot of their own manufactory of clay untill the leaves are brown. Then water is applied to the full of the pot and boiled by a man appointed to that service. After boiling, it is cooled in large cooling pans of the same manufactory by one of the oldest chiefs of the town. When it can be poured over his finger without scalding it is cool enough to drink. It is then put into two gourds that would hold near a gallon each with a hole in it of about three quarters of an inch in diameter at which hole they suck it out. Said gourds of assee are very ceremoniously handed round the square to every man by men selected for the purpose and drunk as made, without sugar or any other embellishment. It is singular how this tea operates on them after they drink it, for after they have drunk it they retain it in their stomach for near a half hour. They can discharge their stomach of it as often as they drink it, with seeming ease, spouting it out of their mouth as it were by eructation. After four or five drinks and discharges of their stomach at different times of near a quart at a time, the black drink being over they disperse at or near ten o'clock; it acts as a tonic, as it is drunk of a morning fasting. By the process their stomach is well rinsed and braced up. The taste of the black drink is not disagreeable being not unlike [that of] very strong black tea and nearly of a black colour. No doubt but their custom of drinking the black drink originated through political motives, viz., for the purpose of assembling the towns people frequently at their town house or square in order to keep them united."²⁷

A few shorter accounts may be added. The first is by David Taitt:

"I went this morning to the [Tukabahchee] Town hot House where was only a few Old Men sitting and smoking Tobacco. When I went in the men present came a(nd) shook hands with me and offered me their Tobacco to smoke, afterwards they presented me with a Calabash filled with black drink made from the leaves of Casina which they parch in an Earthen pot till they are of a Dark brown Colour, they then put water upon them and boil it up till it is very Strong. They afterwards put a Strainer made of Split Canes into the pot and so take the drink out of the Strenner with a Callabash, entirely free from any leaves, they cool it in a Large Earthen bowle by heaving it up with gourds or Callabashes till

²⁷ Stiggins, Ms.

they raise a froth on the Top as Strong as that on porter. When it is Cool enough they fill some gourds with (it) and Carry it into the hot house in winter or Square in Summer, and present it to the head man or King of the Town first and likewise to any Stranger that is present two or three men Singing while the others Drink. As soon as they have done Singing, they Receive the Callabashes from head man and Stranger and Exchange them that they may drink together, then it is handed all round to every person present without the Ceremony of Singing or Exchanging Cups."²⁸

Claiborne incorporates the following in his History of Mississippi: "When the Creeks meet in council they smoke and have what they call 'the black drink.' It is made of the leaves of the Cassina Yapon, a tree resembling the haw-bush. They put the leaves in a basket and deposit it in a long earthen pot and boil them over a fire made in the middle of the square under a scaffold. The ceremony of drinking 'the black drink,' says Gen. Dale, is this: When they are all seated around one of them takes the gourd, (kept for that purpose) holds it over the pot, pours into it the liquid and continues pouring in until it foams and runs over. He then takes the gourd to the Head Chief and begins making a long note, drawing out his breath longer than one would suppose he could; he then draws his breath a second time, giving another long note, but in a different key. He then carries the gourd to the other chiefs, giving each of them a grunt as he presents it. There is no fixed time for the latter to drink by; the head chief drinks during the making of the two notes. They drink a quart at a time as hot as they can bear it. Some 15 minutes afterwards they vomit the drink without any effort or artificial means. The virtue of the drink is exhilaration and warmth to the system."²⁹

Bossu says:

"All the savages of the country of the Alabamas drink cassine; it is the leaf of an extremely bushy shrub; it is not larger than a black poplar (liard) but is serrated all around. They roast it as we make coffee, and drink the infusion with many ceremonies. When this diuretic drink is made, the young people go to offer it in gourds open like cups, according to the quality and rank of the chiefs and the warriors; that is to say to the Honored men, then to the other warriors, according to their rank. They preserve the same order when they offer the calumet for smoking; while you drink they shout with a loud voice and lessen it gradually; when you have stopped drinking they catch their breath and when you begin again they continue the same shouting. This kind of orgy lasts sometimes for six hours in the morning until two hours after noon. These savages are not

²⁸ Journal of David Taitt, in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., pp. 502-503.

²⁹ Claiborne, Miss., vol. I, p. 491.

otherwise inconvenienced by their drinking, to which they attribute much virtue. They throw it up without effort and without inconvenience. The women never drink of this beverage which is made only for warriors. It is in such assemblies into which they (the women) are never admitted that they relate all of their news and deliberate over their political business, concerning war or peace."³⁰

Milfort is another French traveler who has left us a description of this ceremonial:

"When the savages assemble for any reason they are accustomed before undertaking any business, to begin by smoking their pipes, and drinking a liquor which they make from the leaf of a tree, very common among them, and which it is claimed is a wild tea tree. It much resembles that of China, except that the leaf is much smaller. This tree is green during the entire year; its leaf is gathered only when it is to be served. When the savages wish to make use of it they have it boiled like coffee. When they prepare this liquor to drink in their assembly this is how they treat it. They put a certain quantity of tea leaves into an earthen vessel which they place over the fire; when they are dried sufficiently, they put in water in proportion to the quantity of leaves, and boil the whole. When they decide that the infusion is strong enough, they pass it through a basket like a sifter, and leave it in great earthen vessels destined to receive it for cooling. When it is not warmer than the natural heat of milk, one of the old men who has charge of this ceremony has it put into gourds at the top of which is an opening about two inches in diameter. It is presented for drinking in these gourds, and for this purpose it is passed in succession to each one of the members of the assembly."

He adds that it was later vomited up in order to assure clear headedness on the part of the members of the assembly in taking up the business in hand, particularly to insure against the effects of spirituous liquors.³¹

It is not clear that this ceremony was gone through on all occasions when the black drink was taken, because in some towns and at certain times it is said to have been taken every morning. In particular it was prescribed for those men who were appointed to preserve the buildings of the Tukabahechee Square. They were not permitted to eat until after they had taken it. It at least preceded all important assemblies. Adair, in pursuance of his pet theory of an Israelitish origin for the American Indians, lays great stress upon the syllables uttered by the bearers of the black drink, and he supposes that they were the syllables of the name Jehovah. It so happens that although I can add little or nothing regarding the ceremony in general I obtained a short account of it from Jackson Lewis which

³⁰ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 41-42.

³¹ Milfort, *Mém.*, pp. 195-199.

throws light upon just this point. He stated that formerly the black drink (*ási*) was taken at the same time as the busk medicines, though it has now long been abandoned. But, while those who take the ordinary busk medicines go to the medicine pots to drink, the black drink was brought to the drinkers by four bearers. Each of these men would hand a pot of *ási* to one who was to drink and when the latter placed it to his lips the bearer would utter a cry, which, as described to me, was something like this, "ā-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a dī—i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i," both syllables being drawn out very long and gradually fading away. The drinker had to keep on imbibing the liquid until this cry came to an end. The cry was called the cry of the *Yahola*, a being described already, who with his companion *Hayuya* presided particularly over the square ground,³² and it appears to have been uttered on other occasions, as for instance by the official who drew circles on the square ground just before the women's dance to indicate where the women were to stand. It is also said to have been applied to the cry used in calling a youth out when a new war name was to be conferred upon him. By some the medicine bearers were believed to be imitating the rapid fluttering of certain beetles or wasps, and the cries which they made were supposed to be in imitation of them, but this may have been merely an association by analogy. Questions of precedence were very carefully observed in the serving of *ási* and were, I am informed, an occasion for frequent quarrels.

MINOR CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE SQUARE GROUNDS

The communal grounds with their various appurtenances were, of course, laid out in a new place with great ceremony. I have already given all that I know regarding the ceremonies performed in putting up the *tcokofa*.³³ The planting of the ceremonial ball post also took place with certain peculiar observances.

Wiley Buckner, a leading man among the *Okchai* Indians, said that he had heard that the *Alabama* Indians before setting up a new post laid a scalp down, placed a stone over that and set the butt end of the post above. *Woksi mi'ko*, a *Hilibi* Indian, had heard that, when the *Okchai* were going to put up a new post, they went into the woods, selected a pine tree suitable for the purpose, and felled it so that it would come down on some logs without touching the ground. Then they cut all of the sap wood away, leaving only the heart of the tree. This done, a number of persons would go out to it, raise it, and carry it to the place where it was to be erected without letting it touch the ground. They would then bring a scalp taken from an

³² See p. 485.

³³ See pp. 177-181.

enemy, place it at the bottom of the hole prepared for the pole, and set the pole over it. While this operation was taking place the men engaged in it abstained from food—and probably went through some medicine ceremony—during seven days. Sanger Beaver, an old man of Teatoksofka, the busk ground of which has long been given up, remembered seeing such a ceremony himself at a time when he was just old enough to take any notice of the customs of his people. He remembered that on one occasion, after they had cleared off the square ground and while they were still fasting, a great crowd of men went into the bottoms and cut down a very tall tree.³⁴ Without letting this fall to the ground they brought it to the busk ground and dug a hole for it. Then one of the henihās brought a human skull and deposited it at the bottom. They set the pole above this, and afterwards ran around it four times, shouting. Finally the man who had brought the skull climbed to the top of the pole and fixed there a wooden figure of a bird.

When beds were erected for a new ground those who had seats in each vied with one another to see which bed should be up first, and the party which won made great sport of the others as if they had won a ball game. The extra bed for the women and children was finished by all working together.

Big Jack, one of the leading Hilibi Indians, said that before establishing a new fire in the square ground after it had been moved they took some ashes from the old fire and buried them about a foot under ground in the place where the new fire was to be made. A doctor conjured these and repeated a formula over them as he put them in place. A small stone was also brought from the miko's bed in the old square ground and placed under the new one in the same manner. It was to show that the miko ought to be settled like a rock and a man of weight. The posts of the beds—which properly should be eight—particularly the front posts, had to be conjured and some hitci pākpāgi put into each post hole. The same informant added that all foundations must be started with hitci pākpāgi, which may therefore have been used under the ball post also. The removal of ashes from old to new fireplaces was confirmed by others and so was the use of hitci pākpāgi under the posts, but I heard nothing further about the stone. Two of the leading Coweta Indians and a Tulsa Indian said that under their old fire in Alabama the Coweta had a "can" of medicine supposed to contain the dried residue of the first medicine ever used in the old country. It was about an arm's length under ground. When they emigrated to Oklahoma this medicine was dug up, carried along with the emigrants, and buried in the same way underneath the fire in the first busk ground on the Arkansas River. But when the square was again moved the medicine was not dug up, and it is supposed to be in the same place. These

³⁴ He called it a cedar, but there seems to be some doubt on this point.

men also affirmed that all Creek towns had such a "can" of medicine, but I am not certain of this. Perhaps they were thinking of the custom of removing ashes from the old fire. However, the Tulsa Indian to whom reference has been made asserted that there was such a custom, and that when the Coweta and Kasihta Indians separated they divided the contents of the medicine "can." The "can" at Coweta was declared to be about 14 inches long by 4 in diameter.

An Okmulgee Indian told me that when the old Lucepoga busk ground was laid out the Creeks would not use animals to bring out the posts and other timbers but carried them 4 or 5 miles on their shoulders or by means of other sticks run under them.

THE GREAT ANNUAL CEREMONY OR BUSK

The word "busk" is a traders' corruption of the native Creek *poskita* or *boskita* meaning "a fast." This term was of course applied to many different kinds of fasts, but to two above all, first the fast undergone by those desiring to become doctors or learned men, in the manner to be described presently,³⁵ and second the great annual ceremonial ushering in the Creek New Year.

Without doubt there was a long myth relating the origin of this observance and probably detailing how it was to be conducted. Probably there were several such myths. Indeed fragments are preserved in Chekilli's migration legend and in those recorded by Hawkins, Gatschet, and others,^{35a} but the Creeks of the present day for the most part know only that it was established in the beginning of things for the benefit of the Indians and that its observance is thought to keep them and their families in good health throughout the ensuing year. A Kasihta informant said that when God made the earth he put in these medicines to be used for the good of the Indians and decreed that they must obey the instructions of the old people. A Coweta Indian also said that the busk customs were given by God when he made the world. Big Jack of Hilibi affirmed that Ibofanga (The-One-Above) gave the Indians the *pasa* and the *miko hoyanidja* to keep as long as time should last. Alindja, a Tukabahchee, maintained also that Ibofanga laid the foundation of the fire and gave the medicines to go with it. A Hilibi Indian said that the busk was given by God in earliest times for the good of the Indians, and it was said that all would be well so long as it was kept up. Jackson Lewis merely stated that the origin of the busk had "gone into the mist."

More specific was the information obtained by one of the Tulsa Indians from an old Alabama. This was to the effect that the busk medicines were sent down from God by two old gray-headed men.

³⁵ See pp. 617-620.

^{35a} See pp. 33-65.

As soon as the old men had delivered them they disappeared, returning to the sky. According to Tāl muteāsi, the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Lālogāga, seven selected men were putting the four logs together to make a foundation, and, as they were making the foundation, "there was a fire built" and it was said of the four main sticks: "They shall be the white path. There shall be peace and harmony." At this time were established the laws by which the people were to be ruled. They were also given the medicine roots and were told "This shall be your medicine. This shall be respected and appreciated as long as time lasts."

Still another story is from Sanger Beaver, a Teatoksofka Indian. He had heard that in ancient times the people were continually fighting, scalping, and killing, were without law, and went about nearly naked, clothed only in the skin breechelout. A certain man among them meditated much on this troublesome way of living. He fasted and thought for a long time, and finally he declared that he had received "the white day" (ni'ta hātki). This had been given to man through him by Ibofānga along with the miko hoyanidja, the pasa, the sawāteka, and the āsi, and songs for each medicine. These were, to quote the language of this anonymous person, "for the building up of our future generations, to make grow up the women and the children." Having said this he started the fire of the confederacy by using four sticks of wood, and the other Indian tribes came there and obtained their fires from the one kindled by that old Indian. For this reason the Creeks claimed to be the originators of all of the national fires of the various Indian nations. Beaver added the important information that most of this story is contained in a kind of song that had been handed down from the old Indian that received the "white day." There is, of course, very much more to the story, but he did not know the rest. From such an origin grew the customs and practices of the busk, and it is said that the tribe was instructed that so long as it adhered to the use of these medicines, customs, etc., it would grow strong, but if at any time they became lax in attending to them they would grow weak and perish. The busk and the stomp dances which preceded it were all for the sake of the tribal health.

Many of the Indians claim that the first busk fire was built in the town of Tukabahebee and that all of the other towns derived their fire from that source, but I have shown elsewhere that this is a later explanation. It is admitted, nevertheless, by nearly all of the other Upper Creek towns. By some, all of their laws and regulations are traced to the Ispokogis and presumably the busk fires also. It is also said that when the Shawnee came east into the country of the Creeks they found that the stomp ground and the busk were not quite "right" and they remodeled them. Then they returned to

their home in the west and one town followed them. This may indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire, its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Teilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihis are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted

at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

If it may be relied upon as a common belief the following information obtained by Doctor Speck from Laslie Cloud, medicine maker of the Tuskegee, is very valuable:

"Upon the same occasion (the busk) the clan totems and other animal spirits are worshiped and propitiated by numerous dances each with its own song and gestures. These address prayer and express gratitude to the propitious ones and correspondingly placation to those that are believed to be noxious. To take an example, the *stikinī*, 'little screech owl,'^{35b} is an unfavorable spirit of the dead, causing death or announcing death to the one who hears it. So the *Stikino-bān̄ga*, 'Little-screech-owl dance,' is functionally a prayer to the screech owl for immunity from its visits. These dances are performed publicly on the square ground and all spectators may take part freely. In other cases dances are directed, as acts of worship by emulation, to the spirits of animals whose flesh is food. The emulation is believed to affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth. So with the fish dance, the buffalo dance, and others."³⁶

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to substantiate this even at the mouths of very intelligent old people and consequently do not know whether it was the personal understanding of Laslie Cloud or represented a former widely extended belief. But since the busk was a very sacred ceremonial a symbolic meaning was likely to be extended over every feature connected with it.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that the "peace" of the busk was a peace with limitations. It included the town busking, it included in a lesser degree the other Creek towns of the same fire, and in a lesser degree still the towns of the other fire, the contests with which were merely through ball games, but here it stopped and, just as peace and ball games were institutional up to that point, so was war institutional beyond that point. War was by no means excluded from consideration in the square ground and the busk, or even temporarily suppressed. The warriors had their distinctive beds where they were ranged in grades, advancement in the seatings, and along with it new names, was granted for achievements in almost all cases obtained in war, the warriors had their definite part in the ceremonies, and the *atásá*, the war symbol, was given to the youth who was thus renamed, carried by the women who led the women's dance, and indicated by short posts or by markings upon the tall posts in the front of the beds of the chief himself.³⁷ *Atásá* posts

^{35b} This is really the horned owl.

³⁶ Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 134-135.

³⁷ It is now denied that there is any ceremonial meaning to the *atásá* sticks carried by the women in the women's dance or to the feathers which the young men like to stick in their hats, but both are undoubtedly descended from significant usages.

are shown in Figure 5 of the preceding paper, from an early French sketch.³⁸ As in the reform movement of Hiawatha among the Iroquois and similar reforms in other parts of the world, that perception of the injurious effects of war with which the confederacy started was not carried on progressively toward its legitimate conclusion, the absolute extinction of warfare, but halted part way. In the relative benefits which the new union conferred by introducing local peace were lost to sight the very much greater benefits which would have been conferred by carrying out the project to its only logical end. The local well being and warlike effectiveness of a certain group of tribes was very much advanced as compared with that of many of their neighbors, and with this they remained content.

The busk was in reality the fourth of a series of ceremonials, the first three of which are called "stomp dances" and included only a minimum of ceremony, being in a way preparatory to the great busk proper. It is likely that in ancient times these were of more importance and perhaps deserved the name of busk also. The time of these ceremonies was formerly fixed by the period of the new moon and therefore varied somewhat. The first stomp dance was usually in April, but sometimes probably in May, while the busk proper was usually in July but with some towns as late as August. In ancient times the date of the busk was supposed to be governed by the first ripening of the large or flour corn,³⁹ and this will account for the fact that among the Florida Seminole it is said to occur as early as June.⁴⁰

The Koasati observed one of the three first stomp dances with more than ordinary care. It was the one held in May and was when the mulberries were ripe. It will be remembered that Adair says of the Koasati that "they annually sanctify the mulberries by a public oblation,"⁴¹ and I was told as much by David Cummings, probably the only Creek living in 1912 who could remember about the old busk ground of the main body of Koasati, known as Koasati No. 1. He said that they busked in May when the mulberries were ripe and again when the roasting ears were ripe. Stiggins states that the Koasati celebrated the coming of the new crop of beans in addition to the coming of the new corn, and this was probably identical with the mulberry feast.^{41a}

The following feast mentioned by Adair was perhaps at the time of one of these stomp dances—at least it was at the same time of the year—although there are features reminding one of the "old peoples' dance" which the Creeks held in October. Adair says of this feast:

³⁸ Journ. Société des Amér. de Paris, 1922.

³⁹ Adair says it was anciently fixed by "the beginning of the first new moon in which their corn became full eared," but later by the time of harvest. (Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.)

⁴⁰ See MacCauley, Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

⁴¹ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 267.

^{41a} See p. 568.

"Every spring season, one town or more of the Mississippi Floridians, keep a great solemn feast of love, to renew their old friendship. They call this annual feast, Hottuk Aimpa, Heettla, Tanaa [hâták aimpá, hila, tánaa], 'the people eat, dance, and walk as twined together.'⁴² The short name of their yearly feast of love, is Hottuk Impanaa, 'eating by a strong religious, or social principle.'⁴³

"They assemble three nights previous to their annual feast of love; on the fourth night they eat together. During the intermediate space, the young men and women dance in circles from evening till morning. The men masque their faces with large pieces of gourds of different shapes and hieroglyphic paintings. Some of them fix a pair of young buffalo horns to their head; others the tail, behind. When the dance and their time is expired, the men turn out a hunting, and bring in a sufficient quantity of venison, for the feast of renewing their love, and confirming their friendship with each other. The women dress it, and bring the best they have along with it; which a few springs past, was only a variety of Esau's small red acorn pottage, as their crops had failed. When they have eaten together, they fix in the ground a large pole with a bush tied at the top, over which they throw a ball. Till the corn is in, they meet there almost every day, and play for venison and cakes, the men against the women; which the old people say they have observed for time out of mind."⁴⁴

The Creek year was divided, as explained elsewhere, into two seasons of six months each and the busk in July or August marked the beginning of the new year, from which they counted at least every event of a sacred nature.⁴⁵ Another division at right angles to this might, however, be made, into a ceremonial and nonceremonial season, the former from April to about October, the latter including the balance of the year. It is by no means certain that there were no regular public ceremonies during the strictly winter months, but no proof of their existence survives. On the other hand there is a very coherent account of the summer ceremonies and feasts, showing them to have extended in an almost unbroken series from comparatively early in the spring until late in the fall. I have a fairly clear outline of this from Mr. Ellis Childers, the last chief of the Chiaha before they gave up their busk ground, and a man of former prominence in the affairs of the Creek Nation.

"When the new moon at the end of April or beginning of May approaches the medicine man (hilis-baya) tells the miko to call his people.⁴⁶ He also tells the miko in what phase of the moon to

⁴² Tána means to knit, weave, or plait.

⁴³ There seems to be no especial religious connotation in these words.

⁴⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 113-114. Cf. pp. 525-526, 555-556; 404 in preceding paper.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

⁴⁶ Hawkins says that the date of the Kashta busk was fixed by the miko and his counselors.

send out. Immediately the miko sends a ta'pala or 'messenger' through the town to notify everyone to meet at the square-ground that night. They gradually assemble during the day. After all is ready they generally dance the obanga hadjo until midnight, when the medicine-maker orders the miko to prepare for the next day. The miko then directs certain men to dig the medicine plants. That night the men sleep on the square ground, and next morning each medicine hunter goes to get the medicine he is to provide. The principal of these is the miko hoyanidja. Others are the pasa, cedar, and a plant called hitu'tabi, 'ice weed,' about which ice accumulates on frosty mornings. Those medicines which consisted of the boughs of trees were taken from the east side. On their return these men lay each of the medicines in a certain designated place. Then officers appointed called 'medicine mixers' place all of the medicines except the pasa in one pot. All go into this at the same time except the miko hoyanidja and cedar. Formerly there were four pots of medicine which were used at as many different times during the night; in later times only two pots were used.

"It should be mentioned that cedar twigs must be tied to the middle post of each bed in front, and sometimes such twigs are tied on the corner posts also.

"The miko hoyanidja is tied into four bunches, a certain amount going into each. This is generally done by the diggers. The medicine mixers now take one bunch of miko hoyanidja, wash it, beat the bark off, and put all into the pot containing the mixture. These men have entire charge of the handling of the medicine pots throughout. In the meantime two messengers of the chief called ta'pala secure buckets and place them in front of those persons sitting on the beds who are to bring water. They must bring this from a running stream, and some of it is then added to the medicine in the pots. The medicine being now ready the medicine man takes a long cane and blows into it, usually four times, generally chanting as he does so. Then the chief usually stands up in his place, and one of the medicine mixers takes a bucket of medicine and a cedar bush. He dips the bush into the medicine and sprinkles a little over each bed and over the entire square ground. One bucket of medicine is set apart, and the medicine maker blows into this in the same way as before. Afterward, one of the medicine mixers goes through the same sprinkling process again, first calling up and sprinkling all those who have dug graves or handled dead bodies in any manner. Then each medicine mixer seizes a bucket, and they carry the medicine to each person present. About one or two quarts is given to each, and for this purpose each person is supposed to bring a cup; if he does not, a cup is supplied.

"After all have taken the medicine and vomited they wait a certain time and then the second bunch of miko hoyanidja is mixed in, the

pot being refilled with water. The medicine is then passed around again, and the same process is gone through four times in all during the day, once for each bunch of miko hoyanidja. Each time the medicine maker blows into the pot before it is distributed. The pasa is used but once and is the last drink of the day. It is slightly warmed over a little fire. Generally it is not mixed until after the medicine has been taken for the third time. Roots of the wormseed^{46a} (wilana) are dug and many of them placed on a near-by bench. After the last drink they march out to the creek to bathe, and on the way each takes a few wormseed roots, chews and swallows a little, and rubs his head thoroughly with them, after which he dives into the creek four times. This completes the ceremonies for the day.

"During the intervals between the taking of the medicine the business of the town is attended to. In cases of misunderstandings and quarrels between persons or families the parties are questioned, either by the chief or by those whom he selects, generally persons from the henahas' bench, who finally determine which way the dispute should be settled. When the decision is agreed upon, the parties are called up and informed, and almost invariably they abide by this judgment.

"After they have returned from bathing the participants are allowed to eat, and in the evening after dark they are summoned to the square. A dance then begins in the ball ground to the southeast of the square ground, and they start with a song in which certain things are done at intervals in keeping with the words. Finally, at a particular, understood place, they march in around the fire in the square ground. A dance leader is now selected by the chief's messengers (ta'palas). Dances now follow each other, one after the other, all night, but at intervals the chief makes speeches, and he also invites good speakers who happen to be present to address the people. In that way good advice is given regarding the proper conduct of the rising generation and the proper way of living. It is the chief's duty to inform the people in this way of any occurrence which concerns his town. He imparts the messages which he has received from other towns, and which come through him, to his people. This assembly is thus an aid to government. Next morning the meeting breaks up and the people go home.

"At the next new moon the same performance is gone through. On the new moon after that a third meeting is held. On the morning of the day when this meeting opens all of the male members of the town are requested to be present in the square and the chief and a chosen number from each bed decide upon the date for the annual

^{46a} Usually but erroneously called "Jerusalem oak." I am indebted to Mr. Paul C. Standley, of the U. S. National Museum, for the correction.

busk. Then a switch cane is split up into pieces about the size of a match, and bunches are made of these, each bunch containing as many sticks as there are days to the time of the great busk. Each is tied up with a buckskin string. One of these bundles is tied immediately over the chief's seat in the square. Each of the others is sent to one of the friendly towns—that is, those of the same fire clan—as an invitation to share with them in the annual busk. It is immediately delivered to the town chief of that town by the ta'palas appointed by the town chief.

“The fourth day before the date of the busk is known as ‘camping day’; on this all must be encamped about the square ground. The next day is known as ‘visitors’ day’ when all visitors are looked after and provided with camping quarters. The third day is known as ‘the feast day,’ on which food is kept prepared all day, so that one can help himself whenever he wants to. The day is generally passed in playing ball, either the men's game being played or the one-pole game between men and women. The fourth day is the ‘busk day’ in which medicine is taken. Medicine is gathered, mixed, and taken as already described for the stomp-dance. Up to the time of this busk the inhabitants of the town have been forbidden to eat certain vegetable productions, the principal of which is green corn, and from this fact is derived the term ‘green corn dance.’ In case one has eaten green corn before this time, medicine is administered to him before the general medicine taking, and he is also scratched on the muscles of the arms and legs, four scratches being made with a one-pointed needle or one scratch with a four-pointed one. The scratches made were pretty deep. In olden times the snout of a garfish was employed exclusively.

“On the afternoon of ‘visitors’ day’ friendly relations are shown by an exchange of tobacco. The people of the town giving the busk are seated on their beds, and the visitors, marching in, offer a piece of tobacco to each, beginning with the chief, saying at the same time ‘Partake of this with me.’ After they have taken it each of the town people, beginning with the chief, offers the leader of the visitors a piece of tobacco in his turn. This exchange has superseded the custom of smoking together, when a large pipe was filled with tobacco and passed from hand to hand. The order observed was probably N E S W, the chief sending around to the beds successively in this direction.⁴⁷ The chief of the visitors then took a pipe around in turn, beginning at the west bed where was the chief. All orders were given by the town chief to a ta'pala (who was not necessarily a heniha) and by him to the people. This pipe, therefore, was first lighted by the chief and by him given to the ta'pala to be carried along.

⁴⁷ The correctness of this is doubted.

"On the morning of the 'busk day,' after breakfast and before the medicine has been prepared, the visitors return home. First, however, they march up in a line and pass the southeast corner; as they do so they wave their right hands in unison toward the square so as to take it all in and say *apokateges ayipaläs* ('While you abide I will return'), a friendly expression. In reply the people of the town respond *hō* ('Yes,' 'All right,' or 'Very well').

"To make the fire, four green sticks are cut from tree limbs extending toward the east. These are known as 'the back logs' (*tákhudji*). To renew the fire they use the term *to'hsoloti'*, 'to shove them in together.' Four roasting-ears are placed across the back sticks, as in Figure 108. Then kindling, hay, or other dry stuff is placed on top and ignited by rubbing two dry sticks lengthwise [?] over it. Fire can be started very quickly in this way. All the fires in the camps have meanwhile been put out, and this new fire is taken to them. It is used for the first time in cooking the first meal after the men break their fast. All disputes have now been settled by the *henihas* and a new life begins.

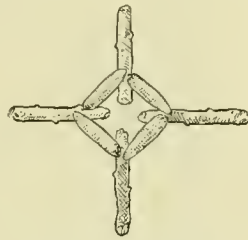


FIG. 108. — Arrangement of ears of corn on the fire sticks at the *Chiaha* busk

"After invitation sticks have been sent, anyone who fails to appear at the busk is considered disobedient to the chief, and on the morning when the busk breaks up the chief calls together the leaders of each bed and they make a list of all those who have failed to attend. Then a number of messengers (*ta'pala*) are sent to these individuals to collect a fine which is said to have amounted to \$2.50 in cash. It is customary to send to each man someone of the clan to which he himself belongs. When the *ta'pala* arrives he seizes any animal the man may have that is eatable, kills it, and brings it back to the square. It has been agreed upon on what day the fines shall be brought to the square, and then a second feast is called to eat up these things.

"This feast initiates a series of games between the women and men, wherein a wager is made—generally between a man and his 'sister-in-law,' i. e., a woman who has married into his clan. The man wagers part of a deer, while the woman puts up a pot of blue dumplings, or some *sofki*, or both. This game is played once a week for three weeks, and after the third a day is set for the hunters to go out. A day for finishing the fourth game is also agreed upon between the parties who made the wager. At that time the deer or other game is brought to the square ground and delivered to the woman who made the wager, she being encamped there with other women to assist her. Among the things that they feast upon that day is a great pot of soup, and the feast is therefore called 'the

soup-drinking feast.' This wager having been concluded another pair lays a wager in the same manner and the same games and feasts are repeated. The night of each of these feasts they generally dance all night, and commonly they have one every month. The town chief is present if possible, and if anything should keep him away, the second chief takes his place. This series of feasts generally extends through the warm weather until it begins to get cool, the latter part of September or the first part of October, and the season is closed by what they call 'the last dances.' One of these is known as 'the old men's dance,' and another is the 'wolf dance.' The first has been discontinued for a number of years, especially by the Chiaha, because all of those who were able to lead it have died. I saw only one and that when I was a boy. I can not give details regarding the conduct of it, but it is different from anything else I ever saw or heard of. As nearly as I can remember the men went off and dressed in masks, some representing bear, some wolves, panthers, or even cattle, bulls, etc., or perhaps a band of Indians of some foreign tribe. Others dressed in still other ways, but all appeared as very old people. They seemed to represent dramatically an event in hunting, an attack by some dangerous animal, and their conquest over it by means of their skill and experience as old men. A number of ceremonies took place in connection with this dance; women also took part. This dance was held in all of the Creek towns.⁴⁸

"To dance the Wolf Dance the men rise very early on a day that has been previously fixed upon and meet at the square, each riding his best pony. The men who take part in this dance are principally the young men of the town. They then proceed to the nearest house, generally at full speed, yelling, whooping, and singing. On reaching the house, all dismount and they dance around it, their leader singing a song, the rest whooping and yelling in discord to represent the howling of wolves. Then the inmates set out some food, and each of the dancers rushes up and snatches a little of it and runs off with it. Having eaten this they proceed to the next house and the same thing is repeated. So they visit all of the houses in the neighborhood. Afterward they return home, but that afternoon all meet at the square and at night they have the dance. The dances that night, especially those begun after midnight, are different from the regular stomp dances. Among these are the horse dance, the duck dance, the chicken dance, the catfish dance, a dance called a 'double dance' in which there are two leaders, etc. Next morning just as the sun rises they close the season by dancing the 'drunken man's dance.' Meanwhile the chief is generally present to communicate the news, and the henihās are always about to compose differences."

⁴⁸ For another description see p. 534.

This sequence is no longer preserved in anything like its ancient completeness, those feasts that follow the busk especially having dropped out of use, but the busk itself still (1912) holds on in about eleven towns not counting the Yuchi and in six Seminole towns. In some of these, for instance the Tukabahchee, the three stomp dances are kept up in some form, and in fact my most complete account of the three stomp dances and the busk is from Zachariah Cook, a former miko of Tukabahchee town. This is as follows:

"At the end of the busk the chief says to his people 'Go home and do the best you can, and next year when the moon is about at such and such a place I will send you the "broken days." When the time approaches, which is near the time of the new moon in April, he sends a bunch of seven little sticks to the head man in each neighborhood who throws one stick away each day, and leaves home so as to get to the square ground on the night of the seventh day. On the eighth they fast all day and *tásikayas*, under the supervision of the *imalas*, work for the *hilis-haya* (medicine maker), each getting four shoulder loads of wood. After that they are told to prepare for the all night dance. A man called *itei yahola* dances the war dance (*paihka obánga*, "whooping dance") with a scalp and a tomahawk. They give him a fawn skin and a ribbon and he is the leader in the women's dance. Owing to this fact the women plant his field for him—at least the two leaders of the women called *teukoleidji* do so and sometimes the others help.^{45a} The same day they procure new brooms if any are needed. Then all are told to go and rest and abstain from eating. They take that time for the performance of necessary duties such as watering horses. Early that same morning four persons, two *isti-áteagagi-súlgas* and two *henibas*, are sent to dig *miko hoyanídja*. The *teonoh hola'ta* is called up and sent with one of the *henibas* to get the cedar and other ingredients of the warm medicine. The medicine is placed at the north end of the west bed. Two youths are then called up to fix the medicine. They go for water, and after they have brought it put *hitei pákpági* in each pot as a foundation for the 'warm bath.' The rest of the ten medicines are piled upon this, and the whole is called *adiloga* or *atiloga*. Then they get rocks, pound up the *miko hoyanídja* and put it into another vessel side of the first. After that they get canes and straighten them and tell the *hilis-haya* that all is ready. They provide a deerskin for him to sit on and another for a footstool.

"The *hilis-haya* then blows into the medicines, and an old *heniha* sitting close to him summons another, and they remove the pots, placing the *atiloga* on the north side by the fire and the *miko hoyanídja* just west of it. Then the old *heniha* who was sitting by the *hilis-haya* gets one gourdful of each medicine and gives it to

^{45a} At Tukabahchee and Kealedji this field was close to the northwestern edge of the square ground.

the miko and his henīha who lay it in the bed right back of them. The miko then summons the two youths who mixed the medicine and he and his henīha hand the gourds to them, after which they go round inside close to the beds, keeping the fire on the left, the isti-āteagāgi-sūlga in the lead, and they sprinkle the medicines toward the beds with their hands. This is to prevent the spirits of the dead from interfering. These gourds are then returned to the bed back of the miko. This circuit is performed four times during the night, the youths being called up each time for that purpose. Through his henīha the miko then summons the speaker who rises and shouts as loudly as he can for all the men to come inside of the grounds. All the women remain outside. Having assembled, the men are notified that they must fast that day, but that all who had handled the dead are to wait and take their medicine afterward. Then the medicine is taken in the following order: miko, speaker (yatika), miko's henīha, the other mikos, the two youths who sprinkled medicine, the Wind clan, tāstānāgālgi, imalālgi, isti-āteagāgi-sūlga, Bird clan, and the other clans down to the Panther and the Potato which is usually last. They take first the warm medicine and then the cold, and go afterward to vomit them out. Now the miko summons two ta'palas, a Raccoon and a Wind usually, though if necessary some other clan is substituted for the Raccoon, to manage the dance, and he tells them to choose a dance leader to keep the dance going. This is done while the drinking is still going on so that by the time it is over the miko can call out 'There is a dance leader over yonder.' When this leader starts all get out and help him, and after they have danced the common, or 'stomp' dance (sātkita obānga) four times the women come in with rattles on their ankles and prepare to dance. When they get a little tired of the common dances they may take up special dances such as the gar dance, buffalo dance, quail dance, duck dance, etc. The hīnātā dance is a very pretty one and so are the quail and horse dances. If they can get a capable singer who knows them they may dance these special dances all night; otherwise they keep on with the common dance. Finally a time is set for the second 'stomp' dance which proceeds in the same manner. The third dance is a big dance.

"At that dance a council is held by the isti-āteagāgi-sūlga as to whether they will remodel their square ground, and if they decide to do so they set a time in the fall, perhaps in September, for carrying on this work. If the hot house is to be fixed up a time is also set in September. The same men are called in to arrange for the busk. They go over the entire program, one saying 'I will do this,' another 'I will do that,' and so on. Then they say 'We will meet ten days from tomorrow.' When they do meet they say 'We will meet in five days,' but they count in the day on which they make the arrange-

ment and also the day of meeting at the end, therefore there are only three whole days between. At that meeting they say 'We will meet in three days,' but one day intervening; and then they say 'We will meet in two days,' meaning the next. Finally they say 'We will meet in one day,' but they mean the very same day, so they simply go back home and then return, clear the ground off, and prepare the 'broken days,' of little canes, seven to the bundle, a bundle for each neighborhood. The messenger who delivers these pulls one stick out and throws it away, and afterward the head man at that place does the same each day until the time has arrived. When this distribution of sticks is made, they send a bundle to every fire of the same fire clan. The Atasi used to come down and busk with the Tukabahchee until the last dance, the women's dance, when they took some of the medicine which had been prepared for them and carried it back to their own women, who finished the dance. The Kēaledji simply sent two men to Tukabahchee for the new fire, which they carried home in a pot, putting new fuel in this from time to time until they got back. The Laplako used to do like the Atasi, but later they got a hilis-haya of their own and tried to have their own ceremonial, but they soon gave it up. The Liwahali also brought their fire from Tukabahchee. Hilibi and Bufaula acted more or less together and had their own fires. This was in late times.

"The day of the last meeting when the ground was cleared the leaders of the women, the teukolaidji, came to the ground and sat on a small bench in a cleared space in the southwest corner. They helped some in clearing the yard except their own space which they did not touch.

"On the fifth day of the seven all the people are supposed to be at the busk ground. On the night of the fifth the miko appoints a man of the Deer clan, which is a 'choice clan,' as an 'orderly' (lā'ta mi'kági) to manage the women's dance. He brings him in and puts him next to the post at the south end of the center section of the Chiefs' bed. The same night the miko empowers two youths to call in the small boys, who come into the square and have a jolly dance in which women and girls also join. While this is going on the 'orderly' calls up the itei yahola and a henīha. A cane a yard long is given to each and they are sent to see how the preparations of the women for the dance next day are advanced and whether leaders have been selected, so that everything will be ready that night. After that four singers have to be called up, the ones who are to sing for the women next day. These singers have a waiter (saogadjilaia) who prepares the gourds, wraps their handles with hickory bark, etc., and places them in the back part of the youths' bed so that they may be ready in the morning. The 'orderly' then calls up a speaker and instructs him what he is to do and after that a drummer. By this time it is 10

or 11 o'clock at night and the women and young people go home, while the men stay on the busk ground, inside of the beds or around the ceremonial post, and sleep there.

"Very early on the following morning the 'orderly' prepares a little pot of miko hoyanīdja and places it in a little entrance between the center posts at the back of the Chiefs' bed. A little hitci pākpaḡi is put into it first as a 'foundation,' the miko hoyanīdja and water are added, and finally the hilis-haya blows into it. Then the 'orderly' summons the itei yahola and henīha who had gone out before, gives each a little piece of tobacco, and tells them to go and ask the women to hasten. They go around four times to call them. If they still delay, these officials stand upon a little mound belonging to the women at the southwestern angle and shout to hurry them. The leaders of the women and the male officials fast. The women are dressing during this time, and they drift in to the rallying place until 10 or 11 o'clock. The man who prepared the gourd rattles has to move them (the rattles) to the end of the Panther bed. One of the henīhas is also sent to get the small pot of miko hoyanīdja and set it down in the little yard at the southwest corner, where the women take it and put it on their turtle-shell rattles and other paraphernalia. There are three leaders for the women, but there could be a fourth and probably that is the proper number. The leaders are a Raccoon, a Wind, a Panther (and a Bird). When they are ready the first woman, carrying her rattle, goes a short distance and stops; then woman number two follows her example and the same with woman number three who leads the crowd. Meanwhile, the miko has been calling the same two men repeatedly, giving them tobacco and sending them to hurry things up. The gourd rattles are put overhead in the Panthers' bed in front, then moved to a position close to the corner post, and again to the center of the Panthers' bed where the singers can reach them.⁴⁹ The speaker and singers also have to be ordered up. Meanwhile the women have to be drilled and prepared, and the itei yahola is called over to the Chiefs' bed to receive a deer skin and ribbons. Four dog-whippers are appointed for the corners of the square. Before the women come in the speaker gives orders to the drummer, who is out on the tādjo, a mound of earth back of the warriors' cabin, to beat his drum and at the fourth beat the men have to be in their places. A little basket is set down in front of the speaker, and he tells the women to bring small pieces of tobacco and throw them into it. Then he gives them a lecture, advising them to be silent, respectful, not too vulgar, etc. The Teunuk hola'ta is called over, receives a paddle-shaped stick, and, following instructions, makes a circular mark on the ground in front of the east end of the Panthers' bed,

⁴⁹ Here the singers sit in the Panthers' bed; at Hilibi they sit on the end of the Raccoons' bed.

and a large circle around the fire. The former is the place where the leading woman is to stand and the large circle indicates where the rest are to range themselves. The speaker now calls the itei yahola who remains standing facing the north until he has been called twice. A fawn skin and ribbon are behind the miko and he hands them to the speaker who hands them in turn to the itei yahola standing to receive them. Holding these he goes through the circle of women and around some bushes which are set up in a circle about the fire, calling the yahola cry as he goes and holding his breath all the way around. When he gets back he says 'yux yu' as a mark of respect to the chief and then takes his seat. His henihā follows and takes his seat. The women dance two rounds, go out and rest, and then their leaders go out and bring them in for two more rounds.

"The miko next gets an īmala lāko and an īmala lābotski. In the first or second verse of a song, at least at a certain place in it, these īmalas run out and shout to the warriors 'Go and get the tea brush (āsi sābonga)' meaning the brush with which to kindle the fire. All of the warriors then go for it. Now the henihā is told to call the fus isā 'to go and get the hickory bark,' meaning the punk with which the fire is started. Another henihā accompanies him, and they go out at the third or fourth verse (or song). Next four men are called up to get the four back sticks. They are instructed to secure sticks with the tops already broken off and such as they themselves can break off to a length of about four feet. These are placed at the end of the bed of the henihāgi. Six or eight youths are sent for the pasa and the same youths are sent again for the miko hoyanīdja. The dance is now over and they retire for that day. The people who remain have a ball game after dinner and a big time generally, and that night they have a jolly dance and afterward all retire, the men sleeping inside of the busk ground. The same night a man is selected to be captain over the young men and keep watch of them. The miko summons him next morning and tells him to assemble the youths and move the ashes of the old fires. From ten to fifty youths then set to work and soon have the ashes removed. Then the miko directs the leader to have them bring a lot of sand, which they move on boards, in their hands, or in any other way, and spread over the fireplace, covering a circle perhaps five feet in diameter. Then they are sent after more sand which they take out and spread back of the henihās' bed, on the site of the old hot house. If a little is left over it is put in front of the hilis-haya's place for the copper shields to rest upon. (From this point on the ceremony has now been modified. The older form which continues from here will be found on pp. 564-568.)

“Now the fire maker (*tōtki dīdja*) gets some blossoms of *hitei pākpaḡi*. The night before the *miko* has called eight or more *isti ātcagāgi* in person saying ‘So-and-so, you must wake up in the morning early,’ to each in turn. These men may call in some young fellows to help, and early in the morning they spread out a deer skin, lay down punk, and light a fire with flint and steel. In more ancient times they made a fire by rubbing two sticks together. The deer skin is on the seat on the north (or rather northwest) end of the *Henīhas’* bed. After the fire has been fed with a little bark most of it is removed from the skin, and what is left is used to kindle a little fire near the same end of this bed. Meantime the *hilis-haya* has made a cross-mark in the center of the square, the ends pointing toward the entrances between the cabins, and at the end of each and at the center he sets a piece of *hitei pākpaḡi*. The *henīha* is right behind him with four pieces of bark on which is fire and he places these in the center of the marks. The *hilis-haya* now goes and gets one of the four back sticks, conjures it, and sticks a little *hitei pākpaḡi* in the outer end of each. Then he lays it down pointing toward the west (or southwest) bed, just south of the line extending toward the west entrance. He then gets another stick, does the same with it, and places it toward the south (or southeast) bed. He does the same with the other two sticks, proceeding round the fire contra-clockwise. When all are in place he brushes one hand over the other with an outward sweep as a sign that the job is finished. Next lines are drawn, *hitei pākpaḡi* put in, and fire started on the site of the hot house, but no sticks are laid there. Finally the firemaker’s *henīha* builds the small extra fire above mentioned at the end of the *Henīhas’* bed. A little pot of wormseed is now prepared in front of the *Henīhas’* bed, the *hilis-haya* blows into it, and moves it out to the third fire at the west end of the *Warriors’* bed.⁵⁰ It is placed near the fire there. The *Wind* clan, the *henīhas*, sat at the north end of the west or *Chiefs’* cabin, in what is ordinarily called the *Chiefs’* bed. This part of the cabin is called the *Henīhas’* bed.

“Eight roasting ears provided in advance are placed on the north end of the *Henīhas’* bed by the post. The husks of four are stripped back and tied together and they are hung overhead between the beds of the *henihālgī* and *mikālgī*. The oldest *henīha* brings the other four ears to the place where the medicine was prepared. The *miko* then gives the *hilis-haya* some *hitei pākpaḡi*, and the *hilis-haya* takes an ear of corn, blows on a blossom of *hitei pākpaḡi* and sticks it into one end of the ear. He lays this ear side of the back stick pointing to the west (toward the *Chiefs’* bed). He goes around the fire and comes back to the place from which he started. Then he

⁵⁰ Or “the north end of the *Henīhas’* bed”; my notes give it both ways. It is in the same entrance way in either case.

treats the ear for the south stick and the ones for the east and north sticks successively in the same manner. Finally he rubs one hand over the other to show that the work is completed.

“Now two *imalas* are called who go out and notify the different camps to come and get the new fire. While they are doing this the medicine is being made. The captain of the youths is told to get them and go after the medicines. The oldest *heniha* already referred to as sitting by the post puts down a pounding-block with a deer skin over it for the *hilis-haya* to sit upon. It is placed right back of the medicine pots. The old *heniha* and a young boy of the *henihas* now bring two pots for the medicine. They also bring up all of the *pasa* and all of the *miko hoyanidja*, but they select out of this for the *hilis-haya* four *pasa* plants and four sticks of *miko hoyanidja*. The *hilis-haya* now goes to the block covered with the deer skin and sits upon it. He lays a rock in front of him and uses another as a mallet. Then he takes one plant of *pasa* first, blows upon it, repeating some formula meanwhile, gives it one blow to break the roots off, and puts these into the pot. He does the same thing to the rest of the *pasa* and to the *miko hoyanidja*. The captain of the youths is now told to summon them and have them pound up the rest of the medicine and put it into the pots, which they do. The youths have already filled the pots with water.

“Now all retire and it is quiet for a space. On the morning of this day the little boys' busk is ‘destroyed,’ i. e., they cease to fast.

“Now the *miko* summons two waiters previously selected, one from the Raccoon clan and one from the Wind clan. He tells them to go out, fill two pots about eight inches across with medicine, and serve this to the men assembled in the square. He has already given instructions what order to observe and who are not to be served until the last because they have touched a dead body or for any other reason. The warm *pasa* is given first and then the cold *miko hoyanidja*. The *miko* and the other occupants of the central section of the Chiefs' bed are served first, then those at the south end right down to the Bird clan, then the *henihalgis* at the north end of the Chiefs' bed, then the *tastanagis* and *imalas* in turn, i. e., those in the Warriors' bed from west to east, then those in the south bed from west to east, and finally those in the east bed from south to north. All those in the back seats come to the front unless some have to wait because they have dug a grave or something of the sort. The waiters drink last. Those who had eaten roasting ears of the same season already had to wait for their medicine until the others were through. Meanwhile a youth has been sent out after a pot of wormseed which is placed in front of the *hilis-haya* and as soon as the other medicines have been taken he blows into it. Each person then takes a little of it, chews some, and smears some on his body. They say this is ‘to

wash the head with.' Finally they go down to the creek headed by the miko and dive beneath the water four times. This ends the busk.

"In the morning while the above ceremony is taking place the boys are again summoned and sent for miko hoyanidja and the ten medicines used in the stomp dance. They take their busk medicine, which has been left for them on the bed of the henihálgi, when they come back. The stomp dance medicine is placed near the fire and taken there and they dance the stomp dance all that night until dawn.

"Next day the people lounge around, sleep, or play ball if they want to, but all come in that night for another jolly dance. On that morning they have broken their fast. During this day a council is also held, and the miko sends word to the tástánágis that there will be a hunt next day, so all come up in the morning prepared for it. After the third drum beat all must be ready with their horses, and then they go out to some place where they think there will be good hunting. If they kill anything they leave it at the end of the Henihas' bed; if they are unsuccessful, they say to the head tástánági 'We did not get anything,' and he reports to the miko.

"Next morning a piece of beef is brought; the hilis-haya blows upon and conjures this and puts it into the very center of the fire. Presumably this is to purify the people and insure them health, and also to feed the fire or some being in or through it. About noon the women dance in the same order as before, and this is also a day of feasting. The day after they fast all day, take their medicine as in the stomp dance, and dance all night. Before day the head tástánági addresses them telling them to behave well, that they have had a good time together and must not feel disturbed if their property has become injured during their absence. The miko then tells them to meet at such and such a time when the moon is at such and such a place, and they all go home.

"The above is an account of the later form of the busk at Tuka-bahchee, but in earlier days it was amplified in several particulars. The older form was identical with the above up to the appearance of the copper shields. From there it proceeds differently. The shields are carried out just at daylight by a squad of youths including one of the isti-átégágis and one of the henihás, or an even number of each—under the direction of the youths' captain. They proceed two at a time, those in advance each carrying a brass shield, and those behind each one of the pointed copper objects until there is a long procession. Proceeding to the creek before the fire is made they wash and scour them and carry them back. Then they hand them to the miko who lays them down in front of the hilis-haya. In addition to the regular pots of miko hoyanidja four others are conjured, after which the henihás carry one to each bed and put it up in the

center inside overhead. Then all are told to go and see about their horses, attend to other necessary duties, and come back again. A number of the *isti-áteagági* remain, however. Meanwhile the boys have been sent out to get the *ási*, which two men are appointed to parch. Then eight men come out and the *miko* has strings of beads put on the necks of four of them, who upon receiving these go back to their seats. A *heniha* gets the *ási* and lays it down by the other medicines. The *ási* looks like red haw. It is put into a pot and one of the boys appointed to do the parching stands on each side. Each holds a long paddle and stirs slowly. There is no water in the medicine until it is entirely parched, when water is poured into the pot to fill it up. It is then dipped up and strained back into the same pot through a basket strainer. All this is done with a regular rhythmic motion, and two men lying in the center of the east bed, an *isti-áteagági* and a Panther, sing a slow, doleful song and shake their old gourds.

“It is now getting on toward noon. While the parching is proceeding the leader of the men who are going to carry the shields gets out near the medicine house and whoops twice. Then the eight men previously summoned, four of whom have probably returned their beads to the *miko* by this time, go out into the square and form two lines of four each extending from north to south on each side of the fire, facing the fire and with two leaders at the south end. The *miko's* *heniha* and another then go and fill their gourds or little pots with *ási* which they then carry to the benches, and serve all those entitled to receive it, beginning with the *miko* and the other principal men. Each *heniha* crosses to the man immediately opposite to the one that his companion faces. The *hilis-haya* meanwhile is between the two lines near the fire. When the man who is served raises the pot to his lips the waiter shouts ‘*hwa-u-u-u*’ (the *yahola* cry), extending the sound as long as he can hold his breath, and when he is through the other takes a sip, spits it out, and hands the pot back to the waiter who then proceeds to the next man. After they have been round, what is left is taken to the *hilis-haya*. The *hilis-haya* and the old *tástánági* (*teílaleiga*?) have ladles with which they dip out the rest of the medicine until it is all gone, a fact which each announces. Then more *ási* is parched and the man near the medicine house shouts two times more. This medicine is drunk like the first, and then the word is given to hurry, upon which the two men who have been singing and shaking their rattles run out toward the man in charge of the shields and the three pass around the *tádjo* mound and back into the square on a ‘dog-trot.’ Then the *miko* takes the shields and plates and distributes them to the eight *tástánágis* who stand in line to receive them. The leader of the *imála láboteki* orders them out, and each goes and gets a cane with a feather on the end of it. The

two men who had lain in the northeast bed singing dance slowly out of the north entrance, round the tādjo mound and in again at the west entrance while the warriors and younger men dance round and round them faster all the way. They make this circuit four times, and the warriors and young men dance until the two old men have taken their seats. This dance is called the 'long dance' or the 'long whoop.' The feathers are fastened upon the canes used at this time by members of the Bird clan who have received orders that morning from the talsā miko. The eagle feathers are placed near the kosi miko in the Beaver bed, and crane feathers at the end of the bed of the Bird clan. After that all retire until the evening.

"That evening the eight waiters start out at the northwest (or west) exit shouting 'yuayux,' the last man saying at intervals 'wātāgu' (or natāgu'?). They go all the way round on the outside until they come to the northeast bed and say 'I found nothing, I found nothing.' Then the isti-ātcaḡāgi in that bed, who have set out a little gift of tobacco for them, shout 'hitei laiktei' ('here is tobacco'). They repeat the same performance at each bed, and they make the circuit four times in all. They are called the 'tobacco beggars' and act as if they were spies or guards. Those fasting eat nothing and touch no women or anybody and the speaker gives the word to keep silence. That day is their 'sabbath.'

"Orders are issued that all the men return to the grounds before night, and there is a men's stomp dance that night to which no women are admitted. First they will perhaps dance 'the long dance,' with the feathers but without the shields. The shields lie on the bed of sand prepared for them all day until the morning of the day on which meat is put into the fire when they are returned to their usual place. During this time outsiders may look in from beyond the limits but none may come inside. Very early next morning a man is heard coming from the eastward whooping in the distance. By sunrise he gets behind the southwest bed and enters by the south entry. This is the itei yahola, who wears beads, leggings, a fancy hatchet, and four tufts of hair, like scalps, on 'the rim of a cap.' While he dances the teukoleidji (women leaders) sing for him, beginning before he enters. These teukoleidji used to sit in the Alligator bed at this time, but, the Alligator clan having died out, they were later in the Panthers' bed. While this man is dancing the warriors, assembled by command back of the Warriors' bed, divide into two parties, get out bows and arrows and pistols and act as if they are going to fight. Then the women and the two old men who sang when the āsi was being parched move out to the tādjo mound, stopping a few minutes at the Alligator bed on the way, and singing all the time. The itei yahola dances

around with his scalp headdress and tomahawk; he approaches in this way the north entrance where he is met by two other men, one of whom carries a gun. They and the two men on the tádjo mound sing responsively for a while. Meanwhile an image made of weeds has been placed half way between the tádjo and the north entrance, and when the singing is finished the man with the gun shoots at it and the one with the tomahawk runs up to it and pretends to scalp it. Upon this all the warriors (including the teukoleidji) rush in together, first around the tádjo and then into the square, part dancing round in the usual manner and part in reverse, shooting off their guns and making a great noise. Then they all stampede down the hill to the creek and all are supposed to dive into the creek four times, though usually the women merely dash the water into their faces. This is the 'gun dance.' Then they (the teukoleidji) will run back and catch some visitors and make them carry a log or something of the kind. There were eight or ten teukoleidji, two being leaders. This ceremony is finished early in the day, and during the remainder of the day they lie about and rest. In the evening they have a little fun by dancing the dumpling dance, using the feathered sticks that were employed before, some having eagle feathers and some crane feathers.

"That same night orders are given to go hunting on the following morning. The men remain inside of the grounds every night; they may eat fresh sofki, fresh bread or honey or molasses, but no meat until the fourth morning. The morning after the gun dance they go hunting and the morning after that the meat is put into the fire as already related. This finishes the conjuring of the fire. Then the wormseed is used, they bathe in the creek, and 'the busk is destroyed.'

"The women dance that night and then they dance the 'old dance,' after which the men attend to their horses, and do any other necessary work. Next day they fast all day and have a stomp dance at night, and the morning following the miko makes them an address, tells them to be good, etc., and says 'When the moon is so and so you will hear from me.' Then they eat breakfast and go home.

"If any of the warriors does not come to the busk they afterwards send to exact a fine from him, or, if he is within reach, the first day they go out hunting they go and see what they can get from him. If a man stayed away from the busk persistently his seat might be declared vacant and a young man selected to fill it. This regulation applied to the other Creek towns as well. In later times whiskey was not allowed on the grounds and if any one brought it he was subject to a severe fine.

"Anciently two orderlies were sent around among the camps to see whether any of the young men who should be fasting had broken the bounds and gone off into the woods to sleep or to have inter-

course with women." According to my informant such offenders were almost always found out.

Some say that anciently the Tukabahchee had to busk before all other Creek towns. As we have seen, Atasi, Liwahali, and Laplako used to go to Tukabahchee in later times to get their medicine; the Kealedji only sent for fire and returned the next morning while the rest remained and finished the busk with the Tukabahchee. It is said that Alabama and Hilibi were formerly attached in the same manner but became separated in course of time. In the same way Coweta and Eufaula are said to have busked together at one time.⁵¹ Any stranger who once took medicine at Tukabahchee had to take it there for four successive years before he could take it anywhere else. These statements were made by a very old Indian, but for the most part they represent not an ancient condition but a later readjustment, after some of these towns had begun to fall off in numbers.

Earlier descriptions of the Tukabahchee busk, mostly confirmatory of the above though showing certain variations, are given by Stiggins and Hitchcock, the latter apparently mainly on the authority of James Islands. Stiggins says:

"I have made frequent mention of their celebration of the anniversary of the New Corn Crop, called by them *Booske tah*, as much as to say 'sacred purifying' which is the only thing wherein I ever saw them act as though they paid adoration to the all supreme. They seem even when they are preparing to go to the festival to solemnize their minds and actions as a devout person would enter a church to worship, and it is evident that originally it must have had great weight even in their political movements, for it will, after its celebration, stop the proceedings against any offender where life and death is not concerned, and stealing is not exempted. All other misdemeanors pass into oblivion, and a new score is begun for the ensuing festival. The Cowassawdays hold one festival more than the rest of the nation as they annually celebrate the coming of the new crop of beans with the same ceremonies as they do the festival of corn.⁵² I have made a small digression from the point in [detailing] the order of their festival. I shall proceed to it in as accurate a manner as I can by saying that when the head men of a town see that the town or public corn is full in the ear and fit for use they set a day and inform the town people when the sacred festival is to commence.

"Before the day arrives they nominate some of their *emathlahs*, which word means 'gone at his bidding,' to boil their physic that they drink and bathe in in order to purify themselves, and of their most respectable chiefs they nominate three to officiate in the duties of

⁵¹ Yet, according to another informant, the Eufaula formerly got their fire from Kealedji.

⁵² Could this be the same as that held to "sanctify the mulberries?" (See p. 550.)

the time as sacred priests or doctors. They then send some of the *emathlahs*, to gather a bush that acts as a quick and powerful emetic; they call it *micco ho yan ejah*. It is a 'kings cathartic.' They break enough to last the festival out. The bush is very much like the low myrtle bush in appearance but bears no berries. When the appointed festival day arrives all the town people put out their fires and repair to the town house or square when they commence the sacred festival. They have particular songs and dances for it; they dance during the festival at intervals. Their singers are generally some men of eminence invited from some other town as proficient singers, and they take it as a mark of distinction to receive an invitation for that purpose. After all have congregated they select men to boil physic, and those nominated to officiate as sacred men make a fire out of the public way so that they may not be polluted by the touch of an unpurified person during their strict penance, as they account their person sacred during their sacred and purified office. They proceed to boil their *a wo teach caw* [sawátেকa] which is an emetic. After it is thoroughly boiled the three men selected for the sacred office take it after it is put into large cooling pans of clay manufactory, and prepare it for drinking and bathing. Each man takes a pan and sets it before him and commences the process of cooling, having his head covered over and the joint of a cane in his hand. During the time they each sing a song of requests and thanks in a low under voice to the giver or taker of breath called *saw ga emisse*. In every interval the singer sticks his cane joint into the pan of *awa teach caw* and blows the virtue of said song of requests into the pan of physic in a most solemn manner, so that therewith it might operate in good to them that drink thereof. It is a quick and rapid emetic and drank for that purpose by all the men, and nearly all the women wash their children with it; the Creek Indians have no variation in their annual celebration of the new crop of corn, having particular songs and dances for the festive purpose. The commemoration in every town holds two days in the minor village towns, not including the first day. The Tuckabaheee town being the metropolis of the nation has a variety of show in their solemn feast; they continue it for six days. It is attended always by a large congregation who resort there to see and be seen.

"During their six days of *Boos ke tah* neither those set apart for doctoring or physic making, nor such as are appointed to show the strict rule or penance necessary on the occasion, make use of anything to eat or drink but the consecrated emetic of which they take profusely every day of the festival. They neither speak to nor touch a woman during said time as such a procedure would inevitably ruin their thanksgiving song, and instead of a blessing involve destruction,

not only to the offender but to the community at large; nor will they shake hands with nor touch an unpurified friend during the time of their officiating. The whole festival is conducted with a grave, superstitious solemnity to the last day. On the last day they take out and exhibit the afore-mentioned six brass or breast plates. They are carried around by three men, one in each hand, in that day's dance. With much superstitious awe said plates are kept under the care of two men always, and after their exhibition in the dances they are laid in the depository, which is under the seats that uphold the mats that the kings sit on, in their part of the council square. It is said that three of said brass plates have hieroglyphic signs on them, whilst others say that they could trace Hebrew characters in a circle in the central part of the three oval ones. As they are scoured and burnished every year before they are exhibited no doubt the characters are nearly defaced. Their traditional account of how they came by them is that they were thrown or handed down by the *Giver or Taker of Breath*, viz. *Saw ga Emissé*, with an assurance to them that so long as they used them undefiled in their festivals no people could divest them of their festival ceremonies or country. On the same day they exhibit their manner of attack in warfare; several effigies are brought and placed about in the square to be attacked in a hostile manner by men appointed for the purpose, who, to show their skill in coming on their enemy by stealth, come on the effigies with all imaginable caution as though unperceived by them as an enemy. When they get near the square they all at once raise the war scream and charge on them, shoot, tomahawk, and scalp them, and though pursued by others they make their escape as they would in actual attack. As many have passed their time fasting it is necessary to eat of the new corn, and as all things in their political life have a new beginning, it is necessary to have new fire with which to cook their corn and other eatables, so that morning four men are appointed to the duty. Each takes a block with a small incision in it and a round stick and apply it in the indenture of the block and roll it to and fro in the palms of their hands until it takes fire by the friction. There is great expression of joy when the new fire is made; every family in the town and even adjacent townspeople take the new fire home to use in cooking during that year.

“In the course of the festival and usually at night in intervals for rest the young men are divested of their given name that they had from infancy and invested with what is called a war name by which they are known for the rest of their lives. It is done thus. Previous to the ceremony of naming the name that he is thereafter to assume is intimated to the young man by one of the kings or warriors, for either can give names. When the time arrives for the ceremony one of the kings or warriors rises from his seat and calls the name in a

shrill, long tone of voice. At the call the young man rises, picks up the war club or mallet called by them *attussa* and goes forth to him, when he informs the new man that he is now named as other men and he now can assume the manners and customs of other men. He then puts a feather on his head and when that is done the newly dubbed man raises his war club above his head, starts a long whoop, and runs round in a circle to the place from which he started and when he stops he cries 'yauh youh.' From that time on he is a man with a name. After the *Boos ke tah* it is known that all light offenses are past into oblivion."⁵³

Hitchcock's account runs thus:

"At the season of green corn, usually in July, the chiefs of the town meet and have a talk with their people about the Green Corn Dance. At this meeting they give orders to make the pots and other utensils needed, except those which are sacred. Some of the sacred utensils have been handed down [from] time immemorial. They meet again in seven days, again four days afterwards, and then again in two days. At these several meetings they give orders for preparations, appoint persons to procure wood, others to procure cane, etc., etc. At the fourth meeting they give out the 'broken days' for the Busk, seven from the day they give notice, or six not counting the day when the notice is given.

"All persons on the fifth night are ordered to encamp in the vicinity of the Square. On the sixth day all the women, dressed in full costume loaded with ornaments, dance for about three hours in the middle of the day. There are men appointed to watch them and if anyone leaves the dance without a good excuse, as sickness or other sufficient cause, she is deprived of her ornaments which are confiscated and she does not return. A certain number of women are appointed to conduct the dance and these are not allowed to eat until after the dance is over and they have bathed in the branch or creek. Before the dance these conductors are covered with what is called medicine, some sacred preparation, and this must be washed off before they can eat. The night of the day on which the women dance the men and women dance together. This is a friendly, familiar dance without particular preparation or ceremony. The day following, that is the sixth day [but the first of the regular ceremonial days], is a sacred day and the men fast all day, and during the day they take a medicine prepared from an herb that operates like a powerful emetic. On this day, the sixth, the sacred fire is made in a small house in a corner of the Square. The twelve persons appointed for this purpose remain all of the preceding night in the square and at early dawn⁵⁴ they commence a frictional process, rub-

⁵³ Stiggins, Ms.

⁵⁴ Elsewhere he says "at the crowing of the cock in the morning."

bing a piece of cane in decayed wood with great velocity until the wood ignites. Sometimes it requires many hours for this.⁵⁵ The persons appointed for the purpose then prepare, over the fire, the medicine (emetic) with which the men cleanse themselves. During the day only those who take this medicine and those having duties there by appointment are allowed to enter the square.

“On the same day (the sixth) the sacred plates and other holy utensils are taken by persons appointed for the purpose from the places where they have been preserved, unseen by human eyes, for a twelve month, they thoroughly scour and clean them, and about one o'clock they are brought into the square. These utensils are regarded as presents from the Great Spirit. They are brought into the square with great state and ceremony. The persons bearing them are preceded by two men provided with cocoanut shells which they rattle continually, the men singing all the time, and they are followed by others with long reeds from the ends of which white feathers stream in the wind. The whole procession dances into the square and around it four times and then passes outside and dances around another spot four times. Then they again enter the square repeating the dance in and out four times. After this the sacred pieces are delivered over to the King (Micco) and after fasting all day and all night and dancing all night [on the second day of the ceremony], they dance the War Dance. For this dance there are two men selected called the head warriors. These two come into the square just before day unclothed except for a piece of stroud, but they are painted and covered with ornaments and carry a pouch for their pipe and tobacco. There are a number of women selected to assist the men in singing the war song for the two men to dance after around the square, or the ring in the center of the square. During the dancing two separate parties are selected and dressed like the two warriors except that they have shot pouches and rifles, and effigies are prepared and set up outside of the square to represent enemies surmounted with scalps, generally representing one woman and two men. The warriors approach in the Indian mode of advancing to battle by stealthily crawling behind such objects as make the best screens. (During all this time the two warriors are dancing inside of the square.)

“There are spies out who discover the approach of the two parties about to surround the effigies, and they go to the corner of the square and give notice to the two warriors that their friends in two parties are about to surround their enemies, the effigies. As soon as this is done a man rushes out beating a drum, and at the tap of the drum the head warriors come out of the square, each with an aid, and all four take up a position resting upon one knee, the chiefs with the

⁵⁵ Elsewhere he says “all the morning and until afternoon.”

tomahawks and their aids with rifles presented towards the effigies. While in that position they sing a very solemn war song which is answered in a chorus by their friends, the two parties of warriors. During the singing, the women, who were appointed to sing in the square, pass to a heap of earth previously thrown up for the purpose and are joined by their female friends for the purpose of welcoming their husbands and brothers returned from war. As soon as the women are assembled the head warriors give orders to advance. They take the lead themselves and scalp the effigies, and the two parties meet over the effigies as soon as they are scalped and fire their rifles at will accompanied with an uproar of whooping and yelling. They then pass around the hill where the women are and while the women sing and the men dance, whoop and yell, loading and firing their rifles. After dancing around their women for some time the men enter, firing the guns and rejoicing and dance around the square four times. They then terminate the ceremony for that day, those who have been dancing going to the branch and bathing. After this they return to the square and break their fast by eating green corn without limit with every other kind of vegetable—pumpkins, water melons, etc—but no meat nor salt. This occurs about 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning and the remaining portion of the day is devoted to rest as also the night following, except that some may choose to dance for amusement.

“It is a rule that if, before the Green Corn Dance, any person has eaten green corn or even the food cooked at the fire where corn has been roasted or otherwise prepared for food he is not allowed to participate in the dance or Busk. All who participate in the ceremony are required to clear away the fire and ashes from their domestic hearths and rekindle it with fire which has been made at the square. All who participate in the Busk and take the medicine are obliged for four days to sleep at the square every night and are not allowed to be with their wives. On the third day of the Busk the men dance with the plates and then go out with their rifles to kill deer, returning early in the afternoon (about 2 o'clock) with meat. They eat no meat this day, however, but satiate their appetite with sofkee, etc. The night is passed in dancing and sleeping according to their pleasure, the women not being present. On the fourth day the meat is prepared with salt and eaten for breakfast. After breakfast the women dance in the square, the men merely looking on. Until this day those who have eaten salt are not allowed to touch the ones engaged in the ceremony, who do not, until the fourth day, touch salt themselves. Toward the close of the day the men and women dance what is called the bison dance. The men wear only the stroud except that they add bushes and other means of assimilating their appearance to that of animals. They bend half forward and

while dancing imitate the bellowing of bison. The women have terrapin shells loaded with peas and fastened to strips of leather in rows of three or four tied below their knees. The night of the fourth day the men and women dance together and then disperse to their homes except certain persons appointed for the purpose who remain at the square and sleep there three or four nights. After dancing around the plates on the third day, they deposit the latter in their appointed place of safety where they remain carefully protected until required the next year.

"During the ceremony . . . the young men frequently engage in a ball play or other amusement and . . . everything wears the appearance of rejoicing and gladness, and thanksgiving for the blessings of a plentiful promise of the productions of the earth."⁵⁶

To these may be added an account of a visit to the Tukabahchee busk of July, 1917, by Mr. G. W. Grayson, late chief of the Creek Nation, found among his papers and copied by the writer with the kind permission of Mr. Grayson's family. Unfortunately, one page of the manuscript is missing. I have found it necessary to make a few changes in the wording for the sake of smoothness. The most important contribution contained in this narrative is the insight it gives into the customs observed in receiving a guest from a friendly town. A stray note informs us, on the authority of one of the oldest men in Tukabahchee, that the Power Above who had instituted the ceremony said, "You shall not call my name openly in the congregation; if you do, it will not be well with you."

"[I] arrived at Tuckabatchee Busk ground on July 27, 1917, while the women, twenty-six in number, were dancing. Most of them were apparently of middle age and probably mothers of families. They appeared to be very respectable women and were adorned with long wide ribbons of silk flowing gorgeously from their heads, very much like the women whom we saw some five years ago in the dances of this kind as then conducted by the Okfuskeys near the present town of Eufaula.

"After the women had executed several rounds, they were required to surrender their *vttussa vhake* ['like war-clubs,' little wooden sticks carved in a manner supposed to resemble the forms of the ancient war-clubs], when the men engaged in the Old dance (*punka veale*) mixed up with the women in their ribbons and finery. One round of this was danced and that ended the exercises. At night the people danced until about 10 o'clock and recessed until the morrow.

(Here a page is missing.)

". . . Since last night the buskers have been fasting and must continue it all this day [July 28], and tonight and until tomorrow morning when they will be permitted to partake of food. It is with

⁵⁶ Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

regret that they admit that the correct practices of the Busk as they obtained in the olden days are not now correctly known to any of the members. This fact became painfully evident some years ago when the old men counseled together over the subject and decided that they would hereafter confine the exercises of the Busk to what is known as the 'Boy's Fast' (Chebunuckochee im Pusketa), since no member appears able to instruct in or conduct correctly the proper exercises for the adults, while there were many who could conduct the Boy's Fast correctly. So all that we can now see of the Busk is what is known as the Boy's Fast.

"The copper or brass plates are so sacred, and their exposure and handling by incompetent hands so liable to be attended by dire consequences, that we cannot get a view of them. It appears that the town has no medicine men who are sufficiently educated in the mysteries to uncover and handle them. The tradition respecting these plates is that when the Town becomes unable to handle them properly, they are to be surrendered to the Shawnees, and the old man Sardy says they may come now and demand them any year.

"Late this evening I was informed that since the Cowetas, of which I am a member, have ever been the 'big friend' of the Tuckabatehees, and I, a Coweta, though unknown to the majority of the Buskers, had paid them a visit the town owed me a formal reception in keeping with the ancient custom of the respective towns which they desired should be tendered me in accordance with that custom. It transpired, however, that no one save the old gentleman Conchart Emarthla, by whom I had been entertained all day at his camp, knew anything of the ancient customs to be observed at such receptions, and he was lying prone on his back in his camp and in misery from muscular rheumatism. He was solicited by several different messengers from the town chief, sent at several separate times, to go to the dance circle and conduct the reception ceremony, which, despite his ailment, and in deference to me, he was willing to do provided he could be conveyed from his camp to the dance circle. After a number of consultations on the subject, during which the people were busily engaged in the common stomp dance in the square near by, it was decided that the old gentleman should be conveyed in his daughter's \$1,600 automobile, standing a few steps from his camp. I accompanied him in the automobile, which his son drove for us, and on the way to the square he instructed me to remain in the auto while he went to confer with the authorities on the subject, after which a messenger would soon be sent to conduct me in as was customary on such occasions. I was to follow him and, when near the seats, say in a voice clearly audible to the assembly, 'I have arrived.'

"Accordingly, on our arrival at the square the old gentleman went in and after some little delay delivered a characteristic, old-

fashioned speech treating in part of the ancient friendship subsisting between the Tuckabatchees and Cowetas. He told the audience that one of the Cowetas had arrived and that he should be received with all those formalities 'that it was the custom of our forefathers to observe on such occasions in times past.' The old gentleman, in short, delivered a splendid address in the ancient manner, the kind that was once so common with public speakers among the Creeks. After this address, I was conducted into the circle by a special messenger. When I came before the men, who were disposed on seats made of logs, I exclaimed as I had been previously instructed, 'I have arrived.' The old man then instructed the audience as to the order of the hand shaking that was now to be performed. After the hand-shaking I exchanged small bits of 'Star' tobacco—a brand of the manufactured weed much in vogue at this time with chewers of tobacco—with each of the audience, and when we finished the proceeding the pockets of my coat were well loaded with these bits of tobacco. When we were through with this performance, the old gentleman at whose side I sat called up Arbeca Micco, a son of Geo. Long deceased, and, informing him that I was of his own, the Tiger, clan, directed him to conduct me to a seat among the members of his clan where I could be with the other Tigers. This he did and I sat conversing with the Tigers, while the dance was going on, for about an hour, when I retired to my pallet in a tent assigned to me by John Harjo at his camp. The dance was continued until daylight Sunday morning.

"Sunday, July 29th, 1917.—I arose quite early this morning and after breakfast went out to the dance circle where a few men were lying about on the ground and on the old wooden log seats asleep and a few others were sitting in small groups conversing lazily, though much fatigued by the exercises of the all night dance. The only sight that I got was a better view of the United States flag, which floated from a staff near the town chief's seat. This flag the Indians call in their language A-book-he Tea-te ["red flag"]. I also saw the old pine box, about 30 inches square I should judge, sitting on the log seats provided for the chiefs' shed, in which I was informed were inclosed the Brass or Copper plates of which we have so often heard."

If two families lived a long way from their own busk grounds but near each other's, they sometimes swapped duties, each going to the nearer ground. Such swapping usually took place only between towns in the same fire clan but Cook has known of such an exchange between Tulsa and Tukabahchee Indians. If a man had married outside his town, he was obliged to attend the busk in his wife's town as well as the one in his own, but he could not dance at the former. If he stayed away from the busk of his wife's people, he

would be fined a sum amounting, in later times, to something like \$10, and if he refused to pay his horse would be carried off.

The Tukabahechee busk proper lasted theoretically eight days, two more than the number given by Stiggins, and this number may be made out if we include the day of assembly and preparation and the day when the people separated to go home. Anciently the busks of Coweta, Kasihta, Kealedji, and perhaps some of the other larger towns were of eight days also, but those of the smaller towns were of four days' duration only, and this difference existed as far back as the time of Hawkins, at the end of the eighteenth century.⁵⁷ It is plain from the description of the Tukabahechee busk that it really consisted of a repetition of the same thing twice. First there is a day for arranging the preliminaries, placing visitors, etc., next a day of feasting, then a day of fasting, then a day of relaxation. Then comes a day of hunting corresponding to the day of preparation, a second day of feasting, a second day of fasting, and finally a day when they dispersed. The same idea of repetition by fours, or of the division of the long busk into two periods of four days each, is in evidence in the other accounts which we have of the long form, but the various elements are not always reckoned in the same manner nor do they occur in the same invariable sequence. The earliest account of a Creek eight-day busk which attempts to present the happenings day by day is that of Hawkins, which has been frequently quoted. As it is important to compare this with the accounts already given it is subjoined.

First Day.—In the morning, the warriors clean the yard of the square, and sprinkle white sand, when the a-cee (decoction of the cassine yupon) is made. The fire-maker makes the fire as early in the morning as he can, by friction. The warriors cut and bring into the square, four logs, as long each as a man can cover by extending his two arms; these are placed in the centre of the square, end to end, forming a cross, the outer ends pointed to the cardinal points; in the centre of the cross, the new fire is made. During the first four days, they burn out these four logs.

The pin-e-bun-gau, (turkey dance,) is danced by the women of the turkey tribe; and while they are dancing the possau is brewed. This is a powerful emetic. The possau is drank from twelve o'clock to the middle of the afternoon. After this, the Toc-co-yule-gau [tokyúlga] (tadpole,) is danced by four men and four women. (In the evening, the men dance E-ne-hou-bun-gau [heniha obànga], the dance of the people second in command.) This they dance till daylight.

⁵⁷ That the eight-day busk was anciently more general is indicated, however, by Eakins's statement that it "formerly embraced a period of eight days, but now a period of four days." (Seboocraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 272.)

"*Second Day.*—This day, about ten o'clock, the women dance Its-ho-bun-dau [Itcha obānga] (gun-dance).⁵⁸ After twelve, the men go to the new fire, take some of the ashes, rub them on the chin, neck and belly, and jump head foremost into the river, and they return into the square. The women having prepared the new corn for the feast, the men take some of it and rub it between their hands, then on their faces and breasts, and then they feast.

"*Third Day.*—The men sit in the square.

"*Fourth Day.*—The women go early in the morning and get the new fire, clean out their hearths, sprinkle them with sand, and make their fires. The men finish burning out the first four logs, and they take ashes, rub them on their chin, neck and belly, and they go into the water. This day they eat salt, and they dance Obengauchapco [Obānga teāpko] (the long dance).

"*Fifth Day.*—They get four new logs, and place them as on the first day, and they drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon.

"*Sixth Day.*—They remain in the square.

"*Seventh Day.*—Is spent in like manner as the sixth.

"*Eighth Day.*—They get two large pots, and their physic plants, 1st. Mic-co-ho-yon-e-juh [miko hoyanīdja]. 2. Toloh. 3. A-chenau [ateīna]. 4. Cup-pau-pos-cau [kāpapaska]. 5. Chu-lis-sau, the roots. 6. Tuck-thlau-lus-te [tokla lasti]. 7. Tote-cul-hil-lis-se-wau [totka hiliswa]. 8. Chofeinsuck-cau-fuck-au [teufi insākofākā].⁵⁹ 9. Cho-fe-mus-see. 10. Hil-lis-but-ke [hilis hātki]. 11. To-te cul chooc-his-see. 12. Welau-nuh [wilānā]. 13. Oak-chon-utch-co [ok-teanitcka]. 14. Co-hal-le-wau-gee [koha liwagi, young soft cane]. These are all put into the pots and beat up with water. The chemists (E-lic-chul-gee [Alikteālgī], called by the traders physic makers,) they blow in it through a small reed, and then it is drank by the men, and rubbed over their joints till the afternoon.

"They collect old corn cobs and pine burs, put them into a pot, and burn them to ashes. Four virgins who have never had their menses, bring ashes from their houses, put them in the pot and stir all together. The men take white clay and mix it with water in two pans. One pan of the clay and one of the ashes, are carried to the cabin of the Mic-co, and the other two to that of the warriors. They then rub themselves with the clay and ashes. Two men appointed to that office, bring some flowers of tobacco of a small kind, (Itch-au-chu-le-puc-pug-gee [Hitci ateuli pākpāgi] or, as the name imports, the old man's tobacco, which was prepared on the first day, and put in a pan on the cabin of the Mic-co, and they give a little of it to every one present.

⁵⁸ Hawkins has made an error here on account of the close resemblance of two words. Gun is i'tca, but this is itcha' and the dance is usually called a "women's dance."

⁵⁹ This is called "buck bush" in English. The Creek word means "rabbit's carrying-basket string."

"The Micco and counsellors then go four times round the fire, and every time they face the east, they throw some of the flowers into the fire. They then go and stand to the west. The warriors then repeat the same ceremony.

"A cane is stuck up at the cabin of the Mic-co with two white feathers in the end of it. One of the Fish tribe, (Thlot-lo-ul-gee [Lálogálgí],) takes it just as the sun goes down, and goes off toward the river, all following him. When he gets half way to the river, he gives the death whoop; this whoop he repeats four times, between the square and the water's edge. Here they all place themselves as thick as they can stand, near the edge of the water. He sticks up the cane at the water's edge, and they all put a grain of the old man's tobacco on their heads, and in each ear. Then, at a signal given, four different times, they throw some into the river, and every man at a like signal plunges into the river, and picks up four stones from the bottom. With these they cross themselves on their breasts four times, each time throwing a stone into the river, and giving the death whoop; they then wash themselves, take up the cane and feathers, return and stick it up in the square, and visit through the town. At night they dance O-bun-gau Haujo [Obángá hadjo], (mad dance,) and this finishes the ceremony."⁶⁰

It is to be noticed that four logs are burned up on the first four days, at the end of which time the men rub ashes upon their bodies and go into the water to bathe, and that in the second period of four days the same thing is repeated except that clay is added to the ashes. The division into two periods is further accentuated by the use of pasa on the first day of the first period and the use of the miko hoyanidja and the other medicines, the adiló'ga, on the last day of the last period. It is also to be observed that asi was drunk early on the first and fifth days. This separate use of the two medicines is of course a considerable variation from the later usage, and there are in fact many differences. Among these it may be noted that the yard was cleaned on the first day of the busk and not at some previous time as is now customary. Next that the new fire was made on the very first day instead of the fasting day, but the women did not clean out their hearths and relight them until the fourth day, whereas they do it now—or did some years back—immediately after the kindling. Since the Turkey women danced the turkey dance on the morning of the first day, just before the pasa was drunk, and women participated in the tadpole dance right afterward, it would appear that the square was not shut off when this medicine was taken or if it was it was only for a few hours, "from twelve o'clock to the middle of the afternoon." It is to be noted that the men rubbed themselves with ashes and jumped into the river on the second day as well as the fourth and

⁶⁰ Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 75-78.

eighth. This would suggest three periods of fasting instead of two, but Hawkins unfortunately does not tell us just when the men fasted and when they were shut up within the bounds of the square. On the third, sixth, and seventh days we are told that the men sat in the square but we do not know whether they were fasting or lounging. At least they appear not to have been taking the medicine at that time. The conjuration with native tobacco was probably, as we know it to have been in later times, to keep away ghosts. I do not know what the ceremonial with the river pebbles may have signified. It will be noticed that this ceremony closed as usual with the mad or drunken dance.

Hodgson gives a short reference to a busk, probably the Kasihta busk, on the authority of a white trader who had been in the Creek Nation 15 years.

"Before the corn turns yellow, the inhabitants of each town or district assemble; and a certain number enter the streets of what is more properly called the town, with the war-whoop and savage yells, firing their arrows in the air, and going several times around the pole. They then take emetics, and fast two days; dancing round the pole a great part of the night. All the fires in the township are then extinguished, and the hearths cleared, and new fires kindled by rubbing two sticks. After this, they parch some of the new corn, and, feasting a little, disperse to their several homes. Many of the old Chiefs are of opinion, that their ancestors intended this ceremony as a thank-offering to the Supreme Being, for the fruits of the earth, and for success in hunting or in war."⁶¹

If Bartram's short account, which probably applies to the Atasi busk, is to be relied upon there were considerable differences between the busks of even the Upper Creek towns in his time. He says that they fasted and took medicine for three days, and on the fourth day lighted the new fire, prepared new corn and fruits, and had a feast followed by an all night dance. "This," he says, "continues three days, and the four following days they receive visits, and rejoice with their friends from neighboring towns, who have purified and prepared themselves."⁶² If we reckon in all of the days given here this busk would extend to from 10 to 12 days, but the account of it is too fragmentary to be trusted very far. From an earlier statement of Bartram's it would seem that this town made an unusually clean sweep of its worn-out property before the ceremony. He says that "having previously provided themselves with new cloaths, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which with all the remaining grain and other old pro-

⁶¹ Hodgson, *Jour. through N. A.*, p. 268.

⁶² Bartram, *Travels*, p. 508.

visions, they cast together into one common heap, and consume it with fire."⁶³

Milfort, however, says much the same, speaking perhaps particularly of Oteiapofa. "Each year, in the month of August, they assemble by settlements (*par habitation*) to celebrate the harvest festival; then they renew all that they have used during the year which has just expired; the women break and shatter all their household utensils, and renew them."⁶⁴

The four-day ceremony as recorded and observed by myself is very like the Tukabahechee ceremony cut in half, minus, of course, the shield ceremonial and in general stripped of much of the complication of the latter. The Eufaula ceremony always came in July and within recent years, instead of being determined by the moon, it has been fixed definitely on the 15th of July. The 13th is the day of assembly, the 14th the feast day, and the 16th the day when all separate. Thus the four are made out. I have seen part of this busk myself, but the following account from Jackson Lewis is reproduced by preference, since it gives the less corrupted ceremonial of an earlier period.

The first day of the ceremonial is, as we know, the day for assembling. "On the second day the women begin dancing about 4 p. m. They get through before dark and at dark the men and women dance together around the fire for from one to three hours. Then the men are informed by the chiefs that they must prepare to take the medicine on the morrow. The woman's dance is conducted always by the Hathagas (owners of the white); no other clans can have anything to do with it. While the women dance the chiefs send out men to cut four sticks of wood three or four feet long, which are brought in and prepared. Next morning all of the ashes of the previous fires are raked away and in the place which they occupied a quantity of new earth is deposited brought in from outside of the grounds. On this the fire-maker kindles a new fire made of four sticks of wood pointing to the four cardinal points. One person is detailed for the sole purpose of watching and keeping up the fire during the day on which the medicine is being taken. After the sun is fairly well up two persons are sent to dig up medicine roots and macerate them ready for treatment by the doctor. As the drinkers of the medicine exhaust the supply these two men bring up water to replace it. One of these belongs to the same clan as the town chief and outranks the other who is from the *henihálgi*, and is called his *heniha*.

"Any person can be detailed by the chiefs as replenisher of the fire. The maker of the fire, who is usually an old man well initiated into

⁶³ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 507.

⁶⁴ Milfort, *Mém.*, p. 216.

the mysteries, puts the final medicine into the compound, sings a song over it, and blows into it through a cane. After this he sits still for a while thinking of what he is going to say and probably repeating a formula to himself. Then he again blows and again sits quiet, repeating this for some time, and finally he tells the people that it is ready for them. This medicine consists of miko hoyanīdja, with which they combine wormseed. The ási or cassine is not now used. When all is ready the chiefs are informed of it and they first of all come up and take large potatoes. All those of the north bed partake first, facing the east as they drink; afterward the henihálgí, then the tástánálgí, and finally all others. A portion of the medicine is carried over to a place between the north and east beds and placed there for the women and children. As it is to ward off disease and misfortune they wet their faces and hands in it and wet the faces and hands of their children. The medicine is taken in this way four times during the day. No particular number of pots is prescribed. Formerly they were pots made of earthenware, but now barrels have taken their place. They are always so placed that the sun cannot shine on the liquid inside. It is usually drunk in large quantities and then vomited forth, but some who do not wish to vomit it out take small quantities of liquid and wash their faces and wet their hands in it. About the third time the medicine has been taken the hathagálgí gather a number of slender canes (here slender switches from the bottoms are used, 8 or 9 feet long). They kill a little white heron (fus hátki)—if they can kill a white crane it is better still—take the white feathers from it and tie them on the ends of the canes. The hathagálgí do this and they also detail two persons to superintend the dance and see that it is properly conducted. The functions of these two men are indicated by canes three or four feet long with feathers tied to one end. The long switches are then distributed to all of the men who have been taking medicine. Bearing them they then engage in the dance known as teitahaia, after which they take the medicine for the fourth time and then repair to the nearest water-hole to bathe. During all this time the grounds are marked off and made prohibited ground, and anyone not taking medicine may not go beyond the line marked off around it. The people taking medicine dare not come in contact with anyone who is not taking it. When these people have bathed and gotten back these prohibitions are removed. During the taking of the medicine the chief's interpreter speaks for him and lectures the people, the chief telling him what to say. This speaker is generally taken from the Potato clan. In his speech the chief counsels the people, especially the women, not to speak evilly of each other, to dwell in fellowship with all, and he counsels hospitality to all who have come to the busk. Many similar talks through the same interpreter are made during the busk. This lecturing is of very ancient

origin. On the night of the 15th all of the people—men, women, and children—engage in “the all-night dance.” This concludes the busk for the year.

“Long intervals elapse between the first and second and second and third drinkings which the chiefs make use of to select young men to receive new names. A person is selected by the chiefs to inform the youths, and he goes to each of them letting him know what is planned. At Eufaula the men are usually named in pairs, and one of the two must be a person who has already been named at some previous time. One person, or more than two, may, however, be named. After the youths have been informed the chief usually employs his interpreter to call these young men up, and he calls out the new name the youth is to bear twice in a long drawn out voice as if the youth were far away. The youth does not come until the second call. When he comes up they give him a bit of tobacco, but in very ancient times they presented him with a small piece of a scalp taken from the enemy. It is handed to him by the chief’s interpreter, and, having received it, the youth waves it over the head of the chief, toward the roof of his cabin and says ‘Yu yu’ upon which all in the cabin reply ‘Madō’, thank you. Then he goes back to his seat.”

If a man ate roasting ears before the busk no one would touch him or have anything to do with him. Such a person was given medicine last. At Hilibi if a person died during the busk they would fast, drink medicine, and dance all night and by the next noon take dinner as usual. They would do likewise if a man had gotten drunk. There is an indisposition to talk about sacred things, especially matters connected with the busk, unless one is fasting. One informant said “I can tell a little round the outside but not all for I have had my meals.”

Swan gives the following account of a four-day busk on the authority of Alexander McGillivray, and it must therefore have been the ancient observance at Otcia-pofa:

“When corn is ripe, and the cassina or new black-drink has come to perfection, the busking begins on the morning of a day appointed by the priest, or fire-maker (as he is styled) of the town, and is celebrated for four days successively.

“On the morning of the first day, the priest, dressed in white leather moccasins and stockings, with a white dressed deerskin over his shoulders, repairs at break of day, unattended, to the square. His first business is to create the new fire, which he accomplishes with much labor by the friction of two dry sticks. After the fire is produced, four young men enter at the openings of the four corners of the square, each having a stick of wood for the new fire; they approach the new fire with much reverence, and place the ends of the wood they carry, in a very formal manner, to it.^{64a} After the fire

^{64a} Cf. pp. 561-562, 589.

is sufficiently kindled, four other young men come forward in the same manner, each having a fair ear of new corn, which the priest takes from them, and places with great solemnity in the fire, where it is consumed. Four young warriors then enter the square in the manner before mentioned, each having some of the new cassina. A small part of it is given to the new fire by the priest, and the remainder is immediately parched and cooked for use. During these formalities, the priest is continually muttering some mysterious jargon which nobody understands, nor is it proper for any inquiries to be made on the subject; the people in general believe that he is then communicating with the *great master of breath*.

"At this time, the warriors and others being assembled, they proceed to drink black-drink in their usual manner. Some of the new fire is next carried and left on the outside of the square, for public use; and the women allowed to come and take it to their several houses, which have the day before been cleaned, and decorated with green boughs, for its reception; all the old fire in the town having been previously extinguished, and the ashes swept clean away, to make room for the new. During this day, the women are suffered to dance with the children on the outside of the square, but by no means suffered to come into it. The men keep entirely by themselves, and sleep in the square.

"The second day is devoted by the men to taking their war-physic. It is a strong decoction of the button snake-root, or senneca, which they use in such quantities as often to injure their health by producing spasms, etc.

"The third day is spent by the young men in hunting or fishing, while the elder ones remain in the square and sleep, or continue their black-drink, war-physic, etc., as they choose. During the first three days of busking, while the men are physicking, the women are constantly bathing. It is unlawful for any man to touch one of them, even with the tip of his finger; and both sexes abstain rigidly from all kinds of food or sustenance, and more particularly from salt.

"On the fourth day, the whole town are assembled in the square, men, women, and children promiscuously, and devoted to conviviality. All the game killed the day before by the young hunters, is given to the public; large quantities of new corn, and other provisions, are collected and cooked by the women over the new fire. The whole body of the square is occupied with pots and pans of cooked provisions, and they all partake in general festivity. The evening is spent in dancing, or other trifling amusements, and the ceremony is concluded.

"N. B.—All the provisions that remain are a perquisite to the old priest, or fire-maker.

"ANTH^{NY}. ALEX. M'GILLIVRAY." 65

⁶⁵ Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 267-268.

In this ceremonial, as in the Kasihta busk recorded by Hawkins, the fire was kindled on the morning of the first day, but here the similarity ends. The women were shut out of the square on this first day, whereas it is evident they were not at Kasihta. The pasa was drunk on the second day instead of the first. It is to be noticed that this is the only town of the Creeks, so far as we know, in which the asi was sanctified along with the corn. I am inclined to think that this description leaves out a great deal, since no mention is made of the miko hoyanidja or other medicines besides the pasa and asi, and because the bath with which the busk broke up is not recorded. The feasting day appears to have been at the end instead of the beginning.

The Apalachicola busk was held in the latter half of July, lasted only four days like the two preceding, and the days were named like those at Eufaula, the days of assembling, eating, fasting, and dispersing. About four people got together to decide on the war titles conferred at that time. One informant said they were taken from the names belonging to the clan of the aspirant's father, so that they changed every generation, but this was contradicted by everyone else. The people in the north bed selected some persons to call out the new names for the people in the west bed (the Chiefs' bed) who did not move from their places. Those who were to make the new fire were selected by the head men of the town from a certain clan and they held office for four years. This clan was probably the Bear. Certain men were also selected to place the four main sticks for the fire. The medicine was taken four times, just as the sun was on the eastern horizon, at noon, in the middle of the afternoon, and at sunset. Then they went to the river and dipped four times, facing the east. After that they could eat the new corn, beans, etc.

At Tuskegee, according to information obtained both by Doctor Speck and myself, there was a feast for the visitors from friendly towns on the first day, and during the same day the medicines were collected. On the second day the men fasted, the medicines were prepared and taken, the new fire lighted, a game of ball played, and finally the dancers bathed and danced all that night. The bath may, however, have occurred on the following morning (Silas Jefferson). The introduction of a ball game on this day seems unusual, as also another fact which I give on the authority of the last chief, that those who were going to fast rubbed their bodies with medicine and were scratched on the calves of the legs, the hips, and the hands up and down and crosswise, and also crosswise of their breasts. Two pots of hot medicine were taken first and then two pots of cold medicine later to induce vomiting.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ The ball game and scarification seem to have been adopted from the Yuchi, who were neighbors of the Tuskegee after they moved west.

The Coweta busk has been given up for some time. As the capital town of the Lower Creeks, specific information regarding it would be of interest, but the notes I have are somewhat confusing and suggest that some of them apply to an earlier form of the busk and some to a later form. According to one informant, the day of gathering and the day of eating were identical. On the morning after this day six men went out very early before they had eaten anything and brought in the medicines. Those who were going to fast also abstained from food. The medicine was prepared and taken about noon. Afterwards there was a ball game between the men and women, followed by a dance which lasted until midnight. They rested from midnight until morning and next day began taking the medicine again. They took it four times a day for four days, fasted, and danced the feather dance and the gun dance. The night of the fourth day there was an all-night dance, and during this time the chief usually talked to them, warning them not to commit adultery or have sexual relations within the prescribed limits and bringing his remarks home by pointing to a long pole on which hung switches, and the ears, nose, and hair cut off of some earlier offender. Early next morning all went to the creek and dived into the water four times. Then they came back, all ate salted food, and the visitors, of whom there would then be crowds, were given food. That night they danced again, sometimes until midnight, sometimes all night. On the following morning the visitors prepared to go, and they gave a sign with the hand which signified "You friends that are here, now I am going." After the visitors had gone the chief made another speech to his own people, after which they, too, prepared to leave. The new fire was probably lighted on the first day of the fast, and four ears of corn were brought in and laid upon the sticks or beside them. Four fishes were also brought in. My informants did not know what was done with them, but, judging by the treatment accorded the meat at Tuka-bahchee, it may be considered probable that they were burned in the new fire. In late times there were only three men in the north bed during the fast, and these moved into the south bed when visitors were admitted. Women and children were admitted to seats in the east bed in later times, but anciently it was occupied by the younger men. There were two medicine pots, one of which contained both *pasa* and *miko hoyanidja* and was warmed, while the other contained *miko hoyanidja* alone and was cold.

According to a second informant the Coweta fasted one entire day and took what they called "the white nourishment" three days longer. This included all kinds of food but meat and salt. While this is probably correct I am doubtful whether we have here the original custom or a stage in the decay of the institution, a compromise to alleviate the asperity of the abstinence.

The account of this busk given by a third informant differs considerably and is probably the later form:

When the time was approaching for the annual busk the town chief and his assistants, who were all from the same bed, would call together those Coweta men who lived near by and they would fix upon a date for the busk. Those Coweta living at a distance were notified in the usual way through a messenger who brought each a little bundle of sticks about as large as matches. One of these was thrown away every day until two were left, when the man knew that it was the day when he must start. On the day represented by the last stick all were gathered at the square ground. That night they had a dance, and in the morning before breakfast some persons were sent out after the different medicines. When these individuals came back they took a bath and then ate for the first time that day. The rest of the day all spent as suited them, and that night there was another dance. Next day was the day of feasting. If there were delegations of visitors from other towns of the same fire clan they would come in, one delegation at a time, the Chiaha, the Broken Arrows, etc. Each delegation would first dance around outside of the square toward the northeast while the Coweta men danced around toward the southwest. Then they came in and the visitors sat first in the north bed which had been vacated for them. As they did so they raised their right hands toward the Coweta (who were seated in the Chiefs' bed) but in a direction over the heads of the latter with a kind of sweep and said, "Are you friends here?" After remaining in the north bed a short time the visitors got up again and passed around in front of the Chiefs' bed. The Coweta chief would say "Have you come?" (*álahkiteká'*) and the chief of the visitors would answer "Yes" (*Hehé*). Each of the Coweta would then give a piece of tobacco to the visitor opposite him and the latter would give another piece in return. Then the visitors made the same salute as before and passed out to eat. After that 10 bowls of food were brought into the square all prepared. Then the visitors' women were called in and a bowl of food was sent to each delegation of visitors. The women took this to their own people and they feasted upon it.

Before this feast was served, however, the Coweta danced the gun dance (*tabōteká obānga*). Part of them came in with guns loaded only with powder and discharged them. Then all would run down to the creek while another squad armed with guns or bows and arrows pursued them all the way. All then bathed and returned. Women danced this dance and while they were doing so four men sang for them, using a drum and a cocoanut rattle. My informant added that nowadays this dance would be unsafe, for someone would certainly be shot to satisfy a grudge. After the women had been dismissed

with their bowls of food and the visitors had begun their feast the Coweta commenced to fast, though they had in fact eaten nothing that morning. They remained inside the bounds of the square and could not so much as touch one of those who had eaten. In case a man did so he was fined 25 or 50 cents. Each of the three medicines, *pasa*, *miko hoyanīdja*, and *āsi*, was mixed in a different vessel. The bark of the *miko hoyanīdja* was scraped off before it was put into the pot, but the *pasa* was put in whole, after which water was added, the medicine man conjured it, and it was drunk hot. Two bearers carried the medicines in long-handled gourds to those who were to drink and uttered the *yahola* cry as they delivered it.⁶⁷ Each took enough of it to make him vomit. All of the fasters took the medicine four times during the day, but the day following was the regular busk day. Early on the morning of that day before sunrise four green logs about a yard long were brought in, placed in a cross shape, each stick toward one of the cardinal points, and, by means of flint and steel, fire was started at the place where all came together, the sparks being caught upon some punk (*totpāfka*). There had been a fire in this place during the preliminary days but before the new fire was lighted all of the ashes from this were cleared away along with all of those of the fire of the preceding year. In the time of my informant this fire was not distributed to the camps. The sticks were named after the points of the compass: South, *wahāla*; north, *holīna*; east, *hasōsa* ("rising sun"); and west, *akālatka* ("toward the sunset"). Four roasting ears were brought in by persons who had special charge of them, but my informant did not know what was done with them. Two men called "the fishers" also went out and brought in four fishes. Probably these were all burned in the fire.

The medicine was taken at about 9, 12, 3, and 6 o'clock. After the first medicine taking they danced the *teidahāia obānga*, with the usual feathered canes. One man led, accompanying himself with a rattle, and the others responded. The song goes like this:

hātei dā + hīa
hātei dā + hīa
hīa hī + hē + + +

This refrain is repeated over and over many times. After this was over the dancers went down to the creek to bathe. By this time the four busk logs were about burned up and were all shoved on together and a big fire made up about which the people danced all night. When the fast was over they partook of a meal in which salt must be used. The dances on the last night were of various kinds, and at intervals the chief made speeches to his people, telling them how to behave, and in general inculcating virtues. Finally he

⁶⁷ This informant probably confused the customs connected with the *āsi* with the usages regarding the regular busk medicines.



THE CREEK BUSK: THE WOMEN'S DANCE



THE CREEK BUSK: WOMEN'S DANCE AT THE OKCHAI BUSK
IN 1912

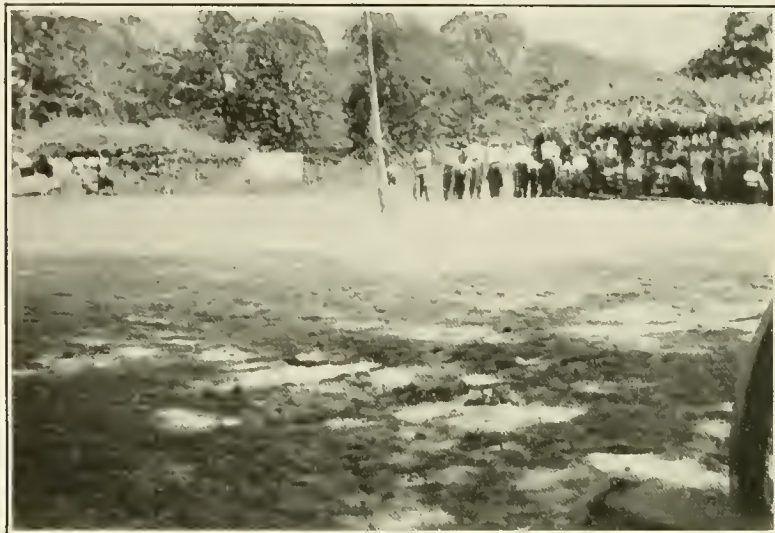


a. Box for tobacco, medicine, and drum in the Chiefs' Bed



b. Rito of the emetic

THE OKCHAI BUSK



TAKING THE EMETIC AT OKCHAI



a. The teitahaia or "feather dance"



b. The teitahaia or "feather dance"



c. The Square Ground just after the fasters have left to bathe in a neighboring creek

THE CREEK BUSK



a. Drum



b. Ceremonial ground near Braggs, Okla., used by the Natchez, Creek, and Cherokee Indians



c. Home of the Kila or Prophet Yahola

THE CREEK AND NACHEZ INDIANS

told them that if they lived through another year they must all assemble at the busk again. The next morning all went home. In commenting on the Coweta busk Bosomworth says that it was said to be an ancient custom for the chief to remain eight days in the square ground after the ceremony was over, a period which he spent "in performing several ceremonies and giving several necessary orders to his people."⁶⁸

I find a conflicting note to the effect that the four busk logs were pushed in every day for four days, after which occurred the all night dance. Perhaps this applied to the older form of the busk. During this fast a man of the Aktayatei and two others were the only occupants of the north bed. Like one or two of the extant grounds, Coweta had a small house for the medicine pots.

I have myself witnessed the busks of Eufaula, Hilibi, and Okchai, all of which are similar (see pls. 8-12). At Eufaula the women's dance took place very late in the afternoon, at Hilibi it was very early, while at Okchai it was intermediate in time. The medicine at Okchai was taken considerably earlier in the day than at the two other places. The following additional notes were obtained from Tál mutcási, the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Lálógálga, who was familiar with the older customs.

When the ashes were removed from the old fire⁶⁹ by the warriors the camps were cleaned up and the warriors removed the ashes from them also. The women's medicine was placed southwest of the square, the men's medicine on the north end of the Chiefs' bed. The fire has been lighted in recent years with a match. Like the Tukabahchee they brought sand and laid it out in the place where the fire was to be lighted. Each of the four foundation sticks was conjured in advance and placed at the center of one of the four beds. A man was appointed to take charge of each stick and at a given word they approached the center and laid their four sticks down at the same instant in their proper positions.^{69a} Anciently two sticks of post oak were used in making fire and later flint and steel were obtained from the French, and the sparks were caught upon true punk obtained from hickory or sycamore trees where the limbs have come away. When the punk caught fire, it was picked off, mixed with hay, and fanned until the whole burst into flames. The Ásilanabi and Lálógálga squares are within a few miles of each other, and nowadays (1912) they fast two days at Asilanabi and two days at Lálógálga to make the four.

⁶⁸ The Bosomworth Journal Ms., S. C. Colls., p. 25.

⁶⁹ Burning coals were brought from the old square ground fire of the Okchai in Alabama by a leading man of the town and his *heniha*, kept alive during the migration west and buried about 2 feet under ground beneath the fire in the new square ground near Itanna, Okla. Ashes from the old Kasihta ground are also said to have been brought west for burial under the new ceremonial fire.

^{69a} This treatment of the sticks is like that in the busk described by McGillivray. See p. 583.

Before the Civil War the Luteapoga busk included a fast of four days, from which it may be inferred that the entire length was eight. This would apply as well to Tulsa, the mother town. This fast was from the evening of the first day to the morning after the fourth. Medicine was taken every day.

One description of the busk now remains to be considered—the one given by Adair. This is in several separate fragments which have to be pieced together, and there is a running comparison with Hebrew customs which must be carefully excised. Of all accounts that have been preserved it is the most elaborate in detail, though the material is not systematically presented. Furthermore, we do not know certainly to which tribe or town it belongs. The context and the use of Chickasaw expressions throughout would lead us to suppose that we are having a Chickasaw ceremonial presented to us, but if so this is the only reference to a busk ceremonial in that tribe. As has been noted in several places, the Chickasaw were closely associated with the Creeks in many ways and had probably borrowed some of their customs—for a time there was a Chickasaw town among the Upper Creeks—but all other early writers are silent on the subject of a Chickasaw busk, and at the present day these Indians remember nothing whatever regarding such a ceremony. Their modern ceremonies are the Pishofa dances which differ from the Creek ceremonial in almost every particular. If this is a description of a Creek ceremony, it would probably be the busk of Coosa, Abihka, or Okfuskee, but this point along with the question whether it is Chickasaw or Creek must remain in doubt. In the square ground where it took place the Chiefs' bed was at the west, that of the Warriors at the south, that of the second men or *henihálgi* north, and that of the Youths east. It is thus described:

“The Indians formerly observed the grand festival of the annual expiation of sin, at the beginning of the first new moon, in which their corn became full-earred; but for many years past they are regulated by the season of their harvest . . .

“As the first of the Neetak Hoollo, preceeds a long strict fast of two nights and a day, they gormandize such a prodigious quantity of strong food, as to enable them to keep inviolate the succeeding fast, the sabbath of sabbaths, the Neetak Yah-ah: the feast lasts only from morning till sunset. Being great lovers of ripened fruits, and only tantalized as yet, with a near view of them; and having lived at this season, but meanly on the wild products of nature—such a fast as this may be truly said to afflict their souls, and to prove a sufficient trial of their religious principles. During the festival, some of their people are closely employed in putting their temple [the *teokofa*] in proper order for the annual expiation; and others are painting the white cabin, and the supposed holiest, with white

clay; for it is a sacred, peaceable place, and white is the emblem. Some, at the same time are likewise painting the war-cabbin with red clay, or their emblematical red root, as occasion requires; while others of an inferior order, are covering all the seats of the beloved square with new mattresses, made out of fine splinters of long canes, tied together with flags. In the mean time, several of them are busy in sweeping the temple, clearing it of every supposed polluting thing, and carrying out the ashes from the hearth which perhaps had not been cleaned six times since the last year's general offering. Several towns join together to make the annual sacrifice; and, if the whole nation lies in a narrow compass, they make but one annual offering; by which means, either through a sensual or religious principle, they strike off the work with joyful hearts. Every thing being thus prepared, the Archi-magus [i. e. the medicine maker] orders some of his religious attendants to dig up the old hearth, or altar [in the center of the square], and to sweep out the remains that by chance might either be left, or drop down. Then he puts a few roots of the button-snake-root, with some green leaves of an uncommon small sort of tobacco, and a little of the new fruits, at the bottom of the fire-place, which he orders to be covered up with white marley clay, and wetted over with clean water.

“Immediately, the magi [the doctors] order them to make a thick arbour over the altar, with green branches of the various young trees, which the warriors had designedly chosen, and laid down on the outside of the supposed holy ground: the women, in the interim are busy at home in cleaning out their houses, renewing the old hearths, and cleaning all their culinary vessels, that they may be fit to receive the pretended holy fire, and the sanctified new fruits, according to the purity of the law; lest by a contrary conduct, they should incur damage in life, health, future crops, &c. It is fresh in the memory of the old traders, that formerly none of these numerous nations of Indians would eat, or even handle any part of the new harvest, till some of it had been offered up at the yearly festival by the Archi-magus, or those of his appointment, at their plantations, though the light harvest of the past year had forced them to give their women and children of the ripening fruits, to sustain life. Notwithstanding they are visibly degenerating, both in this, and every other religious observance, except what concerns war; yet their magi and old warriors live contentedly on such harsh food as nature affords them in the woods, rather than transgress that divine precept given to their forefathers.

“Having every thing in order for the sacred solemnity, the religious waiters carry off the remains of the feast, and lay them on the outside of the square; others of the inferior order carefully sweep out the smallest crumbs, for fear of polluting the first fruit offering; and before sunset, the temple must be cleared, even every kind of

vessel or utensil, that had contained, or been used about any food in that expiring year. The women carry all off, but none of that sex, except half a dozen old beloved women are allowed in that interval to tread on the holy ground, till the fourth day. Now, one of the waiters proclaims with a loud voice, for all the warriors and beloved men, whom the purity of the law admits, to come and enter the beloved square, and observe the fast; he likewise exhorts all the women and children, and those who have not initiated themselves in war, to keep apart from them, according to law. Should any of them prove disobedient, the young ones would be dry-scratched, and the others stript of every thing they had on them . . .

“Their great beloved man, or Archi-magus, now places four sentinels [the dog-whippers], one at each corner of the holy square, to keep out every living creature as impure, except the religious order, and the warriors who are not known to have violated the law of the first-fruit-offering, and that of marriage, since the last year’s expiation. Those sentinels are regularly relieved, and firm to their sacred trust; if they discerned a dog or cat on the out-limits of the holy square, before the first-fruit-offering was made, they would kill it with their arrows on the spot.

“They observe the fast till the rising of the second sun; and be they ever so hungry in that sacred interval the healthy warriors deem the duty so awful, and the violation so inexpressibly vicious, that no temptation would induce them to violate it; for, like the Hebrews, they fancy temporal evils are the necessary effect of their immoral conduct, and they would for ever ridicule and reproach the criminal for every bad occurrence that befel him in the new year, as the sinful author of his evils; and would sooner shoot themselves, than suffer such long-continued sharp disgrace. The religious attendants boil a sufficient quantity of button-snake-root, highly imbibittered and give it round pretty warm, in order to vomit and purge their sinful bodies. Thus they continue to mortify and purify themselves, till the end of the fast . . .

“That the women and children, and those worthless fellows who have not hazarded their lives in defense of their holy places and things, and for the beloved people, may not be entirely godless, one of the old beloved men lays down a large quantity of the small-leaved tobacco, on the outside of a corner of the sacred square; and an old beloved woman carries it off, and distributes it to the sinners without, in large pieces, which they chew heartily, and swallow, in order to afflict their souls. She commends those who perform the duty with cheerfulness, and chides those who seem to do it unwillingly, by their wry faces on account of the bitterness of the supposed sanctifying herb. She distributes it in such quantities, as she thinks are equal to their capacity of sinning, giving to the reputed,

worthless old He-hen-pickers, the proportion only of a child, because she thinks such spiritless pictures of men cannot sin with married women; as all the females love only the virtuous manly warrior, who has often successfully accompanied the beloved ark.

“In the time of this general fast, the women, children, and men of weak constitutions, are allowed to eat, as soon as they are certain the sun has begun to decline from his meridian altitude; but not before that period . . .

“The whole time of this fast may with truth be called a fast, and to the Archi-magus, to all the magi, and pretended prophets, in particular; for, by ancient custom, the former is obliged to eat of the sanctifying small-leaved tobacco, and drink the snake-root, in a separate hut for the space of three days and nights without any other subsistence, before the solemnity begins; besides his full portion along with the rest of the religious order, and the old war-chieftains, till the end of the general fast, which he pretends to observe with the strictest religion. After the first-fruits are sanctified, he lives most abstemiously till the end of the annual expiation only sucking water-melons now and then to quench thirst, and support life, spitting out the more substantial part . . . Thus the Indian religious are retentive of their sacred mysteries to death, and the Archi-magus is visibly thin and meagre at the end of the solemnity . . . The superannuated religious are also emulous in the highest degree, of excelling one another in their long fasting; for they firmly believe, that such an annual self-denying method is so highly virtuous, when joined to an obedience of the rest of their laws, as to be the infallible means of averting evil, and producing good things, through the new year. They declare that a steady virtue, through the divine co-operating favour, will infallibly insure them a lasting round of happiness.

“At the end of this solemn fast, the women by the voice of the crier, bring to the outside of the holy square, a plentiful variety of the old year's food newly dressed, which they lay down, and immediately return home; for every one of them know their several duties, with regard to both time and place. The centinels report the affair, and soon afterward the waiters by order go, and reaching their hands over the holy ground, they bring in the provisions, and set down before the famished multitude. Though most of the people may have seen them, they reckon it vicious and mean to shew a gladness for the end of their religious duties; and shameful to hasten the holy attendants, as they are all capable of their offices . . .

“Before noon, the temple is so cleared of every thing the women brought to the square, that the festival after that period, resembles a magical entertainment that had no reality in it, consisting only in a delusion of the senses. The women then carry the vessels from the temple to the water, and wash them clean for fear of pollution.

As soon as the sun is visibly declining from his meridian, this third day of the fast, the Archi-magus orders a religious attendant to cry aloud to the crowded town, that the holy fire is to be brought out for the sacred altar—commanding every one of them to stay within their own houses, as becomes the beloved people, without doing the least bad thing—and to be sure to extinguish, and throw away every spark of the old fire; otherwise, the devine fire will bite them severely with bad diseases, sickness, and a great many other evils, which he sententiously enumerates, and finishes his monitory caution, by laying life and death before them.”⁷⁰

The costume assumed by the Archi-magus or fire maker at this time is thus described by Adair:

“Before the Indian *Archi-magus* officiates in making the supposed holy fire, for the yearly atonement of sin, the Sagan clothes him with a white ephod, which is a waistcoat without sleeves. When he enters on that solemn duty, a beloved attendant spreads a white-drest buckskin on the white seat, which stands close to the supposed holiest, and then puts some white beads on it, that are given him by the people. Then the *Archi-magus* wraps around his shoulders a consecrated skin of the same sort, which reaching across under his arms, he ties behind his back, with two knots on the legs, in the form of a figure of eight. Another custom he observes on this solemn occasion, is, instead of going barefoot, he wears a new pair of buckskin white moccasenes made by himself, and stitched with the sinews of the same animal. The upper leather across the toes, he paints, for the space of three inches, with a few streaks of red—not with vermilion, for that is their continual war-emblem, but with a certain red root, its leaves and stalk resembling the ipecacuanha, which is their fixed red symbol of holy things. These shoes he never wears, but in the time of the supposed passover; for at the end of it, they are laid up in the beloved place, or holiest, where much of the like sort, quietly accompanies an heap of old, broken earthen ware, conch-shells, and other consecrated things. . . . The American *Archi-magus* wears a breast-plate, made of a white conch-shell, with two holes bored in the middle of it, through which he puts the end of an otter-skin strap, and fastens a buckhorn white button to the outside of each . . . The Indian wears around his temples, either a wreath of swan-feathers, or a long piece of swan-skin doubled, so as only the fine snowy feathers appear on each side. And [he] wears on the crown of his head, a tuft of white feathers, which they call *Yatèra*. He likewise fastens a tuft of blunted wild Turkey cock-spurs, toward the toes of the upper part of his moccasenes. . . . Thus appears the Indian Archi-magus . . . when he is to officiate in his pontifical function, at the annual expiation of sins.”⁷¹ . . .

⁷⁰ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 100-105.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84.

“Now every thing is hushed. Nothing but silence all around: the Archi-magus, and his beloved waiter, rising up with a reverend carriage, steady countenance, and composed behaviour, go into the beloved place, or holiest, to bring them out the beloved fire. The former takes a piece of dry poplar, willow, or white oak, and having cut a hole, so as not to reach through it, he then sharpens another piece, and placing that with the hole between his knees, he drills it briskly for several minutes, till it begins to smoke—or, by rubbing two pieces together, for about a quarter of an hour, by friction he collects the hidden fire; which all of them reckon to immediately issue from the holy Spirit of fire . . . When the fire appears, the beloved waiter cherishes it with fine chips, or shaved splinters of pitch-pine, which had been deposited in the holiest: then he takes the unsullied wing of a swan, fans it gently, and cherishes it to a flame. On this, the Archi-magus brings it out in an old earthen vessel, whereon he had placed it, and lays it on the sacred altar, which is under an arbour, thick-weaved a-top with green boughs . . .

“Their hearts are enlivened with joy at the appearance of the reputed holy fire, as the divine fire is supposed to atone for all their past crimes, except murder: and the beloved waiter shews his pleasure, by his cheerful industry in feeding it with dry fresh wood; for they put no rotten wood on it . . . Although the people without, may well know what is transacting within, yet, by order, a crier informs them of the good tidings, and orders an old beloved woman to pull a basket-full of the new-ripened fruits, and bring them to the beloved square. As she before had been appointed, and religiously prepared for that solemn occasion, she readily obeys, and soon lays it down with a cheerful heart, at the out-corner of the beloved square. By ancient custom, she may either return home, or stand there, till the expiation of sin hath been made, which is thus performed—The Archi-magus, or fire-maker, rises from his white seat and walks northward three times round the holy fire, with a slow pace, and in a very sedate and grave manner, stopping now and then, and speaking certain old ceremonial words with a low voice and a rapidity of expression, which none understand but a few of the old beloved men, who equally secrete their religious mysteries, that they may not be prophaned. He then takes a little of each sort of the new harvest, which the old woman had brought to the extremity of the supposed holy ground, rubs some bear's oil over it, and offers it up together with some flesh, to the bountiful holy Spirit of fire as a first-fruit offering, and an annual oblation for sin. He likewise consecrates the button-snake-root, and the cusseena, by pouring a little of those two strong decoctions into the pretended holy fire. He then purifies the red and white seats with those bitter liquids, and sits down. Now, every one of the outlaws who had been caught

a tripping, may safely creep out of their lurking holes, anoint themselves, and dress in their finest, to pay their grateful thanks at an awful distance, to the forgiving divine fire. A religious waiter is soon ordered to call to the women around, to come to the sacred fire: they gladly obey.—When they come to the outside of the quadrangular holy ground, the *Archi-magus* addresses the warriors, and gives them all the particular positive injunctions, and negative precepts they yet retain of the ancient law, relating to their own manly station. Then he changes his note, and uses a much sharper language to the women, as suspecting their former virtue. He first tells them very earnestly, that if there are any of them who have not extinguished the old evil fire, or have contracted any impurity, they must forthwith depart, lest the divine fire should spoil both them and the people; he charges them to be sure not to give the children a bad example of eating any unsanctified, or impure food, otherwise they will get full of worms, and be devoured by famine and diseases, and bring many other dangerous evils both upon themselves, and all the beloved, or holy people . . .

“In his female lecture, he is sharp and prolix; he urges them with much earnestness to an honest observance of the marriage-law, which may be readily executed, on account of the prevalent passion of self interest. Our own christian orators do not exert themselves with half the eloquence or eagerness, as when that is at stake which they most value. And the wary old savage has sense enough to know, that the Indian female virtue is very brittle, not being guarded so much by inward principle, as the fear of shame, and of incurring severe punishment; but if every bush of every thicket was an hundred-eyed Argos, it would not be a sufficient guard over a wanton heart. So that is natural they should speak much on this part of the subject, as they think they have much at stake. After that, he addresses himself to the whole body of the people, and tells them, in rapid bold language, with great energy, and expressive gestures of body, to look at the holy fire, which again has introduced all those shameful adulterous criminals into social privileges; he bids them not to be guilty of the like for time to come, but be sure to remember well, and strongly shake hands with the old beloved straight speech, otherwise the divine fire, which sees, hears, and knows them, will spoil them exceedingly, if at any time they relapse, and commit that detestable crime. Then he enumerates all the supposed lesser crimes, and moves the audience by the great motives of the hope of temporal good, and the fear of temporal evil, assuring them, that upon their careful observance of the ancient law, the holy fire will enable their prophets, the rain-makers, to procure them plentiful harvests, and give their war-leaders victory over their enemies—and by the communicative power of their holy things, health and prosperity are

certain: but on failure, they are to expect a great many extraordinary calamities, such as hunger, uncommon diseases, a subjection to witchcraft, and captivity and death by the hands of the hateful enemy in the woods, where the wild fowls will eat the flesh, and beasts of prey destroy the remaining bones, so as they will not be gathered to their forefathers—because their ark abroad, and beloved things at home, would lose their virtual power of averting evil. He concludes, by advising them to a strict observance of their old rites and customs, and every thing shall go well with them. He soon orders some of the religious attendants to take a sufficient quantity of the supposed holy fire, and lay it down on the outside of the holy ground, for all the houses of the various associated towns, which sometimes lie several miles apart. The women, hating sharp and grave lessons, speedily take it up, gladly carry it home, and lay it down on their unpolluted hearths, with the prospect of future joy and peace.”⁷²

After these lectures the women hasten to prepare food of the new year on the new fire which they have obtained, and meanwhile a dance takes place which is described in a different place by Adair as follows:

“While their sanctified new fruits are dressing, a religious attendant is ordered to call six of their old beloved women to come to the temple, and dance the beloved dance with joyful hearts, according to the old beloved speech. They cheerfully obey, and enter the supposed holy ground in solemn procession, each carrying in her hand a bundle of small branches of various green trees; and they join the same number of old magi, or priests, who carry a cane in one hand adorned with white feathers, having likewise green boughs in their other hand, which they pulled from their holy arbour, and carefully place there, encircling it with several rounds. Those beloved men have their heads dressed with white plumes; but the women are decked in their finest, and anointed with bear’s-grease, having small tortoise shells, and white pebbles [or beads], fastened to a piece of white-drest deer-skin, which is tied to each of their legs [on the outside].

“The eldest of the priests leads the sacred dance, a-head of the innermost row, which of course is next to the holy fire. He begins the dance round the supposed holy fire, by invoking Yah, after their usual manner, on a bass key, and with a short accent; then he sings Yo Yo, which is repeated by the rest of the religious procession; and he continues his sacred invocations and praises, repeating the divine word, or notes, till they return to the same point of the circular course, where they began: then He He in like manner, and Wah Wah. While dancing they never fail to repeat those notes; then, *Heleluiah*, *Halelu-Yah*, and *Aleluiah* and *Alclu-Yah*, ‘Irradia-

⁷² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 105-108.

tion to the divine essence,' with great earnestness and fervor, till they encircle the altar, while each strikes the ground with right and left feet alternately, very quick, but well-timed. Then the awful drums join the sacred choir, which incite the old female singers to chant forth their pious notes, and grateful praises before the divine essence, and to redouble their former quick joyful steps, in imitation of the leader of the sacred dance, and the religious men a-head of them. What with the manly strong notes of the one, and the shrill voices of the other, in concert with the bead-shells, and the two sounding, drum-like earthen vessels, with the voices of the musicians who beat them, the reputed holy ground echoes with the praises of Yo He Wah . . . They continue their grateful divine hymns for fifteen minutes, when the dance breaks up."⁷³

At the same time the *asi* was being prepared. Adair continues:

"The Archi-magus sends a religious attendant to pull some *cusseena*, or *yopon*, belonging to the temple; and having parched it brown on the altar, he boils it with clear running water in a large earthen pot, about half full; it has such a stong body, as to froth above the top by pouring it up and down with their consecrated vessels, which are kept only for that use; of this they drink now and then, till the end of the festival, and on every other religious occasion from year to year. Some of the old beloved men, through a religious emulation in sanctifying themselves, often drink this, and other bitter decoctions, to such excess, as to purge themselves very severely,—when they drink it, they always invoke Yo He Wah [i. e., always utter the *yahola cry*].

"If any of the warriors are confined at home by sickness, or wounds, and are either deemed incapable or unfit to come to the annual expiation, they are allowed one of the consecrated conchshells-full of their sanctifying bitter *cusseena*, by their magi. The traders hear them often dispute for it, as their proper due, by ancient custom: and they often repeat their old religious ceremonies to one another, especially that part which they imagine most affects their present welfare; the aged are sent to instruct the young ones in these particulars . . .

"Though the Indians do not eat salt in their first-fruit oblation till the fourth day; it is not to be doubted but they formerly did. They reckon they cannot observe the annual expiation of sins, without bear's oil, both to mix with that yearly offering, and to eat with the new sanctified fruits; and some years they have a great deal of trouble in killing a sufficient quantity of bears for the use of this religious solemnity, and their other sacred rites for the approaching year; for at such seasons they are hard to be found, and quite lean. The traders commonly supply themselves with plenty of this oil from winter

⁷³ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 96-98.

to winter; but the Indians are so prepossessed with a notion of the white people being all impure and accursed, that they deem their oil as polluting on those sacred occasions, as Josephus tells us the Jews reckoned that of the Greeks. An Indian warrior will not light his pipe at a white man's fire if he suspects any unsanctified food has been dressed at it in the new year. And in the time of the new-ripened fruits, their religious men carry a flint, punk, and steel, when they visit us, for fear of polluting themselves by lighting their pipes at our supposed Loak ookproose [Luak okpulosi], 'accursed fire,' and spoiling the power of their holy things. The polluted would, if known, be infallibly anathematized, and expelled from the temple, with the women, who are suspected of gratifying their vicious taste. During the eight days festival, they are forbidden even to touch the skin of a female child; if they are detected, either in cohabiting with, or laying their hand on any of their own wives, in that sacred interval, they are stripped naked, and the offender is universally deemed so atrocious a criminal, that he lives afterwards a miserable life. Some have shot themselves dead, rather than stand the shame, and the long year's continual reproaches cast upon them, for every mischance that befalls any of their people, or the ensuing harvest,—a necessary effect of the divine anger, they say, for such a crying sin of pollution. An instance of this kind I heard happened some years ago in Talase, a town of the Muskohge, seven miles above the Alabama garrison.^{73a}

"[The food having been prepared] the women now with the utmost cheerfulness, bring to the outside of the sacred square, a plentiful variety of all those good things, with which the divine fire has blessed them in the new year; and the religious attendants lay it before them, according to their stated order and reputed merit. Every seat is served in a gradual succession, from the white and red imperial long broad seats, and the whole square is soon covered: frequently they have a change of courses of fifty or sixty different sorts, and thus they continue to regulate themselves, till the end of the festival; for they reckon they are now to feast themselves with joy and gladness, as the divine fire is appeased for past crimes, and has propitiously sanctified their weighty harvest.⁷⁴ . . .

"When we consider how sparingly they eat in their usual way of living, it is surprising to see what a vast quantity of food they consume on their festival days. It would equally surprise a stranger to see how exceedingly they vary their dishes, their dainties consisting only of dried flesh, fish, oil, corn, beans, pease, pompions, and wild fruit. During this rejoicing time, the warriors are dressed in their wild martial array, with their heads covered with white down; they carry feathers of the same colour, either in their hands, or fastened

^{73a} Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 108-109.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

to white scraped canes, as emblems of purity, and scepters of power, while they are dancing in three circles, and singing their religious praises around the sacred arbour, in which stands the holy fire. Their music consists of two clay-pot drums, covered on the top with thin wet deer-skins, drawn very tight, on which each of the noisy musicians beats with a stick, accompanying the noise with their voices; at the same time, the dancers prance it away, with wild and quick sliding steps, and variegated postures of the body, to keep time with the drums, and the rattling calabashes shaken by some of their religious heroes, each of them singing their old religious songs, and striking notes in tympano et choro. Such is the graceful dancing, as well as the vocal and instrumental music of the red Hebrews on religious and martial occasions, which they must have derived from early antiquity. Toward the conclusion of the great festival, they paint and dress themselves anew, and give themselves the most terrible appearance they possibly can. They take up their war-instruments, and fight a mock-battle in a very exact manner: after which, the women are called to join in a grand dance, and if they disobey the invitation they are fined. But as they are extremely fond of such religious exercise, and deem it productive of temporal good, all soon appear in their finest apparel, as before suggested, decorated with silver ear-bobs, or pendants to their ears, several rounds of white beads about their necks, rings upon their fingers, large wire or broad plates of silver on their wrists, their heads shining with oil, and torrepine-shells containing pebbles, fastened to deer-skins, tied to the outside of their legs. Thus adorned, they join the men in three circles, and dance a considerable while around the sacred fire, and then they separate.

“At the conclusion of this long and solemn festival, the Archimagus orders one of the religious men to proclaim to all the people, that their sacred annual solemnity is now ended, and every kind of evil averted from the beloved people, according to the old straight beloved speech; they must therefore paint themselves, and come along with him according to ancient customs. As they know the stated time, the joyful sound presently reaches their longing ears: immediately they fly about to grapple up a kind of chalky clay, to paint themselves white. By their religious emulation, they soon appear covered with that emblem of purity, and join at the outside of the holy ground, with all who had sanctified themselves within it, who are likewise painted, some with streaks, and others all over, as white as the clay can make them: recusants would undergo a heavy penalty. They go along in a very orderly solemn procession, to purify themselves in running water. The Archimagus heads the bold train—his waiter next—the beloved men according to their seniority—and the warriors by their reputed merit. The women follow them in the

same orderly manner, with all the children that can walk, behind them, ranged commonly according to their height; the very little ones they carry in their arms. Those, who are known to have eaten of the unsanctified fruits, bring up the rear. In this manner the procession moves along, singing . . . till they get to the water, which is generally contiguous, when the Archi-magus jumps into it, and all the holy train follow him, in the same order they observed from the temple. Having purified themselves, or washed away their sins, they come out with joyful hearts, believing themselves out of the reach of temporal evil, for their past vicious conduct; and they return in the same religious cheerful manner, into the middle of the holy ground, where having made a few circles, singing and dancing around the altar, they thus finish their great annual festival, and depart in joy and peace.⁷⁵

In a note he adds:

“They are so strictly prohibited from eating salt, or flesh-meat, till the fourth day, that during the interval, the very touch of either is accounted a great pollution: after that period, they are deemed lawful to be eaten. All the hunters, and able-bodied men, kill and barbecue wild game in the woods, at least ten days before this great festival, and religiously keep it for their sacred use.”⁷⁶

If this was indeed a Chickasaw ceremony it declined rapidly, and the declension had begun even in Adair's time, for he says: “As they degenerate, they lengthen their dances, and shorten the time of their fasts and purifications; insomuch, that they have so exceedingly corrupted their primitive rites and customs, within the space of the last thirty years, that, at the same rate of declension, there will not be long a possibility of tracing their origin, but by their dialects, and war-customs.”⁷⁶ It may be added that a comparison of the earlier and later forms of the busk tends to bear out Adair's statement with reference to the lengthening of the dances and the shortening of the fasts and purifications. In other words, the social features progressively expanded at the expense of those of a strictly religious nature. It is a process common in all parts of the world where faith in an institution is gradually decaying. In this case the decay was due not so much to the direct influence of European missionaries as to the general modifying tendencies accompanying the advance of white civilization.

A word or two might be added regarding the busk of the Alabama Indians now living in Texas. It is rather curious to find that the Alabama in Oklahoma who have been in close contact with the whites still maintain a busk ground, while those in Texas, though they are

⁷⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 108-111.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

comparatively remote from white settlements of any size, gave theirs up so long ago that only the oldest people know much about it. The Alabama kept their busk some time in June. It was thought that after it was held the corn would not hurt anybody but before that it was wrong to touch it. If anyone did not take part in the ceremony the other people would not talk to him, let him come into their houses, or have anything to do with him. They said "it was wrong." At the beginning of this ceremony each family brought a quantity of ears of corn already roasted to the square ground and it was put up on a scaffolding made of canes and raised on forked posts to a height of perhaps 4 feet. Then all the people came there and danced until midnight. At about that time some of the roasting ears were shelled and a few men took a handful apiece and threw it over the house. This was done four times. What was left they ate. Then one man blew through a cane into a pot of medicine which had previously been heated and all had to drink some of this. After drinking it they went away and vomited it up. They used the *pasa* (Koasati *pasé*), but there was another medicine in the pot with it. The taking of this medicine was thought to bring good luck and health. Early on the following morning the new fire was made in the square by twirling a stick from a bush called *hása'läpo* against a stick of slippery elm (*bákea*). Previously all of the fires in the village had been extinguished, and each woman carried home some of the new fire. The new fire is said to have been made out in the woods and was brought into the square from there. Next day the people went home and roasted more corn which they brought to the same place. In the evening they danced, threw more corn over the roof, and again ate. They did this four nights in succession and then the ceremony ended.

The "old dance" was probably danced at this time, but I am not sure. As the Alabama performed it there was one drummer and he had one assistant to help him sing. There were five or six songs. The dancers went about the fire in two files, the women next to the fire, the men outside. Each dancer held his hands clasped in front and twisted his body from side to side as he proceeded. They danced around the fire once, stopping and completing the first song at the same time. Then they went around singing another song and stopped again at the end of one circuit. When the last song was taken up they went around twice before they stopped.

Ceremonies modeled after those of the Creek busk seem to have spread to the Cherokee within recent years, though certain changes have been introduced. When I first visited the few surviving speakers of Natchez near Braggs, Okla., the ceremonial ground of the Indians near by had the four cabins typical of Creek practice and was resorted to by Natchez, Creeks, and Cherokee,⁷⁷ but on my next

⁷⁷ See Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pl. 10.

visit the ground had been moved and seven cabins had been substituted for the four (pl. 13, b). This was to conform to the sacred seven of the Cherokee and the seven clan system, each cabin being occupied by some one of the seven clans. Afterwards I visited two or three other ceremonial grounds in the Cherokee Nation, all with the same arrangement, but I know practically nothing regarding the ceremonies which take place there. My Natchez informant stated that anciently the niko used to stand in front of the fire in the ceremonial ground holding the peace pipe with the stem away from him and the other men would then come in succession, take it from his hands and puff four times toward the sky in the direction of the deity. This happened just before they began dancing. He also stated that they had about three special "stomp dances" during the year, accompanied by feasting and a ball game, from which it appears either that he is citing the Creek custom or that the Natchez usage was the same.

We will now give an abstract of the more important ceremonials which have been described:

THE CHIAHA BUSK (ELLIS CHILDERS)

First day.—Camping day, when the people go into camp about the square ground.

Second day.—Visitors' day, when visitors from towns of the same fire clan are entertained.

Third day.—Feasting day; visitors and townspeople both eat quantities of food.

Fourth day.—Visitors leave for their homes early in the morning. The men of the town fast.

Fifth day.—Fines are collected from those who failed to attend and the proceeds, being usually in the form of eatables, are consumed along with other food.

THE KASHITA BUSK (HAWKINS)

First day.—Square cleaned. Asi or black drink is brewed. The new fire made. The turkey dance performed by women of the Turkey clan. Pasa prepared and drunk. The tadpole dance performed. They dance the heniha dance all night.

Second day.—Women dance the itcha dance (not the "gun dance" as Hawkins says). Shortly after noon the men bathe in the river. They feast on new corn.

Third day.—The men sit in the square.

Fourth day.—The women get and carry home the new fire. The first four logs are entirely consumed on this day. The fasters eat salt. They dance the long dance.

Fifth day.—Four new logs are procured for the fire. Asi is drunk.

Sixth day.—The men remain in the square.

Seventh day.—The men remain in the square.

Eighth day.—Old man's tobacco (hitei pákpági) is thrown into the fire. The fasters anoint themselves with clay and ashes and go to the river with much ceremony to bathe.

THE EUFAULA BUSK (JACKSON LEWIS)

First day.—Day of assembling.

Second day.—Women's dance is held during the day. A general dance all night.

Third day.—The new fire is kindled. Medicines are dug, prepared, and taken four times. Between drinkings speeches are delivered and names given out. They dance the teitahaia dance. A general dance follows lasting all night.

Fourth day.—Day when the busk breaks up.

THE OTCIAPOFA BUSK (SWAN)

First day.—New fire is made. Four ears of corn are placed upon it. Asi is prepared, some poured into the fire, and the rest drunk. The new fire is distributed.

Second day.—The men take the pasa.

Third day.—The younger men go hunting and fishing; the elders stay in the square and take asi.

Fourth day.—There is a feast and dance this evening.

THE COWETA BUSK (FIRST INFORMANT)

First day.—Day of assembling and eating.

Second day.—The new fire is lighted and corn and fish burned in it. Medicines are prepared and taken about noon. They dance the teitahaia dance and the gun dance. There is a ball game. A general dance until midnight.

Third day.—Medicines are taken again four times; they dance the teitahaia and gun dances.

Fourth day.—The same.

Fifth day.—The same. That night the chief delivers speeches and they dance until morning.

Sixth day.—All bathe in the creek. They eat food that has been salted and serve their visitors.

Seventh day.—The visitors leave. The town chief makes a speech to his own people, who then leave for home.

THE COWETA BUSK (SECOND INFORMANT) ^{77a}

First day.—All assemble at the square. They dance all night.

Second day.—The medicines are gathered. They dance all night.

^{77a} This is the "third informant" cited on page 587.

Third day.—The day of feasting; visitors are entertained. The Coweta Indians fast and take medicines four times. The Coweta Indians dance the gun dance. They bathe in the creek.

Fourth day.—The fast day proper. The old fireplace is cleaned up and the new fire lighted. Four ears of corn and four fishes are brought to the place and burned. They take medicines four times; after the first time they dance the teitahaia dance. They eat salted food. The chief makes speeches to them in the evening and they dance all night.

Fifth day.—All go home.

THE TUKABAHCHEE BUSK

First day.—All assemble.

Second day.—The women dance. Materials for the new fire and medicines are procured. They dance at night. The men sleep in the square.

Third day.—The men fast. Ashes are cleared from the old fireplaces, sand spread there, the new fire lighted, four ears of corn put into the fire and the fire distributed. Medicines are prepared and taken; some youths get the stomp dance medicines and take their busk medicines after they come back. All go to dive into the creek. They break their fast. There is an all-night dance.

Fourth day.—All rest; later some play ball. There is a feast on green corn and other vegetable foods. A council is held in the evening and directions sent out for a hunt on the following day. An all-night dance follows.

Fifth day.—The men go hunting.

Sixth day.—A piece of beef is brought and put into the fire. A war dance is held. A feast follows, consisting largely of meat; salt is used.

Seventh day.—There is a second fast.

Eighth day.—The chief delivers an address to his people and dismisses them for the year.

THE TUKABAHCHEE BUSK (OLDER FORM)

The first two days are the same.

Third day.—Ashes are cleared from the old fireplaces, and sand spread there for fires and to rest the copper shields upon. The shields are washed in the creek and placed on the sand. The fire is lighted, four ears of corn are burned in it, and it is distributed. Asi is prepared and given to the shield bearers. The bearers dance with the shields. Pretended scouts go out and on coming back are given tobacco. There is a stomp dance that night to which no women are admitted.

Fourth day.—A gun dance is held, including a mock fight. All bathe in the creek. They rest the remainder of the day. The dumpling dance is sometimes indulged in in the evening.

Fifth day.—The men go hunting.

Sixth day.—A piece of meat is put into the fire. They bathe in the creek and the "busk is destroyed." The women dance. The old dance is danced. Necessary work is done.

Seventh day.—They fast all day. At night there is a stomp dance.

Eighth day.—The chief delivers a lecture to the people and they go home.

THE BUSK DESCRIBED BY ADAIR

First day.—The square is thoroughly cleaned and painted; new coverings are made for the seats; the fireplace is cleaned out. A feast follows, the remains of which are afterwards carefully removed. The men are called into the square in the evening to fast.

Second day.—The men fast all day. The medicines are taken. Women, children, and men in feeble health fast until noon and then eat.

Third day.—Food is brought by the women to the edge of the square where it is taken by the men and eaten, the feast being completed before noon. All of the fires are extinguished, and a new fire is made in the teokofa. New corn, bear's oil, the pasa, and the asi are put into the fire. The medicine maker ("archi-magus") lectures the people. The women get the new fire and take it home. Six old women dance in the teokofa. (The asi has been prepared while the above was going on and is taken from time to time.)

Fourth day.—The women prepare a great feast. A mock battle is fought. A big dance takes place. All plunge into running water.

Adair is somewhat confusing, inasmuch as he speaks of the ceremony sometimes as lasting four days, sometimes eight.⁷⁸ In the enumeration of the eight, the three or four days in which the medicine maker had to fast in preparation may be included. Accounts of the other ceremonies are too fragmentary to be analyzed; the value of the material they contain is principally as illustrative of the rest.

With the preceding may be compared the Yuchi ceremonial as recorded by Doctor Speck. He has begun numbering the days of this ceremony with that which we have called the "day of feasting," making seven in all, but before this is a day of assembling which, if added to the rest, makes the conventional eight. In order to compare this ceremonial more satisfactorily with the others, I shall venture to change the numbering by reckoning the day of assembling as the first.

First day.—The people assemble.

⁷⁸ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 109.

Second day.—Materials for the new fire and the medicines are procured. A sumptuous evening meal is served. In the evening the big turtle dance takes place. The town chief delivers a speech.

Third day.—The medicine plants are brought to the square. The new fire is lighted. The medicines are prepared. The males of the town are scratched. The medicines are taken. The men go to the creek, wash off their paint, and cleanse their hands, the town chief remaining meanwhile in the square. Some ears of corn are rubbed over the bathers and some are thrown into the fire. The men in the square smoke tobacco. The town chief makes a short speech. Food is brought into the square and eaten, the fast being ended. The fasters retire to their camps to rest. The young boys have a ball game. The young men play ball. They dance all night in the square. (The feather dance is sometimes danced once before and once after taking the medicines; the gun dance was performed in the day by one town and in the evening by another.)

Fourth day.—The assembly temporarily disbands, most of the people going to their own homes.

Fifth day.—The people remain at home.

Sixth day.—The people reassemble at the square.

Seventh day.—A feast consisting of meat takes place at noon. At night there is a general dance.

Eighth day.—The ceremonial gathering breaks up.

The fourth or fifth day, perhaps both the fourth and the fifth, undoubtedly corresponded to the day spent in hunting mentioned in describing some of the Creek busks. In later times they merely went to the store instead of to the forest.

Some additional remarks may now be made regarding certain features of these busks. First we will take up the medicines. Anciently it is probable that four pots of medicine were used but now the number is reduced to two. The *ási* was brewed by itself and seems to have been used at a different time during the ceremonies from that in which the *pasa* and the *miko hoyanídja* were taken. One of the chief reasons for giving up *ási* was the fact that the plant was not readily obtainable in the western homes of the Creeks. The *pasa* was usually in a pot by itself and it was warmed over a slow fire; in Chialaha the *miko hoyanídja* was combined with several other medicines, among which were the ice weed (*hitütábi*) and cedar, and taken cold. At Tukabahchee *hitei pákpági* is used as a "foundation" for the warm medicine or *adiloga*, and the *pasa* was put with these, while the *miko hoyanídja* was taken cold. The 10 medicines composing the *adiló'ga* were spiceweed, cedar, strawberry, grapevine, blackberry, mistletoe, horsemint, maremint, everlasting, and a forked oak limb, one of the arms of which while still on the tree had pointed toward the west and the other toward the south. Sometimes they added more medicines, as for instance the dewberry, and for

each one they made a mark on the ground. At Eufaula they formerly used the *pasa* and *miko hoyanīdja*, but now have given up the *pasa*. The wormseed, taken just before the busk broke off, was considered a vermifuge. At Kasihta, according to Hawkins, the *pasa*, which the early writers call "the war physic," was drunk on the afternoon of the first day, while the *miko hoyanīdja*, and thirteen other medicine plants were put into two pots and taken on the last day.⁷⁹ The two bearers of the medicine in that town in later times belonged to the Alligator clan. At Tuskegee two pots of hot medicine were taken, followed by two pots of cold medicine. At Coweta the *pasa*, *miko hoyanīdja*, and *āsi* were each mixed in a separate pot. At the Fish Pond town on the morning after the men had finished drinking two men carried medicine to the women for their households. What was left was poured out around the fire. It was thought that the fire would become too hot if the medicine was poured upon it, probably from the magic qualities communicated. On the other hand a Hilibi man said that a little medicine was put on the fire by his own people and the Eufaula Indians to subdue it and in this way reduce the likelihood of fevers during the ensuing year.⁸⁰ Anciently the medicine was not poured out in this way, though the custom has been in vogue for some time. At Nuyaka the old fire was put out by two men, one of the Bear and one of the Wind clan, who walked around it four times and then threw medicine on it, after which it was rebuilt and the busk went on. The Mikasuki used *pasa*, *miko hoyanīdja* (*Mikasuki ayikstānage*), *adilōga*, and *āsi* (*Mikasuki āsoktee'*), but when their square ground in Florida was destroyed by the whites and Coweta they gave up the last.

The following information was vouchsafed by an old Hilibi Indian during the busk at Eufaula:

When the medicine maker blows into the medicine all of the men in the beds are very quiet and attentive and are absorbed in what is going on. When he blows, the god that is in him goes into the medicine from the soul of the blower. He always blows facing the east so as to see the rising sun over the fire, for the fire was thought to be an important and useful thing which the Indians did not create but which was given them by God, and it was revered accordingly. The *miko hoyanīdja* is taken to ward off ills, to act as a kind of wall about the people against pestilence or any kind of disease. The mashed medicine should be taken homo after the busk and used in cases of sickness. The *pasa* is "for the coldness of the corn." It is thought to be especially for the children and is put on the heads and hands of women, children, and men. Properly it is not a medicine but a thank offering for the corn of the preceding year.

⁷⁹ See pp. 577-578.

⁸⁰ See also Adair's description, p. 595.

The new fire at Eufaula is now lighted with a match, but earlier flint and steel were used and still earlier two sticks of wood. Jackson Lewis said that the lower stick was taken from a tree called afoslibakfa which looks something like a pawpaw and the bark of which may be stripped up from the root very readily (wahu tree—Loughridge). The twirling stick was a piece of cane. Six or seven men took turns at this and sometimes Jackson Lewis affirmed that a bow was used. The fire is now carried down to the camps but not to the homes. Pope, whose acquaintance was particularly with Broken Arrow, says that the base stick was a dry piece of poplar and the twirling stick a stick of sassafras, and that the fire making was done by the medicine maker.⁸¹ This appears to have been the usual ancient custom. Bartram mentions the addition of resin as an aid in fire production.⁸² Jackson Knight, who belonged to the western Abihka town, affirmed that the four foundation sticks were intended to point to the entries, as was also the case with the Tukabahchee sticks.

The busk dances may be summarized as follows:

Itcha obānga,⁸³ called in Eufaula *nī'ta obānga* (the daylight dance).—This is the women's dance which took place on the day just before the fast day proper. The atasa and attachments carried by the leading women seem to indicate that this was originally a scalp or war dance, and this view is strengthened by the fact that at Nuyaka the management of it was in the hands of the occupants of the south bed, all of whom belonged to Teiloki or war clans. On the other hand, at Eufaula it was conducted by the White clans.

Tcītahaia, popularly known as the "feather dance" because the dancers have canes in their hands with feathers fastened at the ends.—This is distinctly a peace dance. At Tukabahchee the feathers were attached to the canes by members of the Bird clan, and in some towns they were feathers of the little white heron (*fus hātka*) or the white crane. In Tukabahchee only the White clans carried feathers of this kind, the Teiloki carrying eagle feathers. The song accompanying it is said to have been obtained by a certain man from the summer crane. He was traveling along in a certain place, heard this song, and wondered for a long time what caused it, but finally discovered that it was a crane. The entire dance was also under the supervision of the White clans, and nowadays it is said that the feathers and the dance both typify the peace with the American Government, while the clearing out of the white yard signifies that they are true to the obligations of that treaty. I was told that when the Tukabahchee danced the feather dance, which they no longer do, when they took up their feathered canes, they rubbed out the prints made by the butt ends of the wands with the soles of their feet.

⁸¹ Pope, *Tour*, p. 55.

⁸² Bartram, *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 27.

⁸³ This word is confounded by Hawkins with *Itea*. "gun." See p. 578.

Obānga tēpko, "the long dance."—This was danced in the evening. At Tukabahechee it was danced on the evening of the third day, the dancers carrying feathered wands as in the feather dance, and it was also danced on the afternoon of that day, the dancers holding the shields. It is not now much used.

Tabotcka obānga, "the gun dance."—This was usually danced early in the morning after the fast day and took place on the ball ground. In this dance firearms were discharged, and human effigies were made and shot at. Sometimes they painted these with pokeberry juice, made them look as if they had been wounded or killed, and carried them out in that condition. The presentation was frequently so realistic that the uninitiated were very much frightened.

Obānga atēūli, "the old dance."—This was danced on the evening of the fast day after the fast was over and marked the time when the fasters were perfectly free. It was, however, danced only by the men, who at that time wore tortoise-shell rattles on their legs.

Obānga hūđjo, "the drunken dance."—This was danced on the night after the preceding and usually when the concourse was ready to break up.

Paikka obānga, "the war dance."—This was danced at the time of the first stomp dance of the season at Tukabahechee by a man named itci yāhola.^{83a}

The dumpling dance was sometimes danced for amusement at Tukabahechee on the evening of the fourth day.

Anciently Hawkins tells us that the turkey dance was performed by women of the Turkey clan on the first day of the busk and later on the same day came the tadpole and beniha dances, the latter at night.⁸⁴

Many other dances, especially the animal dances, were introduced on the last night. They began then with the common or stomp dance (*sātkita obānga*) which lasted until about midnight, after which the animal dances were introduced and continued until morning.

Speeches were usually made by the chief's yatika, but the war speaker (*holibonaia*) might be called upon on occasions of national emergency and if any good speaker was known to be present among the visitors he would be invited to address the assemblage. According to one man a *tāstānāgi* was chosen to make a speech several times during the night of the general dance, and according to another speeches were made by men of the *Teilokis*, but it was the general opinion that the yatika was chosen from any clan. Before he spoke a man would spit four times very deliberately to each side and repeat a formula. Formal speeches usually began with the word *Ta-a-a intuká'stei*, "Now everybody's attention."

^{83a} See p. 557.

⁸⁴ See pp. 577-578.

These speeches were couched in a particular form, contained certain peculiar words, and were uttered in a rhythmic manner which may be likened to the intoning of a religious service. The late Chief G. W. Grayson, of Eufaula, Okla., supplied a short speech after the ancient type which is incorporated herewith. Such a speech was known as the "long talk" and it was delivered by the chief's yatika or "long talker" just before the women danced the Iteha obānga or "daylight dance."^{84a} Mr. Grayson says: "You will notice the speaker often ends his sentences with 'he says so,' because the chief never makes a public address. You will understand that this is not a stereotyped copy of a talk that would in every instance be delivered at such a gathering, but *about* such as I have often heard, only this is abbreviated, as it fails to touch upon many subjects usually included in such talks. . . . As I have told you, if this style of public speaking was ever the only way the Creeks spoke, it is now long since obsolete, except at the 'busks' and just before entering the ball play." Mr. Grayson has kindly furnished both a line for line and a free translation of this speech, the original being in the official Creek orthography.^{84b}

TEXT WITH INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION

Ta intukvtsi!

1. Hayomate:

Now:

2. Momet umvres en kuhmit?

Thus it shall be I thought for them,

3. Tvsekvv tate netta-kveekv em vruccicit omvvenken

and caused broken days to go about among the men.

4. Tvsekvv, cuku-lice clkv-vhuske emvhunkvtkv hvyomvteket

and the men, and those interned in the house, so great a number left of death

5. "Upunvkv okvtetisos" vn kuhmit

"He meant talk" they thought of me

6. Tak fettv tate vn cukulahken heevyofv,

My dooryard they two have come in when I see

7. "Muntos komit es vn ahlypvtke estvmalet os," maket omes ce.

So it is, I think, and am greatly satisfied, so he says:

8. Momen hvyomate?

And now.

9. Pun cuku-perievlke fullvranet omes.

Our visitors will go about among us.

10. Momen ometo estomis.

Even if that shall be.

^{84a} See p. 609.

^{84b} This system has the following peculiarities: v=â (a obscure); r=l (surd l); e=i; i=ai; e=te.

11. Mvnnetvlke afveketv eten haye omet.
The young sporting among themselves.
12. Etepelice omis mome ocet omes.
Laughing at each other they ofttimes do.
13. Mv tat momen umekares;
That must not be.
14. "Vnen ukhoyis omes" komvranat ocet ometokv,
"They probably mean me" because they may think.
15. Mvt momen umekares maket omesce.
That must not be, so he says.
16. Munkv este e vhericet.
Therefore the people must be careful of themselves.
17. Tak kaket umvres;
As they two sit down;
18. Momen enhesse take em vlaket unt on omatehkvn.
And if their friends shall come to them.
19. Humpetv hulwaksat en kvlepet.
Victuals no matter how humble, you must break with them.
20. Umvranet omes komis maket omesce.
Is the way I want it to be, so he says.
21. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
22. Este en hesse take.
Person's friends.
23. Hupvye estvmahen sehokvteto estomis.
Although they two may have stood very far away.
24. Hvyomat em vcukuperet.
If they are now visiting them.
25. Em fullet unt on omatehkvn.
And going about among them.
26. Vhericet vsetet.
Take care to shake hands with them.
27. Em vpelet.
Laugh with him.
28. Etem punahoyet omvres.
Talk with him they should.
29. Maket omesce.
So he says.
30. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
31. Vmavculke sehokof.
My old people when they two stood.
32. Heyvt em afveketvt omvtetis.
Although this was their amusement.
33. Vntatehkvn es cvhuse ome hakvtet unt omis.
And although I have about forgotten it.

34. Hvyomat vluockapkuse tayate.
Now that which will at least resemble it.
35. Afvekety hayit.
Amusement I shall make.
36. Hvyomate tak kakin.
And I too shall sit.
37. Vm estomvranet omes komis maket osece.
Until it shall happen as it may, is my purpose, so he says.
38. Momen cuku-lice tate afvekety tat.
And the interned-in-the-house, amusement.
39. En hayvrabyet omes, maketos.
For them I shall provide, so he says.
40. Munkv cuku-lice a.
Therefore the interned in the house.
41. Awet estomet em vculvke tate em afveketyv omvte.
They must come up, how their old ones that were, their amusement was.
42. En kerket ometokv.
As it is known to them.
43. A awet vschoket umvres maket omesee.
They must come up and stand by it, so he says!

FREE TRANSLATION

I deemed it proper for our people, and a few days since caused notice (broken days) to be given out among them; and when I see so many men and women who have been spared from death and who have heeded my notice, and come into the public square, I am greatly pleased, he says. And now we will have visitors coming to be with us to enjoy with us these exercises. We are glad to have them and when they come, let there be no loud and boisterous laughing indulged in by our young people, lest the visitors construe such hilarity as having been excited by their appearance and thereby be made to feel embarrassed. This must not be. Our people therefore are enjoined to keep close watch over themselves, doing nothing that the visitor might become offended at while we are here. And if friends shall come to your camp, you are enjoined to set before them such scanty table fare as you are able to offer, be it ever so little.

You will doubtless be visited by friends living in distant parts of the country; when they shall come you are asked to give them the glad hand of friendship, laugh and talk with, and make them feel perfectly welcome; this is my desire. And now, when my old people practiced their old customs in their entirety, the purpose for which we meet here to-day was their joy and glory. And although I have well-nigh forgotten those beloved customs, I shall at least attempt a semblance of them as best I may, and continue in the performance

to the end, so he says. I propose to provide some amusement for our women, so he says. So I enjoin upon our women that they promptly take their places; and as they understand the custom of our forebears, they are asked to carry them out on this occasion, so he says.

During the busk names and titles different from those ordinarily used were employed. The women were called *Hōmpita haya* ("food preparers"), or *Teukole'idji* ("having a house"). This last term is said to have been extended also to the children—that is, it included all of those who remained in the houses instead of going to war or the chase. According to Cook it was applied in *Tukabahchee* only to the four women who acted as leaders in the women's dance. It was very bad form to refer to a woman or to women by the common terms. In important speeches the people of the *Raccoon* clan often said "I am of the *Shawanogis*," and this term also extended to related clans like the *Potato* and *Fox*. This applied particularly to *Tukabahchee* and was based on the close friendship between the *Tukabahchee* and the *Shawnee*. According to *Alindja*, one of the best *Tukabahchee* authorities, it was extended really to the whole of *Tukabahchee* town, the term *Teiloki* bringing about a separation. The *Raccoon* clan at *Tukabahchee* also called themselves *Isti mikāgi doiyāt* ("chiefs that we are") or *isti teilokogi doiyāt* ("Teilokis that we are"). The towns often had particular busk names. The *Abihka* would be known as *Abihka nāgi*, the *Coweta* as *Kawita mahma'ya*, the *Kasihta* as *Kasihta lāko*. The *Okehai* called themselves by that name and the almost as common term *Lālogālga*. The *Okfuskee* and *Tulsa* people called themselves *Kos i'stāgi* ("people of *Coosa*"). The *Pākān tallahassee* used the word *Pākana*.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

GENERAL REMARKS

Just as among the beings and objects in nature there were certain which possessed or acquired exceptional supernatural powers, so there were certain men who were possessed of such power or were mediums for its expression. They were also versed in the powers possessed by other created things and hence were partly prophets or soothsayers and partly doctors, while some of them occupied official or semi-official positions and became priests.

Both men and women could be doctors. Swan, in fact, states that women were employed more frequently than men.⁸⁵ If this means that the female doctors were more numerous than the male he is probably incorrect, since very little is said of female doctors by anyone else, and I have heard little about them personally. Perhaps Swan had reference in part to the common practitioners,

⁸⁵ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 270.

persons who did not assume to have much supernatural power but were none the less acquainted with remedies and were called in in cases of minor importance. It is likely that such persons existed in almost every large family group and probably they were more often women than men. The old women were naturally the midwives. As with us there were home remedies known to almost every one, still others known only to certain of the old people, and finally medicines and medical processes which were the sole property of the various grades of shamans.

THE "KNOWERS"

The principal individuals who combined medical and priestly functions were the *kilas* or "knowers," usually called by the whites "prophets," and the priests or doctors proper, known as *alektea*, or medicine makers, *hilis-hāya*. There were only a few of the former and they are said always to have been men, but the second were more numerous, and had more to do directly with healing. While the *kila* might also be a good doctor his work in that line was generally confined to a determination of the kind of disease with which the sick person was afflicted.⁸⁶ He might best be described as the diagnostician, though his diagnosis consisted merely in the examination of an article of clothing belonging to the sick man. From this he claimed to be able to determine the nature of the disorder and he sent back word accordingly. Of course, many doctors, partly from having seen so many cases diagnosed by the *kila*, would be so expert that they would not ordinarily need to refer to him. The *kila* was something of a clairvoyant and probably a juggler also, and about this class many wonderful tales are told. It was thought that the younger of twins was likely to make an efficient *kila*. Natchez and Cherokee informants stated that twins would be prophets until they were 8 or 10 years old, when the gift would leave them, but if they were carefully watched they would become prophets when they grew up. My Cherokee interpreter had a brother and sister who were twins. His father, a man often outlawed, said that they frequently warned him of impending trouble. It was thought that triplets might know still more. In one case triplets told their father, who had been acquitted several times before the courts, that the next time he would be hung, and in consequence he took good care to keep out of trouble. It was the *kila* who learned events from birds as narrated on page 496. He could foretell death, sickness, or crime, and in the last case he would sometimes send his dogs to punish the offenders

⁸⁶ The people of Tukabachee and neighboring towns believed that Megillis Hadjo [miko hilis hadjo?], the prophet of Tukabachee, met by Hitchcock in 1842, had control over the elements and could make the weather pleasant or disagreeable. They thought he could see into the future and predict events, and in cases of sickness he was frequently called upon to divine and to define the cause.—Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

It is asserted that a prophet could tell a person where to find a stolen horse; could shorten a road, making it draw together as if it were made of rubber; could make beads, finger rings, or bullets swim on the surface of the water; could throw a bead into the middle of a stream, make it swim toward shore, and cause another bead to swim out to meet it. He could determine whether a person's life was to be long or short by setting up a stake and making another object move toward it "by his power." If this reached the stake, the person's life would be long; if it fell short of it his life would be short.

Near Yahola station, on the Midland Valley Railroad, lived an old *kila* from whom the station derived its name. He had cleared out spaces around his house said to represent the square grounds of the different Creek towns (pl. 13, *c*).

The Texas Alabama tell of a prophet who stopped rain by fasting and putting medicine on the water of a creek. Another stopped a storm which was brought on when his companion shot a buzzard, mistaking it for a turkey. On another occasion some people were in the middle of a lake and were surrounded on all sides by enemies who had lighted fires all about on the banks so that they could not escape during the night. However, a prophet among the people on the water made it rain, thereby putting out the fires, and enabling them to get through the lines of their enemy. Still another prophet brought on rain in the following manner. He sent a boy out to catch fish, and when they were brought he dived with them to the bottom of a creek and gave them to certain long, horned snakes living there which go under both the water and the land. These snakes are called in Alabama *teinto sakteo* and have been described on page 494. Then these snakes made the rain fall. More often, however, rain making is ascribed to a separate set of rain makers.

Although he confounds knowers and shamans, it must be the former to whom Bossu refers in the following words:

"The savages have much confidence in their medicine men; the cabin of the jugglers (*jongleur*) is covered with skins which serve him as a covering or clothing. He enters it entirely naked and begins to pronounce some words which none understands: it is, says he, to invoke the spirit; after which he rises, cries, is agitated, appears beside himself, and water pours from all parts of his body.

"The cabin shakes, and those present think that it is the presence of the Spirit; the language which he speaks in these invocations has nothing in common with the language of the savages; it is only through a heated imagination that these charlatans have found the means of making it pass for a divine language, it is thus in all times that the most clever have duped the others."⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 58, note.

THE "FASTERS" OR DOCTORS

The doctors or priests—at least a great majority of them—belonged to a class of learned men called *isti poskálgi* ("fasting men"), already referred to, who had received their training in certain schools of higher learning, if we may so denominate them. This training was called by the same name, *pōskita*, "to fast," as that given to the great town ceremonial, because in both fasting was an essential element. It was generally undertaken in summer when a person can lie out of doors comfortably and proceeds about as follows, according to Jackson Lewis, who had taken five courses in this aboriginal college. From one to four young men—Lewis did not remember parties of more than four—would go into the town and engage some old Indian who was known to have passed through the course and was prepared to teach them. Then all repaired together to a stream of water, usually a densely wooded creek bottom where they were not likely to be observed. As a further protection they threw together boughs so as to screen themselves still more completely, for during their stay there they did not want to be so much as seen. The "red root," *miko hoyanīdja*, was dug by each candidate, pounded up and put into a pot already provided, and the pot filled with water. Then the instructor came in and blew into the medicine through a cane. After blowing into it and singing over it he went away. This was supposed to give the medicine virtue. Then the novice drank great quantities of medicine at intervals of an hour or more, so arranging it that by noon he would have taken it four separate times. At noon the instructor came back and then began to tell the novice either by words or songs some of the most elementary things he had to learn. After talking for some time he went away. When the sun was just above the western horizon he came back and gave more instruction and left the man in the woods again.

The first thing that would be taught was how to treat gunshot wounds. There were three ways of treating these: (1) For flesh wounds, (2) for bowel wounds, (3) for head wounds. The instructor would tell what to do and what songs to sing in order to give virtue to the medicine they made for the wounds. Then the instructor said, "You sing this. Sing it as I have sung it to you." Sometimes these are merely recited formulas. When the novice had repeated as best he could what the instructor had told him the instructor criticized, and corrected him where he had made mistakes. Then he instructed him again and said, "Now go over it as I have." He did not stop because his pupil had repeated it correctly once but made him go over it often later, because unless it was gone over in just such a manner it would not be effective when used. After this

he would teach the novice the proper treatment for any disease that the latter might desire to learn about. This instruction was continued for four successive days. Then the novice stopped because the teacher thought it better for him to think these things over and repeat them to himself for a while before learning more. After a month or two, during which the novice went back to the town, he could return to the woods and take another course. There were only slight variations between the methods of instruction of different teachers. Few ever took a complete course. After the fifth or sixth 4-day period one could ask the teacher to put him through the 8-day session, and after that he could ask the teacher to put him through the 12-day session, which was the last. There were very few teachers because very few had passed through the 12-day course. This instruction seems to have required fasting and isolation from noise because nothing was written and everything must be imprinted on the mind. Noises would disturb the process. After the first 4-day session had been gone through a blanket was thrown about the novice and water was poured upon hot stones inside of this until steam was raised, and after the novice was thoroughly steamed he went to bathe in a cold creek. Then he went home feeling very hungry but unable to eat much because his stomach was drawn up from fasting and the frequent taking of the red root emetic. None of the other tribes with which Lewis was acquainted had anything similar to this. After the education had been completed the old teacher would dig a trench in the ground, put a cane in the novice's mouth so that he might breathe through it, cover him with earth, put leaves over all, and set fire to them. Then he would order the novice to get up and, having done so, he was ready for any emergency in life. Lewis knew of many who had not gone as far as he but pretended to be proficient in all branches. One who had gone as far as himself was entitled to embellish his headdress with a feather of the horned owl, "which many fellows who actually know little wear to-day." It also entitled him to wear a buzzard feather, the insignia of the man able to treat gunshot wounds. Lewis once cured his son, who had been shot through the breast so that the air seemed to be coming out of the vent. The buzzard's feather was used because that feather was employed in cleaning out the wound before treating it. Lewis could appropriately wear a fox's skin, because he could cure a snake bite. These insignia ought to be worn only when a body of people is going to war or is collected on account of some danger. They served to single out the persons who were to be approached in case of trouble. If you find an Indian with a streak of red paint in one corner of the mouth extending down to the side it means he is capable of treating a person injured in an affray. The fox's skin is worn because foxes catch and eat snakes,

showing that they, like the wearer of the fox skin, can conquer them. A person who can cure a snake bite also has a tobacco pouch made of opossum skin, because an opossum can kill and eat a snake like a fox. In early times these men were always preparing young people for war, and, as much of this work had to be done at night, fine eyesight was requisite. The old teacher also taught his pupil how to trail and locate an enemy and he believed he was teaching him how to acquire extraordinary vision at night. That was why the latter used an owl feather.

When the novice fasted it was expected that he would have a dream (or vision). Lewis himself dreamed that a very clear, beautiful day had dawned upon him and a number of white birds were coming toward him. When his teacher heard it he said, "That is a very good sign, a clear day and white birds. You will be a good doctor of gunshot wounds."

The only other account of this *poskita* known to me is the following, from Hawkins:

"At the age of from fifteen to seventeen, this ceremony is usually performed. It is called *Boos-ke-tau*, in like manner as the annual *Boosketau* of the nation. A youth of the proper age gathers two handfuls of the *Sou-watch-cau*, a very bitter root, which he eats a whole day; then he steepes the leaves in water and drinks it. In the dusk of the evening, he eats two or three spoonfuls of boiled grits. This is repeated for four days, and during this time he remains in a house. The *Sou-watch-cau* has the effect of intoxicating and maddening. The fourth day he goes out, but must put on a pair of new moccasins (*Stil-la-pica*). For twelve moons, he abstains from eating bucks, except old ones, and from turkey cocks, fowls, peas and salt. During this period he must not pick his ears, or scratch his head with his fingers, but use a small stick. For four moons he must have a fire to himself, to cook his food, and a little girl, a virgin, may cook for him; his food is boiled grits. The fifth moon, any person may cook for him, but he must serve himself first, and use one spoon and pan. Every new moon, he drinks for four days the *possau*, (button snake-root,) an emetic, and abstains for these days, from all food, except in the evening, a little boiled grits, (*humpetuh lutke*.) The twelfth moon, he performs for four days, what he commenced with on the first. The fifth day, he comes out of his house, gathers corn cobs, burns them to ashes, and with these, rubs his body all over. At the end of this moon, he sweats under blankets, then goes into water, and this ends the ceremony. This ceremony is sometimes extended to four, six, or eight moons, or even to twelve days only, but the course is the same.

"During the whole of this ceremony, the physic is administered by the Is-te-pue-cau-chau thlue-co, (great leader,) who in speaking of a youth under initiation, says, 'I am physicing him,' (Boo-se-ji-jite saut li-to-misce-cha,) or 'I am teaching him all that is proper for him to know,' (nauk o-mul-gau e-mue-e-thli-jite saut litomise cha.) The youth, during this initiation, does not touch any one except young persons, who are under a like course with himself, and if he dreams, he drinks the possau."⁸⁸

Those who had gone through with this training were held in high esteem, and there appears to have been no fast for persons not intending to become doctors except at the great annual ceremony. In lore of this kind the Shawnee are believed to be very rich. The following quotation from Adair shows that, in spite of Lewis's claim that this ordeal was peculiar to the Creeks, a similar institution existed among the Chickasaw, except that admission was secured through inheritance:

"*Ishtohoollo* is the name of all their priestly order, and their pontifical office descends by inheritance to the eldest: those friend-towns, which are firmly confederated in their exercises and plays, never have more than one *Archimagus* at a time . . . They, who have the least knowledge of Indian affairs, know, that the martial virtues of the savages, obtains them titles of distinction; but yet their old men, who could scarcely correct their transgressing wives, much less go to war, and perform those difficult exercises, that are essentially needful in an active warrior, are often promoted to the pontifical dignity, and have great power over the people, by the pretended sanctity of the office" . . .⁸⁹

It appears that this order of "magi" were the custodians not only of medical secrets but of secrets supposed to be of value in warfare, of the sacred myths, and of various branches of learning.

At the head of the priesthood in each town was the *hilis-haya* or "medicine maker," who communicated the necessary spiritual qualities to the medicines at the annual busk, had general charge of the public health, protected all from ghosts, and so on. While fitness was regarded rather than descent in selecting this high priest, some towns at least preferred to take him from a certain clan, oftenest the clan of the *miko*. According to the last *miko* of Chialha the medicine maker of that town was elected for four years only, at the end of which period he might be reelected or displaced. Speaking of the Chickasaw in the middle of the eighteenth century, Adair says: "the title of *old beloved men*, or *archimagi*, is still hereditary in the *panther*, or *tyger family*."⁹⁰ Bartram calls this functionary the "high priest." The Creeks "have," he says, "an ancient high-priest, with juniors in

⁸⁸ Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 78-79.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁸⁹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 81.

every town and tribe. The high-priest is a person of great power and consequence in the state. He always sits in council, and his advice in affairs of war is of the greatest weight and importance, and he or one of his disciples always attends a war party." "It sometimes happens," he adds, "that the king is war-chief and high-priest, and then his power is very formidable and sometimes dangerous to the liberty of citizens, and he must be a very cunning man if the tomahawk or rifle do not cut him short."⁹¹

The following statement by the same writer bears out what Jackson Lewis says regarding the insignia of graduates and adds some details.

"The junior priests or students constantly wear the mantle or robe, which is white; and they have a great owl skin cased and stuffed very ingeniously, so well executed, as almost to represent the living bird, having large sparkling glass beads, or buttons, fixed in the head for eyes; this ensign of wisdom and divination, they wear sometimes as a crest on the top of the head, at other times the image fits on the arm, or is borne on the hand. These bachelors are also distinguishable from the other people by their taciturnity, grave and solemn countenance, dignified step, and singing to themselves songs or hymns, in a low sweet voice, as they stroll about the town."⁹²

They were, of course, men who had taken some courses in medicine. Regarding the headdress it is instructive to compare those in some of Le Moyne's drawings of the Florida Indians.^{92a}

A graduate in medicine, or at least one of a certain degree, could paint a black circle round each eye when he went out at night. This was in imitation of the markings of the raccoon and signified that he could see anything in the dark. If a man had been killed at night a doctor having this power would paint these circles about his eyes and track the murderer right to his own house. He could see his tracks "like a spider's web" and follow them. One of the means for attaining this ability to see in the dark was by using the "star medicine" (kodjodjambâ hiliswa). According to Silas Jefferson, a man with a "skunk's pouch" was considered a great medicine man capable of charming any kind of animal. There was no uniformity, however, in the costumes worn by doctors. Outside of certain generally understood insignia each dressed to suit himself. One doctor is said to have carried big spiders and snakes about in order to scare people.

Frequent scratchings were resorted to by the medicine men that they might keep in health. A graduate in medicine was not allowed to eat catfish, for if he did it was thought that the fish bones would cause weevil to bore into the beans.

⁹¹ Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 24. ^{92a} Le Moyne, Jacques, Narrative, Trans., Boston, 1875.

⁹² Bartram, Travels, p. 502.

METHODS OF PRACTICING

The method of bestowing medical treatment seems to have changed progressively after first contact with the whites, the religious features becoming less and less pronounced and the features connected with the administration of the medicine more and more important. Adair's account of the performance among the Chickasaw in the middle of the eighteenth century is as follows:

"When the Indian physicians visit their supposed irreligious patients, they approach them in a bending posture, with their rattling calabash, preferring that sort to the North-American gourds: and in that bent posture of body, they run two or three times round the sick person, contrary to the course of the sun, invoking God as already exprest. Then they invoke the raven; and mimic his croaking voice . . . They also place a bason of cold water with some pebbles in it on the ground, near the patient, then they invoke the fish, because of its cool element, to cool the heat of the fever. Again, they invoke the eagle, (*Ooóle*) they solicit him as he soars in the heavens, to bring down refreshing things for their sick, and not to delay them, as he can dart down upon the wing, quick as a flash of lightning. They are so tedious on this subject, that it would be a task to repeat it: however, it may be needful to observe, that they chuse the eagle because of its supposed communicative virtues; and that it is according to its Indian name, a cherubimical emblem, and the king of birds, of prodigious strength, swiftness of wing, majestic stature, and loving its young ones so tenderly, as to carry them on its back, and teach them to fly.⁹³

Of the Chickasaw of a later date we read:

"When they are sick, they send for a doctor, (they have several among them,) after looking at the sick a-while, the family leave him and the sick alone. He then commences singing and shaking a gourd over the patient. This is done, not to cure, but to find out what is the matter or disease: as the doctor sings several songs, he watches closely the patient, and finds out which song pleased: then he determines what the disease is: he then uses herbs, roots, steaming, and conjuring: the doctor frequently recommends to have a large feast: (which they call *Tonsh-pa-shoo-phah*;) if the Indian is tolerably well off, and is sick for two or three weeks, they may have two or three *Tonsh-pa-shoo-phahs*.⁹⁴ They eat, dance, and sing at a great rate,

⁹³Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 173-174.

⁹⁴ *Tonsh-pa-shoo-phah* is *ta'shi át pishofa*, "the corn is hulled."

at these feasts; the doctors say that it raises the spirits of the sick, and weakens the evil spirit.⁹⁵

Today they call these dances by a shortened form of the name, Pishofa dances; they will be discussed at length in a subsequent paper.

The later Creek performance was much tamer than the ancient ritual. If a person were sick and his family knew what medicine to send for they did so; if not they got the physician's advice and procured the herbs, and other things he ordered. The pot was laid out for him with the medicine plants near it and beside all a cane for him to blow through, also a chair for him to sit in and a small gift to encourage him. Four root stalks or branches of the medicine were generally used, and in gathering these the doctor sometimes faced east and sometimes one of the other cardinal points in accordance with the nature of the remedy. Bark and branches were generally taken from the east sides of the trees. The medicine was piled into the pot at the direction of the physician, along with water, after which he blew into it through the cane four separate times after as many repetitions of a sacred formula suited to the kind of disease which he supposed the patient had contracted. He came four successive mornings, allowing the gift to remain where it had been placed until the fourth, when he took it with him. This gift might be some cloth—perhaps 10 yards of calico—money, a handkerchief, or, if the doctor were a woman, a shawl. Money has been given only in late times.

The points of the compass are frequently named in these formulæ. The circuit is always sinistral or contraclockwise, and according to the best information I could get it usually begins with the north and ends with the east because the east is associated with life or the renewal of it. According to one informant, however, it ended with the south, and there may have been variations in the formulæ because the colors attached to these points are admitted to vary. One of my best informants stated that they were either: North (honeta), green; west (akálatká), red; south (wahála), black; and east (hásosa), white; or else north, red; west, green; south, black; and east, white. The black is said to stand for the shade or something of that sort, but it does not seem natural that it should be to the south. The table following contains seven lists of colors applied to the cardinal points by several different bodies of Creeks, and a list from the Cherokee band of Natchez, obtained from several different authorities.

⁹⁵ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. I, p. 310.

	North	West	South	East
Chekilli, speech to Oglethorpe (Kasihta).	Red and yellow.	Black----	Blue-----	White. ¹
Tuggle, Ms -----	Red-----	Yellow----	Black-----	Do. ²
Lasley Cloud, through F. Speck (Tuskegee).	Black-----	do-----	Red-----	Do. ³
Big Jack (Hilibi) -----	Green-----	Red-----	Black-----	Do.
	Red-----	Green-----	do-----	Do.
Z. Cook (Tukabahehe) -----	Black-----	do-----	White-----	Red.
Silas Jefferson (Tuskegee) -----	Green-----	Black-----	Brown-----	Yellow.
Texas Alabama -----	Yellow-----	do-----	Red-----	White.
Watt Sam (Natchez) -----	do-----	do-----	do-----	Do.

¹ Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 245.

² Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

³ Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 23.

Here red and yellow is each applied to the north in three lists, and black and green in two; black is applied to the west in four lists, yellow and green in two each, and red in one; black is applied to the south in three cases, brown in one, red in three, and blue and white in one each; white is applied to the east in seven cases and yellow and red in one each. In conjuring for the dog disease the cardinal points were faced in the same order as that first given, ending with the east, but no colors were mentioned. In others neither the points nor the colors occurred. When he blew into the medicine, however, the doctor almost always faced east. An Alabama doctor would sing one verse of the medicine formula and call upon the north, sing another and call upon the west, sing a third and call upon the south, and sing a fourth and call upon the east. Then he would blow into the medicine and do the same thing again, passing around the circuit four times and blowing into the medicine after each circuit. Afterwards the patient was given some medicine to drink, and, wetting the ends of his fingers in it, the doctor rubbed some on the patient's ears, arms, legs, breast, and in fact his whole body. The north was referred to as the "yellow water," the west as "the black water," the south as "the red water," and the east as "the white water," and they were enumerated in that order, as in the table above.

According to my Natchez informant, himself a medicine man, the sick person must be laid with his head to the east. It was like administering poison, he affirmed, to turn the heads of the sick in any other direction, because "the east meant long life and good fortune while the west meant short life." Bark, roots, and other portions of trees or bushes which entered into the remedies were taken from the east side. If a person became weak and emaciated, his name might be changed.

Blood letting and sucking were frequently resorted to. Swan says that the Indians sometimes believed that they had been supernaturally shot by enemies hundreds of miles away and would then consult a doctress. "The cunning woman tells them that what they have apprehended is verily true, and proceeds to examine and make the cure. In these cases, scratching or cupping is the remedy; or, as is often the case, sucking the affected part with her mouth, she produces to their view some fragment of a bullet, or piece of a wad, which she had purposely concealed in her mouth to confirm the truth of what she had asserted; after this, a few magic draughts of their physic must be administered, and the patient is made whole."⁹⁶ Jackson Lewis said that pricks were sometimes made over the affected part with a little piece of glass. The large end of a short piece of cow horn was then placed over them and a quantity of blood sucked out through a hole pierced in the small end. Silas Jefferson states that he was once treated by a snake doctor who simply chewed up a bit of root and, holding it in his mouth, sucked out the poison. Next day he was perfectly restored. But unlike the former European practice, blood letting was not resorted to in cases of fever.⁹⁷

Eakins says that bandages and lints were applied in many cases. He continues: "The success with which they treat gunshot wounds, cuts, &c., is generally attributed to the care of the physician. The Creeks never amputate. They are skilful in the use of splints. For removing the wounded they use the litter."⁹⁷

Adair furnishes some information regarding the treatment of those wounded in war.

"The Indians . . . build a small hut at a considerable distance from the houses of the village, for every one of their warriors wounded in war, and confine them there . . . for the space of four moons, including that moon in which they were wounded, as in the case of their women after travail: and they keep them strictly separate, lest the impurity of the one should prevent the cure of the other. The reputed prophet, or divine physician, daily pays them a due attendance, always invoking Yo He Wah to bless the means they apply on the sad occasion: which is chiefly mountain allum, and medicinal herbs, always injoyning a very abstemious life, prohibiting them women and salt in particular, during the time of the cure, or sanctifying the reputed sinners. Like the Israelites, they firmly believe that safety, or wounds, etc., immediately proceed from the pleased, or angry deity, for their virtuous, or vicious conduct, in observing, or violating the divine law.

"In this long space of purification, each patient is allowed only a superannuated woman to attend him, who is past the temptations of

⁹⁶ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 271.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 274.

sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day.”⁹⁹

In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have intercourse with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal assisting spirits.

The “white day” and the “white smoke” were expressions used in medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term “white day” was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man wounded in war because by “giving him the white day” the doctor was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the *teokofa* as a means of cure. This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

“If the physician fails in his cure,” says Swan, “he will ascribe it to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle.”¹⁰¹ This dangerous side of shamanism is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my informants.²

Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another. Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

⁹⁹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 125.

¹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 271.

² Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 59.

kerchief at a tree up which it ran like a squirrel. His opponent then produced a number of centipedes which ran about everywhere but hurt no one. The first then began to try to reach his antagonist in the shapes of various animals, sometimes burrowing under the earth to get at him. Finally, however, the other created a centipede which bit him in the hand and killed him.

As noted above, Shawnee doctors were in particular esteem among the Creeks, an esteem shared by all the other peoples in contact with them. Even the Texas Alabama know the reputed powers of Shawnee doctors well and told me the following story regarding the accomplishments of one of them.

Some Alabama were once traveling along with this doctor. One night they heard what sounded like the whinnying of horses. The Shawnee told them, however, that it was produced by some Comanche Indians, and when day came they discovered four of these Indians in a tree. By his medicine he caused these persons to fall asleep and then tumble to the ground without waking up. In a river bend near by was a great crowd of Comanche, but the Shawnee rendered himself and his companions invisible, so that the Comanche did not see them, and they passed safely on.

It was claimed that when a doctor died all of the medicine he had taken ran away from him in the forms of animals of various kinds, such as lizards and snakes. He died because or when these creatures became too powerful for him. As long as he kept his power over them they remained in him and were his strength. This is from Creek sources and is confirmed in substance by what is said about witchcraft, to which we will turn presently.

The following from Adair leads one to suppose that the medicine maker and other doctors whose positions were official or semiofficial were forced to undergo a special fast and purification before taking their posts, but I have no other evidence regarding it.

“The Indian priests and prophets are initiated by unction. The Chickasah some time ago set apart some of their old men of the religious order. They first obliged them to sweat themselves for the space of three days and nights, in a small green hut, made on purpose, at a considerable distance from any dwelling; through a scrupulous fear to contracting pollution by contact, or from the effluvia of polluted people—and a strong desire of secreting their religious mysteries. During that interval, they are allowed to eat nothing but green tobacco, nor to drink any thing except warm water, highly imbibitered with the button-snake-root, to cleanse their bodies, and prepare them to serve in their holy, or beloved office, before the divine essence, whom during this preparation they constantly invoke by his essential name, as before described. After which, their priestly

garments and ornaments, mentioned under a former argument, page 84, are put on, and then bear's oil is poured upon their head."³

Certain things were done to ward off misfortune before any actual ill effects had been experienced—an aboriginal application of the ounce of prevention axiom. Hitei pakpāgi, the "old man's tobacco," was kept on hand as a protection against the souls of the dead, and a great deal was paid for it. Some of the busk medicines were carried home to help guard the family from harm during the succeeding year, and just outside of and above the door of one of my informants was hung the adilōga or mixed medicine used at that time, while the other medicine, the miko hoyanīdja, was hung just to one side within. This is said to be a common custom with the old-time Indians. At intervals it was thought best to scratch the grown-up men in order to let out bad blood, supposed to have become clogged up inside of them. An Okfuskee Indian told me that he had only recently performed such an operation on 13 men at Nuyaka. These were adults; usually only the young people were scratched.

When a hunting party set out and as soon as it had gotten to the edge of the town, an old man would fall back behind the rest, chew up some sassafras or angelica root, and spit it out toward each of the cardinal points four times. Then he would walk back, singing, and do the same thing four times more. This ceremony was supposed to counteract anything that the spirits of the living might do to injure the hunt by thinking or talking too much about the hunters or by making sport of them. When they came into the settlement on their return they built a fire in a place apart by themselves and sang and danced the stomp dance there all night to prevent the fires they had lighted during the hunt from creating diseases among the families.⁴

The following performance belongs in the same category as the phenomena just considered.

"In the Summer-season of the year 1746 [says Adair], I chanced to see the Indians playing at a house of the former Mississippi-Natchee, on one of their old sacred musical instruments. It pretty much resembled the Negroe-Banger in shape but far exceeded it in dimensions: for it was about five feet long, and a foot wide on the head-part of the board, with eight strings made out of the sinews of a large buffalo. But they were so unskillful in acting the part of the Lyrick, that the *Loache*, or prophet who held the instrument between his feet, and along side of his chin, took one end of the bow, whilst a lusty fellow held the other; by sweating labour they scraped out such harsh jarring sounds, as might have been reasonably ex-

³ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 122.

⁴ Further information on hunting ceremonies will be found on pp. 444-445.

pected by a soft ear, to have been sufficient to drive out the devil if he lay anywhere hid in the house. When I afterward asked him the name, and the reason of such a strange method of diversion, he told me the dance was called *Keetla Ishto Hoollo*, 'a dance to, or before, the great holy one;' ⁵ that it kept off evil spirits, witches, and wizards, from the red people; and enabled them to ordain elderly men to officiate in holy things, as the exigency of the times required.

"He who danced to it, kept his place and posture, in a very exact manner, without the least perceivable variation: yet by the prodigious working of his muscles and nerves, he in about half an hour, foamed in a very extraordinary manner, and discontinued it proportionally, till he recovered himself." ⁶

The Indians were and still are satisfied that their system of doctoring is vastly superior to that used by the whites, but the system of white doctoring with which the Indians were formerly familiar can not be said to represent upon the whole a very perfect development of the medical art, and there has been more than one occasion for them to complain like the Chickasaw of Adair's time of the performances of "civilized" surgeons. The success of native remedies was due in part without doubt to the real medicinal virtues of the plants used, in part to the good effects of such a simple assistant as sweat bathing, and perhaps to a greater extent to the power of suggestion. Swan was, however, quite right in saying that the results were not as certain as had commonly been reported. ⁷

WEATHER CONTROLLERS

Besides the healers there were men and women who professed to be able to cause rain or drought, to blow away the clouds, or "blow the rain" as they described it. When a storm was coming up an Alabama doctor would blow into his clasped hands, rub them together, and then wave them upward and outward. Then, even if it rained, the wind would not blow. The same person claimed to be able to cause rain or drought.

Hitchcock says: "There are people who affect to think they can make it rain and they go to a piece of shallow water and roll and wallow in the muddy water every morning for four mornings in succession. They have a pot of medicine in one hand and a buffalo tail in the other and sing continually for an hour or more. During this time they take black drink every morning." ⁸

He also gives some interesting particulars regarding the meteorological activities of Megillis Hadjo, the prophet or *kila* of Tukabahi-

⁵ *Hila ishto holo*, "dance of the spirit or spirits"; *hila*, "dance"; *ishto*, "big"; *holo*, what is "holy, sacred," or "supernatural."

⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 175.

⁷ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 271.

⁸ Hitchcock, *Ms. notes*.

chee town. "In the summer of 1840," he says, "there was a great drought in the country, threatening the destruction of the crops, and the old man was called upon to make it rain. After performing his ceremony for a time he published that he was about to be so successful that the country might be flooded, and he thought it best to desist, which he did. Last winter (1840-41) was very cold and the old man was requested to moderate the weather; the present winter (1841-42) is remarkably mild and the old man explains it by saying that he blew off the cold of last winter so far that it has not come back."⁹

Some interesting particulars regarding rain makers are also given us by Adair. According to him, these persons obtained rain by interceding through their conjurations with "the bountiful holy Spirit of Fire," by which he supposes they referred to the supreme deity of the southern Indians, although in fact it may have been the particular being presiding over thunder.¹⁰ This power of intercession had been established in ancient times and was not exercised merely at the option of its possessor, but was a duty which he owed to the community and which the community could demand from him. If he failed he was likely to be shot dead because it was supposed that he really had the power but refused to exercise it, and was thus an enemy to the state. However, he frequently saved himself by laying the blame upon lay infractions of the sacred regulations or taboos—among them the payments which they owed to him—which rendered his best endeavors unavailing. If the drought were prolonged as much as two years, a council was held at which they did not fail to discover that the trouble was due to persistent violations of the taboos by certain individuals, who were then promptly dispatched. Too much rain might work as much to the harm of the rain maker as too little, Adair instancing a case of a Creek rain maker who was shot because the river overflowed the fields to a great height in the middle of August.¹¹ These men had a transparent stone "of supposed great power in assisting to bring down the rain, when it is put in a basin of water," and this power was supposed to have been passed down to this one from a stone to which the power had originally been committed. As usual, this stone could not be exposed to the gaze of the vulgar without losing mightily in efficacy.¹² The control of the rain maker extended only to the summer rains and not to those which fell in winter, and it was believed that this was also of supernatural ordination. The summer rain had to be sought for; the winter rain was given unsought. If the seasons were good, the rain maker was paid a certain proportion of each kind of food. It is amusing to note that, like the apologist for obsolescent institutions at the present day, the Chickasaw rain maker with whom Adair conversed took the ground "that though the former beloved speech

⁹ Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

¹⁰ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 85.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

had a long time subsided, it was very reasonable they should still continue this their old beloved custom; especially as it was both profitable in supporting many of their helpless old beloved men, and very productive of virtue, by awing their young people from violating the ancient laws."¹³

There were others who claimed they could make the waters in swollen streams subside, and still another class of dew makers, who could also prevent the dew from falling. If there had been a dry spring someone might say, at the time of the first stomp dance, "There is a dew maker over yonder. Let us invite him to make dew for us." It is said that such a man could not assist anyone, even though he desired to do so, unless he were formally invited. The council having agreed, he would come over and go through with his incantations, and a treat was given him by way of payment. If, after this had been done, it still continued dry at the time of the next stomp dance, it might be suggested that a rain maker be called in. Eakins remarks dryly that "the weather, about the time of the distribution of the annuity, in some parts of the nation, falls under the scrutiny of the physie-makers."^{13a} He probably means men of the above class.

According to early writers some doctors claimed to be able to control the thunder and lightning, but we are not informed whether they were a separate class or identical with one of those already mentioned. Bartram was present when a Seminole chief threatened one of the white traders that, if he did not comply with his requests, he would cause the thunder and lightning to descend upon his head and reduce his stores to ashes.

WITCHCRAFT

The great powers which doctors and graduates of the native schools generally enjoyed, while in theory capable of being exerted for the good of the community and the individuals composing it, might equally well be perverted to their injury or destruction. Jackson Lewis said that the same learned men who acted as instructors in medicine and the lore of the tribe generally could teach witchcraft, but he added that they advised against it, saying that it was only for mischief and that anyone who practiced it would eventually come to a dog's death, because witches were killed. But since such knowledge was known to reside in the great doctors and graduates and it was never certain that it would not be employed, these people were constantly open to suspicion, and, as Swan tells us in the quotation given above, a doctor whose patient died was apt to suffer from the imputation of witchcraft and be put to death himself. An Alabama informant told me that when he was a young man an old woman was accused of being a witch and cut to pieces. This sus-

¹³ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 84-94.

^{13a} Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 277

picion was also encouraged by the doctors themselves, who frequently attributed sickness to the doings of witches, and the public mind was kept wrought up to a condition of feverish excitement and fear by the most grewsome tales vouched for as absolute truth.

Says Stiggins:

"They are tinctured with superstition and believe anything of a marvelous report. As soon as it is announced that a man is acquainted with the work and dismal effects of the diabolical art, such as flying about the country far and near to poison such people as are inimical to him, or blowing and infusing a contagious air into a house in passing by it at night or into the nostrils and lungs of a particular person while asleep, by which the wizard often destroyed by instant death a person or an entire family that he did not like—the wizard it was said being seen at twilight only of an evening flying about to do mischief—whenever such a person was found, I say, it was not for him to exculpate himself. He was seized by a mob, tied to a tree with ropes, and lightwood piled around him and set on fire and he burned to death with as little compunction or remorse of conscience as, in the Roman inquisition, many of the most enlightened and well disposed to peace and good order, were brought to a fiery ordeal for the common good."¹⁴

Hitchcock learned that witches and wizards "can take the form of owls and fly about at night and at day return home in the form of women and men; that they can take the heart and the spirit out of living men and cause their death; that they can cripple people by shooting rags or blood into their legs through a reed or out of their mouths." "Formerly," he was told, "the Indians have been known to knock old women regarded as witches on the head and throw them into the water. Now there is a law against it, but even last year an old woman was killed as a witch."¹⁵

Adair says that "there are not greater bigots in Europe, nor persons more superstitious, than the Indians, (especially the women) concerning the power of witches, wizards, and evil spirits. It is the chief feature of their idle winter night's chat: and both they, and several of our traders, report very incredible and shocking stories. They will affirm that they have seen, and distinctly, most surprising apparitions, and heard horrid shrieking noises."¹⁶

Suspicion of witchcraft attached not only to doctors and graduates but to old persons of both sexes. I was told that formerly the Creeks did not allow their children to hang around where old people were conversing, for they thought that by standing around them and looking at them they would get into the habit of telling lies and also that

¹⁴ Stiggins, Ms.

¹⁵ Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

¹⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 36.

the old people might bewitch them. This does not speak very highly for the reputation for veracity enjoyed by the aged. It was thought that any old man who had passed through as many fastings as most of them had undergone at that time of life might be a wizard. It was feared that he might shoot a pain into the child or injure it in some other manner. One of my informants said he had often been slapped hard enough to be knocked down when he was standing near some of the old people. The following from Adair gives additional information regarding witchcraft among the Chickasaw, and contains the only extant account of an exorcism to preserve the house from evil influences. He says:

“In the year 1765, an old physician, or prophet, almost drunk with spirituous liquors, came to pay me a friendly visit: his situation made him more communicative than he would have been if quite sober. When he came to the door, he bowed himself half bent, with his arms extended north and south, continuing so perhaps for the space of a minute. Then raising himself erect, with his arms in the same position, he looked in a wild frightful manner, from the south-west toward the north, and sung on a low bass key *Yo Yo Yo Yo*, almost a minute, then *He He He He*, for perhaps the same space of time, and *Wa Wa Wa Wa*, in like manner; and then transposed and accented those sacred notes several different ways, in a most rapid guttural manner. Now and then he looked upwards, with his head considerably bent backward; his song continued about a quarter of an hour. As my door which was then opened stood east, his face of course looked toward the west; but whether the natives thus usually invoke the deity, I cannot determine; yet as all their winter houses have their doors toward the east, had he used the like solemn invocations there, his face would have consequently looked the same way, contrary to the usage of the heathens. After his song, he stepped in: I saluted him, saying, ‘Are you come my beloved old friend?’ he replied, *Arahe-O*, ‘I am come in the name of Oea.’^{16a} I told him, I was glad to see, that in this mad age, he still retained the old Chikkasah virtues. He said, that as he came with a glad heart to see me his old friend, he imagined he could not do me a more kind service, than to secure my house from the power of the evil spirits of the north, south, and west,—and, from witches, and wizards, who go about in dark nights, in the shape of bears, hogs, and wolves, to spoil people: ‘the very month before, added he, we killed an old witch, for having used destructive charms.’ Because a child was suddenly taken ill, and died, on the physician’s false evidence, the father went to the poor helpless old woman who was sitting innocent,

^{16a} This is *álali*, “I come,” followed by a simple exclamation. The being “Oea” is contributed by Adair’s imagination.

and unsuspecting, and sunk his tomahawk into her head, without the least fear of being called to an account. They call witches and wizards, *Ishtabe*, and *Hoollabe*, 'man-killers,' and 'spoilers of things sacred.'¹⁷

"My prophetic friend desired me to think myself secure from those dangerous enemies of darkness, for (said he) *Tarooa Ishtohoollo-Antarooare*, 'I have sung the song of the great holy one.'¹⁸ The Indians are so tenacious of concealing their religious mysteries, that I never before observed such an invocation on the like occasion—adjuring evil spirits, witches, etc. by the awful name of the deity."¹⁹

This exorcism probably gives a clue to one of the reasons why the doors of the winter houses opened eastward; also the reason for the eastward orientation of most of the chiefs' houses in the square ground.

From the Texas Alabama I learned that a witch operated by taking a small raveling of wool which he talked to and blew upon and then sent through the air to the person he wished to injure. It would go into this person and prevent him from breathing, or hurt him in some other way, so as to endanger his life unless the trouble were located. If a doctor were called in he would take a sharp bit of glass, make some incisions over the place where the raveling had lodged, and, applying a horn to the spot, suck the foreign body out. These bodies looked black, red, or blue. My informant had seen the operation performed and the bodies that were removed. Besides woolen ravelings, ravelings of other kinds might be used, charcoal, and probably bones also. The injuries inflicted by charcoal were very serious.

Sometimes a man or woman who disliked a hunter would make medicine in order to keep him from killing game. The Alabama called this *impiafōtei*, "to make him kill nothing."^{19a} The hunter might go to a doctor, however, and have him make medicine to counteract that of the witch. A man once saw an eagle catching fish and used the *impiafōtei* against it so that it could get nothing and almost starved to death. The eagle went out in all directions and caught nothing, but finally he went up into the sky and caught a fish there. Next day the same thing happened and now the man who had tried to bewitch the eagle began to get thin, and finally he died. The eagle had beaten him.

From the same source I learned that a man who had acquired the black art would sometimes wake up in the morning and see a hatchet or a knife on his breast. Then, when he killed someone by means of

¹⁷ *Ishto*, big; *abi*, to kill; *holo*, what is sacred; *abi*, to kill.

¹⁸ *Talca*, song; *ishto*, big; *holo*, sacred; *ontaloali*, or *intaloali*, I have sung to them.

¹⁹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 176-177.

^{19a} *Piafo* signifies "unlucky"; *impiafōtei*, "to cause one to be unlucky."

his arts, he was sure to be found out and killed himself by the man's relatives with the same kind of weapon he had seen in his vision.

In speaking of doctors I have mentioned the native belief that they owed their power to animals of various kinds, but that if these became too strong they would kill the doctor and leave him. The same idea appears in witchcraft, although my information here is specifically from the Alabama and Koasati. When a man became a witch these Indians believed he was full of lizards, which compelled the person of whom they had possession to kill someone every little while. If he did not they would begin to bite him and would finally devour him. Such a person could be cured, however, by undergoing a treatment to expel the lizards.

After a would-be wizard had completed his course of training, the teacher directed him to begin by killing one of his own family. He gave him medicine and told him to go and do so immediately. If he said he would not kill his own people, the instructor answered "Go on! you said that is what you wanted to do." But if he urged him repeatedly to no purpose, he said, "All right! kill a fox squirrel and bring it here!" After he had done so, the instructor said, "Throw it on top of the house." The wizard-novice did this, and after the body had remained so long that it stank, the other said, "Eat it!" Then the instructor conducted him to a place where there was water and said, "Vomit on the water." So he threw up and discharged lizards until the water was covered. The witching powers went with them.

The Koasati cured a wizard by binding spunk wood all over his chest and belly, taking him to a place where there was water, and rolling him over and over there, when he would throw up lizards in the manner described.

A milder form of witchcraft was that exercised by a man or woman to inspire love in a person of the opposite sex. The following account of such a conjuration is also from the Alabama or Texas.

When a youth fell in love he would sometimes, especially if he were rejected, go to a male or female conjurer for assistance. Then the conjurer would take some tobacco, put it into a small deerskin sack, sing, and repeat the girl's name, and blow into it through a short cane. After doing this four times he would wrap it up in a handkerchief and give it to the young man. The latter would then put on his head band and his other fine clothing, sprinkle some tobacco over his clothes, make a cigarette, and blow the smoke all over himself. Then the girl would fall in love with him. A girl could make a man fall in love with her in precisely the same way. Sometimes, however, this would be tried in vain several times. Then the conjurer would go to a small brook and make a little water hole, perhaps half a foot deep. He would blow into this four times through a cane, repeating the girl's name each time. The youth

would then come there, stoop down and drink some of the water, and throw it up again into the pool. He would do this four times. Then he would divide the dam that held the water in this pool and let it all run away. After that he would go to a large creek, remove his clothing, and dive under water four times. Then he would come out and lie in the bushes almost all day (having started out early in the morning) so that no one could see him. About 3 o'clock he started home, avoiding meeting or speaking to anyone. In perhaps a week he would dress himself up as before and go to see the girl he was in love with, who would then fall in love with him. Sometimes, however, the girl's mother would make medicine against him so that he could not succeed in spite of all his efforts.

DISEASES AND REMEDIES

GENERAL REMARKS

To the discussion of this subject I will prefix the following general remarks from Bartram regarding the diseases of the Indians in his time. However superficial, it has the advantage of being the only statement of the kind belonging to an early period from a man competent to express anything like a scientific opinion.

"The Indians seem in general healthier than the whites, have fewer diseases, and those they have not so acute or contagious as those amongst us.

"The small-pox sometimes visits them, and is the most dreaded of all diseases.

"Dysentery, pleurisy, intermittent fevers, epilepsy and asthma, they have at times.

"The hooping-cough is fatal among their children, and worms very frequent. . . .

"They have the venereal disease amongst them in some of its stages; but by their continence, temperance, powerful remedies, skill in applying them, and care, it is a disease which may be said to be uncommon. In some towns it is scarcely known, and in none rises to that state of virulency which we call a *pox*, unless sometimes amongst the white traders who themselves say, as well as the Indians, that it might be eradicated if the traders did not carry it with them to the nations when they return with their merchandise; these contract the disorder before they set off, and it generally becomes virulent by the time they arrive, when they apply to the Indian doctors to get cured."²⁰

We will now turn to the native conception of diseases and their remedies. This is best illustrated in the abstract by the following myth collected by Dr. Frank Speck from an old Creek medicine man known as Kabiteimala (Kapitea imala), or Laslie Cloud.

²⁰ Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 43-44.

“The old people, our Maskogi ancestors, were gathered together in the olden times. The deer said that he was the cause of a sickness. So he made the medicine for its cure. The panther said that he was the cause of one. It was he, then, who made the medicine for that trouble. Then again, the bear was the cause of one. He said that he made the medicine for that. Then the snake caused one, and made its medicine. Then again, the hog said he was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. The bird was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then again, the wildeat was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then again, the horse said that he was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then the beaver said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the dog said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the otter said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the fish said it was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the game animals said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the water animals said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the animals of the sea-shore said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the animals in the sea said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then the snake tribe said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the animals-moving-about-in-the-water said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then the small-living-things-in-the-water said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the raccoon said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then the white-hog (opossum) said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the sky-hog said he was the cause of one and made medicine for it. Then again, the rainbow said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the spirits of the dead said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the different kinds of dirt said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, new-fire-when-it-is-cold said it was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the buzzard said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, living-people said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the turkey said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the wolf-in-the-water said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the land-wolf said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the rattlesnake said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the owl said he was the cause of one and made

the medicine for it. Then again, what-is-inside-of-me said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it."^{20a}

Mooney's Cherokee version of the "Origin of Disease and Medicine"²¹ agrees with the above in tracing diseases to the animals, but according to this the animals created diseases in self-defence, and the plant creation volunteered the remedies which were to counteract them. The two stories agree, however, in tracing diseases mainly to the animals. This my Natchez informant also confirmed.

Long as is the list given by Speck's informant it by no means exhausts the alleged sources of disease and it is difficult to see how some of these could have prescribed their own cures. The myth does not perhaps represent the philosophical idea held by all doctors but it is universally true of the Creeks that animals along with many other things were supposed to occasion diseases, that there were cures for each, and that the remedies used often had some kind of resemblance, real or supposed, to the reputed causes. We will take up these causes of disease in order with the information which I have obtained regarding the method of treating each malady. The greater part of this information was obtained from Jackson Lewis, to which I have added a small amount from various other Indians and what could be gleaned from earlier writings.

The same evolution which had carried the Creeks to a point where they had schools of medicine, even though rudimentary in their nature, had brought about specialization both in the medicines used and in the practice of the different physicians. I have already spoken of the separate class of *kilas* or diagnosticians and the common or family doctors. Among regular practitioners, however, there was a further specialization. Each doctor did not pretend to cover the whole field of medicine. One would treat for the deer, one for the many snakes, one for the disorders contracted from graves, and so on. It was a common thing to specialize on diseases due to thunder. A doctor might tell what he knew of the disease but refer the patient to another if the method to be employed in treating it had not been given to him.

According to my Natchez informant one who had been struck by lightning and had afterwards recovered could cure diseases of all kinds.

The diseases were named from those animals or objects which the symptoms seemed to simulate or recall. Thus the water animals brought diseases of the stomach, bowels, liver, etc., the fish and snail (*labo*), which exude slime like phlegm, caused diseases of the lungs, and so on. Sometimes the medicine contained only one thing, sometimes several. It would vary also with the class of creatures causing the trouble and the particular representative of that class.

^{20a} Memoirs Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 148-149.

²¹ 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. I, pp. 250-252.

Thus the same basal medicines were used in curing diseases caused by water creatures, but diseases caused by particular water beings such as the water wolf, the rainbow, or the water tiger, would require some additions. On the other hand we find single remedies employed in curing diseases due to the eye and tongue of the deer which are combined in the remedy for the deer disease.

CREEK MEDICINES

Deer diseases.—There was a disease produced by the common deer, one produced by "the many deer," a name used for all species and varieties of deer, and one produced by a newly born fawn or a fawn still in its mother's womb. This last is called the "soft deer" (iteo lowagi). The eye of the deer will produce eye troubles and the tongue of the deer throat troubles. The prescription for the common deer disease, the symptoms of which appear to be rheumatic pains in any part of the body, was to take some deer's potato (iteo imaha), pāsa, iteo hiteigu (a very fragrant weed looking something like goldenrod), cedar (ateina), and a small piece of the tender end of the summer grapevine. These were to be boiled together and the person steamed in them, more being taken internally. As in all other cases to these ingredients must be added, in order to produce any results, the formula repeated by the doctor four times and blown into the medicine through a cane tube. In treating "the many deer" and fawn diseases the same medicines were employed, only the formula being varied. In treating the "deer eyes" disease iteo hiteigu is used alone and in treating the "deer tongue" disease miko hoyanidja. By other informants I was told that the common deer disease was rheumatism or neuralgia or sometimes a severe headache, and when it was incurable, or at least very acute, it was considered to be the "soft deer" disease (or "limber deer" disease—iteo lowagi).

According to one of these men the "deer chief" disease (iteo miko) was a name given to rheumatism when it was in one place, but evidently it was rheumatism of the severe type, for Jackson Lewis said that unless well treated it swelled the joints and sometimes lamed a man for life. For it he used iteo imaha and the bark scraped off of the wild crabapple (iteo impākana) in some quantity, a sprig of cedar, and four roots of the pāsa. The swollen and inflamed places were steamed with this.

Tuggle has the following about this disease:

"Echo-polsa [iteo pulsi]—Deer sickness.

"The medicine is made from the deer-potato or echo-mahhar [iteo imaha], mixed in water.

"Song:

Hohtikee.

Hohtikee.

Hohtikee.
 Echo.
 Hohchetiee.
 Hohtikee.
 Hohtikee.
 Hohtikee.
 Echo.
 Mikkatee.

‘Translation:

Hohtikee [hätki], white.
 Echo [iteo], deer.
 Hachetiee [from hatei], tail.
 Hotikee, white.
 Echo, deer.
 Mikkatee [mikati], has been king.”²²

According to Jackson Lewis, there is a grub which lives in the nostrils of the deer and comes out of them in the fall as a little butterfly called *kautūlgi* in Hitchiti and *teoánaga* (iteo hanako) in Muskogee. This is a good sign of the presence of deer and is sometimes found forming in deer. By the Indians it is considered to be the cause of catarrh. This belief was confirmed by Zachariah Cook. In treating it Jackson Lewis used the iteo *hiteigu* and the iteo *imaha*, with which might be included the *pāsa*. After these have been boiled in water and allowed to cool they are inhaled through the nostrils. He declared that he had cured numerous cases by means of this medicine.

The bear disease.—The patient is taken with a violent fever, accompanied by thirst for cold water, and he has frequent evacuations of the bowels. This trouble Jackson Lewis said was not very difficult to control. According to Zachariah Cook, this disease is called *ponátá haledji*, which refers to the bear without naming him. The patient has a high fever and is out of his head; he is troubled about his mouth, pulls at the bed clothes, and gathers them in his arms as if he would pull them all together. One doctor told Cook that he could always cure this disease if he could get to the patient in time.²³

The blood-of-the-bear disease.—The patient vomits up blood, or at least spits it up continually. The treatment is to take roots of the *miko hoyanidja*, and roots of the frostweed (*hitutape*), mix these with water and give the decoction to the patient internally. If this does not appear to be as efficacious as desired, parings of the root of the *kīstūwa*, the “red root” of the whites, are put into a bottle along with cold water and some of this liquid drunk from time to time.

The bison disease.—I learned that there was such a disease but no facts regarding it.

²² Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

²³ See p. 644.

The rabbit disease.—The patient has pain in the lower part of the abdomen and is unable to pass water easily, what is passed being very red. The eyes are very yellow and there is sometimes paralysis in the lower parts of the body. Treatment: A bundle of stalks of a certain plant, for which I was unable to get either the native or English name, is procured, boiled in water, and administered. This plant is described as a grass or reed growing near streams to the height of 1½ or 2 feet, having leaves much resembling the leaves of the cane. The fruit is very thin and flutters from the stalk, which is jointed. Jackson Lewis was so enthusiastic about the medicinal properties of this plant that he declared it had been known to cure even those cases accompanied by paralysis of the lower limbs, and no formula was needed with it.

The raccoon disease.—This usually afflicts children; the patients are in poor health with greatly distended stomachs.

The squirrel disease.—The patient's gums are so inflamed that he can hardly eat. Treatment: A small quantity of bark of the red oak and hickory is taken from the places where the tree trunks enter the ground, boiled in water, and cooled, after which the patient rinses out his mouth with the infusion. He must also refrain from eating anything that is very soft.

The dog disease.—There are severe pains in the bowels and stomach accompanied by vomiting.²¹ Treatment: Use parings of sassafras roots, adding to them a small handful of a fine grass known to the Indians as "dog's bed." These are boiled in water and a little given to the patient to drink warm. In repeating the formula for this disease the points of the compass are successively addressed but no colors are mentioned.

Tuggle has the following to say about the dog disease:

"Cramps in the stomach, or dog-sickness, is caused by a dog.

"The medicine is prepared from tobacco, cut up and put in water, making a weak tea, which the patient drinks and also uses as a wash.

"The song is sung while blowing in the water, in order to properly medicate the preparation. Each stanza is repeated four times and after each the doctor blows into the medicine. Finally both stanzas are sung four times and blowing done between.

Yoh-ho-lee

Yoh-ho-lee

Yoh-ho-lee

Efa

Polsa

Thlohko

Elahtee

Hahlahtee

St Chay

²¹ According to Hitchcock, Megillis Hadjo, a famous Tukahachee Kila living in 1842, also identified the dog disease with pains in the bowels.

Hoh-loh-tee
 Hoh-loh-tee
 Hoh-loh-tee
 St Chay

“Translation:

Yohholee [yulihī], be easy
 Efa [ifa], dog
 Polska [pulsī], sickness
 Thlahkko [lāko], large
 Elathe [filitā], dead
 Hohlahtee [hālāti, to hold, to pull?], cramping
 St Chay [tcē], stop, or like *Selah*. It merely indicates the end of a sentence, or an idea.

“In the second verse—

Hohlohtee [hālāti], holding him, or, it's got him.”²⁵

The wolf disease.—The symptoms and treatment are the same as for the dog disease.²⁶ But see below.

The rat or mouse disease.—The only information I have regarding a disease caused by rats or mice is the following from the Tuggle manuscript. It will be seen that it may have been only the wolf disease under another name:

“The medicine for pains in the temple (headache) is mikko-whe-ar-ne-chah [miko hoyanīdja], or red-root.

“It is put in water and during the chant or song the medicine man blows in the water through a cane and after the song is complete, each verse being sung four times and then the entire song four times, the water is poured over the patient's head. This is repeated four days, always before eating in the morning.

“This sickness is caused by rats or mice, and the song is to drive them away. Some say Yaha, the Wolf, causes it. It is sung in a low monotonous tone—a chant. Each verse is repeated four times and after each repetition the doctor blows into the medicine.

Hah-noh-noh-hee
 Hah-noh-noh-hee
 Hah-noh-noh-hee
 Chaysee chah-tee
 Holoheec ehah-tee
 Man-kaht-kan
 Hah-yeen
 Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hah-noh-noh-hee
 Hah-noh-noh-hee
 Hah-noh-noh-hee
 Chaysee lahnee
 Holoheec lahnee

²⁵ Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

²⁶ Megillis Hadjo attributed “stricture in the bladder” to obsession by a mad wolf.

Mankaht kan
 Hahyeen
 Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
 Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
 Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
 Chaysee lustee
 Holochee lustee
 Man kohtkan
 Hohyeen
 Yohfeenohhokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee
 Hoh-noh-noh-hee
 Hoh-noh-noh-hee
 Chaysee hutkee
 Holochee hutkee
 Maukabbkan
 Hahyeen
 Yohfee nohhokee

“The translation of this song is as follows:

Hohnohnohhee, gallop slowly away (like a rat galloping)
 Chaysee [teisi], rat or mouse
 Chahtee [teati], red
 Holochee [aholotei], cloud
 Mauhobt can [? (teaka, my head)], my head
 Hohyeen [hahoyin], hot
 Yoh fee noh-ho-kee [finōki, shaking?], roaring

“Literally:

Gallop away
 Gallop away
 Gallop away
 Red rat
 Red cloud
 My head
 Is hot
 Is roaring

“The ‘Red cloud’ may refer to a rush of blood to the head.

“In the second verse the color of the rat is changed to ‘lohnee’ [lāni], yellow, and so with the cloud.

“In the third verse the rat is ‘lustee’ [lāsti], black, and also the cloud.

“In the fourth verse the rat is ‘white’ [hātki], as is also the cloud.”

The lion disease (*Lion* = “*Person-eater*,” *Isti-papa*).—According to Jackson Lewis the symptoms of this are a kind of cramp or “holding” inside of the chest. According to Zachariah Cook this disease is cholera morbus. Jackson Lewis said he had never treated it but Cook said it was cured by using the “big medicine” (hilis lakāt), which is the “butterfly plant.” The song used with this refers to

the myths telling how Rabbit left the Lion on the other side of the ocean. Cook had learned of this largely through a virulent epidemic of cholera near 1870-1875.

The wildcat and panther diseases.—According to Cook powerful cramps in the stomach are attributed to a wildcat or some such powerful animal, but, beyond this and the reference by Speck, I have no information regarding a wildcat or panther disease.

The mole disease (tako aledji).—The symptoms are cramps in the bowels, colic, etc. This information was from Zachariah Cook, who did not know how it was treated.

The opossum disease.—According to Zachariah Cook this was the name given to croup (nuklahe) in children. Jackson Lewis did not know the native explanation for this trouble.

The *beaver* (itchaswa), *otter* (osana), and *muskrat* (okteutko) are supposed to bring about liver complaint, bowel troubles, gravel, etc., like some of the other water animals. Megillis Hadjo, the Tukabahchee kila mentioned by Hitchcock, held that "costiveness proceeds from two beavers in the bowels of the patient, who have made a dam in him; if pains are added, a bear is inside fighting with the beavers." This agrees with what I was told by William McCombs to the effect that cramps in the bowels were due to the beaver and badger, the beaver because he dams up streams as the bowels are stopped up and the badger because he is thought to have bellyache all the time and the continual running off of the bowels is thought to be due to him. The treatment is much like that used with diseases caused by the other water animals, but I have no specific information regarding it. The prescription contains some of the same remedies as those used in diseases due to water snakes and turtles and some that are different.

The eagle disease.—The patient has cramps in the muscles of the neck or a "crick in the neck" so that the head is turned to one side and can not be moved back. Jackson Lewis said it was probably due to the fact that the patient had handled an eagle feather. According to Mr. McCombs it was believed that the eagle caused the trouble by perching on the back of the neck and must be driven off by the fumes of cedar.

The buzzard disease.—When a child vomits and purges a great deal he is afflicted by the buzzard.

The many-snakes disease.—The "many snakes" have already been mentioned as a term used to include all sorts of serpents and lizards, real and imaginary, though not frogs, toads, or alligators. They are the active causes of a great many diseases such as swellings, abscesses, etc.

The gatherers-in-the-waters disease.—This term is used for the inhabitants of the water elsewhere described. The person suffering

from this disease has pains in the stomach or bowels, more often the latter, and retches and vomits at times. Sometimes he also has pains in the sides and back. In treating, the roots of a sycamore—the sycamore being a water tree—willow roots, a bunch of small roots from the birch, a piece of wood broken from a stick lying in shallow water in the woods and nearly rotted, are collected. With them is put some water dipped out of a small whirlpool in running water, and a little water from a hairlike line often seen on ponded water just back of a little fall. Then more water is added, the whole boiled and used warm, a little being drunk, some put on the body, and some used in steaming the body.

Regarding the "snake disease" Zachariah Cook said that the name was given to swellings, boils, carbuncles arising in several places, and inflammatory rheumatism. Certain rheumatic pains or certain kinds of paralysis were attributed to the "unseen-snakes-in-the-water disease" (ayá haigida), or "many-animals-of-the-water disease" (wiak wilagi sôlgat). This last is evidently the "many-snakes disease." It seems that these creatures taken separately could produce diseases also. According to Cook the water tiger (wi-kateca) causes congestion of the stomach, the water-king deer (wîofûts miko) something similar to rheumatism of the bowels, and the water buffalo (wî yanasa) an inward corruption of the liver something like the snake disease.

The snake disease.—By this is meant simply snake bite. The medicinal plant used by Jackson Lewis blooms about July and the flower is white. When ready to open it shows a number of teeth inside just like the teeth of a snake. The roots are said to be large and oval. One of my informants was treated by a doctor in a case of snake bite. The doctor chewed up some of this root and then sucked the wound.

The snake medicine, of which a specimen was furnished by Caley Proctor, and which may be identical with the above, was *Manfreda virginica*, called abi-teápko ("long stem") in Creek. It was said to be a sure cure both for snake bite and the bite of a centipede. The roots were boiled in water and the bite washed with the liquid. Another way employed by a doctor was to take some common tobacco into his mouth, suck the bite four times and as he did so hum four times the following formula: tohiudjidi tohilákodi solonk, the words of which seem to have no meaning.

When this snake medicine was not to be had the summer grape (pálko láko, "big grape") might be substituted. The tendrils and soft, succulent ends of the vines were boiled thoroughly and the infusion afterward given to the patient to drink.

Some doctors attained such proficiency that they were not afraid to pick up any kind of snake. A man named Keeka, living between

Beggs and Hamilton, possessed this power and he would not allow any of his family to kill a snake. Upon one occasion Adair "saw the Chikkasah Archi-magus chew some snake-root, blow it on his hands, and then take up a rattlesnake without damage." In another place he has the following to say about native snake medicines:

"I do not remember to have seen or heard of an Indian dying by the bite of a snake, when out at war, or a hunting; although they are often bitten by the most dangerous snakes—everyone carries in his shot-pouch, a piece of the best snake-root, such as the *Seneeka*, or fern-snake-root,—or the wild hore-bound, wild plantain, St. Andrew's cross, and a variety of other herbs and roots, which are plenty, and well known to those who range the American woods, and are exposed to such dangers, and will effect a thorough and speedy cure if timely applied. When an Indian perceives he is struck by a snake, he immediately chews some of the root, and having swallowed a sufficient quantity of it, he applies some to the wound; which he repeats as occasion requires, and in proportion to the poison the snake has infused into the wound. For a short space of time, there is a terrible conflict through all the body, by the jarring qualities of the burning poison, and the strong antidote; but the poison is soon repelled through the same channels it entered, and the patient is cured."²⁷

I do not know whether the following formula was used in cases of snake bite or a more esoteric kind of snake sickness. It is from the Tuggle collection.

"After preparing this medicine [for "snake sickness"], the medicine-man sang this song:

O, spirit of the white fox, come
 O, spirit of the white fox, come
 O, spirit of the white fox, come
 O, hater of snakes, come
 Snakes [who] have hurt this man, come
 Come, O white fox, and kill this snake.

O, spirit of the red fox, come, etc.

O, spirit of the black fox, come, etc.²⁸

James Islands and N. L. Alexander, two Creek Indians, told General Hitchcock that "a case of salivation . . . was caused by two rattlesnakes in the mouth," adding that "they required five dollars for a prescription." This disease is evidently different from all of those snake diseases above mentioned, except possibly the last.

The turtle disease.—The symptom of this is a chronic cough which results in appreciably reducing the flesh of the victim. Treatment:

²⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 235-236.

²⁸ Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn. Probably one verse, referring to a blue or yellow fox, has been lost. This formula is peculiar in beginning with the east, but it is impossible to tell whether the points of the compass are taken in sinistral order or in dextral order.

Make an infusion in water of the roots of a plant called "turtle's liver" (*lutca logi*). This is not found in the Creek Nation but in the country of the Cherokee (Oklahoma), and it has small circular leaves and beautiful blue flowers. If it can not be obtained, substitute for it a small piece of buckeye and a small piece of devil's shoestring. The patient must drink small quantities of this decoction from time to time warm. Warm cloths may also be put into it and then around the throat and chest.

Zachariah Cook, however, gave the name "turtle disease" (*hilutca*) to a hard boil forming one head. He mentioned another disease called "turtles-of-the-water" or "many turtles" (*lutca sulgat*), which is some sort of stomach trouble or liver complaint. It is almost identical with a disease known as "wolf-of-the-water" (*wiofi yaha*), and the two are treated alike, but I did not learn how.

The terrapin (lutca lobotski) disease.—According to Zachariah Cook this deforms a person by cramping his stomach or raising a lump on his shoulder. It is said that small people were affected in this way, and this suggests that it may be a name applied to the disease producing hunchbacks. In the song used in treating this disease the terrapin is called *lutca hayegi*, "the turtle rattles are made of."

The alligator was not accused, so far as Jackson Lewis could remember, of causing any disease, but Zachariah Cook said that it was included in the turtle disease, by which I suppose he meant that it was an animal which produced the same trouble either separately or in conjunction with the turtle.

The perch disease (sândalâkwâ, perch).—The symptoms of this are a very acute attack of coughing which the patient can hardly stop. Treatment: Sassafras and the devil's shoestring are boiled and about a tablespoonful given at a dose.

The "periwinkle" disease.—Tuggle has the following to say about this:

'Karpochee, or Periwinkle sickness, caused by the periwinkle. The jaws swell as in mumps.

"The medicine is prepared from the gourd, Phibbee [*fibî*], either from the green leaves, or from the seed, when the leaves can not be obtained. In the following song which goes with this medicine each verse is repeated four times and after each time the medicine is blown into as is customary in other cases. At the end the entire song is repeated four times, and the blowings again take place.

"The song:

Che-kee
 Che-kee
 Thlah-kotee
 Che-kee
 Che-kee
 Che-kee

Thlah-kotee
 Che-kee
 Che-kee
 Che-kee
 Thlah-kotee

Che-kee
 Che-ko-chetee
 Che-kee
 Che-ko-chetee
 Che-kee
 Che-ko-chetee
 Foh-yoh-yoke
 Thlah-kotee
 Foh-yoh-yoke
 Thlah-kotee
 Foh-yoh-yoke
 Thlah-kotee

“Meaning of words:

Cheke [teikhī], rough (up and down) [raised in mounds]
 Thlahkotee [lākotī], big (large, swollen)
 Chekochetee [teutkuteitī], little
 Fohyohyoke [from folotki], twisted

“Literal translation:

Rough, rough, big
 Rough, rough, big
 Rough, rough, big

Rough, rough, little
 Rough, rough, little
 Rough, rough, little

Twisted big
 Twisted big
 Twisted big”²⁹

Unless there is some usage of the word periwinkle other than that known to me, as applied to a small marine shell, it would seem as if Tuggle must have erred in translating the name of this disease. For a long period of time the periwinkle can have played no part in the life of the Creek Indians.

The slug disease.—The patient has some cough but more particularly a very considerable expectoration of phlegm. Treatment: The same as for the perch disease but with a different formula.

The millepede disease.—The patient coughs and is so hoarse as almost to lose his voice. Treatment: An infusion of ginseng is to be drunk very warm.

The ant disease (tākodja', ant).—According to Zachariah Cook when matter runs from a boil leaving holes the trouble is attributed to the ant.

²⁹ Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

The "mastodon" disease.—It was asserted by William McCombs that there was such a disease recognized, its native name being Laklāga, "the greatest of great [animals]." This name may perhaps have been applied to some mythic animal on the basis of mastodon or other bones found from time to time.

The hātcutcáp disease.—This is caused by a mythical animal described elsewhere.^{29a} Those who happen to see this creature have a severe fever and some have been known to die.

The hātoko-fāski disease.—This is produced by another mythical animal described elsewhere. I have no information regarding the malady itself.^{29a}

The good-snake disease.—A disease is produced by the bodyless celestial snake described in the section on religion.^{29b} In treating it Jackson Lewis took roots of the sycamore, willow, and birch, sprigs of cedar, and seed pods of the red sumac which he boiled in water, using the resulting liquid to give the patient a sweat bath. A little was also given the patient to drink. The treatment was repeated on several successive days.

The rainbow disease.—As its name implies, this was supposed to be caused by the rainbow. Its symptoms are like those of the preceding and it was treated similarly.

The little people and giants have elsewhere been described, as also the effects produced by them in bewildering persons and leading them astray.^{29c} The disease caused by them is known as labátkádilōga, "gathered on land"—i. e., not in the water—or "outside gathering on land."^{29d} Treatment: Procure four little forked limbs of the post oak, one little sprig of the wild plum—a sprig of the huckleberry (tsafákna), one of the mistletoe, one of the red haw, one of the cedar and one of a bush like the huckleberry but growing 4 feet high and bearing in June. The red haw and cedar are taken because the giants are said to feed upon their berries. To these things is added a pine cone if it can be gotten, if not a sprig of pine with the needles on; also a sprig of the winter huckleberry (owīsa); a kind of high-bush huckleberry which ripens in November and during the winter, and grows on rough ground far up in the mountains; a sprig of the black haw (silāwa); a sprig of the summer grape or "big grape"; a sprig of the winter grape or "little grape"; a sprig of the muscadine (tsoloswa); four sprigs from blackberry bushes; four sprigs from dewberry vines; one sprig from the raspberry; and finally sprigs of two plants which appear to be a large and a small variety of straw-

^{29a} See p. 497.

^{29b} See p. 491.

^{29c} See pp. 496-497.

^{29d} The word is compounded of labátki, "straight," and adilōga, "together."

berry. Four shoots of each are taken. To all these may be added a very small quantity of horsemint. The patient is to drink some of this, sponge his body with the liquid, and use it in sweat bathing. The doctor, as usual, sings over it and blows into it with a cane, after which it is boiled and used warm. When the patient has recovered the doctor strictly enjoins him from using intoxicating drinks.

Zachariah Cook called this particular disease pneumonia, and said that *hitei pákpági* was put into the medicine as a "foundation." When it had been compounded and conjured they sprinkled it about around the house—four times around the outside and four times around the inside alternately, i. e., once outside, then once inside, and so until they were through. This was done for four successive days by some one in the family selected for the purpose, after the doctor had come and conjured the medicine, at about sunset.

The spirit-of-war disease.—When a person is not sick in bed but keeps talking deliriously about war, battle, and things connected with them, saying "there come the enemy" and using other similar expressions until his health is injured and he is in danger of dying, it is said that he is afflicted by the spirit of war. Treatment: Cut four little forks from a post oak, take a quantity of horsemint, either dead or fresh, a sprig of pine with the leaves on, and a quantity of spicewood. Boil these in water, steam the patient with the infusion, and when it is cold bathe him in it.

Thunder disease.—The symptoms of this were severe pains in the head and arms. Sometimes the lightning shocks a person, almost kills him, and makes him delirious. Treatment: Take a piece of the "rattan vine," a sassafras root, and some gunpowder, and add water to them. The "rattan vine" grows in the bottoms and is called in Creek *tō yektsá*, "strong wood." It does not grow thickly anywhere. The mixture above described is not heated, but the doctor repeats formulæ over it and blows into it through a tube 5 or 6 feet long, whereas the tube commonly used is only about 3 feet long. The making of medicine for this disease is looked upon as very important and nothing about it must be done triflingly. There are doctors who are specialists in it.

The sun disease.—The patient has a sensation of heat in the crown of the head, accompanied by general aching, and toward midday falls about and becomes light headed. This trouble is caused by the sun assisted by the morning star, the moon, and a certain red star, and the disease is sometimes called *a-i'lá*. Treatment: Use *miko hoyanídja*, a piece of the root of the wild or domesticated sunflower, a puffball, and some angelica obtained from a drug store. Mix these up with water and pour the whole cold over the head of the patient, allowing it to run back into the dish from which it is dipped. If this is repeated often the patient will almost surely recover.

The fire disease.—Naturally enough fevers are often supposed to be occasioned by the fire, but there are several different kinds of fire responsible for them. According to one informant there are the new busk-ground fire (*totká mutcásá*), the hunters' fire, i. e., the fire which the hunters use while they are out (*ponátá hoboya imitotka*), the fire the hunters build after they get home (*totká nâtkâbofa*), and "the different kinds of fires" (also called *totká nâtkâbofa*). According to Adair the old year's fire was considered "a most dangerous pollution."³⁰

Diseases might also come from the paddle used in the stomp dance, and the other stomp dance accessories, as also from the unseen animals of the square ground.

Tuggle notes that according to some "all disease . . . is caused by the winds, which are born in the air and then descend to the earth."³¹ By this he evidently means that the diseases are born in the air, not the winds. While it is often said that "sickness comes in the wind" it would seem that this applied rather to certain kinds of sickness caused by the winds, just as sickness was caused by the thunder, sun, etc., not that all sickness was so caused. This would perhaps account for the Chickasaw aversion to the north wind which, according to Adair, they called "very evil and accursed,"³⁰ though its origin in the cold quarter is sufficient explanation.

Disease was supposed to emanate from women during their monthly periods and attack men, especially in the spring of the year. This might be from contact with them or be brought by the wind blowing from them. According to Jackson Lewis the symptoms were a numbness, especially of the lower limbs, accompanied by nosebleed and headache, and a mental depression so great that the patient does not care whether he lives or dies. This agrees to some extent with Zachariah Cook's description of it as a kind of biliousness. A woman's period is called *ibōski* and the treatment for it *ibōskilili*. Both informants agreed that the medicine for it was *miko hoyanidja*, which a man could drink, bathe in, and sweat-bathe in. Jackson Lewis said that the doctor sometimes took his patient away from the settlement, had him fast and then gave him the medicine and had him vomit. This treatment was sure to restore him perfectly.

Another dangerous source of disease was a dead body. This disease was called *ikân odjâlgi*, which means "land owners," the dead being so called. Certain maleficent influences were believed to emanate from a dead body even after it was laid away in the ground, and persons in the vicinity were subject to aches and pains about

³⁰ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 22.

³¹ Ms., *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*

the joints of the legs, and in other places. The ghost of the dead man was supposed to be the efficient cause of this. Even the dirt that fell upon one's clothing in digging a grave or covering up the body, or the dirt from a grave upon which one stepped, was apt to bring on this disorder. If one engaged in digging a grave he was likely to have pains in the back. Sometimes he had a chilly feeling across his back with pains running round to the front of his body and fatigue in all of the lower limbs. A person who dug a grave could also communicate the disease and this was the principal reason for the regulations to which he was subjected, and which are elsewhere described.³² This disease would seem to have been some form of rheumatism—Tuggle calls it "pains in the knees or rheumatism"—but one informant described it as dropsy, or at all events ascribed such an origin to dropsy. Treatment: Miko hoyanīdja and spicewood (kápápaska) were boiled in water, conjured in the usual manner, and divided into two parts, one hot and one cold. Then the affected parts were treated with the hot and cold medicines alternately.

According to Tuggle's informant, however, "the medicine is made from Ihee-so [wīso]—sassafras root." He gives the following formula to accompany it:

Me-kah-kee
Thlah-kah-kete
E-leen
E-kah-nah
So-feets-kaht
Te-tah-ker

Estee
Wah-keets-kaht
Te-tah-ken
Oh-than-etaht
Te-tah-ken

Oewa
Ahk-lope-kaht
Te-tah-ken

Literally translated:

Mekahkee [mikāgi], kings
Thlahkah-kete [lākakiti], big
Eleen [ilīn], dead
Ekahnah [ikāna], land
So feets kaht [snfitekat], dig it
Tetahker [titaki], ready
Este [isti], people
Wahkeets [wakēts], lay it down
Tetahkee [titaki], ready

³² See pp. 383-398.

Oh thlan etoht [ohlanitat], cover it up
 Tetahken [titakin], ready
 Oewa [oiwa], water
 Ahklopekaht [aklopikat], wash it
 Tetanken [titakin], ready

Or—

Great kings are dead
 Be ready to dig the grave

Let the people bury them
 Let them be ready to eover them

Let the water be ready for washing.³³

This disease was connected with the whole question of ghosts and preventive measures and medicines against them. The Texas Alabama believed that if a person who had been by a grave came near one who was sick the latter would have fits. My informant claimed that upon one occasion a number of persons who had been near a grave came in where he was lying sick and sat down around him, whereupon he became deaf and acted as if he were out of his head. Such fits were thought to be caused by ghosts, and, to induce them to leave, the doctor would put cedar leaves into a pot over the fire without any water. As these leaves parched the smoke arising from them would fill the house. The ghost would like this and go away. Another Alabama medicine used against ghosts was the leaves of the sweet bay, which were made into a tea, drunk, and vomited up. This was done twice.

Among the Creeks generally hitci pákpági was the sovereign deterrent for ghosts, though hilis hátki or ginseng was also used.

The Texas Alabama believe that if one's hands and feet are pierced by the "poison briar" he will not get well, but I did not hear of any doctoring in connection with this.

The same people also mention a disease called lefka, of the origin of which I am ignorant. It is produced by trying to lift a load beyond the person's real ability, causing perhaps a strained tendon. They treated it by tying about the affected part a briar much like the kanta, called in their language bákeo okteáko, "blue briar." At the same time they sang and blew upon the place. A white man was once cured in this way by two Indian women, but when one of my informants tried that remedy himself upon another occasion it would not work because he did not know the proper formulæ.

When a person exhibited a horror of other people and, if he found himself suddenly where there were many, always ran away, they said that his disease was due to people—i. e., he was suffering from witchcraft. Says Swan:

³³ Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

"Stitches in the side, or small rheumatic pains, which are frequent with them [the Creeks], are often considered as the effect of some magic wound. They firmly believe that their Indian enemies have the power of shooting them as they lie asleep, at the distance of 500 miles. They often complain of having been shot by a Choctaw or Chickasaw from the midst of these nations, and send or go directly to the most cunning and eminent doctress for relief."³⁴ Male doctors prescribed for witchcraft equally with women.

Some other diseases and some different methods of treating the above are given by Doctor Speck, to whose paper (Mem. Am. Anthropol. Assn., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 121-133) the reader is referred. Also cf. the same writer's Yuchi paper, Anthropol. Pubs. Univ. Mus., I, pp. 132-135.

Sickness was sometimes attributed to the absence of the soul from the body, and this was probably assigned as a principal cause of disease as well as a secondary cause. It was then the object of the doctor to induce it to come back. I have an Alabama story telling of such an occurrence. This is given by the same people as the specific cause of "slow fever."^{34a}

Adair gives us in one invaluable paragraph an account of the origin and naming of a new disease. He says:

"In 1767, the Indians were struck with a disease, which they were unacquainted with before. It began with sharp pains in the head, at the lower part of each of the ears, and swelled the face and throat in a very extraordinary manner, and also the testicles. It continued about a fortnight, and in the like space of time went off gradually, without any dangerous consequence, or use of outward or inward remedies: they called it *Wahka Abeeka*, 'the cattle's distemper,' or sickness. Some of their young men had by stealth killed and eaten a few of the cattle which the traders had brought up, and they imagined they had thus polluted themselves, and were smitten in that strange manner, by having their heads, necks, etc., magnified like the same parts of a sick bull. They first concluded, either to kill all the cattle, or send them immediately off their land, to prevent the like mischief, or greater ills from befalling the beloved people—for their cunning old physicians or prophets would not undertake to cure them, in order to inflame the people to execute the former resolution; being jealous of encroachments, and afraid the cattle would spoil their open cornfields; upon which account, the traders arguments had no weight with these red Hebrew philosophers. But fortunately one of their head warriors had a few cattle soon presented to him, to keep off the wolf; and his reasoning proved so weighty, as to alter their resolution, and produce in them a contrary belief."³⁵

³⁴ Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.

^{34a} See p. 666.

³⁵ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 132.

Besides the accounts of diseases and their cures already given I have considerable information regarding medicine plants and their uses in diseases for which I have no native explanation, although in some cases the name of the plant probably contains the supposed cause of the disease. The greater number of these were obtained from Jackson Lewis, another portion was from a Wiogufki Indian named Caley Proctor, a brother of the leader of the "Snake Indians," Eufaula Hadjo. He stated that he learned these things from an old Indian named Nokos imala just before he died. To this I have added what I could learn among the Alabama of Texas, and some information from one of the few surviving Natchez Indians. The former varies somewhat from the rest on account of a difference in the Texas flora, while the latter has probably absorbed a great deal from the Cherokee among whom the surviving speakers of Natchez are living. A certain disorder was injected into Creek medical practice by the removal of the tribe west of the Mississippi, though Eakins's statement that "The roots and herbs they were accustomed to use in the 'old nation' they have not yet been able to discover in their new country," must not be interpreted in a too sweeping manner.³⁶

For the identification of the various plants I am indebted to Mr. Paul C. Standley, of the United States National Museum.

1. Miko hoyanidja (a species of *Salix*, willow), "passer by of the chiefs," the medicine being supposed to pass by of its own power (G. W. G.) or perhaps "sovereign purgative." This is one of the two great busk medicines and as a remedy seems to have been thought more of than the pasa. It is known colloquially as the "red root," the roots of some being blood red and others pale red. Jackson Lewis said that it was used as part of the medicine in a great many complaints, such as fever with nausea and vomiting. According to Caley Proctor it was put in water and drunk by the patient, either cold or hot, in cases of internal fever, malaria, and biliousness. According to another informant it was used as "a graveyard medicine"—i. e., as he explained it, a medicine for dropsy—and also to cure the deer sickness. The patient was also bathed in it. It was used in conjunction with the spicewood (kápapāská) in cases of rheumatism and swellings. According to another informant the miko hoyanidja and pasa together will cure "the clap" almost immediately. Eakins says simply that it was used in fevers.³⁶

2. Pāsa. This is the "buttonsnake-root" of the whites, also sometimes called "bear grass," and its scientific name is *Eryngium yuccaefolium*. The Natchez called it awe'lwaih; the Koasati pase'. As above noted, it was the second of the two important busk medicines. Its use in conjunction with miko hoyanidja has been mentioned. According to Caley Proctor, it was pounded up, mixed with water and drunk cold in cases of neuralgia and in kidney

³⁶ Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 274.

troubles. It was also administered in cases of snake bite, and Jackson Lewis gave this as its principal use, in which he is confirmed by as old an authority as Adair.³⁷ Jackson Lewis added that it was used in conjunction with the "deer potato" in cases of rheumatism. Zachariah Cook said it was used for diseases of the spleen. According to another informant it was a great medicine to cleanse the system and purify the blood, and still another declared that its function at the busk was not so much to combat positive diseases as to produce a feeling of peace and tranquillity, an access of health as it were. Swan and other early writers, however, call this "the war physic."³⁸ Adair says "they frequently drink it to such excess as to impair their health, and sometimes so as to poison themselves by its acrid quality."³⁹ The Alabama and Koasati swallowed small sprouts of this plant in spring in order to make themselves strong and healthy during the ensuing year.

3. *Hilis hátki*, "white medicine." This is ginseng and it was a very highly esteemed remedy. Caley Proctor said that when one suffered from shortness of breath the roots of this plant were cut up and put into boiling water and the infusion drunk. It was not used externally. Jackson Lewis also mentioned its use in cases of shortness of breath, and he added croup in children and a very low general condition. It constituted one of the elements in many compound remedies and generally relieved the patient. When a person was sick with fever and could not sweat new ginseng was boiled with ginger, then both were mixed with alcohol and a little given to the patient, when sweat would break out all over him. It was also used, according to both Caley Proctor and Jackson Lewis, to stop the flow of blood from a cut. The latter by its means cured a woman who had been shot in the head. Before applying the medicine in such cases the wound was cleaned out by the use of the long wing feather of a buzzard. At that time no one must be near, especially no woman, and above all a woman at the time of her monthly period. Elsewhere I have mentioned its employment to keep away ghosts, and Adair says "the Indians use it on religious occasions."⁴⁰

Caley Proctor gave me the following formula used over this medicine in cases of shortness of breath:

nokí' saladí' nokí' le'slai salatí'
noki' lesfánk salatí' kaka' kaka'

It is not known whether the words have any meaning. When this medicine is used to stop the flow of blood from cuts the following meaningless formula is hummed:

katadás howē' kati lanidí'
apátánalanidí' saii

³⁷ Adair, *Ilist. Am. Inds.*, p. 103.

³⁸ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 268.

³⁹ Adair, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 362. It was employed, for instance, during the busk at Kasihta (see p. 578).

4. Notosa. This is the angelica, the roots of which were used in various physical ailments. Bartram calls it "the angelica lucida or nondo," and says "it is in high estimation with the Indians as well as with the white inhabitants, and sells at a great price to the Southern Indians of Florida, who dwell near the sea coast where this never grows spontaneously."⁴¹ In another place he remarks that "its friendly carminitive qualities are well known for relieving all the disorders of the stomach, a dry belly-ache and disorders of the intestines, colic, hysterics, etc. The patient chews the root and swallows the juice, or smokes it when dry with tobacco. Even the smell of the root is of good effect. The Lower Creeks (Seminole), in whose country it does not grow, will gladly give two or three buckskins for a single root of it."⁴² According to Jackson Lewis it was given to children as a vermifuge and to adults to alleviate pains in the back.

5. Wilāna. This is the wormseed (*Chenopodium ambrosioides*). It was used to purify the busk ground and in the final cleansing of the fasters at that time. According to Caley Proctor it was a kind of family medicine, apparently a sort of spring tonic, and was also used in cases of fever. Jackson Lewis said it was employed in a great many ailments.

6. Ateina, cedar. According to Caley Proctor cedar was used as a spring tonic, to thin the blood. The Alabama in Texas bandaged it, after it had been boiled, over a place where there were rheumatic pains. According to Jackson Lewis the sprigs and leaves were applied warm to places where pains and aches were felt. It was not taken internally.

7. Kāpapāska, spicewood (*Benzoin aestivale*). When pains and aches were experienced an infusion was made of the branches and taken internally or the body steamed in the liquid in order to produce a perspiration. It was also taken in conjunction with miko hoyanīdja to produce vomiting, "which after some time purifies the blood greatly." Sometimes it was used as we use tea.

8. Kofūteka lāko, horsemint (a species of *Monarda*). The entire plant was used in an infusion in order to bring on a perspiration. When one was delirious he could be cured by the use of horsemint and everlasting boiled together and administered internally. According to Caley Proctor it was boiled with miko hoyanīdja to cure dropsy and swellings in the legs. The patient drank it hot and also bathed in it. The Alabama called it teinok tīaile, and it was used after a person had died, to ward off the rheumatism which was likely to ensue and also to cure all kinds of rheumatism. It was mixed with cold water, conjured by the doctor, and then each member of the household washed his body in it up to the ears, besides drinking some. It was used on the morning or evening after the death and was for protection against the ghost of the dead, which otherwise might afflict one with deafness.

⁴¹ Bartram, Travels, p. 325.

⁴² Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, p. 47.

9. Kadohwa, honey locust. This is used not to cure disease but to ward it off. The sprigs, thorns, and some of the branches are chopped up quite fine and boiled in water. After the infusion has been thoroughly boiled the members of the family bathe in it to ward off contagions such as smallpox and measles. It should be employed for four successive days.

10. Ala (Alabama ayona), buckeye (*Aesculus*). This is a very strong medicine and but little can be taken at a time. The roots are employed in cases of pulmonary consumption. It is also used to stupefy fishes.

11. Aloniski or holoniski, the devil's shoestring (*Cracca virginiana*). Jackson Lewis said that this was used in the same way as the buckeye and for the same purpose. Caley Proctor said that eight roots were pounded up, mixed with water, and the resultant infusion drunk cold in cases of bladder trouble. Together with yehungadjādi it was used in cases of loss of manhood, being prepared in the same manner. Like the preceding, it was employed to stupefy fish.

12. Adoklā lāsti, "black weed" (*Baptisia*), has a papilionaceous flower, yellow in color, and grows in clumps to a height of 2½ to 3 feet. The roots of this plant were boiled in water and administered to children who seemed drowsy and lifeless and on the point of coming down with some sickness. They were bathed in it and a little was given to them to drink.

13. Teato hiliswa, "rock medicine," grows in clumps and has a beautiful blue flower which appears early in spring. The roots are hard to get out and are as bitter as quinine. It was not used like the other medicines but apparently only when the old medicine men were making the novices fast.

14. Yanasa hiliswa, "bison medicine." It was formerly customary to put some medicine made from the roots of this on the tongue of a newborn child to make him strong, robust, and daring. Some of it grows in the old Choctaw country.

15. Teito yektea hiliswa, "medicine of the strong snake" (sarsaparilla). The roots were used when there was difficulty in urinating and blood was passed and there was pain about the lower part of the abdomen and in the back. Eakins says they resorted to it in cases of pleurisy.⁴³ The Choctaw and Chickasaw also use it, but they have a different name for the plant.

16. Sokha hiliswa, "hog medicine," boneset (apparently). When women complained of aches and pains in the hips they were steamed in a medicine made by boiling this. The Choctaw and Chickasaw called it cilup tileli, which means "something to scare away the spirits." A decoction was made from the roots and when persons had epilepsy they were steamed in it.

⁴³ Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 274.

17. Tuhiligu, mistletoe (*Phoradendron flavescens*). The leaves and branches were used as one of the ingredients in medicines for lung trouble, consumption, etc.

18. Akhātka, "white down in" (the bottom), the sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*). Chips from the tree and bark were used to make a medicine taken internally in cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. The following three medicines were used for the same purpose:

19. Aktecalāskā the white birch (*Betula*) of Oklahoma.

20. Teuli niha, (yellow) "pine rosin."

21. Hikūlwā, the black gum (*Nyssa*). The bark and chips of the wood were boiled and the decoction taken internally, or else the patient was bathed in it.

22. Tawa teāti, "red sumac." This is the smooth sumac (*Rhus glabra*). The roots were boiled and the infusion taken internally in cases of dysentery. It was the leaves of this variety which they formerly mixed with their smoking tobacco, and Pope says "this preparation of *Sumach* and *Tobacco*, the *Indians* constantly smoke, and consider as a sovereign Remedy in all cephalic and pectoral Complaints."⁴⁴

23. Tawa lāsti, "black sumac" (*Rhus copallina*). The roots were used like those of the preceding.

24. Ahwāna, willow (Alabama, ito loica). The roots were boiled in water and the infusion kept in the house in the summertime so that the family might bathe in it and drink it and thereby ward off fevers.

The Texas Alabama used this to cure fevers. The roots were put into cold water, and the doctor came every morning for four mornings and blew into the infusion, after which the patient drank of it and bathed in it all over.

25. Kī, mulberry (*Morus rubra*) (Alabama, bihala). The roots were used as an emetic. The Texas Alabama boiled and drank an infusion of these roots four or five times a day in cases of weakness accompanied by the passage of very yellow urine.

26. Teoskā, post oak (*Quercus stellata*). The bark is used to make a drink which Jackson Lewis used in cases of dysentery. Other physicians employed it in various other ways, but he did not know how.

27. Pākānaho, the wild plum (*Prunus*). The roots were boiled in water, and the infusion was taken internally in cases of dysentery.

28. Iteo impākānā, "deer's apple," a kind of wild crabapple (*Malus*). Jackson Lewis believed he had cured numerous persons of hydrophobia by taking the patient as soon as possible after he had been bitten, boiling some of this until a strong decoction had been made, and having the patient drink frequently of it, besides bathing him in the liquid and steaming the wound with it.

⁴⁴ Pope Tour, p. 63.

29. Táfōso, elm (*Ulmus*). Jackson Lewis knew that this was used in cases of toothache and he thought that the branches were taken, but there was a secret about its use which the doctors who knew about it did not divulge and he was not acquainted with it.

30. Pálko láko, "big grape," the "summer grape." The use of this in snake bite has been mentioned already.⁴⁵ It was also employed in cases of tonsilitis, when the tendrils were steeped in hot water and cloths put into this and bound about the throat. With it must be little parings of ginseng.

31. Hayopalídjá láko, the wild rose. The roots were boiled and administered internally to women when they were irregular in their periods.

32. Hayopalídjá teucei, a dwarf variety of wild rose. The roots of this were used with sumac in cases of dysentery. Either this or the preceding was employed by the Natchez in similar cases. My informant could not recall the Natchez name, but it is named in Cherokee tsistuunigist uhsti, "little rabbit food."

33. Taldaká, cottonwood (*Populus*). When an arm or leg had been broken cottonwood bark was boiled and the resulting liquid poured over the fractured part. Splints were made from the inner bark of this tree and it is asserted that the bone would then knit very soon. It was also used when ankles or other joints were sprained. If this tree is identical with the ito tásikaya, or "warrior tree," it was also used in cases of dropsy, when the patient was bathed in an infusion made by boiling the roots.

34. Adáphá, dogwood (*Cornus*). Jackson Lewis had seen this used but had never employed it himself and had forgotten the nature of its supposed virtues. The Texas Alabama, however, boiled the inner bark of the dogwood and used it in cases of flux.

35. Imbákbáki teati, "red blossoms," a plant growing in clumps in Oklahoma, with strong, rough, tuberous roots which are used as medicine in cases of pneumonia and to bring on perspiration and secure a reaction in what is called "winter fever." The bunches of this plant sometimes have red flowers and sometimes yellow ones.

36. Tinetki hiliswa, "thunder medicine," has very bitter roots and is used in fevers.

37. Iteo imaha, "deer's potato," a *Lacinaria*, was used to cure the deer disease—i. e., rheumatism. The roots were pounded up and boiled, and the infusion rubbed on the affected parts. Some was also drunk. According to Jackson Lewis pása was used in connection with it and a little sprig of cedar was also put in. Caley Proctor did not mention these accessories.

38. Hitci omá, "like tobacco," mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*). The roots were boiled and used internally for coughs, but there must be added to them the roots of a plant growing in wet places called

⁴⁵ See p. 645.

"button willow" in English and by the Creeks *saksa imito*, "crawfish wood." This last reaches a height of 5 or 6 feet. The identification of this is somewhat doubtful as I showed a piece of mullen to Caley Proctor and he called it *waga inhidji* and said it was used for shooting pains in the chest and joints. The leaves were boiled and the patient bathed in the infusion while it was still hot.

39. *Tcokiliba*, the elderberry (*Sambucus canadensis*). The tender roots of this plant were pounded up, stirred into hot water, and bound on the breast of a woman suffering from a swollen breast. If the roots can not be gotten, the skin scraped off of the stalk may be employed.

40. *Katco lako*, "big briar," the greenbriar (*Smilax*). The roots of this plant, which are exceedingly hard, are pounded up, boiled, and the liquid poured over ulcers, particularly ulcers on the legs.

41. *Ahalobakti*, or *Halobaktei*, *Gnaphalium obtusifolium*, was used, according to Jackson Lewis, in cases of mumps. A great many leaves were collected, even in winter when they are dried up, a strong infusion was made by boiling them in water, cloths were dipped in this, a little lard added, and the whole tied around the throat. According to Caley Proctor this was put with several other medicines, among which he mentioned *ateina*, *miko hoyanidja*, *pasa*, *wilana*, and *kofuteka lako*, to add a perfume. They were boiled by themselves, and the infusion drunk when one was unable to keep anything upon the stomach. The patient also bathed in the liquid. To cure bad colds the tops were boiled, the odor inhaled, and the infusion drunk. The faces and heads of old people were bathed in it and some drunk when they could not rest well and woke up with a start as soon as they had fallen asleep.

42. *Iswiani tcaitega*, "a purgative" (the only name known) (*Euphorbia?*). This is a small weed with small smooth leaves, and bears a bunch of flowers at the top. When broken it exudes a little milk. The roots are taken in an infusion to bring on an action of the bowels and it is a very violent remedy.

43. *Wiso*, sassafras (*Sassafras variifolium*). This was used as a medicine but I have no information as to how it was employed.

44. *Puya fiktea hiliswa*, "spirit medicine," is a weed a foot high which produces a little yellow fruit just where the leaf comes away from the stalk. This is said to be very fine for rheumatism and it is declared that it will cure gonorrhoea. A bundle of roots is taken sufficiently large to fill the palm in the space inclosed by the thumb and second finger when the tips are brought together.

45. Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens*). Jackson Lewis knew no native name for this plant. It is good for women with urinary troubles or having pains about the small of the back. The person taking this medicine must not eat butter, milk, or bacon.

46. Afála oma, "like the ivy," the woodbine (*Parthenocissus*). The root of this is good medicine in cases of gonorrhœa. Its use was learned from the Comanche.

47. Stilást iga ("black man's medicine"), a plant with a yellow flower popularly known as "nigger head." The roots were boiled and used in cases of consumption.

48. Pisi hiliswa, "woman's-breast medicine," a plant the roots of which were mashed, mixed with warm water, and applied externally by women suffering from swollen breasts.

49. Ifulo hiliswa, "screech owl medicine," is found far out in the woods, growing in small bunches. An entire bunch was boiled so that the infusion might be as strong as possible. The water then turns red and is good for persons with watery eyes or other chronic eye troubles.

50. Kīstowa, known popularly to the whites as "red root," a woody shrub with leaves along the stem and hard, woody, red roots. The roots are cut into long strips and put into a bottle with cold water. Afterwards the infusion is employed when blood is spit from the lungs.

51. Hitei pákpági ("tobacco bloom"), native tobacco, some species of lobelia(?). This is said to grow to a height of about 10 inches, but otherwise to resemble the common tobacco exactly and to have the same kind of flower. Jackson Lewis said that he knew that the Creeks, Yuchi, and Shawnee had this but was not aware of its existence among any other Indians. It is of rare occurrence and very highly valued. Traditionally this plant was with the Creeks from the very beginning, and it is supposed to be older than the smoking tobacco. Nevertheless Tuggle seems to have preserved a myth recounting its origin.^{45a} It derives its name from the fact that the flowers were the part used in medicine, four of them being generally placed in the pot. It was used in all kinds of cases, sometimes when a person was sick to the point of delirium, and it was used to ward off ghosts. Incidental references to this medicine have been made in other places.

The following medicines were described to me by Caley Proctor:

52. Awanhi hiliswa. This plant grows to a height of about 3 feet and bears a yellow flower. It is not used externally, but the roots are boiled and the infusion drunk to cure an enlarged spleen.

53. Yelungádjádi hiliswa, a species of *Stillingia*, is a plant about a foot and a half tall and has a bushy top with no blossom, or probably an inconspicuous one. The roots were mashed and boiled and a woman who had just given birth to a child drank the liquid and was bathed in it. A woman suffering from irregular periods bathed in this, prepared with the addition of devil's shoestring.

^{45a} See p. 509.

54. Fatdjädjī has a bunchy top, small yellow flowers, and short, very white roots. These last were boiled in water and the mixture drunk hot in cases of flux. When a small baby is very weak it is made to drink some of this and it is bathed in it.

55. Totkop läko, a species of *Impatiens*, is boiled with kofúteka läko and spicewood and the mixture drunk hot in cases of dropsy. The patient also bathes in it.

56. Nuti hiliswa, "tooth medicine," yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*), was used, as its name implies, to cure any sort of toothache.

For some diseases objects shaped like the old atasa or war club were put into medicines. A white man long acquainted with the Indians said that one kind of treatment was to pour great quantities of cold water over the patient. Liver complaint is called in Creek wí'ak wiligi.

ALABAMA MEDICINES

57. Nátikāca liteī, "cooler of the teeth," *Zanthoxylum americanum* Mill., popularly known as "prickly ash." The inside bark was beaten up and some of it was inserted into the cavity in an aching tooth, while more was placed around it and the whole wrapped up in a cloth. If a person itched all over, some was boiled in a pot and rubbed over him. When a man was out hunting and his dog did not follow the trail well he would sometimes put some of this bark into cold water and rub the dog's nose with it to improve his scent.

58. Hāk-himbálka, "wild goose's berries," *Callicarpa americana*, popularly called the French mulberry. The roots and limbs were put into a pot together, boiled, and then poured into a big pan. This was then placed beside a person suffering from malarial fever ("sick one day and well the next") in a sweat house made like that of the Creeks. After he had perspired all over he came out and was bathed in water. The treatment was repeated until the patient was cured. Sometimes the pan was placed beneath the chair of a person having rheumatism and blankets were then fastened about him. This was also to induce perspiration and it was repeated four times if necessary. Slow fever was treated in the same manner but my informant assured me that it was unsuccessful in such cases, as he himself had tried it.

59. Comalī, a species of *Meibomia*, the popular name of which is "tick trefoil." A bad state of the lungs or sometimes a bad cold was cured by drinking a tea made of this before breakfast and then vomiting it up.

60. Ahisi láksa, "bitter or strong medicine," *Gnaphalium obtusifolium* L., popularly known as "rabbit tobacco."⁴⁶ Láksa indicates a taste between bitter and sour. This was often used mixed with other medicines, but my informant did not know what. It was used, furthermore, when a man was nervous, woke up frequently, and

⁴⁶ There is doubt of this, as the same name is given to an *Antennaria*, popularly known as "pussy toes."

wanted to run away. It was then boiled in water along with cedar and the face of the patient washed in it until he got well. This sickness was thought to be brought on by ghosts and the medicine was intended to drive them off. Another way to effect the same end was by burning this plant and cedar together.

61. Hātācīpa, or Hāthācīpā, a species of *Solidago*, popularly known as "goldenrod." A tea was made out of the roots and drunk to cure a bad cold. Sometimes the root, which is bitter, was put into the cavity in a tooth to stop the ache.

62. Yenasa imilpa, "buffalo eat it," *Ceanothus americanus* L., the popular name of which is "New Jersey tea." The roots were boiled in water for two or three hours, the whole allowed to cool, and then it was used to bathe the feet or legs of one who had been injured in those members. This was done three times a day for one week, two weeks, or even for a month—i. e., until the injury was healed.

63. Wāsāko'tcī, a species of *Vaccinium*, the blueberry. It was used as a remedy for many different ailments but my informant did not know what these were.

64. Nīta imilpa, "bears eat it," has black berries. It was used for the same purposes as the Nātikāca liteī and in the same way. A poultice was made from it and applied in cases of pneumonia.

65. Ito hici' kocōma, "fragrant leaves," the sweet bay (*Myrica*). This was put into a big pot along with another medicine, perhaps cedar, and boiled. It was then administered to a person after a burial had taken place in order to secure him from disease. He did not retain it in his stomach, but went outside and vomited it up, after which he could eat.

66. Omāgāga, "open eyes," *Ascyrum multicaule*, popular name "St. Peter's-wort." When one had a bad case of dysentery these plants were put into a pot entire and boiled for a long time, and the infusion taken cold four or five times a day. In two or three days the patient would get better. It derives its name from the fact that a tea was also made from it with which to wash out the eyes.

67. Hācā'lāpo. The twirling stick used in producing fire in ancient times was made from this. A tea was made from the stalk and leaves of it, and given internally and externally to a person suffering from a disease locally known as "the itch," which seems to be prickly heat, shingles, or something of the kind.

68. Tcūyi, the pine. The inside bark of pine saplings was boiled in water and drunk to cure flux.

69. Ahisi home, "bitter medicine." The roots and the inside bark of the stalk were beaten up and put into water. After soaking thoroughly the medicine was tied up in a clean cloth and placed over any part of the body where a pain was felt, which it relieved, although it raised a blister. It was also put against the cheek outside of an aching tooth in order to destroy the pain—sometimes into the cavity of the tooth itself.

70. Itichälōkpa, the holly (*Ilex*). The inside bark was scraped off and boiled for a long time, perhaps four hours, in water, after which it was applied to sore eyes as a wash. It was administered three or four times a day.

71. Latco, red oak. The bark was boiled, and in the morning before food had been taken the infusion was drunk and then vomited out by a person afflicted with lung trouble. It was sometimes used to wash bad smelling sores that had broken out on the feet or the head. When children old enough to walk were too weak to do so, red oak bark, tree moss, omágāga, and oyimpāk'ō (tall bushes which grow near rocks) were mashed up together and boiled in a pot and the whole used as a wash. Sometimes a doctor was employed in connection with this; sometimes not. Boiled red-oak bark was also resorted to in cases of sore throat.

72. Tākāctaya, or Tākāstāyá, *Cercis canadensis* L., popularly known as the "redbud" or "Judas tree." The roots and inside bark were put into a small bucket with water where they were sometimes conjured by the doctor and sometimes not. The mixture was then drunk from four to six times a day to cure a kind of "congestion" which causes one to become hot all over and is soon fatal if not checked.

73. Ahisi hātka, "white medicine," perhaps ginseng. The roots were broken off and the milk that comes from them rubbed on sores.

74. Bákca, bark of the slippery elm (*Ulmus fulva*). When a woman was in labor and the delivery was delayed this was sometimes administered to her after it had been boiled in water along with gunpowder. The reasons assigned involve sympathetic magic.

75. Hoḡotle, "acting on or moving [the bowels]," *Sebastiania ligustrina* (Michx.) Muell. The roots of this were chewed to produce a movement of the bowels.

76. Dropsy was treated as follows: A limb was taken from the east side of each of four trees. These were put into a pot of water and boiled and the patient given a sweat bath. When he perspired profusely all over, he was washed in the same medicine and dressed in clean clothes. The same thing was repeated three times every day until he got well. Every morning, while this was going on, the doctor came and blew into the medicine. It was done for four successive days and if the treatment was ineffective it was repeated.

77. White-flour corn. To treat slow fever they pounded up four kernels of flour corn, mixed them with water, and poured the whole through a sieve held over the patient's head until all was gone. Next day the doctor did the same thing over again, calling upon the North, West, South, and East, blowing into the medicine and pouring it over the patient. Afterwards the patient's body was rubbed in order to bleach it, and that is why the white flour corn was used.

In this way the soul of the sick man which was supposed to have gone up to the sky was recalled to its body.

78. Itco inteástuge, "deer's peas," *Erythrina herbaeca*. The roots were pounded up, put into water, and the infusion drunk cold by a woman who had pains in the bowels.

79. Kátsgimilpa, "catfish eat it," or "catfish food." This is the famous "black drink" or "cassino" (*Ilex vomitoria*) referred to by all early writers on the southern Indians. The Creeks commonly called it ási, meaning simply "leaves," but sawátcka is said by some to have been the true name.^{46a} However, there appears to be some difference of opinion about this. I did not learn of any strictly medicinal purpose to which it was put by either the Alabama or the Creeks, though it was daily employed by the old people in early days to clear out the system and produce ceremonial purity. That it was supposed to possess more specific curative properties is shown by the following quotation from Adair:

"The Yopon, or Cusseena, is very plenty, as far as the salt air reaches over the low lands. It is well tasted, and very agreeable to those who accustom themselves to use it; instead of having any noxious quality, according to what many have experienced of the East-India insipid and costly tea, it is friendly to the human system, enters into a contest with the peccant humours, and expels them through the various channels of nature: it perfectly cures a tremor in the nerves."⁴⁷

A toothache medicine was known to an old woman, now dead, living among the Alabama in Texas but belonging herself to the Biloxi or Pascagoula tribe. It is said to be only a few inches tall and to have a red blossom. Mrs. James McKee, wife of the farmer with whom I boarded while in Texas, told me that "old Sally," as this woman was called, had cured a toothache for her almost instantly by putting some of the root of this plant into the cavity. The first application was accompanied by intense pain which soon disappeared and never returned. Apparently the nerve had been killed. Afterwards she asked the old woman repeatedly to show her the plant but the latter refused to do so lest it should lose its efficacy.

NATCHEZ MEDICINES

The following medicines were enumerated to me by one of the few surviving Natchez Indians. As the latter are living among the Cherokee it is probable that they are as much Cherokee as Natchez, and indeed for some of them I could obtain only the Cherokee names. Unless otherwise stated, the native name is in Natchez.

80. Cherokee name kowaya yúst', "syphilis medicine," a species of *Ascyrum* popularly known as St. Andrew's cross. A tea was made from it and given to children unable to pass urine.

^{46a} Possibly sawátcka is from ási, "leaves," and awotaitcita, "to make vomit," or sawotka, "emetic."

⁴⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 361.

81. Paxpa'ugubic, *Triosteum perfoliatum*, popularly known as horse gentian and locally as pleurisy root. While this was a medicine plant, my informant did not know how it was employed.

82. This is a species of *Asclepias* popularly known as milkweed. My informant did not know of a native name for it either in Natchez or Cherokee. The root was cut into several small pieces, a tea made from them, and three swallows taken three times a day for four days to cure kidney trouble and Bright's disease. Meantime the patient must take nothing that contained salt.^{47a}

83. Cherokee name antnax iyūsti, "strawberry like," *Potentilla canadensis*, popularly called cinquefoil. This was given to one who had been bewitched.

84. We-bulu, *Smilax bona-nox*, popularly called cat briar. This stays green all winter, and so it is wet and rubbed on the face to make one young.

85. Tsoliyuḡ, *Aristolochia serpentaria*. The whole plant is put into water and boiled, after which the infusion is taken internally while still warm to cure fevers.

86. Awel dāḡdauⁿ, "dangerous plant," *Leptotaenia nuttallii*. If this plant is eaten in winter it is said that it will prove fatal because at that season the snakes put poison into it, but in summer it is used as a medicine, though my informant did not know for what diseases.

87. Cherokee name Tāloni yuḡsti, perhaps from a town in the old country known as Tālonigi [Dahlongega], (*Rhus trilobata*). The roots are gathered and kept all winter, and if a poultice is made from them and put over a boil it is certain to kill it.

88. Ooc bobātsihic, "owl shoe," *Camassia esculenta*, popularly called quamash. It was used as a medicine but my informant could not say for what.

89. A species of *Porteranthus*, the Natchez and Cherokee names of which my informant could not give, nor did he himself know for what it was used, although he remembered having seen the old women hunting for it when he was a boy. He thought it might have been used by women during their monthly periods.

90. Cherokee name Ihiya yūst', "like cane," a species of *Panicum*, popularly called panic grass. An infusion was drunk warm to cure fevers which return every other day—i. e., malaria—and it was drunk hot for steady fevers.

91. Tsu ha'yax, *Rhamnus caroliniana*. Four blocks of wood were taken from this tree and a tea made out of them which was drunk for jaundice.

92. Cherokee name Gāhūⁿski, a species of *Pentstemon*. The *Collinsia violacea* is considered to be a smaller species of the same thing. A tea was made from the roots and administered to cure whooping cough, consumption, coughs, and colds.

^{47a}This is probably identical with No. 93, though it may be a different species.

93. A species of *Asclepias* popularly called "milkweed." No native name could be remembered. This was used in cases of syphilis.^{47b}

94. Cāxwāf. This is perhaps *Vernonia*, popularly known as ironweed. A tea was made out of the whole plant and drunk in cases of dysentery.

95. Wenādu icī, "cat's tail." This is still unidentified. A tea was made of the whole plant and was used like the preceding in cases of dysentery.

96. Agwenāhimbok, a species of *Antennaria*, popularly known as pussy toes (see p. 664). A tea was made from the tops and roots together and drunk warm to cure coughs and colds.

97. Awel abociil, *Northoscordum bivalve*, a relative of the wild onions. This was probably used as a medicine also, but my informant did not say for what.

98. Cedar (mōgāt) was used for pains in the shoulders, breast and back, for mumps, and swellings in the legs.

99. A root called by my informants the "pleurisy or butterfly root" is declared to have been as good a remedy as could be found for pneumonia or winter fever. The roots were boiled and the infusion taken a teacupful at a time. If one sick with a hot dry fever drank this and wrapped himself up well in bed he would soon perspire freely.

100. The "button snake-root" (āwelwaih; Creek, pāsa) is a great remedy for nosebleed. If the stem and leaves were chewed it would stop the flow of blood. A tea made of the parched plants was good for flux. After imbibing it the patient would fast until sundown and then make himself vomit. In olden days it is said to have been used instead of salt.

101. The entire plant of the long winter fern (tsōgōbīc, "bear paw;" Cherokee, "bear bed") was used as a remedy for scurvy.

102. The red willow (ōm bāgup, "red medicine"; Creek, miko hoyanīdja) was used for fevers.

103. The wormseed (ōm tsuegop, "strong-smelling medicine"; Creek, wīlānā) was given to people with fever or to children having worms.

104. "The devil's shoestring" (ānūh tsānuh) was thought to be good for coughs. As among the Creeks, it was also used in poisoning fish.

105. A plant growing to a height of 2 or 3 feet on the uplands and 5 in the bottoms, with hollow stems reaching the size of a lead pencil, and a yellowish flower, is esteemed good for the liver (or spleen) and for pains in the side.

Songs with appropriate words must be employed in administering all of the above medicines.

^{47b} Probably identical with No. 82, though possibly a different species.

When a man became sick at the stomach and vomited it was believed that a dead person had been eating out of the same dish with him.

Water from certain springs was also used as a remedy. There is a prairie in the Cherokee Nation formerly known as Medicine Spring Prairie (Gun ōm gunāts) but now called Greenleaf Prairie (Tsu otol hāyāp). The medicine spring from which it was originally named is 4 miles east of Braggs and the water is good for rheumatism, fevers, backache, headache, pains in the breast or stomach, weak or sore eyes, and has especial value for children. The water makes one belch a great deal, and "when you first drink it you do not like it but after a time you get used to it and think it the finest water in the world."

In the mountains 5 or 6 miles farther east is another spring with the very same kind of water, and a third 2 to 3 miles above Gore, on the bank of the Illinois River. A long time ago the Indians used to throw things into these.

To these may be added some mention of medicines by early writers. Adair speaks of an aquatic plant, probably a species of yellow flowered water lily (*Nymphaea*), the seeds of which were used as food. After noting this fact he continues: "It is a sort of marsh-mallows, and reckoned a speedy cure for burning maladies, either outward or inward—for the former, by an outward application of the leaf; and for the latter, by a decoction of it drank plentifully." He adds that the Choctaw called one of their head towns by its name.⁴⁸

Swan says: "The cassia fistularius, or pod of the wild locust, which grows here in abundance, furnishes them late in autumn with a kind of sweetmeats, which they gather and bring home wherever they can find it; and it is esteemed a good antidote in the complaints of their children."⁴⁹ It is quite certain that this is in reality the honey locust (*Gleditsia triacanthos*).

After mentioning whooping cough and worms as diseases from which Creek children frequently suffered Bartram says: "But (besides their well-known remedy, *Spigelia anthelmintica*), to prevent the troublesome and fatal effects of this disease, they use a strong *lixivium* prepared from ashes of bean-stalks and other vegetables, in all their food prepared from corn (*zea*), which otherwise, they say, breeds worms in their stomachs."⁵⁰

Below we read: "The vegetables which I discovered to be used as remedies, were generally very powerful cathartics. Of this class are several species of the *Iris*, viz, *Ir. versicolor*, *Ir. verna*. And for the same purpose they have a high estimation of a species of either *Croton* or *Stylingia*, I am in doubt which." He adds that this last

⁴⁸ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 410. I have been unable to identify the name of the town.

⁴⁹ Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.

⁵⁰ Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 43.

had been used very successfully by a white physician in North Carolina "in curing the *yaws*."⁵¹

Still farther on he says: "Several species of *Smilax*, the woody vines of *Bignonia crucigera*, some of the *bays* (*laurus*), are of great account with the Indians as remedies . . .

"The caustic and detergent properties of the white nettle (roots) of Carolina and Florida (*Jatropha urens*), used for cleansing old ulcers and consuming proud-flesh, and likewise the dissolvent and diuretant powers of the root of the convolvulus panduratus [*Ipomoea pandurata*], so much esteemed as a remedy in nephritic complaints, were discovered by the Indians to the inhabitants of Carolina."⁵²

One or two other items may be added from notes taken by the Agent Eakins from an Alabama Indian:

"The big prairie-weed is used as an emetic, taken as a tea. For cathartics they have a number of roots and weeds, prepared as a tea . . . They have two modes of treating eruptions of the skin: First, the external application of a decoction of herbs; and, Secondly, by steaming with the same decoction. The cause of their known and general failure to treat small-pox, or varioloid, is, First, their limited knowledge of the nature of the disease; and, Secondly, their belief that it is contagious prevents their administering for its cure. In no cases, whatever, do men assist in parturition. After parturition, they use a simple root or weed. For paralysis, their treatment is not, in all cases, successful, which is generally by roots or herbs. They use the vapor bath efficaciously."⁵³

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Through the kindness of Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr., I am able to add the following notes regarding a Creek busk witnessed by the artist J. M. Stanley and Mr. Sumner Dickerman in the summer of 1843, the year after the busk described by General Hitchcock. They were contained in a letter written at "Bayou Menard, Cherokee Nation, August 4, 1843," by Mr. Dickerman and printed in a newspaper, and give little more than an account—a very good one nevertheless—of the women's dance. The town was probably Tukabahchee, but this is uncertain. Mr. Dickerman, as well as his companion, seems to have had some artistic ability, since the services of both gentlemen were utilized by the Indians in painting a banner for the occasion. "On one side was painted the American Eagle, with the motto, 'E Pluribus Unum,' and the thirteen stars; on the other the crossed pipes, hatchet, and clasped hands, with the motto of 'Peace and Friendship.'" After Mr. Dickerman had run this up on a pole about 21 feet high, at one corner of the square, the Indians took it down and inverted it so that the eagle might be seen from the inside of the square as the wind was then blowing.

Mr. Dickerman describes the ceremonial ground as measuring "about 35 feet square," and says, "on each side is a small house with open front, facing the interior, and an entrance from each end of the house. Seats were arranged in

⁵¹ Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., p. 44.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 44-47.

⁵³ Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 274.

each house made of matting of cane wove together with bark. In the centre of the square they have a fire, which is not suffered to go out during the year. At the time of the *Busk* every family in the town is obliged to put out their fire at home and go to the Busking ground and encamp." He was, as we know, misinformed regarding the fire, which was kept up only during the ceremonial period. He now proceeds to describe the doings of the first day as follows:

"The *Busk* is a religious ceremony, to return thanks to the Great Spirit for their abundant crops of Corn, and might be called their sacrament, as it is observed with the utmost strictness and self-denial. The first day of the ceremony was commenced by the women dancing. They gave us the highest seat in the synagogue, where we could see every thing that was going on. The little King, or Chief of the town, with three others, took their seats upon the cane mats at one corner of the square, and in a few moments after they were seated, four gourds were brought to them on a server made of cane, which was painted white with a kind of clay, and contained small round seeds. Each man took one and they then commenced singing and keeping time with the gourds, the women at the same time coming into the square in Indian file, marched up in front and faced the singers. After they had come in to the number of one hundred and fifty, the singing ceased, and the speaker gave them a 'talk,' the substance of which, I am sorry to say I am unable to give you, as we had no interpreter by us at that time. At the conclusion of the speech the singing again commenced, and the four old women who led the dance, each holding a stick about a foot long, painted red and ornamented with Eagle's feathers, commenced beating time. The King gave a signal by the shake of the gourd, and they all immediately faced about and commenced beating time with their feet. About fifty of them wore terrapin shells upon their legs, which are made in the following manner: They boil the terrapin, extract all the meat, and then fill it with small pebble stones. Ten or twelve of these are fastened in a semicircular form upon a piece of Buffalo skin, and tied upon the leg just above the knee. They generally wear one on each leg, and in dancing they all keep perfect time, and it is impossible to conceive what a rattling noise they make. Another double shake of the gourd, and they all commenced dancing around the fire in the centre of the square. In this way they continued dancing incessantly for two hours, the sun shining full upon them, and the thermometer ranging from 90 to 100 in the shade. Their dresses defy description. Out of the whole number I could not designate two of the same figure. They were principally of calico and cotton of their own manufacture. They were made in a style peculiar to the Creeks and Seminoles. The border is made to hang loose, and detached from the skirt. The skirt is tied around the waist, and is worked to the depth of 12 or 15 inches from the bottom with different colors, in various devices. On these occasions they always put on all and the best they have. I saw one woman near our camp put on five dresses. They wore a great many ornaments, such as beads, earrings, hair-combs, etc. I saw one woman with ten pair of silver ear-rings in her ears, four pounds of large blue and white beads around her neck, silver arm-bands upon her arms, and about ten yards of different colored ribbons flowing from the top of her head. While the women were dancing the men were all seated in the houses forming the square, feasting upon boiled meat, potatoes, honey and water-mellons. They asked us if we had eaten any green corn this season; we replied that we had. They then told us if we had not eaten corn we could have eaten with them, but if we had eaten of it we could not, for it would spoil their physic, and offend the Great Spirit. Thus passed the first day of the *Busk*. . . ."

Dickerman promises to continue his description of the ceremony in later letters but unfortunately they are not available to me.

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ABORIGINAL CULTURE OF THE
SOUTHEAST

By JOHN R. SWANTON

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CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction.....	677
Southeastern cultural elements.....	681
Cultural subdivisions.....	711
A study of the cultural subdivisions.....	717
Evolution of the southeastern culture.....	724
Index.....	859

ABORIGINAL CULTURE OF THE SOUTHEAST

By JOHN R. SWANTON

INTRODUCTION

The Gulf area of the United States, that which ethnologists and archaeologists call the Southeast, seems originally, or at least at a very early period, to have been occupied by a brachycephalic type of man not found elsewhere in America. At a later period a dolichocephalic population appears to have worked in from the north or northwest and to have occupied much of the northeastern part of the area in question, becoming especially mixed with the earlier type in the Florida Peninsula. The broad-headed type was most strongly represented along the valleys of the Mississippi and Red Rivers, perhaps most typically by the Choctaw or the Choctaw and the Chitimacha. The Chickasaw, though closely agreeing with the Choctaw in language, had become altered, probably through the adoption of captives, so that their physical type was more nearly dolichocephalic; but this type was most marked among the Indians of the Creek confederacy. The broad-headed type appears to have been pushed down close to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico and into Florida, though the long heads are again in evidence in southern Florida. Westward in Texas the broad-headed type slowly gave way to a mesocephalic type.¹

In general, the linguistic problem in the Southeast is simpler than the physical problem. With the exception of the Cherokee, who will concern us little, and the Algonkians of North Carolina and Virginia, who have merely a marginal interest for us, most of the Gulf languages are of similar pattern, and it may well be that future investigations will show them all basally allied. The largest single stock represented in the region is called Muskogean after the dominant tribe of the Creek confederacy. To it belonged all of the languages spoken by the tribes constituting that confederacy except those of the Yuchi and the Algonkian Shawnee. Besides Muskogee, it embraced Alabama, Koasati, Hitchiti, and Natchez, the latter a very aberrant dialect. The other principal tribes speaking Muskogean dialects were the Choctaw and Chickasaw above mentioned,

¹ See A. Hrdlička: "The Anthropology of Florida," in the Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, No. 1, 1922; "The People of the Main American Cultures," Amer. Philos. Soc., vol. LVX, No. 3, 1926, pp. 157-160.

and the Yamasee, Guale, and Apalachee of early colonial history, to which must be added a number of smaller bodies on the Yazoo and Mississippi Rivers and on the shores of the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. It is suspected that the lost languages of southern Florida—Calusa, Ais, etc.—were also Muskogean, and the dialects of the Timucua of central and northern Florida appear to be remotely related, though they are as yet kept in a distinct stock, the Timucuan. A number of tribes on the west, embracing three groups—the Tunican, Chitimachian, and Atakapan—once supposed to be distinct,² have strongly Muskogean linguistic features, and two other stocks, Uchean and Siouan, the latter represented only in part in the Gulf area, show a general structural parallelism. How far this resemblance extends toward the west is not as yet known, but a considerable change seems to meet us in the Coahuilteco of western Texas. The Caddo, of northwestern Louisiana and northeastern Texas, certainly represent a different structural category.

There being no natural barriers of any consequence against diffusion of cultural elements in the Southeast, it would not have been a very easy task to separate cultural areas even if we had an abundance of material from all parts of the section, but the state of our actual sources of information makes it much harder. In the first place we are dependent on three diverse sources—Spanish, French, and English—and documents spread over three centuries. The records were made with very different objects in view and from wholly inharmonious standpoints. Some of the writers were government officials who wished to know above everything else the military strength of the natives and the extent to which they could be used to further the imperialistic schemes of the home government. Others were traders desirous to find which native tribes could furnish the most and best pelts at the cheapest rates. Still others were missionaries whose interest was primarily in the beliefs of the natives, and secondarily in the languages spoken by them as a means to their conversion. Their testimony as to native forms of faith was apt to take one of two entirely distinct directions. Either they professed that the Indians had nothing that could properly be called religion, and that hence the services of missionaries were very necessary; or they believed that they found traces of a lofty faith among them which they must have inherited from an earlier period when they were in contact with the historic cults of the Old World and which were perhaps to be explained by the fact that they were descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel. The missionaries who disseminated this latter view were not oblivious of the interest it would create among those who supported their efforts, and, in either

² Now placed in one stock, the Tunican.

case a bias was introduced for which the student consulting their works must make allowance. In still other cases we have to deal with true explorers who did not lack intelligence but committed their impressions to paper before they had been long enough in the country to describe what they saw with discrimination, and who were entirely aware of the value of "a good story" in securing publicity after their return and in helping the circulation of anything they might publish. It was inevitable that the ethnology of any area recorded under such circumstances should be uneven. The larger and more conspicuous tribes would be treated repeatedly and some of their more striking customs dwelt upon ad nauseam, while much-needed information from smaller bands would be lacking or entered by chance in connection with other matters.

When one considers the length of time during which the three European peoples above mentioned were in contact with the Gulf Indians, it is surprising how few developed interest enough to attempt anything more than the briefest sketches of them. Upon the whole it appears that the French exhibit a more lively interest in these things than the English, while the Spaniards, unless there are as yet unknown sources of information still in manuscript, come off worst. Thus, in spite of the important material incidentally preserved by the Franciscan Pareja, for the great mass of our information regarding the tribes of northern Florida we have to rely upon narratives compiled during the brief period when Huguenot colonies were established in that peninsula—the narratives of Ribault, Laudonnière, Le Moyne, and Le Challeux. For southwest Florida we are, indeed, dependent on Spanish sources, the Memoir of Fontaneda and some later documents, but the material is woefully deficient, and for southeast Florida there is nothing in either Spanish or French approaching in value the simple tale of the Quaker Dickenson of Philadelphia.

Spanish documents are, again, of importance to us in our attempts to glean ethnological information regarding the peoples of the coast lands of Georgia and South Carolina, but here the records of the brief French colony of Port Royal bulk almost as large, while those from the later English colonists are more extensive.

Our principal Creek information is embodied in English—Adair, Bartram, Romans, Hawkins, Stiggins, Hitchcock—but there are two important French sources, Bossu and Milfort, besides minor items in some other documents. As an authority on the early Chickasaw, Adair, the Scotch-Irish trader, reigns supreme, and it is doubtful whether he can be matched by any other single informant of any nationality. However, he is almost equalled by our two principal French sources on the ethnology of the Natchez, Du Pratz and Dumont, and moreover, they are supported by a lesser

galaxy consisting of such men as Pénicaut, Charlevoix, Le Petit, and Gravier. These men, and a few others like La Harpe, Iberville, Bienville, also give us a few important notes regarding the smaller tribes of the lower Mississippi, and Tonty, La Harpe, and Joutel furnish us with our main store of information respecting the Caddo tribes, though this has in recent years been supplemented in important particulars by gleanings by Professor H. E. Bolton from the Spanish mission archives. As a single source of information on the Caddo, the journal of Joutel is of more value than any one of the others. In respect to the general ethnology we are very poorly off indeed.

Although the Choctaw were one of the largest tribes in the Southeast, singularly few serious attempts were made to give a description of them, apart from lists of towns and an occasional census. Almost the only French effort to describe this important people is by an anonymous writer whose manuscript is preserved in the Ayer Collection of Americana, in the Newberry Library, Chicago. The section dealing with the Choctaw was translated by me and printed among the *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*. Second to this as a source of Choctaw ethnology is the narrative of Romans, and Adair, Milfort, Bartram, and other writers contribute in lesser measure. A later writer worth consulting for both Choctaw and Chickasaw is the American missionary, H. B. Cushman.

Returning to the extreme northeast of the section under consideration, we find by far the best single authority to be John Lawson, who is to be supplemented, however, by Lederer. When we extend our comparison to tidewater Virginia and Carolina, we have the standard authorities John Smith, William Strachey, Robert Beverley, and Thomas Hariot.

A number of lesser authorities must be appealed to to fill in details and the whole supplemented by the work of recent students such as Albert S. Gatschet, Henry S. Halbert, Frank G. Speck, and the present writer.³

³ This paper is intended, in large measure, as a summary of the more important deductions from the data assembled in the papers preceding, though its scope has been extended so as to cover the material culture of the same tribes and the entire culture of most of the other peoples of the Southeast. Owing to its general and highly condensed character it has not been thought best to include specific references to the original sources. Part of these sources may readily be run down by means of the two preceding papers and the accompanying index, and *Bulletins 43 and 73 of the Bureau of Ethnology and their indices*. The titles of the greater part of the works mentioned are given in the above works and papers. In particular, nearly all of them will be found in the bibliography accompanying *Bulletin 73*. The principal omissions are: The writings of John Smith, for which see "Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625," ed. by Lyon Gardiner Tyler, in *Original Narratives of Early American History* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1907); Wm. Strachey's "The History of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," etc., in *Hakluyt Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. VI (London, 1849); Thomas Hariot, "A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, 1585 and 1590" (reprinted in London, 1893); J. R. Swanton, "An Early Account of the Choctaw Indians," in *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. V, Part 2 (Lancaster, 1918); and Henry S. Halbert, papers in the *Pubs. of the Ala. and Miss. Historical Societies*.

SOUTHEASTERN CULTURAL ELEMENTS

Many native arts and industries and their products were destroyed so rapidly when brought into competition with European goods that it is frequently very difficult to determine the regional differences between them that formerly must have existed.

The most invariable article of male attire was the breechclout, usually consisting of a deerskin—later replaced by cloth—passed between the legs and tucked up under a belt before and behind, with considerable to spare at either end. Speaking of the tribes of eastern North Carolina, Lawson says that this garment “is to hide their nakedness, of which decency they are very strict observers, although never practiced before the Christians came amongst them.” He can hardly mean that the breechclout was not in use before white contact; if he does, he is certainly wrong. Du Pratz says that the Natchez used for this garment the skin of a deer dressed white or black, but that few except chiefs made them of black deerskins. How far this custom was peculiar to the Natchez we do not know. The only clear-cut regional change in the character of the breechclout appears in southern Florida and it is perhaps to be attributed to the greater intensity of the heat. Thus Fontaneda, speaking of the Calusa men and undoubtedly referring to this article of attire, says that it was “of braided palm leaves,” and Dickenson states the same of the Indians of the eastern coast, the Jeaga and Ais. He notes breechclouts of this type on the first Indians who came to meet him and his companions after their shipwreck. Farther along he describes it as “a piece of plaitwork of straws, wrought of divers colours, and of a triangular figure, with a belt of four fingers broad of the same, wrought together, which goes about the waist; and the angle of the other having a thing to it coming between the legs; and strings to the end of the belt, all three meeting together, are fastened behind with a horse tail, or a bunch of silk grass, exactly resembling it, of a flaxen colour; this being all the apparel or covering the men wear.” The drawings of Le Moyne supposedly illustrating usages among the Timucua represent Indians wearing breechclouts made of single garments wrapped about the hips and fastened behind, but it is quite unlikely that they varied to such an extent from the universal custom in the Southeast.

The belts were usually of skin, though sometimes of cords strung with beads. Lawson says that the Carolina Indians made “girdles and sashes” out of the skin of the king snake.

Men covered the upper parts of their bodies with a garment or garments made of the skins of various animals, such as the bear, deer (particularly the male deer), panther, wildcat, beaver, otter, raccoon, squirrel, and bison. Some of these were made long, were

used particularly by old people, and were intended for winter wear. Others were made of feathers, in the main those of the turkey, woven into a network of cords. Lawson says that heads of mallards were sometimes worked into such a garment in Carolina, and he speaks also of "hair," though it hardly seems probable that garments of such size were woven entirely of hair anywhere in the Southeast. Certain mantles obtained in the neighborhood of Pensacola, which seem to have been of otter skins, were very highly praised by the Spaniards. The Fidalgo of Elvas speaks as if, in De Soto's time, men were in the habit of wearing mulberry bark shawls or mantles, but later writers always call these feminine garments. Some French writers also speak as if feather cloaks were peculiar to women, but the evidence is not conclusive, and we know that they were used by men among the Carolina Indians, the Creeks, and the Caddo. Du Pratz says that Natchez women made mantles for women of the Honored class of feathers of the swan and "Indian duck."

Some of the above articles of clothing, particularly those last mentioned, were perhaps more for show than comfort. At any rate Adair speaks of a "summer visiting dress" which the Chickasaw made of deer-skins, and Du Pratz, who describes this at greater length, says that, on account of its size, it should be considered a nightgown rather than a shirt. A later development of this was, perhaps, the "ruffled shirt of fine linen worn next the skin" which Bartram observed among the Creeks. From the references to these garments it is impossible to make out any distinct types having regional distribution.

During cold weather and when it was necessary to protect the lower limbs from contact with underbrush, skin garments which are usually called "leggings" were added to the above. The lower borders of these were tucked under the upper edges of the moccasins, and the upper ends were usually carried high enough so that they could be fastened to the belt by means of straps. They were held in under the knee by means of ornamented bands called "garters." Such garments are mentioned by writers on the Creeks, the Indians along the lower Mississippi, and the Indians of Virginia, and they may be inferred of those along Savannah River in De Soto's time from the descriptions his companions give. There is no reference to them in Florida, an omission which may be accounted for plausibly on the score of climate.

Moccasins were worn throughout the Southeast by the Indians when traveling but at home they went barefooted much of the time. Adair distinguishes between moccasins for common wear, made of bear or elk skin, and those of deerskin for dress occasions. There is no early reference to moccasins in Florida but it is not probable that they were entirely unknown.

The one invariable female garment was a short skirt, usually made of deerskin. In Florida most women, especially those of the

poorer classes, substituted Spanish moss. Poor people among the Virginia Indians, regardless of sex, covered themselves with grass, leaves, and other similar things. The upper part of the body was partially protected, especially in cold weather, by a shawl made of animal skins and also of the feathers of turkeys and other birds. Characteristically feminine was a cloak, already mentioned, which was spun from the inner bark of the mulberry or from certain grasses. The De Soto chroniclers inform us that the women of Cofitachequi on Savannah River wore skirts of the same material. The mantle was usually fastened over the left shoulder so as to expose the right breast, and from Le Moyne's drawings it would appear that mantles of Spanish moss were used similarly by the Floridian women. In very cold weather women seem to have covered the upper portions of their bodies with a heavy skin blanket. Most early writers say that the moccasins of both sexes were identical but Adair intimates that those of the women were carried higher up the leg. Young girls wore only a kind of apron made of threads or strings falling down in front, the ends frequently ornamented with bits of metal, deer trotters, etc.

Anciently leading men wore headbands of feathers, skins, or metal, and in later times headbands of handkerchiefs purchased from the whites, the so-called "turbans." Lawson does not appear to have noted them among the Indians of eastern Carolina, but not much importance need be attached to the omission; they were employed very widely if not universally.

During dances fans made of turkey feathers were carried by the participants in order to protect their eyes from the glare of the fire.

Like most of the other American Indians, those of the Southeast generally took pains to extract the hairs from all parts of their bodies except their heads. It is therefore of some interest to read in Lawson's narrative that the Keyauwee Indians of the upper Yadkin, "unlike most Indians," wore mustaches or whiskers. The explorers of "New Brittain" also reported in 1650 that many of the people of Blandina (Roanoke) River had beards.

There are several distinct statements to the effect that the method of wearing the head hair differed from tribe to tribe, but unfortunately few writers take the trouble to enlighten us as to the nature of these differences. We do know, however, that the Choctaw were considered peculiar because the men, as well as the women, let their hair grow long. For this reason, Adair informs us that they were known to their neighbors as Paⁿsfalaya, "Long hairs," and we learn that the peculiarity extended to some of the smaller tribes on the Gulf coast, a circumstance to which we evidently owe the name Pensacola, "Hair People." In later times Romans noted that some of the young men of the northern Choctaw were shaving their heads in imitation of the Chickasaw.

Presumably the Chickasaw style was similar to that of the Creeks where the sides of the head were shaved, leaving a roach or crest. MacCauley, in his illustration of the old-time Seminole coiffure, represents this and also indicates that a fringe of hairs was left uncut along the margin of the forehead. The late G. W. Grayson, chief of the Creeks, did not remember this feature, but it is interesting to note that Beverley says it was the style adopted by priests among the Indians of tidewater Virginia. The Chitimacha Indians also believe that their ancestors roached their hair. Speaking of the Natchez, Du Pratz says: "The natives cut their hair around, leaving a crown like the Capuchins, and leave only enough long hair to make a twisted tress no larger than the little finger, and which hangs over the left ear. This crown is in the same place and almost as large as that of a monk. In the middle of this crown they leave about two dozen long hairs for the attachment of feathers." In describing the usages of several different tribes, Dumont says that "some cut it entirely, leaving only a tuft on the top of the head in the Turkish fashion." Perhaps the Caddo may have been one of the people he had in mind, for Joutel tells us that "most of them had their hair cut off except for some tresses which they tie to or roll around a small piece of wood, which they wear at one side, but all have a little tuft on top of the head behind like the Turks." Yet he adds that some did not cut their hair at all. Garcilasso speaks of the hair of the Gulf Indians as if it were kept long and tied on their heads, and this agrees with statements of the early writers on Florida, who affirm that the hair of these Indians was trussed up on their heads. One adds that it was used as a quiver, a circumstance which would tend to prevent them from abbreviating it to any extent. Dumont says that some tribes shaved the hair from one side of the head, allowing that on the other side to grow long, and such was, in fact, according to Smith and Strachey, the Powhatan custom. We find it extended to the Algonkian tribes of North Carolina. The Alabama Indians are said to have done up their hair in four braids, two in front and two behind. Women almost invariably wore their hair long. The Caddo and Alabama women, and the Virginia women after marriage, parted their hair and bound it up behind. Unmarried girls among the Powhatans cut their hair close on the front and sides.

Most southeastern Indians soaked their hair in bear grease, and those of Carolina and as far west as the Creeks rubbed the powder of a kind of plant into it, thereby giving it a reddish tinge. Puccoon root was sometimes substituted, but this was said to be inferior and to give the hair an ugly color. However, it seems to have taken the place of the other in Virginia. There is no mention of this custom on the lower Mississippi, and all that we learn of the Caddo is that they reddened their hair with duck feathers.

Feather ornaments were extensively used in the hair and ornaments of beads, copper, colored stones, bones, and in later times brass and silver, were worn not only there but on the breechelout and other articles of clothing, about the neck, hanging from the ears, about the waist and wrists, and sometimes about the arms and ankles. In Carolina and Virginia the beads most used were of two kinds, called wampum and roanoke. It is probable that the former was known only after white contact by introduction from New York and New England. The latter represented a definite type of bead locally manufactured, and probably entirely distinct from the shell beads in use in Florida, and in the inland sections of the Gulf area, although a certain amount may very well have been carried there in trade. Pearls were highly prized throughout the entire Southeast and seem to have been partially monopolized by the chiefs and upper classes. In the Algonkian sections of Carolina and Virginia copper is also said to have been a mark of distinction, and we may infer as much for the rest of the region under discussion. Shell gorgets were distributed as widely as pearls. Peculiar to the Timucua of Florida were "small oblong fish-bladders, which when inflated shine like pearls, and which, being dyed red, look like a light-colored carbuncle." In Virginia and Florida legs of birds were stuck through holes in the ears but the wearers in such cases were probably doctors. Chickasaw and Creek dandies were in the habit of making slits about the edges of their ears, and winding brass or silver wire about the strip of flesh thus loosened in such quantities that the ear was increased to huge proportions. This device does not seem to have extended much beyond the tribes mentioned. On the other hand the women of the lower Mississippi made ear ornaments, shaped somewhat like railroad spikes, out of the central parts of conch shells, the heads serving to keep them from falling through. These seem to have had a local distribution in the Mississippi Valley along with the custom, also confined to women, of blackening the teeth. Besides indulging in the extravagant ear decorations above mentioned the Creeks and Chickasaw appear to have been unique in extending ornamentation to the nose. Adair says that the latter were in the habit of fastening a stone to the nose by means of a deer sinew passed through a hole bored in that organ, the stone being replaced in later years by a piece of hammered silver or pewter or a large bead, while beads were sometimes strung from the crown of the head to the nasal cartilage. The Alabama claim to have worn nose rings until a comparatively late period. A peculiarly shaped breast ornament consisting of a series of crescent-shaped silver plates varying in size, the largest above and the smallest below, is said to have been introduced among the Alabama by the Choctaw. Natchez beads wore bracelets worked out of the ribs of deer and the Florida Indians employed fish

teeth for that purpose. These are the only statements of the kind and may represent local peculiarities. Our Florida data would also indicate that the omission of the leggings, already indicated, was accompanied by a greater employment of leg ornaments, both being directly traceable to the warmer Floridian climate.

Tattooing was practically universal, and from what most writers tell us it would seem that art found a peculiarly high expression through the medium of tattooings. Since Pénicaut contrasts the relative abstinence from tattooing on the part of the Natchitoches Indian women with the condition among the Acolapissa, we may assume that the Caddoan peoples did not go to the same extremes in this particular as the Mississippi River tribes. In Carolina and Virginia we are informed that each man had the distinctive mark of his tribe tattooed upon the back of his right shoulder. This perhaps indicates a regional peculiarity so far as the place selected for the tribal sign is concerned, but similar representations were common elsewhere. The Choctaw had family quarterings on their stomachs and arms as well as the handles of their war clubs. They were also placed upon trees at times, and with many tribes it was usual to delineate the tribal sign on small pieces of wood and leave them about the place where an injury had been inflicted upon the enemy so that the latter would be in no doubt as to the people who had revenged themselves. The body was also the bulletin board on which to publish records of valorous acts performed in war, and great jealousy in the use of these was exhibited. French writers inform us that the Indians of the Tunican stock were particularly addicted to tattooing.

In preparation for war, the ball game, or social functions of various kinds, men painted their faces and portions of their bodies. There is not the same unanimity of statement as regards the women. Those of the lower Mississippi tribes, the Caddo, and the Florida peoples employed paint, but Lawson denies that it was used by the Carolina women and Bartram says that among the Creeks it was resorted to only by a class of prostitutes. Beverley confirms Lawson's statement, even extending its application apparently to the Virginia tribes. In later times, at least, Alabama women put spots of red or yellow on their cheeks in preparation for the dances. On the authority of one of his officers, Laudonnière reports that Onathaqua and Hostaqua, two chiefs living near Ocilla River, Fla., painted their faces black while the other Timucua chiefs used red, but we are not well enough informed regarding native usages in that section to know how to interpret this statement.

Artificial head flattening was strictly regional in distribution. It was in vogue among the Choctaw, Natchez, Chitimacha, Tunica, and most of the other small tribes in the section as far east as Mobile

Bay. Its introduction among the Chickasaw was probably late and Iberville tells us that the old men of the Houma Indians at the mouth of Red River had not generally resorted to the practice. The Catawba and other eastern Siouan tribes were called Flat heads like the Choctaw, but the only tribe of the Siouan connection known certainly to have been given to the custom was the Waxhaw. In historic times the Creeks were free from the practice, though their traditions speak of flathead Indians which they found in possession of the Apalachicola country and drove south. Here archæological research has in some measure confirmed tradition.

The Indians of Florida and Carolina allowed their finger and toe nails to grow very long. Farther west the professional undertakers or "bone pickers" of the Choctaw and Chitimacha kept their finger nails long for obvious reasons, but it is not certain that a local practice is here indicated.

Our information regarding the ancient dwellings of our southeastern Indians, as in so many other particulars, is very fragmentary, but what we have seems to indicate that, aside from mere hunting lodges, certain tribes had distinct summer and winter houses and certain did not. Distinct summer and winter houses are reported from the Chickasaw and Creeks, including the former population of most of Georgia, and from part at least of the eastern Siouan tribes. From the Caddo, the tribes of the lower Mississippi, and the Timucua the evidence is to the contrary. The single house of the latter peoples seems in general to have corresponded in structure with the winter house of the others. This was round or oval in eastern Carolina but approximately round everywhere else. The Natchez and Choctaw houses, and probably those of the Taensas, were square, the Choctaw having a smoke hole at each gable end as was usual with the Alabama houses in later times. In some of the round houses, at least those of the Caddo and Yazoo, roof and walls were not treated as distinct elements, but this was the case at least with the Natchez house.

The sacred buildings of the western tribes seem to have been of, practically the same type as their private dwellings, and this was true of those sacred buildings of the Creeks and their neighbors which were used in winter or during severe weather, but the Creeks, at least, had summer ceremonial grounds in which the participants sat in four long sheds facing a central square. Something of the kind also existed among the Cherokee. The Timucua had a long rectangular town house markedly different from ordinary dwellings. Possibly this may have owed its origin to the communal houses of the Iroquois "long house" pattern of which there are certain obscure traces along the Atlantic seaboard. Oviedo describes something of the sort as reported by Spanish explorers on the Georgia coast

Beverley says that the Virginia Indians had a few long houses containing rooms separated by mats, and he is supported by one or two references by Smith and Strachey, while White speaks of a house of five rooms at Roanoke which we may presume to have been of this pattern.

The summer houses of the Carolina Indians were little more than open lounging pavilions; those of the Creeks and Chickasaw were rather elaborate structures, divided into two rooms by a median partition, and those of the better class provided with porches. Some Indians had two or three additional buildings for the storage of food and skins, and for other purposes. Such was the "treasure house" of Powhatan in which he kept skins, copper, pearls, beads, red paint, and bows and arrows.

The materials which entered into houses were much the same over the entire area, apparently varied less by internal custom than by the bounty of nature. Thus in most of peninsular Florida the houses were thatched with palmetto, but at the mouth of the St. Mary's River reeds were used, while farther inland but at about the same latitude, the De Soto chroniclers note a change from "dry grass"—by which they may mean palmetto—to cane. Lederer says that the Eno Indians constructed their houses of wattling and plaster instead of bark, the usual material of the lowland tribes. Caddo dwellings were thatched with grass and so were the roofs of Chickasaw winter houses and the Natchez structures, the sides in the case of the two latter being made of canes interwoven, and the whole covered with mats inside and out. Quapaw and Yazoo houses were covered with cypress bark or palmetto, and bark seems to have been used anciently to cover the summer houses of the Chickasaw and the houses of the Choctaw and Creeks.

Smoke holes were noted by early travelers among the Carolina and Virginia Indians, the Bayougoula, and the Chitimacha; and, as we have noted, the Choctaw and Alabama houses had a smoke hole at each end. Elsewhere such devices are either unnoticed or specifically denied. Beverley mentions little windows closed with bark among the Virginia tribes, and in the Mississippi area we are told of houses built especially for defense and provided with loopholes.

Corneribs or granaries were erected by all of these people but there are few differences that can be detected and pointed to as regional variations. However, it is worthy of note that some of the early writers on Florida declare the storehouses in that peninsula were constructed partly of stone. References to the use of stone in buildings of any sort are very rare, but we have a few from the eastern Siouan area. Thus Peter Martyr states that Datha, the great King of the Province of Duhare, lived in a house built of stones while the dwellings of all of the rest of his people were of wood.

This might be dismissed as a Spanish invention were it not that, at a much later date, Lawson tells us the Sapona Indians had stone sweat lodges. Although of less value, Oviedo's description of the temples in which the chiefs of the Province of Gualdape, probably on the Georgia coast, were buried, deserves notice. They had "walls of stone and mortar," the latter made of oyster shells. It is perhaps of some significance that all of these references to the use of stone in buildings are from one area.

Wooden mortars and wooden pestles of similar type were used in the whole of the southeastern corn area. In Tennessee some stone mortars have been found but there is no mention of their use in historic times.

Throughout the Southeast beds were made in the same way, by elevating a framework of sticks covered with mats and skins upon short posts around the edge of the house inside. There are certain very slight evidences of divergence in the manner of constructing these but not enough is indicated to enable us to make any certain classification. The only point to be noticed is that in Florida, and parts at least of South Carolina, the central part of the bed against the rear wall where the chief and his honored guests sat was raised higher than the rest.

Little wooden seats or stools with three legs and carved all out of one piece were used by the Natchez and Chickasaw, and one Florida reference seems to suggest something of the kind. The paucity of evidence prevents us from giving a better statement of their distribution.

Wooden dishes, ladles, and spoons seem to have been in use everywhere, and in some quarters were objects of trade. Dishes and spoons were also made of bison horn wherever such horn was to be had, and shells were utilized as spoons and knives by the coast tribes.

Canoes were hollowed out of single logs by means of fire. Speaking for the coast Algonkians of North Carolina, White says that they placed gum or resin on the parts which they intended to burn in order to accelerate combustion. The trees used for this purpose were usually cypress, though some larger ones were made of cottonwood. Beverley states that the Virginia Indians made bark canoes for temporary use in crossing small bodies of water, and it is said that such canoes were known to the Yuchi and even to the Chitimacha. But instead of employing canoes as ferries, most of the more southern tribes resorted to rafts made of cane. Swan tells us of a skin raft constructed by the Creeks.

So far as the historical records carry us we know of no variation in the types of stone axes except for a reference by Du Pratz to one with a hole used in fastening the ax to the end of the handle. How-

ever, no example of such an ax is known to archaeologists who have worked in the Southeast.

Wherever canes grew knives were extemporized out of them and bundles of canes were used as torches, though they shared this function with pitch pine.

Cane was also the favorite material for baskets, mats, and cradles. In eastern North Carolina, however, we find mats mentioned made of bulrushes and flags and baskets of bulrushes and silk grass.

Cloaks were woven from the inner bark of the mulberry and certain other materials. The range of this industry was from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic but its extension northeast and northwest is uncertain.

Hair of the bison and opossum was woven into belts, garters, and other similar articles of attire throughout the entire section, except possibly the region west of the Mississippi, where my notes mention only bison hair in use.

Wherever we find descriptions of skin dressing they are much the same, and such variations as appear in the several accounts can not certainly be considered regional. Perhaps the only exception is in a note from Father Gravier, who declares that the Tunica dressed skins much better than the Indians of Canada or those of the upper Mississippi. To pierce holes in skins for the insertion of thread Natchez women used the leg bone of a heron.

There seems to be but a single description of porcupine quill work in the region of which we are treating, that by Du Pratz, but his account is so circumstantial that we can hardly doubt that he had seen it practiced. Possibly the individual or individuals who had come under his observation were immigrants from farther north.

Thread was generally of sinew or bark, but the Powhatan women employed a kind of grass.

A leather carrying-strap was used to assist in bearing heavy burdens.

Pottery making was general in the Southeast and survives after a fashion among the Catawba Indians of South Carolina, but such types of pottery as existed in different parts of the section can be determined better by archaeological explorations than through the historical documents. There are, indeed, specific references to the excellent pottery of the Tunica and Caddo Indians, and Lawson's statement may be worth noting to the effect that the pots washed out of the soil in eastern North Carolina in his time differed entirely from those manufactured by the Indians then in occupancy.

Salt was obtained by the Caddo and Tunica of northern Louisiana and southern Arkansas by boiling down the brine from salt licks in their territory, and they carried this to the Indians along the Mississippi to exchange for other commodities. Salt was also boiled

down by the Chitimacha Indians of southern Louisiana and by some of those in and near Kentucky. *Lederer found among the Sara Indians at the head of Broad River hard cakes of salt which had probably been obtained in trade from the latter region, although at an earlier period (1605) Spaniards asserted that the Indians of this section descended to the ocean to obtain fish and salt. But, while I have heard frequent assertions that the aborigines obtained salt from sea water, and have recorded such an assertion myself from the Chitimacha Indians, I have never come upon a well-authenticated case. The Chickasaw and Choctaw used as a salt substitute a lye obtained from a kind of grass, and in Virginia they employed the ashes of the hickory, "stickweed," or some other wood or plant affording a salt ash.

Corn, beans, and squashes of various kinds were planted throughout the entire area and were treated so similarly that it is evident they were introduced at about the same time and from one quarter. Perhaps tobacco should be added to these, though it is not always mentioned in connection with them; yet it was of course used everywhere. Land was cleared by girdling the trees and using them as they fell for firewood. The greater part of the cultivation was by the women, but the cultivation of the soil in preparation for planting and some of the early cultivation was performed communally, men and women working together. Gatherings for this purpose were also made the occasion for social diversion, work ceasing at noon or soon after, a sumptuous feast following, the afternoon being devoted to a ball game and the evening to dancing. In Florida the men cultivated the ground and the women followed them, planting the seed. In Carolina Lawson says that, unlike the Iroquois, the women never planted corn, while among the Powhatan Indians, according to Smith, women did all of the work. The missionary Gravier declares that among the Tunica all of this work was done by the men. Some confusion on this point may have been due to the fact that, in addition to the communal fields, there were small garden patches about most Indian towns which were maintained entirely by women. The principal implement used in cultivation was a rude hoe, made of a bent stick, the shoulder blade of a buffalo, or, as appears from archæological remains, flint. After the weeds had been rooted up they were gathered together and burned, but this was not in lieu of manure, for the Indians of this area do not seem to have had any idea of fertilization. The Tunica and Choctaw depended upon their crops more than most of the other tribes, and the latter were in the habit of selling their surplus to the Chickasaw. No conspicuous differences are exhibited in the way in which the corn was harvested, stored, reduced to flour, and turned into various kinds of breadstuffs.

Besides corn, Du Pratz mentions two varieties of grain in use by the Natchez, but these grew wild except that some assistance was given nature by scattering the seed of one of them on sand banks in the Mississippi. In certain years they also gathered a kind of grain from the canes. The so-called marsh potato was extensively used, and so were the roots of some varieties of smilax called in Creek kunti. In southern Florida meal was made of a cycadaceous plant (*Zamia integrifolia*) which, after the Seminole invaded the peninsula, was also called by them kunti, or sometimes white kunti, to distinguish it from the other, the red kunti. The Virginia Indians are said to have made bread of sunflower seeds. Sagittaria and water lily seeds should be mentioned, in use in the coastal sections, particularly by the Chitimacha. Some berries were dried, but the most widely used dried fruit was that of the persimmon, out of which a sort of bread was made, repeatedly mentioned by the De Soto chroniclers. We are told in particular that the Tunica had persimmons in such quantities that they lived upon them for one entire month every year. Walnuts, chestnuts, hickory nuts, chinquapins, and acorns were all dried, and from some of them, particularly the hickory nuts and acorns, they extracted oils which they used in preparing food and to anoint their bodies. Sugar was extracted from maples in the highland sections where alone suitable trees were to be found. The Natchez sometimes ate a kind of fungus found growing on trees. Although introduced at an early date, watermelons, peaches, and figs were not known to the prehistoric Indians of the section.

Before the Gulf Indians had guns, bows and arrows were their chief means of securing animal food. The favorite bow wood east of the Mississippi was the black locust. Lawson mentions the wood of the "white mulberry" as next in favor in Carolina while, according to my Creek informants, sassafras and cedar were reckoned as second and third, respectively. Smith mentions bows of hazel in Virginia but the identity of the wood is uncertain. West of the Mississippi every wood yielded its claims before the Osage orange, which hence derived its French name of bois d'arc. This was in so much esteem by all tribes of the region that it was an important object of trade with the Caddo Indians in whose territories it was particularly abundant. A much greater choice of material was exercised in the case of arrows. The most effective, at least against Spanish mail, was cane which would split and pierce the best armor, while stone or bone heads would break off. Heads were also made of shell, and in Virginia of spurs of the turkey cock. The Chitimacha claim that they obtained arrowpoints from friendly Indians to the north, and indeed such importation would have been necessary if they desired to use arrow points of stone. The names given to the Avoyel Indians near modern Marksville suggest that they may have been the people from

whom these arrowpoints came. Quivers were usually of skin; Beverley says that those of Virginia were of thin bark or fox skin. The Florida Indians, as we have seen, stuck their arrows in their hair.

Blowguns made of cane and provided with little arrows made tight to the interior of the blowgun at the butt by means of thistle down or the down of some other wild plant, were used everywhere to kill small birds and animals.

There is one clear record of the use of slings, viz, by the Indians on the Gulf coast near what is now Pensacola, though Hawkins mentions a sling in the hands of a Creek youth which may or may not be attributable to white contact.

The deer was the animal mainly depended upon to supply meat, and it was either stalked by single hunters or killed in numbers by means of surrounds. The latter method is actually recorded only among the Indians of Virginia and eastern Carolina and the Natchez, while the former was universal. In most cases the deer stalker attracted his victim within shot by means of a stuffed deer head. Writers on Virginia and Florida indicate that the entire skin of the deer was used; this may or may not have been a local peculiarity. Deer and other kinds of game were often roused in the coastal regions by firing the canes and other underbrush.

Bears were pursued more for their fat than their flesh. They were attacked in their dens in the rocks or in hollow trees, in the latter case being driven into the open by means of fire. Their grease was stored away in deerskins, and the same thing was done later with such wild honey as happened to be found after bees were introduced into the country.

Bison disappeared from the Southeast at an early period.

Alligators were hunted and eaten in Florida and along the Gulf coast from about the mouth of the Mississippi westward, but rarely, it would seem, in the intervening territory.

In Virginia the Indians are said to have eaten a kind of green snake and elsewhere we are informed that various kinds of "riffraff" were devoured.

All kinds of meats and fish were dried and kept for winter use along with corn and vegetable products generally. We are told that in Virginia only Powhatan and a few other leading men had this foresight, but a change in custom is hardly indicated, since the storing of food was known and practiced all over North America.

The dog was the only domestic animal, but he was of little use except occasionally as an article of food. The introduction of horses caused no such revolution as it did in the life of the Plains Indians, because it was not practicable to employ horses in hunting. There were few bison, and deer could be killed more easily without them. They were used to some extent in traveling, but their most important

service was in bringing home from camp the supplies of meat collected during the annual hunts.

It is probably something more than a coincidence that nearly all reports of the domestication of animals other than the common dog and the horse come from the neighborhood of the eastern Siouan country. The only other of consequence is from northern Florida and hence from the general region of the Atlantic seaboard. There it is said that a Florida chief presented two young eagles to one of Laudonnière's lieutenants. Other references are: (1) From Peter Martyr, who states that the natives of eastern South Carolina domesticated deer (though this would be valueless by itself); (2) from the De Soto chronicler Ranjel, who says that at Guaquili, which was also in the Siouan country, the Indians gave them a few dogs "of a small size that do not bark; and they breed them in their homes for food"; (3) Strachey reports that the Indians among whom the Roanoke colony was established—i. e., the Algonkian Indians of North Carolina—bred turkeys and kept them about their houses; (4) Lawson says that the Indians of eastern North Carolina were in the habit of hatching the eggs of wild turkeys and using the young birds as decoys; and (5) he states that the Congaree of central South Carolina "have abundance of storks and cranes in their savannas. They take them before they can fly, and breed them as tame and familiar as a dunghill fowl. They had a tame crane at one of these cabins, that was scarcely less than 6 feet in height." His statement elsewhere that the word for slave used by those Indians also covered domestic animals may be of interest in this connection.

Fish were available almost everywhere in the Southeast. Hooks and lines were in universal use. Fish were also shot with arrows or speared. Smith says that the Powhatan Indians generally used arrows but that those of Accomac on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake employed spears, and it is possible that this reflects a difference in usage between the interior and the coast, because most of the references we have on Florida speak of spearing. The most popular method of hunting inland was to select a pool of water left partly isolated in the dry season and poison it by means of the devil's shoe string, the buckeye, or some other vegetable growth. This was undertaken by an entire community who made it the occasion of a social diversion. On the coast, and in many of the rivers easily accessible from the ocean, fishweirs were maintained, and these weirs furnished a livelihood for two or three months in the spring of the year. We do not hear of regular weirs west of Florida, but their place was taken among the Chitimacha by certain kinds of fish traps. The fishweirs were intended mainly for herring, but along the coasts of Virginia and the Carolinas sturgeon are mentioned as an important fish food.

Shell fish were collected along the coasts wherever they could be found.

While one early writer mentions the flint and steel in use by Choctaw Indians, it is evident that this was a method of making fire borrowed from Europeans. Everywhere we hear of the familiar fire drill of the simplest type in which one stick is twirled against another between the hands.

Turning from the material culture of the Gulf Indians to their social institutions we find similar contrasts and agreements. Taken as a whole the Southeast is one of the great areas in North America in which matrilinear descent obtained. The only possible exceptions are some marginal tribes like the Atakapa and possibly some other small peoples from whom no data have been preserved. The Yuchi, who represent relatively late migrants from the north, had, along with numerous totemic clans maintained matrilineally, two societies for males transmitted in the opposite manner. According to an informant consulted by the writer several years ago, the western Caddo had a number of totemic but nonexogamous clans, and, where intermarriage between these did occur, not all of the children inherited from the same side. The eastern or Louisiana Caddo, however, are said to have had clans which were totemic and strictly matrilineal. Tradition affirms that the Chitimacha had totemic clans combined with an endogamous aristocracy, and the latter feature of their organization seems to be well authenticated. The social organization of the Timucua of Florida appears to have been somewhat similar. The Indians of the Creek confederacy had numerous totemic clans divided into two moieties which settled certain social functions but did not determine marriage. The towns of which these clans were composed were again divided into two moieties which were opposed in the ball games and tended to keep apart from each other. The Choctaw had two exogamous nontotemic moieties subdivided into a small number of major sections and these again into a large number of nontotemic local groups. The Chickasaw had similar local groups, each of which shared a totemic name with a number of others. There were also two moieties in the nation as a whole which are said to have been endogamous. After the Natchez tribe was split into two parts which united with the Creeks and Cherokee, respectively, it is known to have had totemic clans, but there is no evidence that there were such clans before that time. Instead, early writers tell us of an aristocratic organization in which a small ruling class called Suns had gathered all authority to themselves. They were compelled to marry among the common people, and the chieftainship was transmitted in the female line. The Cherokee had 7 well recognized totemic clans which are said to have replaced an earlier set of 14 clans by the fusion of pairs. From

what Lederer tells us, we may consider it probable that the Siouan tribes of the east, or some of them, had matrilinear clans, but we do not know certainly that they were totemic. Descent was female among the Algonkian tribes of Carolina and Virginia, but there is no evidence that they had true clans. According to J. O. Dorsey's Biloxi informants that tribe had totemic clans with matrilinear descent, but the related Quapaw at the mouth of Arkansas River reckoned descent patrilineally though their subdivisions were totemic. In social organization a connection is evident between the Creeks and the Timucua and the Creeks and the Chickasaw, and again between the Chickasaw and Choctaw.

In the greater part of the Gulf area the power of the chiefs was very great. This was particularly the case among the Natchez, but it is evident also in Florida, among the Chitimacha, and the Algonkians of Carolina and Virginia, as also the Tuscarora and some of the Siouan tribes, Lawson remarking of the Wateree that they were rather slaves than subjects of their chief. The body of the chief after his demise was treated differently from that of common people by most of the tribes just mentioned, and it is said that the Virginia Indians believed that only the chiefs and priests survived after death. We find a considerably developed nobility among the Natchez, Chitimacha, Timucua, and apparently in Virginia, but it is not so marked among the eastern Siouan people. Among the Creeks, at least in later times, it is very much in evidence, but neither with them nor the Choctaw and Chickasaw did the chieftainship attain the position it reached in some of the sections just mentioned. In the central and western parts of the territory under consideration, women seldom seem to have risen to the position of ruling chiefs, but many cases of the kind are recorded in and near the eastern Siouan area, including the tidewater district of Virginia.

Ownership of land, or perhaps rather control of land, was by towns, but in the case of the larger tribes, such as the Creeks, Chickasaw, and Choctaw, a kind of eminent domain was exercised over it by the larger body. This was usually latent, making its appearance principally when the town desired to part with its lands to outsiders, such as the whites. Within the town lands, ownership depended upon occupancy and was terminated with it. There are evidences that the old hunting territory system of the Algonkians, as worked out by Speck, held on in some form in the territories occupied by the Powhatan tribes and their relatives.

Murder between tribes was incidental to, or preliminary to, war; within tribes it was usually punished by the relatives of the murdered man who took satisfaction by killing the murderer or one of his relatives of approximately equal rank. In eastern North Carolina and perhaps some neighboring sections shell money was in such high

esteem that even murder could be compounded by its means. It is said that the Chitimacha anciently killed enemies by poisoning springs, and the same device was resorted to by the Indians of Virginia and Carolina. In the latter section it was not uncommon for a chief to make away with the heir to his position if the latter did not please him, by the administration of a certain poisonous plant. Possibly this custom may have worked up into Virginia from the country of the Siouan peoples. When Opechancanough desired to poison the English colonists he tried to get a plant for that purpose from a chief on the eastern shore, because the plant grew only in his territory.

Looseness between the sexes before marriage was the rule and among the eastern Siouan tribes there was a class of prostitutes under the special patronage of the town chief. This occupation rather enhanced than diminished the chances of marriage on the part of the girls pursuing it. There were also prostitutes among the Creeks and Choctaw, but in the latter case at least it was composed of women who had been detected in the commission of adultery and had been cast off by their husbands. Punishment in cases of adultery was meted out very differently by different tribes. The eastern Siouans punished only the man, and he could often escape the physical penalties by payment of shell money. The Cusabo appear to have punished the male offender but it is not clear whether they punished the woman. The Creeks punished both with approximately equal severity by beating them with rods and cutting off their hair, ears, and noses, but the Chickasaw punished only the woman. An adulteress was punished by the Chitimacha, but our authorities on the lower Mississippi tribes have next to nothing to say on the subject, although they assert that constancy after marriage was the rule.

We are informed that sodomy was common among the Creeks and Chickasaw, somewhat less so among the Choctaw, and uncommon among the Siouan people of the Carolinas.

Certain crimes, particularly incest, were punished by the Creeks by inflicting the long scratch, an incision in the skin from the neck to the foot. Shorter scratches put on dry were a punishment for children, but scratching was also supposed to increase one's strength and swiftness and his success in the ball games.

In Virginia offenders were sometimes made to kneel down and were then beaten, and, similarly in Florida, one who had failed in his duty as a sentinel was struck several times on the head with a club. Switches were used on offenders, particularly thieves, by the Creeks.

Of respect for property we may say in general that thievery within the tribe was comparatively uncommon and thievery from strangers the rule. Where differences seem to be noted between tribe

and tribe, it is probable that they were due in many cases to the difference in status granted travelers rather than to real differences in custom.

Women were compelled to live in separate rooms (Virginia) or separate houses (in most of the rest of the Gulf area) during their monthly periods, and, although our data is not so complete, this was generally true of the period of childbirth.

Among the Algonkian tribes and seemingly also some of the eastern Siouan tribes it was customary to subject the young people of both sexes to a very bitter ordeal when they reached puberty. It was imposed on the sexes separately and consisted in shutting them up in a house apart, enjoining a strict fast, giving them medicines, and compelling them to undergo certain ordeals. This ceremonial, known in Virginia as the *husquenaw*, was said to be intended to keep the young people in subjection, harden them, and kill off weaklings. Customs resembling this may be traced elsewhere in the Southeast, particularly on the Mississippi, but they were much less severe. Chitimacha boys are said to have been shut up in the ceremonial house and forced to dance and fast for six days. The ordeals undergone by Creek youths, apart from those who were training to become doctors, were at the same time and place and similar in every way to those annually undertaken by all of the warriors of the tribe, and indeed were less severe than those undertaken by their elders. No ordeal of any kind seems to have been inflicted upon Creek girls.

Lawson found circumcision practiced by two families of Machapunga but did not know its origin.

Names were given to children shortly after birth, and a girl retained hers throughout life, but a boy received a second name, or a war title as soon as he was of age and had performed an exploit in war, or shown unusual daring in some other manner. When he performed further exploits, this title was changed again, there being a rough gradation in war titles. The Virginia Indians gave three names in succession, the last in recognition of a warlike exploit. According to Lawson the war titles in eastern Carolina were taken from the names of wild animals or fish. Nine-tenths of the Choctaw and Chickasaw names (and many of those of the Cherokee) ended in a word meaning "killer," while Creek titles usually consisted of two words, the first the name of a Creek town, a clan, or a foreign tribe; the second, unless the diminutive ending merely were used, of the words *hadjo*, "crazy," or "desperately brave," *fiksiko*, "no heart," *imala*, which means something like "assistant," *tăstănăgi*, "full warrior," *yahola*, referring to a cry and a supernatural being to whom the cry belonged, or *miko*, "chief." Wherever we have been able to collect the information, it has been found that it was usual for a man advanced in years to adopt the name of his son.

From Virginia at least as far as the Mississippi it was incumbent upon every individual in the tribe who was old and well enough to bathe in the nearest running water the first thing in the morning every day in the year. Mothers would also spatter water on their children in arms, but some mitigation was permitted both women and children in the coldest weather.

There was substantial uniformity in outline but great variation in detail in marriage ceremonies. Everywhere it was usual for the groom or his family to transfer property to the parents or other relatives of his bride, and this is usually called "a purchase price" by the whites. The expression is in some degree applicable, but it seems to have been truer of the Algonkian and Siouan tribes of the northeast than of the Mississippi valley peoples, among whom the payment was more in the nature of a gift. It was usually considered as contingent on the good behavior of the bride and might be demanded back if she misconducted herself. A Virginia suitor promised that he would endeavor to bring to his new wife beads, pearls, and copper. Elsewhere the gift was more likely to consist of game. Polygamy was allowed everywhere, but was usually limited to a few of the wealthiest men. It should be added that in the greater number of cases the wives were own sisters, or at least clan sisters. This is equivalent to the statement that a man often married during the lifetime of his first wife the woman or women who would probably be given to him if his first wife died. The usual attitude between families or clans allied by marriage was that each had entered into a contract to supply a husband or a wife, and this was considered both as a right and a duty. Hence cohabitation with anyone on the part of a widower or widow until a new spouse had been provided by the relatives of the deceased or the bereaved party had been set free by them was treated as adultery and punished accordingly. The only mitigation was if the co-respondent happened to be the one likely to succeed to the position of the deceased. The period of mourning was very unequal since custom required four years of a widow and only four months of a widower. The above remarks apply to the central part of the Gulf area and evidently included Florida. Surprisingly little has come down to us with reference to customs of this class among the lower Mississippi Indians. In the case of the spouses of the Natchez nobility questions of etiquette during widowhood or widowerhood could never be raised because they were strangled to accompany their deceased partners into the other world. In eastern Carolina the position of a widow was very much better than elsewhere. There the duty of mourning fell entirely upon her husband's people, and she does not seem to have been expected to wait for any period whatever before remarrying. However, whoever married a widow, or passed a night with her, was compelled to assume all of her husband's debts.

Observers seem to differ considerably as to the prevalence of divorce. Speaking of the Virginia Indians Strachey says that it was a disgrace and uncommon, and several authorities on the Creeks and the Indians of the Mississippi region imply that strenuous efforts were made by all parties to prevent it. Others, such as the writers of the Luxembourg and Charlevoix-Le Petit narratives, represent separations as of constant occurrence. Among the Siouan tribes of Carolina divorce seems to have been particularly easy, and Lawson says that when a man married a woman who had been divorced he merely paid her former husband what he had himself given for her.

The woman at the head of the household would be the one first married or the first to bear a child. In a Caddo house, no matter how many families might occupy it, the entire charge of the food was in the hands of one woman.

Mother-in-law avoidance was practiced among the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Alabama, but is said not to have been a usage of the Creeks proper. It seems to have been nonexistent in Carolina, and there is no mention of it along the lower Mississippi, in Florida, or in Virginia, but in these latter sections not much weight can be placed on such negative evidence as we possess.

Berdaches are not referred to by writers on Virginia and eastern Carolina, but in most other parts of the Southeast they seem to have formed an important factor in the social institution, particularly, it would seem, in Florida.

The division of labor between the sexes was substantially the same in all parts of the region, though there were perhaps certain variations in usage in the planting and cultivation of crops. Almost everywhere the women made clothing, pottery, baskets, mats, brought in game when it had been killed near by, collected firewood, cooked, and dressed skins. The men made bows, arrows, quivers, war clubs, axes, and stone pipes, built houses, hollowed out canoes and mortars, hunted, attended to the ceremonials, and went to war, and on trading expeditions. They furnished most of the doctors, prophets, and rain makers, but not all. The bone pickers of the Choctaw might be male or female. In the eastern section, as we have seen, women frequently rose to chieftaincies, and while this was uncommon toward the west, some of the women in western tribes became war leaders. If Father Gravier may be relied upon, the Tunica stood out in rather striking contrast against the usual order of things, for he tells us that in this tribe the men assumed the entire cultivation of the fields, cut and brought in the wood, and dressed the skins, the women working only indoors.

The most widely spread manner of disposing of the dead in the Southeast involved the separation of the bones and their preservation in an ossuary. The general procedure was much the same, though

with local variations. First the body was carefully dressed and laid at full length, either on a scaffold as among the Choctaw, Natchez, and several neighboring tribes, or on an artificial mound as among the Carolina Indians. In the latter case a receptacle for the body was made in this mound but it was not deep and the roof placed over it could readily be removed. After the flesh had decayed sufficiently, it was separated from the bones, on the lower Mississippi by a special class of people known as "buzzard men" or "buzzard women," the bones were cleaned, placed in a cane hamper or a box and stored in a special house. In Carolina only the bones of chiefs and leading men, or of men who could pay enough for the privilege, were placed in the ossuary, the others presumably being left in the ground. In Virginia the bodies of chiefs were also distinguished above the rest, but the treatment of them seems to have been more elaborate. The flesh and bones were removed from the skin, and the flesh reduced to ashes and put into a little pot, while the bones were replaced inside of the skins with a packing of sand. The whole was then elevated upon a shelf in the ossuary along with similar remains of former chiefs. Among the Choctaw, and presumably their neighbors to the west and south, the bones of all classes appear to have been treated in the same way, except that the ossuaries for chiefs were separate from the rest. Here, too, each canton had its own houses. Lederer tells us that bodies of each of the four lineages or clans in the eastern Siouan country were similarly segregated after death. On the Georgia coast, if we may trust Oviedo, not only were chiefs separated from common people, but children were in different houses from adults. It is evident that the temples of the Natchez and Taensa corresponded in part to the chief's ossuaries, but we do not know whether this was true of the temples of the Tunica and Caddo, although the latter contained sacred fires like the sacred buildings of the Natchez and Taensa. Perhaps the temple with a perpetual fire and the ossuary overlapped in this region. In the Timucua province of Tocobaga on Tampa Bay we again find the custom of separating the bones of the dead, and from what De Soto's chronicler tells us of the bird with gilded eyes upon their temple it is probable that it was in part an ossuary.⁴ However, the mortuary customs of the more typical Timucua of the east Florida coast seem to have been different. There we are told that the body of the deceased was placed in his house and the latter burned down over it. The burning of the house was also a Natchez custom but it did not take place until after the body had been removed. Possibly there was some later treatment of the bones among the Timucua that escaped our authorities. Among the south Florida Indians, the Tekesta at least would seem to have had some form of burial for chiefs similar to the ones described above, for we

⁴ Because the roofs of temple-ossuaries on the lower Mississippi were always adorned with birds.

are told that their bodies were disjointed. Archaeological research has revealed other types of burial such as the urn burial in central and southern Alabama.

The Chitimacha claim to have had ceremonial houses distinct from their ossuaries, and among the Creeks and Chickasaw there were ceremonial houses without ossuaries. This was the case also in Florida; in the Algonkian and eastern Siouan territories ceremonials seem to have been performed in the dwellings of the chiefs.

Another common custom in connection with mortuary rites was to kill certain individuals that they might accompany the deceased. Among the Natchez and Taensa these deaths were mainly voluntary, involving the near relations and official associates of the dead; among the Calusa of southern Florida they were partly voluntary and partly involuntary; but in the northeast they seem to have been confined to captives or enemies.

There also seems to have been a difference in the treatment of the hair during mourning. Lawson says of the Siouan mourners that they left their hair unbound, as did the Chickasaw and Creeks, but the Timucua of both sexes cut off half of theirs and the same custom prevailed on the lower Mississippi.

The Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Indians of Carolina had paid mourners and the custom was probably universal.

In this connection may be mentioned a custom carried to its extreme by the Caddo, even if not peculiar to them. When an envoy went to meet visitors, he approached them wailing. The Gentleman of Elvas notes this of the people of Tula west of the Mississippi who may or may not have been related to the Caddo, but he speaks of it also in connection with the Naguatex (Nabedache) and Nondacao (Anadarko) which were well-known Caddo tribes. Later it was observed by the French. Caddo women were also accustomed to weep in remembrance of those killed by their enemies, and this usage was more widely spread, for we find it in Florida. The Houma women wept when their husbands went hunting and when they returned.

In most parts of the Southeast the handling of a dead body made one unclean until certain ceremonies were performed.

In later times the Tunica are said to have had special guardians for their cemeteries.

An Indian slain away from home in the Carolina area was frequently covered with stones (or sticks for want of stones), to which those who happened to pass added continually, and something similar is reported by Adair as usual in the country of the Cherokee. I was told that the body of a former Mikasuki chief who died in Oklahoma was covered over in this manner.

Instead of shaking hands individuals meeting in a friendly way rubbed each other's arms and bodies. In the Siouan country Lederer says it was customary to take friends into the house with their arms

pinioned as if they were enemies. There were also more ceremonious exchanges of civilities, to insure or restore peace. The one in vogue along the Mississippi was called the calumet dance, or "the singing of the calumet," the calumet being a long pipestem ornamented with feathers, and the pipe itself was obtained by preference from the famous red pipestone quarries in the north. This particular rite had evidently worked its way down from the upper Mississippi or perhaps the Missouri. It had reached the mouth of the great river when the French settled Louisiana and extended to the Creeks on the east, but seems to have remained something of an exotic among them. In the time of Joutel (1687) it was practiced by the Cahinnio, the Caddo tribe nearest to the Mississippi, but not by the Caddo peoples on Red River and beyond. The ceremonial was probably specialized upon already existent usages, since Beverley says that the Virginia Indians had pipes of peace larger than those commonly used, which they brought out when they met strangers in order to determine whether they were friendly. The so-called chiefs' pipes known to the Cherokee, Catawba, and Chitimacha, consisting of one large bowl with holes for the insertion of several stems, must have played some part in friendly gatherings, but we know nothing of the ceremonies with which they were connected. The native Virginia rite is probably exemplified by Powhatan when he came to meet the Virginia colonists at the head of his men blowing upon a flute, and this is one of the few places in which the flute appears as an adjunct of a social ceremony. Ordinarily it was employed as an individual means of expression, especially of amorous sentiments. Except perhaps in the extreme east, it was usual to bring the ambassador of a friendly nation into camp on the shoulders of the host's people or on a litter, and chiefs and their wives were also carried from one place to another on these litters. Notices of these come to us from all parts of the region under consideration except Carolina and Virginia. It was usual with the Caddo to wash friendly visitors, and, strangely enough, this custom crops out again only in Virginia and Carolina. Beverley says that the feet of visitors were washed by the Virginia Indians, and the Roanoke colonists state that their clothing was taken off and washed and their feet washed in warm water by those of Carolina. The offering of food was an indispensable mark of hospitality, whether bestowed by an individual to an individual or by one official tribal delegation to another. When councils were held within doors by the Creeks, fire was kept burning along a spiral path about the center of the house marked out by canes, new canes being added as the fire advanced. Lawson observed this same custom among the Waxhaw, but we do not know how much farther it extended.

In the ceremonies above mentioned the sacred character of tobacco is well brought out. This is particularly in evidence in the central and western parts of the region, but from what Lawson says of the

addiction of Congaree women to this weed it is possible that it was connected less closely with sacred and social rites in the eastern Siouan area. Aside from those pipes which were imported from the upper Mississippi, many were made by the Cherokee and traded to the peoples nearer the coast, and the latter also fashioned them out of clay.

Appointments were kept by means of short pieces of wood, one being thrown away each day. The Indians of eastern North Carolina, the Virginia Indians, and the Creeks also kept records by means of knotted cords, and Lawson says of the Carolina Indians that such a cord consisted of "a string or leather thong tied in knots of several colours," being thus strikingly similar to a quipu. They also kept records by means of pebbles, and the Eno, a trading tribe, used for this purpose certain small wheels, while the Virginia Indians resorted to notches in a stick of wood.

The most characteristic war weapon in ancient times seems to have been a certain kind of club, and this is usually employed as a war symbol. From the fact that the name given to this weapon throughout the entire area was almost the same, it seems likely that it was introduced from some one quarter. The writers on Virginia speak of "swords" set with sharp stones and iron as if they were distinct from the war clubs, and in Carolina both "swords" of hardened wood and clubs are mentioned. The "sword" is probably to be regarded as another variety of club. The bow and arrow, later superseded by the gun, was the long-distance weapon and, as far back as the time of De Soto, observers testify to the skill with which bows were handled. The warrior also provided himself with a knife, some cold meal by way of provisions, and a few other necessities. Before guns were introduced, shields were in general use, sometimes of bark as in Virginia and sometimes of cane, like those borne by the Indians who disputed De Soto's passage of the Mississippi. In the Algonkian part of Carolina we also hear of wooden breastplates and wicker armor. The mustering in of a war party was attended with considerable ceremony, which followed a similar general plan but differed in detail. They assembled in one house, or at least in a place apart, under the chief who was to lead them, took medicines and danced. The house was frequently that of the war leader. The Tunica went into their temple just before they went to war and again immediately after their return. The Caddo put up a special house in which to assemble and burned it just before they started off. Wars were ordinarily conducted in retaliation for injuries previously suffered but also in very large measure for the social advancement which followed upon a successful foray. Scalps were the chief evidences of warlike prowess and they were dried upon little wooden frames, painted red, and brought out from time to time to remind

the tribe of its former prowess. Most of the fighting consisted in surprise attacks for the purpose of inflicting as much damage as possible with the least cost to the attackers. At times, however, more extensive operations were set on foot and whole towns assaulted. Women and children were slaughtered with as little compunction as men, but they were more often taken prisoner and adopted into the tribe. Indeed, some tribes, like the Chickasaw, would hardly have survived in the absence of this custom. Most of the tribes of the area took with them, in charge of the war leader and his assistant, a sacred "ark" or box containing a powerful charm or a spirit. After the blow had been struck the hieroglyphic sign of the attacking tribe was left about for the information of the friends of their victims. Adult prisoners were sometimes spared for adoption but more often they were tortured to death, and along the Mississippi this torture was performed after they had been tied up to a square structure of poles called "the frame." Although the bodies of dead enemies were atrociously mutilated, no cannibalism was practiced by most of the tribes except that the heart of a courageous foe was usually devoured so that the victor might acquire his courage. In the extreme southwest of the area under consideration, among the Atakapa and the tribes to the west of them, cannibalism of a more genuine kind was indulged in, but these tribes did not actually form part of the southeastern cultural center. In the ceremonies following upon the return of a successful war party, the scalps naturally played an important part. If there were not enough for all of those who had been in the party, they were often cut in pieces. The Caddo offered hominy and tobacco to the scalps. In the central sections they were placed upon and borne about on boughs of pine.

In Carolina the town chief appointed someone to compose new songs for every war feast. Nothing like a fixed tribute seems to have been exacted except by Powhatan, who required from the tribes of his confederacy, beads, copper, skins, and corn in little baskets of fixed size. In addition to the scalps, the Indians of Carolina sometimes preserved their enemies' teeth. Here, too, we seem to observe a tendency toward the institution of a fixed class of slaves. While captives were apparently looked down upon for a period in all parts of the Gulf region, they were usually merged into the conquering tribe at last and might attain to very high distinction. In Carolina, however, some adult captives were mutilated by cutting off half of their feet lengthwise so that they would not be able to run away, after which they were set to work in the fields. When danger of attack became very great a tribe might move to a palisaded town or palisade their own. In the latter case, as noted especially by Beverley in discussing the Virginia Indians, though what he says is equally applicable in other sections, they inclosed merely their sacred build-

ings, that of the chief, and those nearest to them. However, the Gulf Indians preferred to live in neighborhoods, although these bore the names of towns, scattered through the woods, and they resorted to palisaded settlements only when pressed too hard and too continuously by powerful neighbors. Thus De Soto's troops first came upon stockades when they reached the Tennessee, and on the western borders of the Creek country where in later times similar conditions existed. As the Choctaw were on very good terms with the small tribes west of them who constituted a very slight danger in any event, we find their western settlements numerous and straggling while the eastern and northern ones were compact and well stockaded. As the Chickasaw were surrounded by and engaged against powerful enemies continually, all of their towns were stockaded and placed close together about a hollow square. Similarly, the Toewogh had a palisaded town on account of their aggressive neighbors, the Iroquoian Susquehannock. We do not happen to have references to palisaded forts in the Caddo country, but there is little doubt that they resorted to them on occasion. Beverley says that when peace was made, the Virginia Indians buried a tomahawk, raised a heap of stones, or planted a tree. Nothing of this sort is reported from the other parts of the Gulf region, although peacemaking involved, as we have seen, a considerable ceremonial, such as the "singing of the calumet."

The principal game of the southeastern Indians, one which partook of a ceremonial character, was similar to lacrosse except that it was played with two rackets instead of one. It was known to the Mississippi tribes, the Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creeks. There is no mention of such a game among the Caddo, Chitimacha, Timucua, or the Indians of Carolina; but Strachey notes a game of the sort in Virginia, though he does not say enough regarding it to enable us to decide whether it was the two-stick game of the Gulf or the one-stick game of the northeastern Indians.

A game held in almost equal regard in the same region, perhaps anciently in more esteem, was the *chunkey game*, which is reported from a still wider area, but not from the Indians of Florida or the Virginia Indians, though it was known among the eastern Siouans. In it a roller or hoop was propelled along the ground and each player launched a stick after it, the object being to see whose stick lay nearest the roller when it came to rest. The Caddo form of the game was like that in vogue on the Plains in which the hoop is made of twisted withes instead of stone. A game in which men and women were opponents was played about a single pole, each side endeavoring to strike the pole with a ball above a certain mark or if possible to hit a figure or a skull placed at the top. It was known to the Creeks, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Timucua.

A game confined almost exclusively to women was like a game of dice, small pieces of cane or bits of wood taking the place of the dice. This is known to have extended from eastern Carolina to the Mississippi. A game like shinney was played by Natchez boys and there was a kind of football game in Virginia and among the Creeks.

Most of these games were occasions for gambling and quantities of property changed hands in consequence of them. A Choctaw would wager the use of his wife or himself for limited periods in lieu of anything else.

Months were named from regularly recurring natural phenomena, and on account of the discrepancy between the lunar and solar periods varied in number between 12 and 13. The names altered in accordance with the economic interest in each locality. According to writers on Virginia, the Indians there recognized five seasons, and four are spoken of in other parts of the Gulf region, but a more truly aboriginal division of the year was into a summer season and a winter season, six months being usually assigned to each. However, the ripening of the first corn being considered the most important event in the year, the beginning of the real new year was dated from its appearance, and this brought it into midsummer, near the end of July or the beginning of August. This was the time of year when the great annual ceremony of most of the tribes took place, including the Mississippi River peoples, the Creeks, the Cherokee, perhaps part of the Chickasaw, and apparently the Timucua. Although the Choctaw depended on corn more than most of the other tribes, we hear strangely little of their harvest festival. We are merely informed that "while the corn is green is the time when they hold the most feasts." There was a harvest ceremony among the Caddo during which corn was put into a hamper and then on a certain ceremonial stool, on which no one was ever allowed to sit. Then an old man muttered some words over it and it was distributed, but the old man himself and the owner of the house in which the ceremony took place did not eat for eight days, nor would they allow the new corn to be eaten by dogs. Beverley says that the harvest festival of the Virginia Indians was the greatest, but Lawson, in his account of the Indians of eastern North Carolina, omits any mention of a harvest ceremony, but says that they held a ceremony in January in thanks for the harvest of the preceding year. Either this was quite different from the usual harvest festival or the time of holding it altogether at variance with what was customary elsewhere. Of the Chitimacha we learn that several times a year at the new moon they gathered at their dance house to do honor to their chief deity, Kutnahin. The ceremony lasted six days, but the one in midsummer was longer than the others.

The eastern Siouan tribes were addicted to the use of wooden images in connection with certain of their festivals. In some Creek

towns wooden images were brought out during the annual ceremonies, but their use was very limited. On the other hand we have references to the employment of such images in the Carolina area going back to the voyage of Ayllon's captain in 1521. Peter Martyr speaks of two idols in the courtyard of the sovereign Datha's palace which were exhibited during the sowing season and at the time of harvest. At another feast a roughly carved wooden statue was carried into the country and fixed upon a high pole planted in the ground. Then the people hung gifts upon other poles around it, each according to his means, and finally it was carried away and thrown into the sea. At a much later date Lawson found Indians related to these dressing up an image and setting it up in the fields during the sowing season to encourage the young men in their work. The Virginia Indians had wooden images in the ossuaries of their chiefs, and on certain occasions set several of them up to dance about.

According to Lawson, the Indians of eastern Carolina laid down straws or reeds in circles in preparation for a ceremony or a sacrifice. These must not be disturbed afterwards, and one coming upon the place later could tell by their disposition the kind of rite performed there. Evidently the same sort of thing is mentioned by Smith when he states that at a certain ceremony the Powhatan Indians laid down a circle of meal, corn grains, and sticks.

Dances were almost always about a central fire, but in their Pishofa dances, for the healing of the sick, the Chickasaw usually danced between the fire and the house, and the Virginia Indians, as above stated, sometimes danced around certain carved posts.

The ceremonial musical instruments were a drum and rattles. The former was made by stretching a dressed deerskin over an earthen pot, a cypress knee, or in later times an iron kettle. In Virginia the skin was stretched over a wooden platter. The rattles were generally gourds containing small pebbles; in more recent times we find coconuts employed. The leader of some of the Virginia Indians encountered by Smith kept time for the dancers by beating one hand against the other.

Purely social feasts were held at times, particularly in the fall when food was plentiful, and they were accompanied by games and dances. Among the Siouan Occaneechi we are told that each man, by which is evidently meant each head of a household, feasted all the rest in turn. In the same region there was a most commendable custom of holding a feast for one who had lost his house by fire or in any other manner, and bringing contributions for him, to an amount sometimes treble the original loss.

A bit of food was abstracted and thrown away or into the fire at the beginning of every meal, and it was usual among the tribes of the central section to cut a certain part from every deer that they

killed. The Powhatan Indians sacrificed a bit of tobacco to the sun morning and evening, and they offered some to the water in bad weather, as also copper and "pocones." A piece of copper, a bead, or something of the sort was thrown into the river when they passed by canoe in front of one of their temples.

There was universal fear of killing snakes, and a dread of owls because of association with witchcraft. According to Adair the Indians of his acquaintance were also afraid to kill wolves. Bones of game animals were burned, thrown into the water, or otherwise carefully disposed of lest the animals leave the country or become too shy to be killed. The honey locust was held in great reverence by the Natchez, and the wood with which the sacred fire was fed was piled at the foot of a tree of this kind.

Smith and Beverley (perhaps following Smith) assert that the Algonkian tribes of Virginia had certain altar stones near their temples, houses, in woods, etc., where they offered blood, deer fat, and tobacco. By these nothing more may have been intended than sacred rocks and natural objects, many of which were scattered all over America and to which offerings were constantly made. If artificial altars are meant, the usage would be unique.

The religious beliefs of the Indians of the Gulf area seem to have culminated in the conception of a supreme deity connected with the sky or sun. Under, though not always subject to, him were a multitude of lesser spirits. Percy attributes sun worship to the Powhatans, and the good deity Ahone mentioned by Strachey is probably to be identified either with the sun or the sky. The term Oke was more likely applied to a plurality of lesser beings; it is not probable that it was originally the name of an evil deity as the early writers on Virginia state. Strachey tells us that the Potomac Indians believed in a great hero who created men and various other creatures, including the deer, the latter from hairs of a giant deer, and he adds that there were four lesser gods, evidently the gods of the four winds. This, however, is the well-known Algonkian story of Michabo and the beliefs connected with it did not exclude the solar cult above mentioned. Yuchi, Natchez, and Chitimacha beliefs in particular centered about the sun. The Natchez were possessed of a stone image into which their culture hero was supposed to have transformed himself at the end of his earthly career. Stone images have been found from time to time in various parts of the territory under consideration, but nothing is of course known as to the beliefs regarding them. Perhaps the wooden images in the northeastern section belonged in the same category, especially as we are told that some of these were images of Oke.

All but one of the references that have come down to us regarding the fate of souls after death represent them as traveling westward

to reach the realm of the happy in the country overhead, but writers on Virginia say that this fate awaited only chiefs and priests, common people not being sharers in immortality. Peter Martyr quotes Francisco of Chicora to the effect that the people from whom he came thought that they would travel north after their decease and then pass on toward a happy realm in the south. As this is the only variation from the prevailing belief above indicated it may be that Francisco was misunderstood. Rewards and punishments are mentioned sometimes as to be expected in the world of spirits but not much stress is placed upon this aspect of the hereafter. The Chickasaw, Choctaw, and probably other tribes thought that ghosts were souls who were for various reasons discontented in the world beyond (Choctaw) or who were unable to get there because their deaths had not been avenged (Chickasaw, Creeks). Writers on the Natchez attribute belief in metempsychosis to them, and Strachey tells us that after the bodies of Virginia chiefs had grown old in their paradise in the west they would die out of that world and be reborn into this. Rebirth, but not into animals, was also a Chitimacha belief.

What may fairly be called a priesthood existed among the Creeks, Chickasaw, Natchez, Timucua, Powhatan Indians, Chitimacha, Caddo, and probably most of the other tribes of the Southeast. Among the Creeks they passed through regular degrees of schooling, and one of them became the fire maker in every town. Their position among the Chitimacha, Natchez, and Caddo was equally well established, and Strachey tells us that one or more were attached to each of the temples or ossuaries of the Powhatans. Priests always wore a distinctive dress or some distinctive articles of dress. Thus the Virginia priest was garbed in a long skirt hanging from the shoulders and shaved his hair except a very thin roach and a fringe over the forehead; he also wore the skin of some dark colored bird at his ear, an otter skin at the girdle, and a pocket upon the thigh.

The sweat lodge is in evidence in nearly all parts of the area. It was resorted to for the purpose of enhancing supernatural power and to cure the sick.

Besides the use of the sweat bath, the Southeastern doctor treated his patient by scarification and the sucking out of blood by means of a horn, and of course by the administration internally and externally of medicines made of herbs and other ingredients. The origins of diseases were traced to various animals, natural objects, mythic beings, and so on, and the treatment was governed by that conception.

Some sicknesses were attributed to the voluntary or enforced absence of the soul from its body.

Two medicines, red willow and buttonsnake-root, were in particular esteem among the Creeks, and these, together with spice-wood, ginseng, cedar, and the *Ilex vomitoria* or "black drink" were

the most popular medicines throughout the section as far as our information carries us. The last of these was less a remedy than a ceremonial drink to clarify the mind and enable participants in a council or other gathering to think with lucidity. In some parts of the country this plant did not grow and it was therefore an article of exchange value between the coast and interior people. It seems to have been prepared in a similar manner throughout, by parching and then boiling in water.

The east was treated as the sacred quarter in ceremonials, medicine making, and all similar practices.

In some parts of the Southeast there was a class of prophets distinct from the priests or doctors and, had we the data, we should probably find it represented everywhere. These were men born with unusual psychic powers and attaining their standing in the tribe independently of any established ecclesiastical order. They were to things religious as the "born leaders" and "self-made men" were to things civil. It is probable that there were several classes of men of this type, of which weather makers may be mentioned as one, and besides we have wizards and witches everywhere in typical form and very much the same in methods of practice to that which we are used to in other parts of the world.

In this section it is noticeable that where the earth-diver legend occurs the creature which succeeds in bringing mud from the bottom of the primeval ocean, the mud out of which the first continent was formed, is the crawfish. In a variant form of the legend the earth is brought by a bird from the edges of the world.

There is also a curious legend about certain beings known as "sharp buttocks," identified by Mr. Mooney with the alligator. A legend regarding these creatures was recorded by Peter Martyr from Francisco of Chicora, the Cherokee knew of them, and also the Alabama Indians.

CULTURAL SUBDIVISIONS

In ancient times every autonomous tribe or associated group of tribes in the Southeast probably had its own peculiar economic, social, and religious usages and thus constituted by itself a minor cultural division, but, on the basis of the information now available to us, certain of these may as well be classed in larger groups, the apparent differences between them being of minor importance, while certain others are merely of marginal interest.

Thus, there was evidently a cultural as well as a linguistic difference between the Indians of southern and northern Florida, but too little is as yet known about the former to treat them as an independent group in the present discussion. The only peculiar features recorded regarding them are the use of breechclouts made of grass, the extensive

employment of white kumti (*Zamia integrifolia*) as food, and voluntary and involuntary sacrifice of certain individuals to accompany the spirit of a dead chief into the hereafter. The first two of these may have nothing more than geographic significance.

A more striking case is afforded by the Cherokee, one of the largest tribes of the Southeast, and yet so lacking in distinctive institutions that they may be considered best as marginal to the Creeks. Related linguistically to the Iroquois of New York and the Tuscarora of North Carolina, they show few other cultural resemblances to those tribes. Their rather rigid seven-clan system and a somewhat peculiar summer ceremonial house are almost the only remaining points of distinction which my material indicates. It might be added, however, that their mythology contains references to those queer beings with sharp buttocks mentioned by Francisco of Chicora to which reference was made above.

Another famous and conspicuous tribe which preserved in historic times few distinctive features were the Chickasaw. Part of their culture, including their language, their division into numbers of local groups, and the types of their war names is Choctaw, and another part, including the presence among them of totemic clans, their manner of wearing their hair, and their method of disposing of the dead, is Creek.

Our information regarding the Yuchi renders it quite certain that not long before white contact they must have had a distinctive culture corresponding with their distinctive language, but we know little about them anterior to the time when they were adopted into the Creek confederacy and not enough peculiar features are on record regarding them to enable us to give them an independent status. The most characteristic features of their culture, aside from their speech, were their tradition of a solar origin and the solar cult that went with it, the division of the males of the tribe into two societies perpetuated patrilineally, and perhaps the extensive use of the bull snake motive in their art.

The Quapaw at the mouth of Arkansas River are excluded from this study partly because they were marginal to the Gulf area and partly because they represent a relatively late immigration into the territory they occupied. They are interesting as the tribe closest to the Gulf area, which had a gentile organization and patrilinear descent.

The Shawnee dwelt mainly upon the Cumberland but established colonies on Savannah River and among the Creeks. They belonged properly to the Northeast rather than the Southeast.

The Atakapa, although upon the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, were actually just beyond the southeastern area proper. Along with the tribes westward of them, to and beyond the Rio Grande, they were

characterized by a loose organization, a low culture, and the existence of cannibalistic practices in something more than merely ritual form.

The Biloxi Indians of southern Mississippi represent a relatively late Siouan intrusion, probably from the northeast. According to Dorsey they had a matrilinear clan system and this would associate them with the Creeks, Chickasaw, Timucua, and perhaps some of the eastern Siouan tribes rather than their nearest neighbors, the Choctaw. Their method of disposing of their dead chiefs was the same as that of the Pascagoula, who lived close by, and resembled that of the eastern Siouans and the Algonkians of Carolina and Virginia. No other details of their ancient culture are known.

Between the Siouan tribes of the Piedmont area of Virginia and those of North and South Carolina there was a marked linguistic difference. The speech of the former was more closely akin to Dakota, Hidatsa, Ofo, and other western and southern Siouan languages than to the tongues of the other group. Doctor Speck, who has given considerable attention to this matter, also believes that there was a marked cultural difference here. Little is recorded, however, regarding the Siouans of Virginia, and in the present study we shall consider merely the Siouans of the Carolina or Catawba group.

These eliminations having been made, nine areas remain for our consideration: (1) The Algonkian area of the tidewater region of Virginia and North Carolina; (2) the eastern Siouan area of the Piedmont section of North and South Carolina and the coast from the mouth of Cape Fear River to the Santee inclusive; (3) Florida, by which is meant particularly the territory of the Timucua; (4) the Creek area, to which the Georgia coast, the Yuchi, the Cherokee and the Chickasaw may be considered marginal; (5) the Choctaw; (6) the Natchez and their allies; (7) the Chitimacha; (8) the Tunician group proper; and (9) the Caddo.

1. The people found in occupancy of the first of these areas by European colonists were, as the name given to it implies, of the Algonkian linguistic stock. Tribes of this family occupied the greater part of what is now Canada southeast of Churchill River except part of the St. Lawrence valley and the Arctic coast lands; the central part of the present United States between the western end of Lake Erie and the Mississippi and as far south as Cumberland River; and the entire Atlantic seaboard to the mouth of Neuse River, North Carolina. The region under consideration includes that part of the Atlantic fringe south of Potomac River. As a body the Algonkians are a Northeastern rather than a Southeastern people and it is not believed that they had been in occupancy of the southern coast lands for a very long period. Strachey says it was not supposed that they

had been there for more than 300 years, but this is of course speculation and up to the present time archaeology has shed no light upon the question. It seems evident, at all events, that they had been in the country long enough to acquire a culture in many ways distinct from that of the other branches of the family to which they belonged. Whether this was due to the adoption of culture from earlier inhabitants whom they had destroyed or absorbed, to borrowings from southern tribes, or to independent development we do not as yet know. Of the first supposition there is no tangible evidence, of the second there is a certain amount of evidence, but the present investigation seems to indicate that more of their culture than has been commonly supposed was evolved upon the spot. Among cultural features noted in this region, some peculiar to it and some shared by one or two others, may be mentioned: The male custom of shaving the hair from one side of the head and allowing it to grow to full length on the other; reddening the hair with the puccoon root, and sometimes with a much more treasured plant used by the Siouan tribes of Carolina; the use of a small bead called roanoke; the custom of tattooing tribal marks on the right shoulder; slight use of paint by women; the erection of a few long houses; employment of vegetable substitutes for salt; great dependence on fish, the people resorting to the fishweirs for at least two months in the year; matrilinear descent but apparent absence of totemic clans; female chiefs common; traces of the Algonkian institution of hunting territories; compounding of the crimes of murder and adultery by the use of shell money relatively easy; destruction of those who were disliked by poisoning fairly common; boys and girls at puberty subjected to a very hard ordeal known as the husquenaw; payment made for wife suggesting purchase; divorce said to be a disgrace and uncommon; burial of common people in the ground but chiefs and leading men in special houses or ossuaries; chiefs accustomed to meet strangers at the head of their warriors and blowing upon flutes; custom of washing the feet of visitors; keeping of records by means of a quipu and small bits of wood; use of a primitive club shaped like a sword; use of wooden breastplates and wicker armor; fixed tribute exacted from conquered tribes (by Powhatan); apparent absence of the chunky game. (There was a very interesting cultural development in this region not sufficiently brought out in the enumeration of the above items which will be considered more in detail later.)

2. In the area embracing the Siouan peoples of North and South Carolina we note the following cultural features: Reddening of the hair by the use of a certain root distinct from the puccoon, which latter was rarely employed; slight resort to paint by women; artificial head deformation, at least in the Waxhaw tribe; a summer house, though it was little more than a lounging pavilion; use of stones in

the foundations of certain buildings; baskets and mats made of bulrushes and flags instead of cane; a tendency toward the domestication of wild animals; prominence of female chiefs; relative facility with which crimes, such as murder and adultery, could be compounded by means of shell money; a class of professional prostitutes recruited from among the young girls; exemption of the woman from punishment in cases of adultery; sodomy uncommon; existence of the husquenaw, a severe puberty ordeal for the young people of both sexes; war titles taken from the names of wild animals and fishes; property paid for a wife suggesting purchase; widow not obliged to undergo ceremonial mourning for her husband and permitted to remarry at once; divorce easy; burial of the common people in the ground and of chiefs in ossuaries; enemies killed to accompany the soul of a dead person; hair unbound during mourning but not cut off; custom of keeping up a spiral fire during councils, at least by the Waxhaw; the ceremonial character of tobacco not so pronounced as farther west; use of a quipu; a class of adult slaves prevented from escape by mutilation of the feet; harvest festivals relatively unimportant; widespread use of wooden images at certain ceremonies; mythic references to beings called sharp buttockses.

3. In Florida, particularly among the Timucua, we find the following cultural features in some measure specialized: Use of Spanish moss as clothing by the women; head hair kept long and used in lieu of a quiver; peculiar ear ornaments made of fish bladders dyed red; leggings uncommon and leg ornaments relatively more common; no distinct summer house except rude lodges; long rectangular town houses; thatching of palmetto; stone used in making storehouses; great importance of fish food; considerable use of alligators as food; absence of chunky game; clans with totems and phratries: tendency toward a caste system; mourning strictly enjoined on widows; bodies of the dead burned along with their houses, though ossuaries appear to have been in existence on the west coast of the peninsula.

4. In the section of which the Indians of the Creek confederacy are typical the following items are to be noted: The hair roached; the hair reddened with the same root as that used by the eastern Siouans; copper wire often wound in ears by men, thereby stretching them to an immense size; nose ornaments; slight use of paint by women; substantial rectangular summer houses; summer ceremonial grounds; use of certain grasses and plants as substitutes for salt; totemic clans and phratries but no true moieties; punishment of both man and woman in case of adultery (but the Chickasaw punished only the woman); young men commonly treated with less severity than their elders at the time of their first manhood ceremonies; war titles of special kinds, consisting of two words (except where the diminutive suffix was employed), the second being usually

hadjo, fikisko, imala, tãstãnigi, yahola, miko, while Chickasaw and Cherokee titles usually ended with the word "killer"; mourning of widows and widowers strict and that of widows long; the dead usually buried under the houses; existence of the calumet ceremony (marginal extension); the spiral fire used during councils; use of quipu; legend of the sharps buttocks (among the Alabama).

5. Salient Choctaw customs were: Wearing the hair long; artificial head deformation; square or rectangular dwellings; bark coverings to houses; two smoke holes; use of a vegetable substitute for salt; greater dependence on corn than was the case with most of the other tribes; punishment of woman for adultery by abandonment to a number of men; a class of prostitutes formed of adulteresses cast out by their husbands; war titles ending in the word "killer"; strict observance of mourning ceremonies by women; all dead placed on scaffolds, after which the bones were removed and at last buried in mounds, each canton having its own houses and the chiefs separate houses; the calumet ceremony.

6. In the Natchez group of tribes, and frequently extending to their neighbors, we find: Spike-shaped ear ornaments of shell worn by women; blackening of teeth by women; artificial head deformation; square houses; no substantial summer house; grass thatch; porcupine quill work (according to one authority); use of salt obtained in trade from western tribes; custom of sowing a certain kind of grain on sand banks in the Mississippi; a peculiar caste organization of society in which, however, members of the high caste were compelled to marry commoners; the state a theocracy and the power of the chiefs very great as descendants of the solar culture hero; culture hero supposed to be preserved in a stone in the temple; spouses and associates of men and women of the ruling caste killed to accompany their masters and mistresses into the spirit world; divorce discouraged; most of the dead buried in the ground, but the bones of chiefs placed in hampers in the temples or ossuaries; temples with sacred fires kept burning continually; the calumet ceremony.

7. The Chitimacha had the following cultural features: Roaching of the hair; artificial head deformation; boiling of salt; considerable use of seeds of water lilies as food; great dependence on fish and alligators for their livelihood; totemic clans accompanied by an endogamous caste system; custom of killing enemies by poisoning of water; ossuaries and ceremonial houses; a solar cult but not as pronounced as that of the Natchez; the calumet ceremony.

8. The following usages appear in the Tunican group: Particular addiction to tattooing; blackening of teeth by women; artificial head deformation; skill in dressing skins; skilled potters; division of labor between the sexes more favorable to the women than in most other parts of the Southeast, and women said to have worked almost

entirely indoors; considerable dependence on persimmons, living on them one month out of the year; greater proportional dependence on corn than any other tribe in the Southeast except the Choctaw; boiled down salt and traded with it very considerably; custom of visiting temple before going to war and immediately on returning.

9. The following appear to be characteristic Caddo customs: Wearing of the hair in a manner reminding Europeans of the Turks; occasional reddening of the hair by the use of duck feathers; tattooing less pronounced than in the case of the river tribes; no summer house; houses thatched with grass; noted as good potters; boiled down salt and traded in it; traded much in the wood of the Osage orange, raw material for bows; existence of totemic clans, but reported not to be exogamous in all parts of the Caddo country; greeted visitors with wailing; custom of washing friendly visitors; burned down house in which war party had gone through with its ceremonies just before setting out on an expedition; absence of the calumet ceremony except among the easternmost tribe, the Cahinnio.

A STUDY OF THE CULTURAL SUBDIVISIONS

An inspection of the cultural features which these groups exhibit shows, at once, that the differences between them are not equivalent. As was to have been expected, such features tend to spread over neighboring areas irrespective of the agreements between them in other particulars, but after this fact has been discounted certain interesting points come to light of much more fundamental character. The Caddo seem to stand by themselves, though clearly exhibiting the underlying pattern of the Gulf area, but the Tunica, Natchez, Chitimacha, and Choctaw all present certain features which tend to connect them with one another in a more intimate manner. Thus, all of them were addicted to head deformation; they paid more attention to agriculture, or at least lived a more sedentary life, than did their neighbors; they seem to have had houses rectangular in plan; the position of women seems to have been easier; all disposed of at least part of their dead in ossuaries (except perhaps the Tunica); and all had some form of the calumet ceremony, imported, it is true, from the upper Mississippi. The differences presented by the Tunica are attributable partly to the natural richness of their country and partly to their marginal position, those of the Chitimacha to their dependence on sea food, and those of the Natchez to the development of their solar cult and caste system. The Timucua seem to have shared certain features with the group just mentioned on one side, the Creeks, and the Siouans of the East. They wore their hair long like the Choctaw, and like the people of the lower Mississippi generally they lacked distinctive summer houses, and while their common houses were circular their town houses were rectangular. They exhibited a

tendency to a caste system of the Chitimacha type, they burned the houses of the dead like the Natchez, and the western Timucua seem to have had ossuaries like the lower Mississippi peoples. They appear to have resembled the Creeks in their system of totemic clans and in the ceremonial mourning imposed on widows, while the use of stone in making storehouses and a tendency toward the domestication of animals and birds suggests the eastern Siouan area. The remainder of their peculiarities are intimately connected with the nature of the country in which they lived and its mild climate. Finally, the Algonkian and eastern Siouan areas share a number of features in common which are to be attributed in part to borrowings, but in still larger measure, I believe, to the development of a new cultural complex favored by the nature of the country, a development in which Algonkian and Siouan people both shared. More will be said about this presently.

One of the most interesting results of a comparison of the cultural peculiarities of the region we are considering is the fact that certain of those found in the northeastern section, the Algonkian and Siouan territories, reappear on and near the lower Mississippi but are wanting in intermediate areas. Among such may be mentioned: Matrilinear descent without clans, in which there is resemblance between the Algonkians, Siouans, Choctaw, and Natchez; considerable use of poison to destroy enemies (Algonkians, Siouans, Chitimacha); extensive use of ossuaries; segregation of the dead of social groups in distinct ossuaries; artificial head deformation (Waxhaw, Choctaw, Chitimacha, Natchez, Tunica); persons killed to accompany the soul of a dead man (among the eastern Siouans these were enemies; among the Natchez friends and relatives); myth regarding sharp buttocks found among eastern Siouans and Alabama Indians who, though in the Creek Nation, were closely related to the Choctaw.

Some of the above points are of relatively little weight, but head deformation and the use of ossuaries, at least, are striking. Taken in conjunction with the western connections of the Timucua already noted and the myths of the Creek Indians themselves, they suggest rather strongly that the Creeks were comparatively late intruders into the section where they were found by Europeans and that, in the process of settling there, they had displaced some cultural features which formerly extended unbrokenly from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi.

Another interesting study is the contrast developed in certain parts of the Gulf area between the culture of the coast and that of the interior. West of it, beginning with the Atakapa tribes and extending along most of the Texas coast, such a contrast existed, and we are able to get some light upon this from the adventures of

the Spanish castaway, Cabeza de Vaca. Here the culture of both coast and interior peoples was of a very low order, yet there was a recognized divergence between them. Both had access to bison and tunas at certain seasons of the year, but the main dependence of the coast Indians was fish, shellfish, alligators, and whatever the sea cast up. The contrast between the two sections, while not great, was sufficient to stimulate at least a desire for trade, and though Cabeza de Vaca says that "on account of constant warfare there is neither travel nor barter in the land," the latent demand which he indicates was probably satisfied from time to time by purely aboriginal adventurers. Farther on he indicates how this may have taken place, for, when he requested the Indians of one tribe to send to a hostile people to inform them that his party was coming, they finally dispatched two women, "because these can trade everywhere, even if there be war." The commodities which Cabeza carried inland were "pieces of sea shells and cockles, and shells with which they cut a fruit which is like a bean, used by them for healing and in their dances and feasts," and he brought back in exchange hides, red ochre, flint for arrow points, glue and hard canes, also for arrows, and "tassels made of the hair of deer, which they dye red."

Although the Chitimacha claimed genetic relationship with the Natchez, they were probably in the main differentiated from the Atakapa Indians and raised to a higher cultural level through contact with the Mississippi tribes. Their economic life was similar to that of the coast people just mentioned, and tradition informs us that they had an even brisker trade with the interior Indians. They received stone arrow points from some inland people, probably the Avoyel, whose name seems to refer to flint.

Eastward of the Chitimacha, as far as Florida, in fact almost to Tampa Bay, there was, in historic times, an almost complete absence of that fringe of coast tribes which we would expect to find. The great nations lived inland in the good corn country and only some wretched bands, perhaps in part outlaws of the inland people, were found by European navigators who happened to touch on this part of the littoral. Yet it is interesting to note that Cabeza de Vaca reports slings in use in this region, weapons decidedly rare among the tribes of eastern North America; the best otter skin cloaks which the Spaniards anywhere obtained came from here also.

The first people of importance encountered in Florida, as one approached from the west, were the Apalachee, but they were properly inlanders like the other large tribes just mentioned. Even the Timucua seem to have occupied the west coast of Florida in force only about Tampa Bay, and on the east side except to the northward between the mouth of the St. Johns and the northern end of Cumberland Island they were settled less thickly on the coast

itself than along St. Johns River. The south Floridians, on the other hand, except for some wandering bands about Lake Okeechobee, were entirely littoral in their habitat and mode of life. But with north and south Florida people alike the fish which they obtained in their weirs were one of their main means of livelihood and they dried much of what was caught in them for the winter. While these tribes no doubt traded with the northern Indians more than is commonly supposed—indeed, there are evidences of a fairly well developed barter with the Indians of the Appalachian Mountains—it does not seem to have ultimated itself in a shell currency or any other medium of exchange. Indeed, while shells were used as ornaments, as arrow points, and in many other ways, there are surprisingly few references to shell beads, and the wampum and roanoke of the more northern Indians were probably unknown.

From the Timucua littoral on the side of the Atlantic as far north as the present Charleston Harbor, S. C., there was a dense population in the sixteenth century, but our ethnological information from the section is extremely fragmentary, and there is also reason to believe that a considerable part had settled there not long before the appearance of the whites.

From Charleston Harbor to the mouth of the Neuse the population was again sparse and seems to have been rather inland than coastal in type.

When we come to the two subsections of the Gulf area which lay farthest toward the northeast, we find the effects of a neighboring seacoast more pronounced than anywhere else. As has already been indicated, there were differences between these two, and they extended to superficial matters connected with the economic lives of the people, apparent to casual travelers. Thus Lawson tells us that "the Indians upon and towards the heads and falls of our rivers (principally Siouan tribes) strike a great many of these [sturgeon] and eat them; yet the Indians near the salt water will not eat them." In another place he adds that the salt water Indians would not eat the lamprey eel. But these were matters of minor consequence. The tribes of both groups depended in considerable measure upon sea food, the annual herring run in particular being so important that a month was named after it, and for about two months at that particular time the coast Indians lived upon their fish weirs. Fish and shell fish, including alewives, skates, oysters, and cockles, were dried upon cane or reed hurdles "to the number of several bushels" and laid away for the winter. Crawfish and river mussels were also eaten. While dried sea food of the above-mentioned sorts was no doubt bartered with the interior people, it seems to have been of much less importance as an article of trade than shells. First may be mentioned the marginella, undoubtedly the shell to which

Lawson thus refers: "At the time when they are on the salts, and sea coasts, they have another fishery, that is for a little shell fish, which those in England call Blackmoors teeth. These they catch by tying bits of oysters to a long string, which they lay in such places as they know those shell fish haunt. These fish get hold of the oysters, and suck them in, so that they pull up those long strings, and take great quantities of them, which they carry a great way into the main land, to trade with the remote Indians, where they are of great value; but never near the sea, by reason they are common, therefore not esteemed." More important, of course, were the shells and parts of shells used as money, and it will be worth while to quote what Lawson says of them in full:

"Their money is of different sorts, but all made of shells, which are found on the coast of Carolina, which are very large and hard, so that they are very difficult to cut. Some English smiths have tried to drill this sort of money, and thereby thought to get an advantage; but it proved so hard, that nothing could be gained. They oftentimes make, of this shell, a sort of gorge, which they wear about their neck in a string; so it hangs on their collar, whereon sometimes is engraven a cross, or some odd sort of figure, which comes next in their fancy. There are other sorts valued at a doe skin, yet the gorges will sometimes sell for three or four buck skins ready dressed. There be others, that eight of them go readily for a doe skin; but the general and current species of all the Indians in Carolina, and, I believe, all over the continent, as far as the bay of Mexico, is that which we call Peak and Ronoak; but Peak more especially. This is that which at New York, they call wampum, and have used it as current money amongst the inhabitants for a great many years. This is what many writers call porcelan, and is made in New York in great quantities, and with us in some measure. Five cubits of this purchase a dressed doe skin, and seven or eight purchase a dressed buck skin. An Englishman could not afford to make so much of this wampum for five or ten times the value; for it is made out of a vast great shell, of which that country affords plenty; where it is ground smaller than the small end of a tobacco pipe, or a large wheat straw. Four or five of these make an inch, and every one is to be drilled through, and made as smooth as glass, and so strung, as beads are, and a cubit of the Indian measure contains as much in length, as will reach from the elbow to the end of the little finger. They never stand to question, whether it is a tall man or a short man, that measures it; but if this wampum peak be black or purple, as some part of that shell is, then it is twice the value. This the Indians grind on stones and other things, till they make it current but the drilling is the most difficult to the Englishmen, which the Indians manage with a nail stuck in a cane or reed.

Thus they roll it continually on their thighs with their right hand, holding the bit of shell with their left, so in time they drill a hole quite through it, which is a very tedious work; but especially in making their ronoak, four of which will scarce make one length of wampum. The Indians are a people that never value their time, so that they can afford to make them, and never need to fear the English will take the trade out of their hands."⁵

It must be remembered that this was written about a hundred years after the settlement of Virginia, and there is evidence that one of the two kinds of shell money which Lawson mentions, peak, was not known when the country was first occupied. This name is the ending of the original word, wampumpeak, and was sometimes used as an abbreviation just as the first part of the name, wampum, was also used as an abbreviation. It is true that these beads are again mentioned by Beverley, yet he was merely one of Lawson's contemporaries. More important is the fact that the word appears in references to Virginia dating back nearly to 1650,⁶ but it is conspicuously absent from the most important early accounts of the Virginia Indians, those of Smith and Strachey, and it is of still more significance that no form of the word wampumpeak appears in any of the Algonkian vocabularies collected in this region. In Delaware and New Jersey wampum was such a scarce article among the Indians that the Swedish governor Printz proposed to send to New York and New England to purchase the supplies which his people needed in trade. Here, too, it is not called wampumpeak but sewan, the only name in use in early times about New York and on Long Island where the greatest quantities of these beads were manufactured. The word wampumpeak was undoubtedly adopted by the English from the Indians of eastern Connecticut and Rhode Island who manufactured it in some quantities. To my mind the facts given indicate that the name along with the use of this shell currency was carried to Virginia from that particular section. Afterwards it was no doubt made in Virginia and Carolina "in some measure," as Lawson says.

The ancient shell currency of the coast section under consideration consisted, I feel sure, of the other type of shell, called ronoak or roanoke. While we do not find this name actually applied to beads in the earliest English narratives, the term itself, unlike wampumpeak, is known to have been a local Algonkian name for bead, and its antiquity in the section is proved by the name of the Roanoke colony itself. The evidence available seems also to indicate that the center of circulation of this currency was rather the sound region of North Carolina than the Chesapeake.

⁵ Lawson, Jno., *Hist. of Carolina*, pp. 315-316.

⁶ From information collected by Mr. D. I. Bushnell, Jr.

No doubt roanoke evolved from a favorite article of trade into a standard of value in the way that standards of value have evolved in other parts of the world. It is probable that trade in this and other coastal products tended toward the evolution of the standard and that the existence of such a standard in turn stimulated trade. At any rate we seem to find an unusual number of references to trade between the Indian tribes of this general region. Lawson notes that the Tuscarora exchanged wooden bowls and ladles with the interior Indians for raw skins, and, since the *Ilex vomitoria*, the favorite ceremonial plant of the Southeast, did not grow far from the coast, that the coast Indians sent that also to the western Indians in trade. Trade was also carried on in the scarlet root elsewhere mentioned, with which they reddened their hair and which was found near the foot of the Appalachians. In their winter quarters the women made baskets and mats, and those men who were poor hunters made wooden bowls, dishes, and spoons, as also tobacco pipes of white clay, which they were in the habit of trading to other Indians for deerskins and other articles. Some of the Indians also traded in salt with the Kentucky tribes who boiled it down about their salt licks, and at a later period the Tuscarora carried liquor several miles inland to dispose of it to the less corrupted peoples of the interior.

Some of the Algonkian Indians undertook trading expeditions. Thus an early writer states that Opechancanough once visited the Tuscarora to obtain satisfaction for the death of two of his men who had gone inland to purchase otter skins and had been killed for the wampum which they carried. But most references to trading peoples indicate those of the Piedmont region. In addition to what has been said already about the Tuscarora, we have information regarding trading activities of the Occaneechi and Eno. The Occaneechi settlement on Roanoke River was so strategically situated with reference to the trails that it had become a great trading center in the seventeenth century—as well as a great resort for rogues—and its language was the lingua franca for a wide area. The Eno (and perhaps also the Shakori) had become partially metamorphosed into a trading people, and to them are attributed the virtues and vices often found accompanying. They were said to be industrious, covetous, thievish, and cowardly. As they were anxious to amass property, they were hired out by their neighbors as carriers or porters, and they raised enough corn to supply some of the adjacent tribes during the winter. Lawson says, in general, of the feasts in the eastern Siouan territories: "At these feasts, they meet from all the towns within fifty or sixty miles around, where they buy and sell several commodities, as we do at fairs and markets."

The effect of such a commercial tendency seems evident in the social institutions. A thief was bound to work for the man he had wronged in order to make his losses good, and here, too, we seem to

find the only serious attempt to maintain a permanent class of slaves. The feet of adult males captured in war were mutilated, half being cut off lengthwise so that they would be unable to run away, and they were then set at work tending their masters' cornfields. There was also a definite class of prostitutes whose favors, as respects men of foreign tribes, were bargained for by the town chief, they being under his particular charge. That individuals should gamble away their liberties and enter the service of the winner, is not surprising, since similar customs were widespread, but the treatment accorded those who committed major crimes is unusual. While elsewhere the law of blood for blood was maintained with great rigor, in the two cultural areas we are considering shell money would be taken in compensation, and adultery could usually be compounded for in the same manner, although outside of these areas severe castigation of at least one of the offenders was almost certain to take place. Whether the total exculpation of the woman and the lighter burdens placed upon widows were in any way connected with this penchant toward money and money compensation seems doubtful, but in both particulars the difference between the customs of the Algonkians and Siouans and those of the Muskhogean and the smaller stocks are striking. The influence of shell money impressed Lawson so much that, having given the description of it quoted above, he says:

"This is the money with which you may buy skins, furs, slaves, or any thing the Indians have; it being the mannum (as our money is to us) that entices and persuades them to do any thing, and part with every thing they possess, except their children for slaves. As for their wives, they are often sold, and their daughters violated for it. With this they buy off murders; and whatsoever a man can do that is ill, this wampum will quit him of, and make him, in their opinion, good and virtuous, though never so black before."

EVOLUTION OF THE SOUTHEASTERN CULTURE

A brief interpretation of the evolution of culture in this part of the Southeast may now be in order. The evidence at hand would suggest that anciently the littoral of Virginia and North Carolina was populated more densely than the interior, owing to greater supplies of fish and other sea foods. The coast people must then have been to some extent dominant. The introduction of corn, however, probably wrought a revolution, not so much by increasing the actual quantity of food available to the inlanders as by encouraging them, owing to the communal pattern of agriculture adopted, to gather into larger bodies. And as larger communities had greater potential defensive and offensive strength, the tendency once started would be cumulative. The communal deer hunt would work in the same direction, while, on the other hand, the coast people would find it more to their advantage to distribute themselves annually among the inlets of the littoral. But the pressure of the interior people might in time

produce a counter movement among the coast dwellers looking toward mutual defence and that is what we perhaps have in the empires of the Secotan, Chowanoc, and Powhatan. Economically, however, the differences between the products of the sea and those of the interior would slowly stimulate trade, the tribes immediately back from the coast becoming in time middlemen with reference to the mountain peoples. This stimulation of trade meant a circulating medium and wealth both for the coast peoples who controlled the production of the exchange medium and the middlemen who had the wider disposition of it. The tribes of the far interior could not have benefited as much because there were few of their products which could not be obtained either on the coast or from a wide area of the hinterland. Being inhabitants of a rich country themselves, the mountain tribes were not kept on the verge of starvation like the interior Indians of the north Pacific coast; they merely failed to accumulate surplus wealth sufficient to affect their social and political institutions and alter their laws. On the coast, however, we are, as we have seen, able to trace such changes. Although in a modified form, we discover a tendency toward the social condition so characteristic of the north Pacific, a system resting on wealth rather than birth or warlike prowess, widespread commercialism giving rise to a medium of exchange and affecting the basal laws. We find an analogy also in the use of wooden armor, though there does not seem at first sight any necessary connection between it and a property system. In any case a complete development after the northwest coast pattern was prevented by the absence of a lofty range of mountains which might have defended the dwellers by the ocean, and the relative richness and hence greater power of the interior Indians.

The reaction of coastal peoples to those of the interior was most marked in the tidewater country of Virginia and North Carolina, but there are traces of it along the Atlantic between Charleston Harbor and the St. Johns River, in southwestern Florida (the Calusa country), and in southern Louisiana (the home of the Chitimacha). But no littoral empire was as populous or of the political significance of the great corn States of the interior. The unrecorded history of the Southeast, after the introduction of agriculture, plainly revolved about these latter. It is true that the interior peoples made some use of fish, just as the coastal peoples—excepting the Calusa—depended partly on corn, but for their animal sustenance they relied mainly on the deer, supplemented by the bear and, in earlier times, the bison. On this economic basis several communities of from 10,000 to 25,000 souls came into existence, though each embraced a number of towns or bands scattered over a considerable territory. The community life expressed itself in grounds and buildings for social and ceremonial purposes, the buildings raised at times upon artificial mounds which remain as the most striking and permanent memorials

of our Gulf Indians. Lack of domestic animals of economic value and absence of any knowledge of the uses of fertilizers prevented these States from attaining the stability necessary for an advanced civilization. The towns were vacated annually during the hunting season, and it was difficult to preserve them in the same place for many years owing to the exhaustion of the soil and of accessible supplies of firewood. The evolution of a true city life and states of the Old World pattern was thus seriously hampered, though the remains of Maya civilization in Yucatan and Central America, which seems to have had a very similar economic substructure, show the possibilities of this type of culture. The tribes of our Southeast climbed part way up the hill which the Maya ascended to the top.

There is good evidence that the culture of the peoples we have been discussing extended in very recent prehistoric times considerably farther toward the north and that it embraced most of the Ohio Valley and even reached the Great Lakes. Muskhogean, eastern Siouan, and Cherokee legends alike point to a movement from the northwest, and while by themselves they might well be discounted, they are supported by more specific information involving southward movements of the Tunica, Houma, Okelousa, Koasati, and Tuskegee and documentary proof of it in the cases of the Yuchi and Ofo. There must be added the mute witness of the mound groups in our north central States. A part of the people who shared the latter culture probably moved east and were represented by the string of Iroquoian tribes in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina; others moved southeastwardly and became the Siouan tribes of the east; others entered the very heart of the Gulf area; and still others drifted west and became the Siouan tribes beyond the Mississippi.

The earlier culture of the Gulf region, represented by the Siouan people of the Catawba group, the Choctaw, the Natchez, and the Chitimacha, seems to have been cut in two by the invasion of those tribes which later constituted the Creek confederation, tribes which had been modified by contact with Algonkians and other northerners. The Yuchi, the Ofo, and probably the Biloxi, represented some of the last clearances from the Ohio.

Cultural differences among the Indians of the Southeast were relatively so slight that an attempt to unravel their prehistory through archaeological investigations would seem to be well-nigh hopeless. However, until a concerted effort is made, embracing the whole of the Gulf region and the Mississippi Valley, no advance opinion is of much value. Excellent work has already been done in many parts of the area, but in future greater coordination is needed. If it were possible to determine the approximate time when corn was introduced from the south and measure the cultural changes which followed upon it, these facts alone would, I feel sure, well repay the effort expended.

INDIAN TRAILS OF THE SOUTHEAST

By WILLIAM E. MYER

PREFACE

By JOHN R. SWANTON

William Edward Myer, the author of this paper, was born near Fountain Run, Barren County, Ky., October 5, 1862, but when he was about 6 years old his family moved to Carthage, Tenn., and there he spent most of the remainder of his life. He was educated in the public schools of Carthage and at 16 entered Vanderbilt University, spending the usual four years. On graduating he was offered the principalship of a large school in Michigan, but his parents would not allow him to accept it, believing him too young. In consequence he returned to Carthage, where he entered upon an active business career. He organized the first bank in Smith County, and his interest in local transportation eventuated in bridges over Cumberland and Caney Fork Rivers. He was connected with the Highway Commission for two years, during which he worked untiringly for the development of the road system of the State. He also took an active part in the development of navigation on Cumberland River and was for many years president of the Cumberland River Improvement Society. In 1915 he retired from active business, but during the World War, from the autumn of 1917 until the end of the conflict, he served as fuel administrator for his State.

Mr. Myer's interest in archeology began while he was still at school. He devoted all of his vacations to research work, and later, while engaged in business, spent a portion of each day in archeological studies. When he was 28 he encamped with his family for two weeks on an Indian mound at Castalian Springs, where he obtained many aboriginal relics. In course of time he carried his investigations, in person or by correspondence, over the larger part of his State. In 1919, in order to give his work a more thorough scientific foundation, he moved to the National Capital, where he pursued his researches in the Smithsonian Institution, with the help and advice of Dr. J. W. Fewkes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and other investigators. A paper by him, entitled "Two Prehistoric Villages in Middle Tennessee," has appeared in the Forty-first Annual Report of the Bureau. Meanwhile Mr. Myer found his interests broaden progressively and his major project, which was to have been a work on "Stone Age Man in Tennessee," became enlarged in idea into "Stone Age Man in the Middle South." Side by side with this undertaking, though somewhat posterior to

it in the period of its inception, had arisen another centering on the aboriginal trail system, and this expanded along with the first, so that from a record of "Indian Trails and Remains in Tennessee" it developed into a study of trails in all of those States south of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers and east of the Mississippi and even transcended those limits.

In the midst of these investigations, Mr. Myer was suddenly stricken with heart disease, and passed away on December 2, 1923. In him archeology has lost an enthusiastic disciple, a wide circle of acquaintances a devoted friend, and his community and country an unselfish servant.

At the time of his death Mr. Myer had worked out and committed to paper a very complete and accurate archeological and trail map of Tennessee, but the trail systems of the other southeastern States were by no means carried to the same point of elaboration. The information regarding them which he had collected was committed to a number of large-scale Geological Survey maps, and the entries varied in proportion to the distance of the State in question from his own special field.

In editing Mr. Myer's material, his Tennessee map has been reproduced substantially as he left it, but all of his trail data have been combined into a general chart indicating the system of communications in the Southeast. The Tennessee map is relatively complete and thorough. New remains will, of course, be discovered from time to time and new aboriginal lines of communication will be located, but it is safe to say that Mr. Myer's map will remain the authority on this subject. The status of the second map is altogether different. In the first place it is confined to the one subject of trails. Secondly, it professes to be final in no sense of the term. It is included for two sufficiently cogent reasons: (1) In order to illustrate and make more intelligible the trail system of Tennessee; and (2) to place at the disposal of future students material which Mr. Myer had laboriously and painstakingly brought together.

The preparation for publication of a work so suddenly cut off has naturally made necessary a number of changes. Mr. Myer had numbered practically all of the Tennessee trails and nearly all of those in the States to the southward, but comparatively few numbers had been assigned to the trails in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky, except those which were extensions of trails beginning farther south. As far as possible, the editor has adopted Mr. Myer's number system, but he has amplified it and introduced changes in some cases where the author had inadvertently repeated numbers. In the case of some branch trails it has been thought best to indicate their subordination to the main trail by letters placed after the main trail numbers, as 36A, 36B, etc. The Mississippi trail numbered 65A has

been inserted on the basis of information furnished by Mr. Charles W. Clark, of Clarksdale, Miss., a correspondent of Mr. Myer, whose information came in after the latter had passed away. There is no doubt that this trail anciently extended eastward of Charleston to connect with trail No. 65 near Coffeerville.

In addition to the lines of travel used wholly by the Indians before white colonists appeared, Mr. Myer has introduced some which are positively known to have been employed only by the early colonists or early colonial military expeditions. These have considerable intrinsic interest and also suggest possible aboriginal routes, for the white settlers usually found it easier to follow Indian trails already opened than to break new ones for themselves. Therefore it is probable that some of these trails will ultimately be placed in the category of aboriginal roads, while, on the other hand, it must be admitted that there is some doubt as to the original nature of certain traces which Mr. Myer has classed as Indian. The white men's trails, or those about which there is considerable doubt, have been indicated by means of broken lines.

Our author's text did not keep pace with his cartography, and he omits mention of many trails, particularly, of course, such as lay entirely outside of the State of Tennessee. Even a few Tennessee routes are not noted in the text or are noted only incidentally. A few minor and connecting trails were not numbered, and it has been thought as well to leave them so.

It should be remembered that there is, and always must be, considerable artificiality in the determination of what constitutes a trail, and where a trail begins and ends. Some aboriginal roads may be regarded as trunk lines and are traceable almost from the Gulf to the Great Lakes. Others, although given one number, might equally well be defined as so many separate trails tied together. It is also largely a matter of convention which of two branches of a trail should be considered as the fork and which as the main trail. Fuller knowledge would no doubt suggest the shortening or breaking up of certain trails here treated as units and the splicing together of others which have been given independent status.

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction.....	735
Sources of information.....	745
List of trails.....	746
The Great Indian Warpath (No. 31).....	749
The Ohio Branch (No. 31).....	751
The Chesapeake Branch (No. 36).....	758
The Richmond Branch (No. 36A).....	761
The Charlotte Court House Branch (No. 36c).....	764
The Petersburg-Saponi Branch (No. 36D).....	764
The Tutelo-Saura Path (No. 36B).....	765
Trails of southern West Virginia.....	765
Route from Inglis Ferry to the Kanawha via Beckley (No. 57).....	767
Route from Buck's Garden down the Big Sandy (No. 54).....	768
Trail crossing from the head of the Big Sandy to New River (No. 59A).....	768
Trail in the vicinity of Bluefield (No. 59B).....	769
Trail from New River via Bluefield and Clinch River Valley to Cum- berland Gap (No. 58).....	770
Bluestone, Flat Top Mountain, and Cherry Pond Mountain Trail (No. 56).....	770
Trail down the North Fork of Tug River (No. 59).....	770
Route crossing from the Tug to the Guyandot River (No. 55A).....	771
Trails of the Southern Appalachians (Nos. 33, 35, 37, 38, 39).....	771
Rutherford's War Trace (No. 39).....	773
The Occaneechi Path (No. 80).....	775
The Warrior's Path in Kentucky (No. 32).....	779
The Scioto Prong (No. 32A).....	784
The Upper Blue Licks Prong (No. 32B).....	786
Other aboriginal trails in eastern Kentucky.....	788
Alanant-o-wamiowee (the Buffalo Path) (No. 1).....	788
The Licking Route (No. 3).....	791
The Big Bone-Blue Lick Trail (No. 4).....	793
Trails of the Kentucky pioneers.....	793
The Wilderness Road (No. 5).....	793
Boone's Trail from the Yadkin to Boonsboro (No. 45).....	801
Western Kentucky trails.....	802
The Cumberland and Great Lakes Trail (No. 25).....	802
The Cumberland and Ohio Falls Trail (No. 24).....	804
The Russellville-Shawneetown Trail (No. 41).....	804
The Russellville-Hopkinsville Trail (No. 43).....	806
The Palmyra-Princeton Trail (No. 42).....	806
The Nashville-Saline River Trail (No. 40).....	810
The Natchez Trace and the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace (No. 19).....	811
Principal trails between western Tennessee and Mississippi.....	815
The West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail (No. 12).....	815
The Memphis, Pontotoc, and Mobile Bay Trail (No. 105).....	816
The Middle Memphis-Pontotoc Trail (No. 119).....	819
The Memphis-Bolivar-Pontotoc Prong (Nos. 11 and 12).....	821
Other Memphis trails.....	821
The Cherokee Trace (No. 90).....	822

	Page
The Chickasaw and Choctaw trails.....	823
Gaines's Trace (No. 66).....	824
The trail from Natchez to the Lower Creeks (No. 91).....	828
The Camino Real (Nos. 99, 100, 105-107, 111).....	828
Middle Tennessee trails.....	833
The Cumberland Trace (No. 26).....	833
The Black Fox and Saline River Trails.....	837
The Black Fox Trail—Eastern Section (No. 23).....	837
The Sequatchie Trail (No. 75).....	838
Route of the Black Fox Trail resumed (No. 23).....	839
The Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail (No. 29).....	839
The Clinch River and Cumberland Gap Trail (No. 30).....	845
The Cisca and St. Augustine Trail.....	846
The Main Trail (No. 21).....	846
The Niekajack Trail (No. 22).....	848
The Chickamauga Path (No. 27).....	848
The Great South Trail (No. 20).....	850
The Old Waterloo Road (No. 34).....	851
West Tennessee trails.....	852
The Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail (No. 17).....	852
The Duck River and Northeast Mississippi Trail (No. 18).....	853
The Mississippi and Tennessee River Trail (No. 16).....	854
The Brownsville, Fort Ridge, and Hale's Point Trail (No. 15).....	854
The Ciseo and Savannah Trail (No. 13).....	854
Bibliography.....	855
Index.....	859

ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
14. Archaeological map of the State of Tennessee.....	746
15. The trail system of the southeastern United States in the early Colonial period.....	748
16. Location of the Overhill Cherokee towns, made by Henry Timberlake, 1762.....	750
17. The Camino Real in Texas (after Zively).....	750

INDIAN TRAILS OF THE SOUTHEAST

By WILLIAM E. MYER

INTRODUCTION

More or less well-established trails made by wild animals in search of food or drink existed upon the earth for long ages before the appearance of man, changing very slowly as local conditions were altered by erosion, climatic shifts, or other causes. Man found the lands already covered with them and began using them because they led him to water and to salt licks and other places where the primal necessities—water, food, and materials for clothing—could be obtained. Later they became media of friendly or hostile communication between the people themselves.

There was far more travel among Indians than is usually supposed. This was sometimes for barter-commerce, sometimes for visits of a social, friendly, or religious character, and sometimes for war or adventure.

There are well-authenticated cases of Indians having gone on visits to a series of distant friendly tribes, covering from 1,000 to 2,000 miles, and being absent from home for two months or more. A friendly visitor with a new sacred or social dance was always welcome in any Indian village, and great pains were taken to learn it.

In times of war or when on special missions they went much farther. For example, Tecumseh, or his agents, covered the entire country from the Seminole of Florida to the tribes on the headwaters of the Missouri River. "The Iroquois of central New York were familiar with the country as far west as the Black Hills of Dakota, whence they returned with prisoners; the same Indians went from New York to South Carolina to attack the Catawba and into Florida against the Creeks. Western Indians traveled hundreds of miles to obtain blankets from the Pueblos and some Plains Indians are known to have traveled 2,000 miles on raids. . . . They [the Indians] had covered the entire continent with a network of trails, over which they ran long distances with phenomenal speed and endurance; the Tarahumare mail carrier from Chihuahua to Batopilas, Mexico, runs regularly more than 500 miles a week; a Hopi messenger has been known to run 120 miles in 15 hours."¹

¹ Handbook of American Indians, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, pt. 2, pp. 800, 802.

Gabriel Arthur, who was captured by some Indians of upper East Tennessee, probably somewhere on the French Broad River, claimed to have accompanied them in a raid on the Spaniards in Florida. After their return and a short rest they raided an Indian town near the present site of Port Royal, S. C., and after another short rest they went on a visit to a friendly tribe on the Great Kanawha, about a day's march from the place where it empties into the Ohio. When they started on their return trip they could not resist the temptation to go out of their way to attack a Shawnee village near the present site of Portsmouth, Ohio. Thus, from December, 1673, to May, 1674, or a little over five months, they went from the French Broad to Florida, a distance of about 450 miles; from the French Broad to Port Royal, a distance of about 350 miles; and from the French Broad to Portsmouth, Ohio, a distance of about 200 miles. They also made a long hunting trip of about 200 miles by canoe during this period. Nothing in the story of these forays indicates that the Indians regarded them as extraordinary.

Less conspicuous historically, but probably of greater importance in the long run were trading expeditions. In prehistoric America, as now, each section produced some desirable products which the others did not have. In the mounds in Ohio, Tennessee, and elsewhere objects from the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific, and from nearly every section of the interior of the United States have been found obsidian from the Rocky Mountain region, pipestone from the great red pipestone quarries of Minnesota or Wisconsin, steatite and mica from the Appalachians, copper from the region of the Great Lakes and elsewhere, shells from the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic, dentalium and abalone shells from the Pacific coast, and now and then artifacts which at least hint at some remote contact with Mexican Indian culture.

The Cherokee region of the Appalachians yielded steatite admirably suited to the manufacture of fine pipes. There are many authentic records of Cherokee carrying quantities of pipes to distant regions for sale or barter, and these are found at many points in the middle southern United States.

In the long intervals of peace a small barter-commerce was widespread. Objects of trade and exchange often passed from hand to hand and from tribe to tribe, ultimately covering long distances and reaching regions far remote.

Before the Indians obtained horses from the Spaniards the prehistoric trader, when traveling by land, was forced to carry his stock in trade on his back, a laborious process which necessarily limited the amount. Some tribes, notably the Plains Indians, used the dog as a pack animal and also worked him to the travois, and elsewhere he was worked to sleds; but the Indians of the Southeast do not appear to have used the dog for any of these purposes.

Certain materials were in universal and constant demand for ornaments, pipes, weapons, or household implements. Among them were conch shells from the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico, copper from the Great Lakes, abalone and dentalium shells from the Pacific, obsidian from the Rocky Mountain region, steatite and mica from the Appalachians, catlinite from Minnesota or Wisconsin, and certain especially fine varieties of flint from quarries in Tennessee, Ohio, Illinois, and other places.

In ancient times, even as now, where there is an active and lucrative demand there would always be found commerce to supply it, so along countless land trails and water routes, passing from hand to hand and from tribe to tribe, these desired materials moved. Some of them were passed on until they reached points fully 3,000 miles from the place of origin.

It was the wide commercial-barter travels which gave the Iroquois their close acquaintance with the northern central United States; and when they received firearms from the Dutch about 1620 they quickly conquered a large portion of what had once been their commercial territory, extending from the Great Lakes to northern Tennessee on the south, and to the Mississippi River on the west. As we have seen, some of their war parties reached the Black Hills in South Dakota.

Some Indians sold their captives to other tribes. Father Marquette,² writing of the Illinois, says: "The Illinois are warriors and trade slaves with Outououaks for muskets, powder, kettles, hatchets, and knives."

Lafitau, the Jesuit father, thus described the barter-commerce he saw among the Indians shortly after 1710:

"The savage nations always trade with one another. Their commerce is, like that of the ancients, a simple exchange of wares against wares. Each has something particular which the others have not, and the traffic makes these things circulate among them. Their wares are grain, porcelain (wampum), furs, robes, tobacco, mats, canoes, work made of moose or buffalo hair and of porcupine quills, cotton-beds, domestic utensils—in a word, all sorts of necessaries of life required by them."³

Lawson⁴ relates the following in regard to barter-commerce in the Carolinas:

"The women make baskets and mats to lie upon, and those that are not extraordinary hunters, make bowls, dishes, and spoons, of gumwood, and the tulip tree; others, where they find a vein of white clay, fit for their purpose, make tobacco-pipes, all which are often

² Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations (1669-70)*, vol. LIV, p. 191.

³ Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, vol. II, p. 332.

⁴ *History of Carolina*, p. 338.

transported to other Indians, that perhaps have greater plenty of deer and other game.”

Cabeza de Vaca,⁵ in relating his experiences as a barter trader among the Indians along the Gulf coast about 1535, doubtless gives a reasonably accurate picture of the life of native Indian merchants in that region. He was practically a prisoner, defenseless and without European articles of barter, and had only such objects as any Indian trader might have carried. He says:

“I was obliged to remain with the people belonging to the island more than a year, and because of the hard work they put upon me and the harsh treatment, I resolved to flee from them and go to those of Charruco, who inhabit the forests and country of the main, the life I led being insupportable. Besides much other labor, I had to get out roots from below the water, and from among the cane where they grew in the ground. From this employment I had my fingers so worn that did a straw but touch them they would bleed. Many of the canes are broken, so that they often tore my flesh, and I had to go in the midst of them with only the clothing on I have mentioned.

“Accordingly, I put myself to contriving how I might get over to the other Indians, among whom matters turned somewhat more favorably for me. I set to trafficking, and strove to make my employment profitable in the ways I could best contrive, and by that means I got food and good treatment. The Indians would beg me to go from one quarter to another for things of which they have need; for in consequence of incessant hostilities, they cannot traverse the country, nor make many exchanges. With my merchandise and trade I went into the interior as far as I pleased, and travelled along the coast forty or fifty leagues. The principal wares were cones and other pieces of sea-snail, conchs used for cutting, and fruit like a bean of the highest value among them, which they use as a medicine and employ in their dances and festivities. Among other matters were sea-beads. Such were what I carried into the interior; and in barter I got and brought back skins, ochre with which they rub and color the face, hard canes of which to make arrows, sinews, cement and flint for the heads, and tassels of the hair of deer that by dyeing they make red. This occupation suited me well; for the travel allowed me liberty to go where I wished, I was not obliged to work, and was not a slave. Wherever I went I received fair treatment, and the Indians gave me to eat out of regard to my commodities. My leading object, while journeying in this business, was to find out the way by which I should go forward, and I became well known. The inhabitants were pleased when they saw me, and I had brought them what they wanted; and those who did not know me sought and desired the acquaintance, for my reputation. The hardships that I

⁵ “Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca,” in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, pp. 55-57.

underwent in this were long to tell, as well of peril and privation as of storms and cold. Oftentimes they overtook me alone and in the wilderness; but I came forth from them all by the great mercy of God our Lord. Because of them I avoided pursuing the business in winter, a season in which the natives themselves retire to their huts and ranches, torpid and incapable of exertion.

"I was in this country nearly six years, alone among the Indians, and naked like them."

Farther on he thus refers to barter in bows: ⁶

"These people speak a different language, and are called Avavares. They are the same that carried bows to those with whom we formerly lived, going to traffic with them, and although they are of a different nation and tongue, they understand the other language."

And still farther on he says: ⁷

"I bartered with these Indians in combs that I made for them and in bows, arrows, and nets. We made mats, which are their houses, that they have great necessity for; and although they know how to make them, they wish to give their full time to getting food, since when otherwise employed they are pinched with hunger. Sometimes the Indians would set me to scraping and softening skins; and the days of my greatest prosperity there, were those in which they gave me skins to dress. I would scrape them a very great deal and eat the scraps, which would sustain me two or three days. When it happened among these people, as it had likewise among others whom we left behind, that a piece of meat was given us, we ate it raw; for if we had put it to roast, the first native that should come along would have taken it off and devoured it; and it appeared to us not well to expose it to this risk; besides we were in such condition it would have given us pain to eat it roasted, and we could not have digested it so well as raw. Such was the life we spent there; and the meagre subsistence we earned by the matters of traffic which were the work of our hands."

The following quotation from a manuscript in the Lowery collection, in the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress, was given the author by Dr. John R. Swanton.

"The Indians describe the river Jordan [the Santee] as big and from up it come Indians in canoes to get fish and salt and they bring to them from inland cloaks [huapicles or huepicles] and many other things, also copper and *plata blanca*."

Pearls were found in "a town called Xoadá (Cheraw) near the mountains."⁸

Some authorities seem to believe that those engaged in barter-commerce were given free passage among the tribes, possibly even

⁶ "Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca," in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, p. 73.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

⁸ Eclja's narrative of his first expedition, 1605.

in times of war. C. C. Jones⁹ records such a report, but qualifies it with an "if."

"It is said that, among the Cherokee Indians of Georgia, in ancient times, were men who devoted their attention to the manufacture of spear and arrow heads, and other stone implements. As from time to time they accumulated a supply, they would leave their mountain-homes and visit the seaboard and intermediate regions for the purpose of exchanging these implements for shells and various articles not readily obtainable in the localities where they resided. These were usually old men, or persons who mingled not in the excitements of war and the chase. To them, while engaged in these commercial pursuits, free passage was at all times granted. Their avocation was deemed honorable, and they themselves were welcomed wherever they appeared. If such was the case, we have here an interesting proof both of the trade relations existing among the aboriginal tribes and of the marked recognition, by an uncivilized race, of the claims of the manufacturer."

Prof. O. T. Mason¹⁰ says: "In ancient times there were intertribal laws of commerce, and its agents were guaranteed freedom and safety." We can find no authentic instance of immunity granted to Indians engaged in commerce who belonged to a hostile tribe, unless from considerations having no relation to their occupation.

The following quotations from James Mooney and J. N. B. Hewitt, in writing of the Ottawa,¹¹ throw some additional light on Indian trade:

"Ottawa (from *ădăwe*, 'to trade,' 'to buy and sell,' a term common to the Cree, Algonkin, Nipissing, Montagnais, Ottawa, and Chippewa, and applied to the Ottawa because in early traditional times and also during the historic period they were noted among their neighbors as intertribal traders and barterers, dealing chiefly in corn-meal, sun-flower oil, furs and skins, rugs or mats, tobacco, and medicinal roots and herbs). . . .

"They went into many regions 400 or 500 leagues away to trade."

In "The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando De Soto by the Gentleman of Elvas,"¹² we read that De Soto found natives around the saline springs making salt which they carried elsewhere to exchange for skins and shawls. There are many accounts of a similar aboriginal barter in salt in many portions of the United States. The salt springs and licks were highly valued and much resorted to.

The oldest traditions of our Indians on this continent mention trails, of great antiquity even then, and the narratives of the earliest white explorers show that they found a network of aboriginal roads

⁹ Antiquities of the Southern Indians, pp. 243-244.

¹⁰ Handbook of American Indians, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, pt. 1, p. 332.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pt. 2, pp. 167-168.

¹² Spanish Explorers, p. 218.

by means of which the natives were enabled to reach all important points. In many cases animals, Indians, and whites used them conjointly. Thus Dr. Thomas Walker, a viewer-out of land for the Loyal Land Co., on his way to look over the region now called Kentucky, records of the section around Cumberland Gap:

"April 12th (1750). We kept down the Creek 2 miles further, where it meets with a large Branch coming from the Southwest, and thence runs through the East Ridge, making a very good pass; and a large Buffaloe Road goes from that Fork to the Creek over the West Ridge, which we took, and found the Ascent and Descent tollerably easie."¹³

Hundreds of similar references to the joint use of trails by man and beast are scattered throughout the records of the early settlers. It is well known that the Murfreesboro and Franklin Turnpike now leading into Nashville followed substantially the animal trails to the salt licks in Sulphur Spring Bottom at Nashville, the old French Lick. Haywood¹⁴ says:

"The land adjacent to the French Lick, which Mr. Mansco in 1769 called an old field, was a large, open piece frequented and trodden by buffalos, whose large paths led to it from all parts of the country, and there concentrated."

Referring to the South Road, which the present Franklin Pike approximately follows, Haywood¹⁵ remarks:

"This South Fork Road, as it was called, was a broad beaten path made by the buffalos which came from the south to the French Lick and apparently had been used by them for ages. It was worn into the earth one or two feet or more in many places. In some places three or four feet wide. This South Road extended from the French Lick to Duck River (about 40 miles) and how much further the writer has not yet ascertained."

Of Big Bone Lick, in Boone County, Ky., and its ancient salt-making trails, Mr. J. Stoddard Johnston¹⁶ discourses as follows:

"Salt was manufactured at Big Bone Lick by the Indians before 1756, and by the whites as late as 1812. It required five or six hundred gallons of the water to make a bushel of salt."

"The Indians from North of the Ohio came to Big Bone Lick in the dry months of summer and fall to make salt, when the water, free from the dilution of rain water, was most strongly impregnated. It was here that in the fall of 1755 the Shawnees from the mouth of the Scioto came for that purpose, and brought with them Mrs. Mary Ingles, wife of William Ingles, of Ingles' Ferry, on the New River, Virginia, near the present crossing of the East Tennessee &

¹³ Johnston, *First Explorations of Kentucky* (Journals of Walker and Oist), p. 47.

¹⁴ *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, p. 108.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹⁶ *Explorations of Kentucky*, p. 183 et seq.

Virginia Railroad in Montgomery County. They had captured her July 5th of that year, with others, at the massacre of Draper's Meadows, and she had endured the terrible journey down the New and Kanawha rivers to the old Shawnee town in Ohio, and thence to the Lick. She was said to have been the first white woman in Kentucky. . . .

"In Volume III, Kentucky Geological Report, 1877, Professor N. S. Shaler, Director of the Geological Survey, speaking of the mineral springs of Kentucky 'as being but the brines of the early seas in which, millions of years ago, our rocks were laid down,' says on page 18: 'Moreover, the swampy grounds about these springs are filled with successive layers of buried animals belonging to the extinct life of the country. Elephants, mastodons, and many other animals which no longer live on our land lie buried by the thousand around the waters where they resorted for salt. Big Bone Lick, a territory of forty acres or more, is crowded with these remains, as interesting in their way as the ruins of Egypt. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance to science of a thorough study of these great burial-places; through such work we may be able to understand the nature of the great changes that swept away the vast creatures which occupied the earth before the time of man.'

"From Big Bone Lick buffalo roads led to Blue Licks, and also southwest to Drennon's Lick, in Henry County, thence to the crossing of the Kentucky just below Frankfort. From the valley of the river they then passed to the high ground east of Frankfort by a deeply worn road visible yet, known as the Buffalo Trace, to the Stamping Ground, in Scott County, a town named from the fact that the animals in vast herds would tread or stamp the earth while crowded together and moving around in the effort of those on the outside to get inside and thus secure protection from the flies. Thence they passed by the Great Crossing, so called from its being the place where they crossed Elkhorn, two miles west of Georgetown, and thence eastward to Blue Lick, May's Lick, and across the river into Ohio. Their roads formed in the comparatively level country the routes of the immigrants through the dense forests, impenetrable from the heavy cane, peavines, and other undergrowth. They also determined in many portions of the State not only the lines of travel and transportation, but also of settlement, as particularly shown between Maysville and Frankfort, a distance of about eighty miles, where the settlements were first made along the Buffalo road, and later the turnpike and railroad followed in close proximity to the route surveyed by this sagacious animal, which Mr. Benton said blazed the way for the railroad to the Pacific. The same idea is embodied in the vernacular of the unlettered Kentuckian who said that the then great road makers were 'the buffler, the Ingin, and the Engineer.'"

John Filson, describing the salt licks of Kentucky in 1784, states:

"Many fine salt springs constantly emit water, which, being manufactured, affords great quantities of fine salt. . . . The Noblick, and many others, do not produce water, but consist of clay mixed with salt particles: To these the cattle repair, and reduce high hills rather to valleys than plains. The amazing herds of Buffalo which resort thither, by their size and number, fill the traveller with amazement and terror, especially when he beholds the prodigious roads they have made from all quarters, as if leading to some populous city; the vast space of land around these springs desolated as if by a ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains; for the lands near those springs are chiefly hilly. These are truly curiosities, and the eye can scarcely be satisfied with admiring them."¹⁷

In considering the ancient Indian trails we should bear in mind the life, habits and surroundings of the Indian. These trails followed the lines of least resistance; they avoided rough, stony ground, briars, and close undergrowth such as is formed by laurel. This was to prevent undue wear on clothing or footgear and to save time.

During peace, or while in friendly territory, the Indians used the well-known trails such as we have mentioned. In enemy country they often avoided the customary trails purposely and took such courses as would render it hardest for the enemy to detect their presence. As opportunity offered they sought bare rocks or similar surfaces on which little or no impression was left, or the beds of streams where their tracks were soon obliterated.

In the wooded or mountainous regions of the central southern United States the Indians were forced to go in single file, and the paths were usually from 18 to 24 inches in width. On the open, grassy prairies of the Middle West, however, where there were no special obstacles, they proceeded en masse in such formation as suited their pleasure, and thus often made wide trails.

In the mountains, trails often led along the higher grounds and ridges where the undergrowth was not so dense and where there were fewer and smaller streams to cross. There, too, the road rose and fell less and the outlook for game and for enemies was wider. Where possible, trails passed through the lower gaps in the mountain ranges.

While the peoples who inhabited Tennessee undoubtedly changed from age to age, the topography of the State during the same period has remained substantially unaltered. The great settlements have always been in the richer valleys or on certain sites possessing other natural advantages: therefore the paths found and used by one people were, through a large portion of their length, followed by their successors, even though the terminal towns may have shifted somewhat, and some parts of them had become worn down below the

¹⁷ "The Discovery and Settlement of Kentucky," in Imlay's *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, pp. 304-305.

surface of the soil while other stretches might be almost invisible, save to the practiced eye of the Indian. Later, when the white man came, on foot or on horseback—and the Indians would permit—he used the same trails, and portions of them were later followed successively by the white man's wagon roads and the white man's railroads, so that several of the great State turnpikes and railroads follow substantially the paths of the ancient Indian and his animal predecessors. This is notably true of the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway in Tennessee and southern Kentucky, and of the Tennessee Central Railroad from Rockwood to Cookeville, Tenn.

The author has endeavored to locate faithfully on the accompanying maps as many of these ancient trails as possible, though it has not, of course, been within his power to establish clearly every foot of each route. They have been located by means of the numerous reports above mentioned, from traces which even yet can be found here and there in the undisturbed woodlands, from local traditions and ancient deeds, and from the maps of the early explorers. Authorities have been cited for the more important only, but no trail has been placed on the map without good reason therefor.

Few Indian names of trails have been preserved, such as we now possess being, for the most part, those given by the early whites, and usually of local origin. For example, the ancient trace leading from Middle Tennessee, via the junction of Big Bear Creek and Tennessee River, on to the Chickasaw towns in Mississippi, was by the early settlers in Middle Tennessee called, for obvious reasons, "The Chickasaw Trail," while the trail leading to the same towns from what is now Memphis, via Bolivar, was so called by early West Tennesseans. There were many similar instances.

Over much of the southeast water routes existed alongside of land trails, sometimes supplementing them, sometimes paralleling them, sometimes practically excluding them. The Mississippi River and its branches, the Pascagoula, the Mobile, including the Tombigbee and Alabama, the Apalachicola, the Altamaha, Savannah, Santee, and many minor streams were all utilized, as were the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, especially where there were series of lagoons protected by outside islands or bars, as along the northwest and east coasts of Florida and the coast of Georgia. On some of the more rapid interior streams water transportation was only in one direction, in which case canoes of elm or cypress bark, or even of hickory and other trees, or buffalo skins over a wooden framework, often took the place of the more substantial but heavier dugouts elsewhere almost universal.

A few instances of the last-mentioned type of inland navigation may be mentioned. When a party of Indians moving south on the great Warriors' Trail came to Powell's River, a few miles beyond

Cumberland Gap, they often made rude bark canoes in which they floated down to the Clinch, thence to the Tennessee and as far along the latter as they chose. Similarly Indians coming toward East Tennessee over the West Virginia trails sometimes made bark or hide canoes on the headwaters of the Powell and Clinch Rivers, in southwestern Virginia, on which they floated the entire navigable length of these streams, totalling sometimes 200 or 250 miles, as far as the junction of the Clinch with the Tennessee near Kingston, Tenn. There was so much water transportation past this point that Governor Blount caused Sevier to build a fort there to command the traffic. This fort was at Southwest Point, later known as Kingston, and quickly attained so much importance that it became a formidable candidate for capital of the new State. For further information on travel by water see the chapter on the Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail in Tennessee and Kentucky.¹⁸

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The investigation upon which this paper is based began with an intensive study of the trail system and antiquities of the State of Tennessee. The author does not deem it necessary or expedient to reproduce here the hundreds of reports obtained by him, relating to the trails and Indian remains in this State. These reports have come from well-informed and reliable people in each of the 96 counties. They were made by leading educators, local antiquarians, judges and other officials of the courts, civil engineers employed by the State highway department, and the leading Tennessee railroads. Especial mention must be made of the aid given by Gov. Thomas C. Rye and State Superintendent of Public Instruction S. W. Sherrell, who enabled the author to obtain reports from the superintendent of public instruction in each county. The State geologist, Dr. A. H. Purdue, and his assistants gave much valuable information. Hon. John H. DeWitt, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, sent an elaborate questionnaire to each member of his society, and Hon. Roscoe Nunn, secretary of the Tennessee Academy of Science, sent a similar questionnaire to each member of that body. Judge Robert Ewing, mayor of Nashville, also rendered much assistance.

All of the above reports were carefully studied and compared and the discrepancies investigated, and the author supplemented them with information gained from personal visits to every county, extending over a period of about 35 years. These visits necessitated many hundreds of miles of travel, in all manner of vehicles and in all kinds of weather.

¹⁸ A case of one-way transportation is given by Gabriel Arthur, according to whom bark canoes were used by his captors, the Tomahitan Indians, in a descent on Port Royal, S. C. If his account may be trusted, the river which they descended in this manner must have been the Savannah. See "Journeys of Needham and Arthur," in Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, p. 220.

Later the investigation was carried beyond the boundaries of Tennessee, with the help of early published and unpublished documents, and letters to and personal interviews with numerous citizens of the section.

The results of this work are shown in Plate 14, in which has been employed the scheme of conventions adopted for the Archæologic Cartography of North America, and in Plate 15.

LIST OF TRAILS

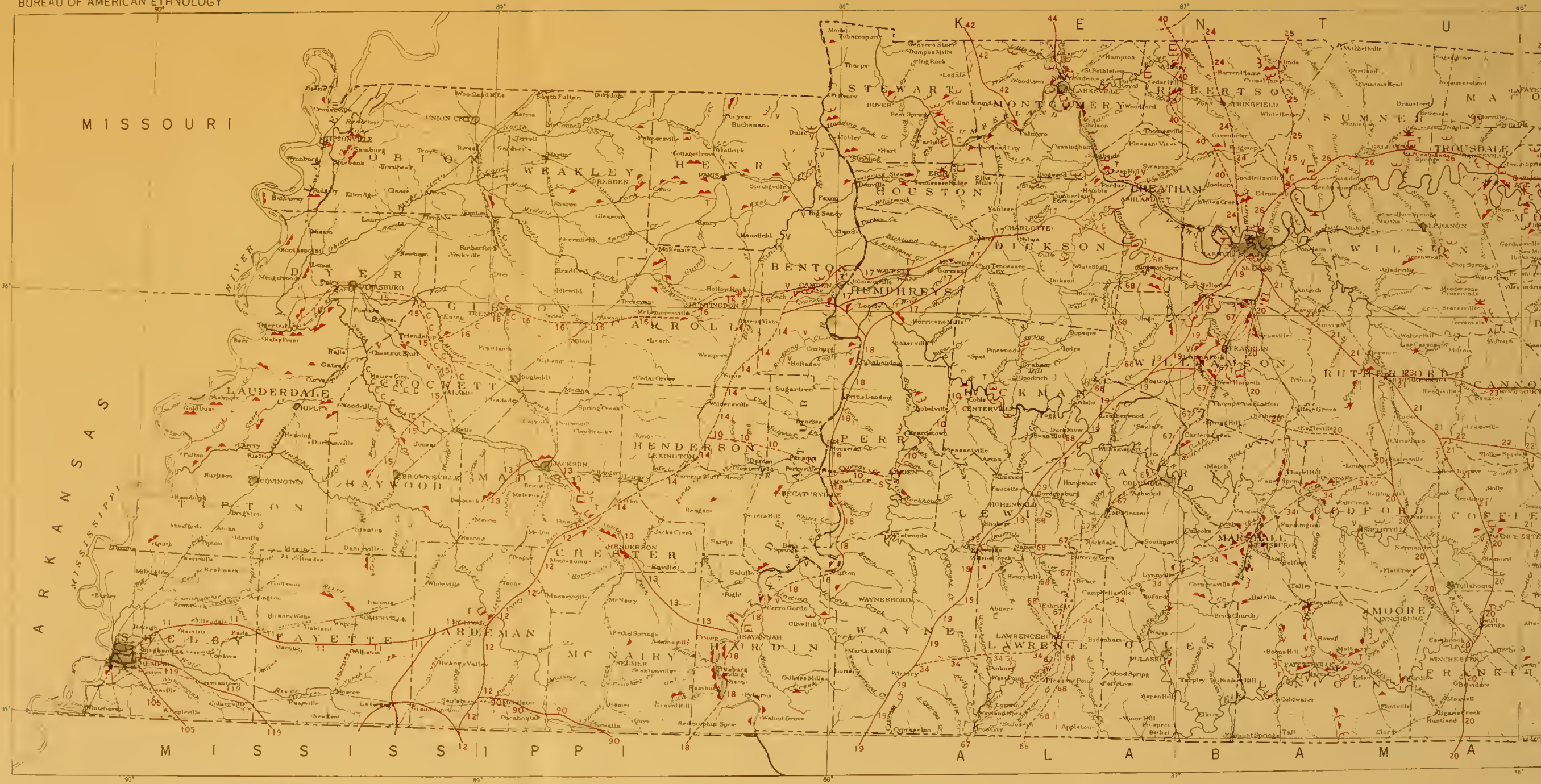
By JOHN R. SWANTON

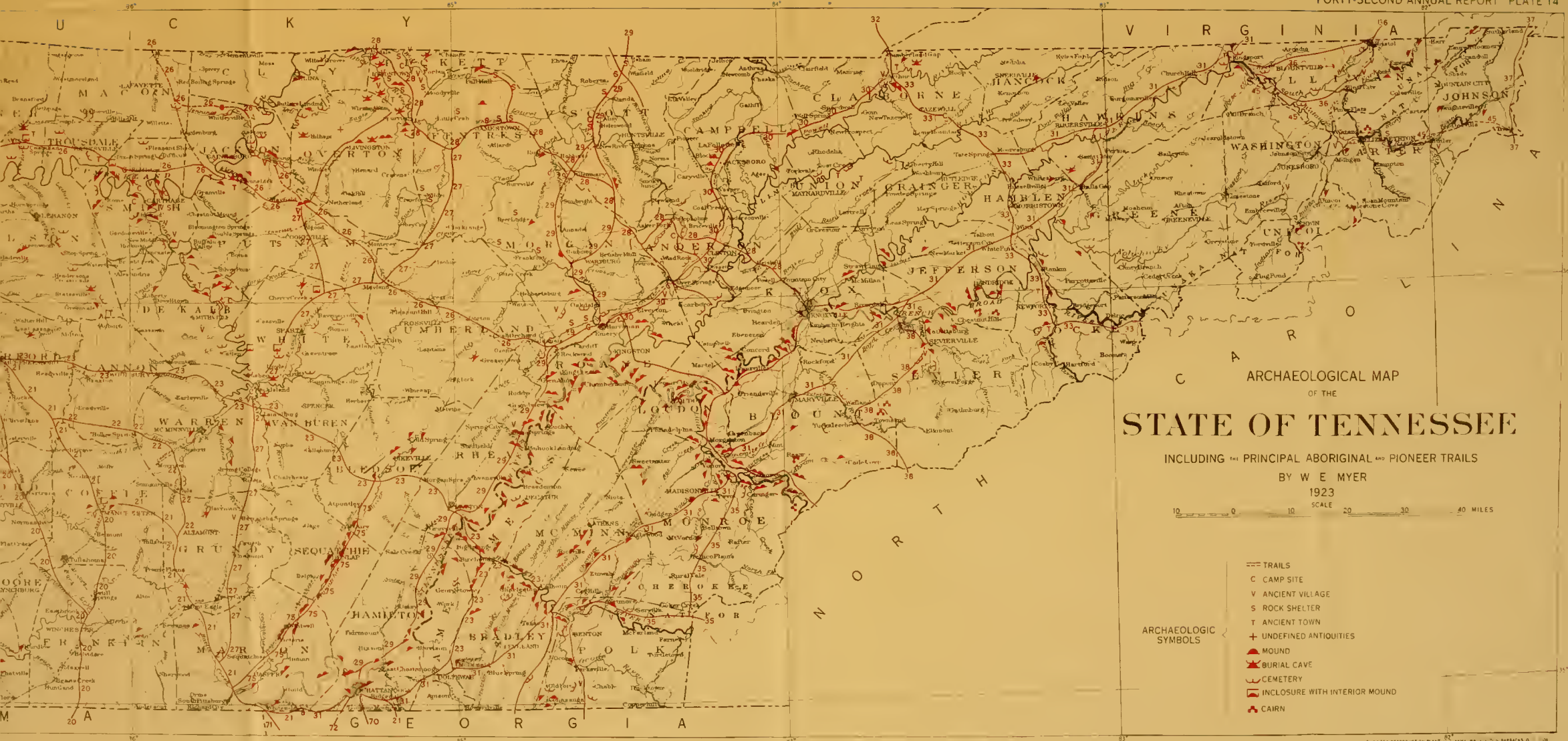
Most of the names in the following list were bestowed by Mr. Myer, and his numbers have been retained as far as possible. For trails left unnamed the editor has selected those designations which appealed to him as most appropriate and the numbers have been filled in so as to make a consecutive series. Occasionally it has been found necessary to introduce alterations in the numbers, and in a very few cases in the names also, but the bulk of these changes are of a kind which it would have been incumbent on the author himself to adopt had he lived long enough to prepare his work for the press. The starred trails are those which Mr. Myer has treated in his text.

The principal authority for trails 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 87, and parts of 19 and 80 was Charles C. Royce's report on "Indian Land Cessions in the United States" and the accompanying maps (18th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pt. 2, Washington, 1902); the principal authority for trails 60, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, and the South Carolina portion of 80 was the Mitchell Map of 1755; the principal authority for trails 62 and 70 was the Melish Map of 1814; the principal authority for trail 69 the De Crenay Map of 1733; and the principal authorities for trail 90 Phelan's History of Tennessee and Lusher's map reproduced by Malone in "The Chickasaw Nation" (Louisville, Ky., 1922). Lusher was also the chief source of information for the trail system of northern Mississippi.

- *1. Alanant-o-wamiowee (Buffalo Path).
2. The Big Bone Lick and Little Miami Trail.
- *3. The Licking Route.
- *4. The Big Bone-Blue Lick Trail.
- *5. The Wilderness Road.
6. Old Road from Fort Washington to Tennessee.
7. Old Kentucky State Road.
8. Pioneer Road from Harrodsburg to the Falls of the Ohio.
9. Pioneer Road from Lexington to the Falls of the Ohio.
10. Trail between Duck River and Beech River, Tennessee.
- *11. The Bolivar and Memphis Trail.
- *12. The West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail.
- *13. The Cisco and Savannah Trail.
14. The Cisco and Middle Tennessee Trail.
- *15. The Brownsville, Fort Ridge and Hale's Point Trail.
- *16. The Mississippi and Tennessee River Trail.

MISSOURI





ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP
OF THE
STATE OF TENNESSEE

INCLUDING THE PRINCIPAL ABORIGINAL AND PIONEER TRAILS

BY W E MYER

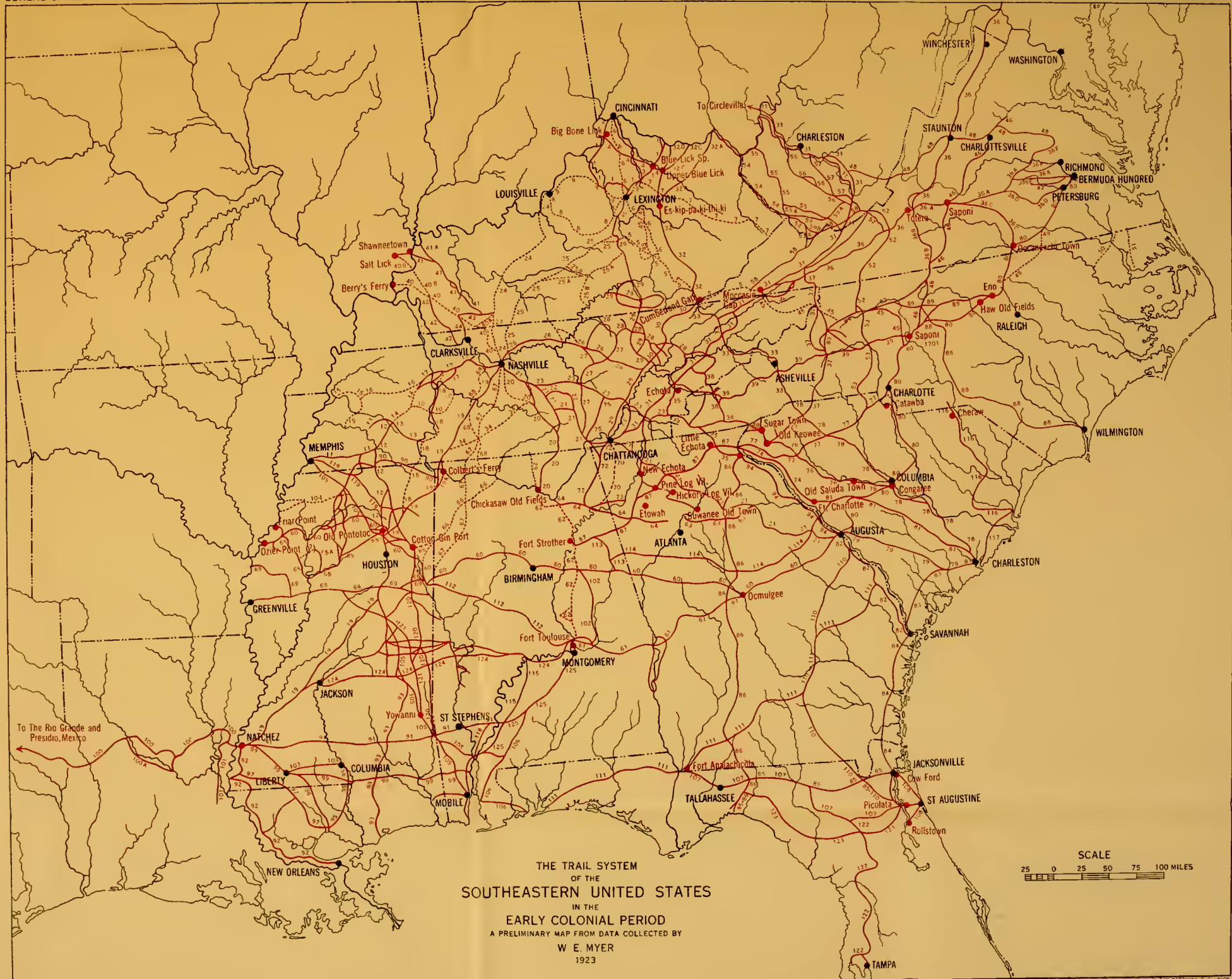
1923

SCALE 10 20 30 40 MILES

- ARCHAEOLOGIC SYMBOLS
- TRAILS
 - C CAMP SITE
 - V ANCIENT VILLAGE
 - S ROCK SHELTER
 - T ANCIENT TOWN
 - + UNDEFINED ANTIQUITIES
 - ▲ MOUND
 - ▲ BURIAL CAVE
 - ⊕ CEMETERY
 - ⊕ INCLOSURE WITH INTERIOR MOUND
 - ▲ CAIRN

- *17. The Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail.
- *18. The Duck River and Northeast Mississippi Trail.
- *19. The Natchez Trace or the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace.
- *20. The Great South Trail.
- *21. The Cisca and St. Augustine Trail.
- *22. The Nickajack Trail.
- *23. The Black Fox Trail.
- *24. The Cumberland and Ohio Falls Trail.
- *25. The Cumberland and Great Lakes Trail.
- *26. The Cumberland Trace.
- *27. The Chickamauga Path.
- 28. The East and West Trail.
- *29. The Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail.
- *30. The Clinch River and Cumberland Gap Trail.
- *31. The Great Indian Warpath.
- *32, 32A, 32B, 32C. The Warriors' Path in Kentucky.
- 33. The Catawba Trail.
- *34. The Old Waterloo Road.
- 35. The Unicoi Turnpike.
- *36. The Chesapeake Branch of the Great Indian Warpath.
- 37. The Old Cherokee Path to Virginia.
- 38. The Tuckaleechee and Southeastern Trail.
- *39. Rutherford's War Trace.
- *40. The Nashville-Saline River Trail.
- *41. The Russellville-Shawncetown Trail.
- *42. The Palmyra-Princeton Trail.
- *43. The Russellville-Hopkinsville Trail.
- 44. The Clarksville-Hopkinsville Trail.
- *45. Boone's Trail from the Yadkin River to Boonesborough.
- 46. The Saura-Saponi Trail.
- 47. Trail from Bermuda Hundred to Amelia.
- 48. The trail between Pamunkey and New Rivers.
- 49. Pioneer Road from Petersburg to Tar River.
- 50. Pioneer Road between Virginia and Roanoke River.
- 51. Pioneer Road between Virginia and Albemarle Sound.
- 52. The New River and Southern Trail.
- 53. The Catawba and Northern Trail.
- *54. The Big Sandy Trail.
- *55, 55A. The Guyandot Trail.
- *56. The Coal River Trail.
- *57. The Paint Creek Trail.
- *58. The New River and Cumberland Gap Trail.
- *59, 59A, 59B. Trail along the North Fork of Tug River.
- 60. The Lower Creek Trading Path.
- 61. The Augusta, Macon, Montgomery, and Mobile Trail.
- 62. Route of Gen. Jackson's army when invading the Creek country.
- 63. Hightower Path.
- 64. The Old Road from the Tennessee River to Georgia.
- 65. The Chakehiuma Trails.
- *66. Gaines's Trace (according to Royce).
- 67. General Jackson's Old Military Road.
- 68. Route of General Jackson's expedition against the Indians in 1787.
- 69. Route from Tombigbee River to the mouth of the Arkansas.
- 70. Route followed by General Cox's Army (Melish map, 1814).
- 71. Long Island and Trenton (Lookout Mountain Town) Trail.

72. The Chattanooga-Willstown Road.
73. The Old Creek Path.
74. The Old Path from Fort Charlotte to the Cherokee Country.
- *75. The Sequatchie Trail.
76. The Old Cherokee Trading Path.
77. The Lower Cherokee Traders' Path prior to 1775.
78. The Old South Carolina State Road to the North.
79. The trail from Fort Moore (Augusta) to Charleston.
- *80. The Occaneechi Path.
81. The trail from Charleston to Fort Charlotte.
82. The trail from Augusta to Savannah.
83. The trail from Charleston to Savannah.
84. The trail from Savannah to Jacksonville.
85. The trail from St. Augustine and Jacksonville to Apalachee Bay.
86. The trail from Tugaloo to Apalachee Bay.
87. The Old Indian Path between Coosa and Tugaloo.
88. The Wilmington, High Point, and Northern Trail.
89. The Oconee Path.
- *90. The Cherokee Trace.
- *91. The trail from Natchez to the Lower Creeks.
92. The trail from Natchez to New Orleans.
93. The trail from Bay St. Louis to the Choctaw.
94. The trail from Augusta to the Cherokee via Fort Charlotte.
95. Trail between Pearl River and Lake Pontchartrain.
96. Trail between Natchez and Lake Pontchartrain.
97. Trail between the Tunica and Lake Pontchartrain.
98. Trail East from Baton Rouge.
- *99. The trail from Mobile to Natchez.
- *100. The Natchez and Texas Trail.
101. Trail between Natchez and the Atehafalaya.
102. The Tallapoosa Trail.
103. Trail between Columbia and Liberty, Mississippi.
104. The Chickasaw-Tunica Old Fields Trail.
- *105. The Memphis, Pontotoe, and Mobile Bay Trail.
- *106. Trail from the Upper Creeks to Pensacola.
- *107. Trail from St. Augustine to the mouth of Flint River.
108. Trail from Palatka to Jacksonville.
109. Trail from Picolata to Jacksonville.
110. Trail from Augusta to St. Augustine.
- *111. Old Trading Path from the Savannah to Pensacola.
112. The Alabama-Chickasaw Trail.
113. The Okfuskee Trail.
114. The Middle Creek Trading Path.
115. The trail from Selma to Mobile.
116. Trail from Winyah Bay to the Cheraws.
117. Trail from Charleston to Winyah Bay.
118. Trail from Mobile to the Lower Creeks.
- *119. The Middle Memphis-Pontotoe Trail.
120. The Cotton Gin Port, St. Stephens, and Mobile Bay Trail.
121. The Choctaw and Mobile Bay Middle Route.
122. Trail from Alachua to Tampa Bay.
123. The Southern St. Augustine-Apalachee Trail.
124. The Alabama, Choctaw, and Natchez Trail.
125. The Alabama and Mobile Trail.

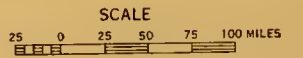


THE TRAIL SYSTEM
OF THE
SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES

IN THE
EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

A PRELIMINARY MAP FROM DATA COLLECTED BY

W. E. MYER
1923



THE GREAT INDIAN WARPAT

(Trail No. 31)

The Great Indian Warpath ran from the Creek country in Alabama and Georgia, through the East Tennessee Cherokee settlements, to Long Island in the Holston River, dividing near what is now Kingsport, Sullivan County, Tenn. Here the fork which we have called the Chesapeake branch (Trail No. 36) led off to the north-east through Virginia, into Pennsylvania and beyond. The other, which we have called the Ohio branch, led up the Holston Valley to the north fork of the Holston by what is now Saltville, Va., to the New River, and thence down the New and Kanawha Rivers to the Indian settlements in eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania.

This trail is often mentioned by early white visitors to the Cherokee country. It is shown on the "Map of Cumberland and Franklin" in Ramsey's "Annals of Tennessee," opposite page 376, and on Royce's "Map of the former territorial limits of the Cherokee Nation of Indians," etc.¹⁹ It was one of the great trading and war paths between the northern and southern tribes, was intimately connected with the prehistoric migrations of the aborigines, and in later times saw the passage of those men and armies which made history for the Indians and for the whites.²⁰

The course of the Great Indian Warpath in Tennessee.—This warpath of necessity had many branches, as it passed through a maze of local trails among the numerous Cherokee towns in Tennessee, and this accounts for many apparent discrepancies in the narratives of early visitors as to its location, the visitor often giving his local branch as the main route. The route through Tennessee laid down in Royce's map is reasonably correct but does not show all of the local branches.²¹ It continued on from the junction of Moccasin Creek

¹⁹ In the Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

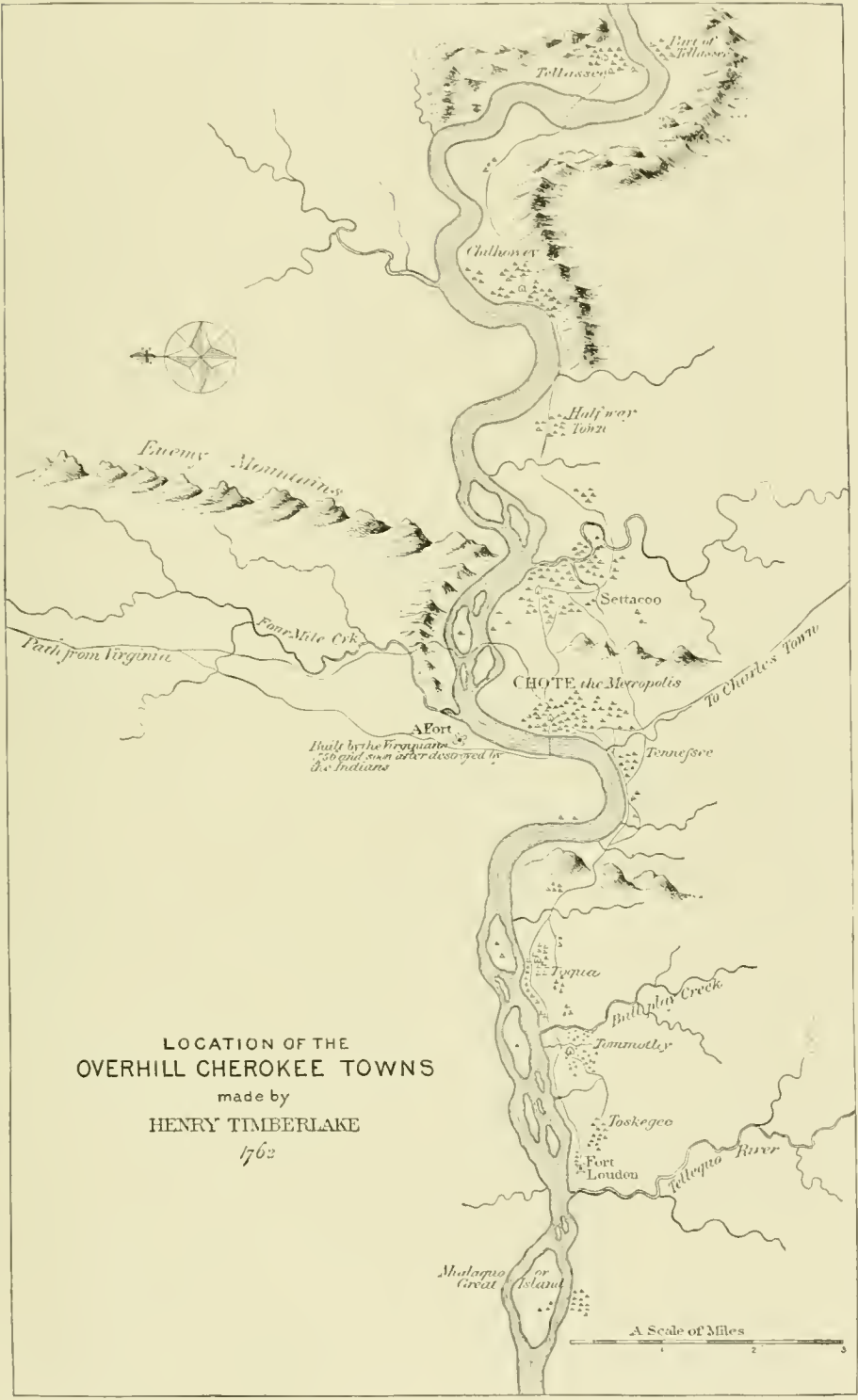
²⁰ See Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 63-65. For an account of the wars between the Iroquois and Cherokee, see Mooney, in *Nineteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, pt. 1, pp. 351-352.

²¹ "When the pioneers of Tennessee settled in the south-western part of Virginia, and the coterminous portions of North-Carolina, the country had ceased to be, perhaps had never been, the settled residence of any of the more modern aboriginal tribes. At this time it was the common hunting grounds of the Shawnees, Cherokees and other southern Indians. But east and north of the Tennessee river, there was not a single Indian hut. Still, along the vallies of what is now East Tennessee and Southwestern Virginia, lay the great route and thoroughfare between the northern and southern Indians, in their intercourse with distant tribes, in their hunting excursions, in their hostile expeditions and in their embassies of peace; this was the path of migration, the chase, the treaty and savage invasion. Besides its central position and its direct bearing, the great Apalachian chain could no where else be so easily ascended and crossed. Abundance of game, water and fuel, a healthful and moderate climate, an unoccupied territory, no impracticable swamps, or deep and wide streams to retard their journeyings, were all considerations which led to the selection of this path. One branch of it was nearly the same as the present stage route passing the Big Lick, in Bottetourt county, Virginia; crossing New River at old Fort Chissel, near Inglis' Ferry, Holston at the Seven Mile Ford, thence to the left of the present stage road and near to the river, to the North Fork, crossing as at present; thence to Big Creek and crossing the Holston at Dodson's Ford, to the Grassy Springs, near the residence of the late Micajah Lea; thence down the waters of Nollichuky to Long Creek, ascending that stream to its source, and descending Dumpling Creek to a point a few miles from its mouth, where the path deflected to the left and crossed French Broad near Buckingham's Island. Near this, the path divided. One branch of it [Trail No. 38] went up the west fork of Little Pigeon, and

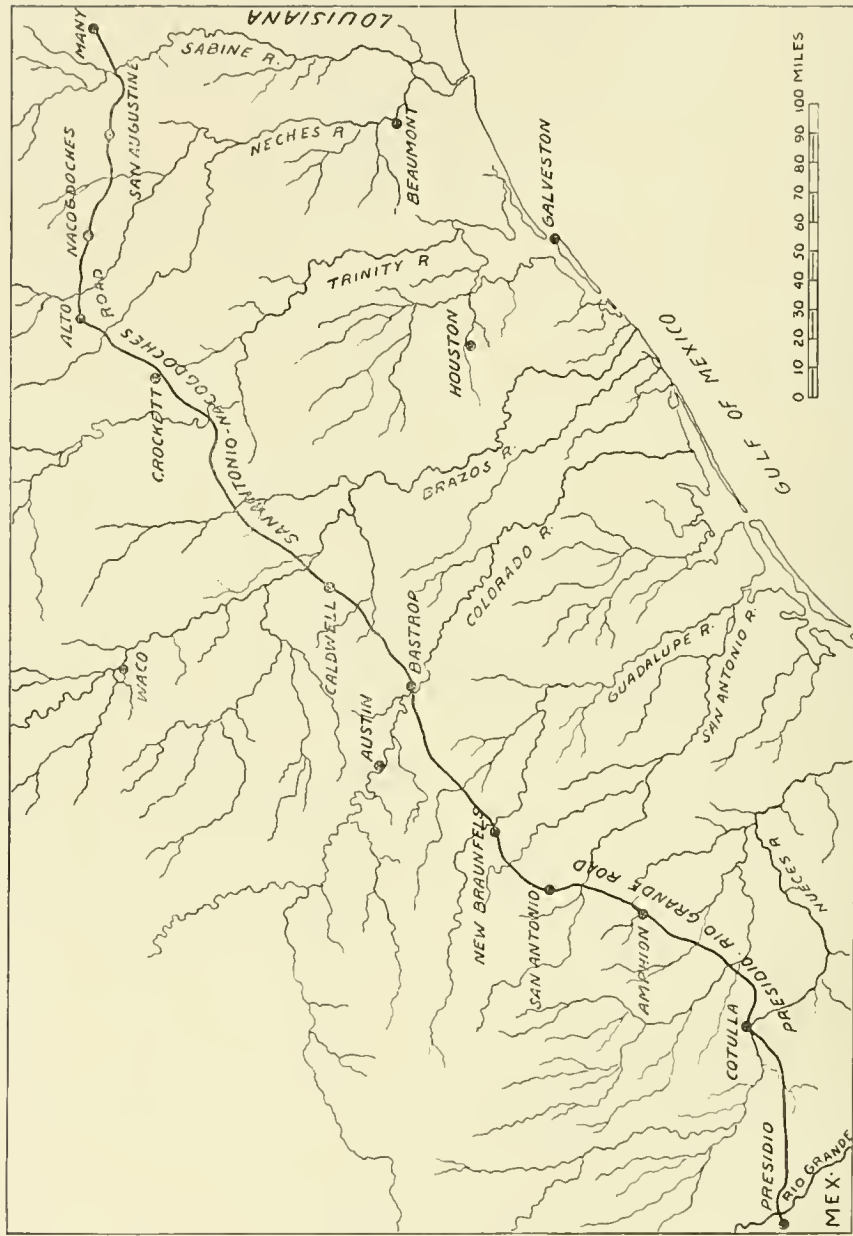
with the north fork of the Holston just above the Tennessee line, passed the junction of the north and south forks of the Holston at Long Island, and went down the west side of the Holston, crossing Big Creek at its mouth and the Holston to its east side at Dodson's Creek. Thence it continued up along the east side of Dodson's Creek and across Big Gap Creek, which it followed for a short distance and, going on toward the southwest, just touching Nolchuky River, it passed up the west side of Long Creek, went down Dumpling Creek, and crossed French Broad just below the mouth of Dumpling.

Here branched off the Tuckaleechee and Southeastern Trail (No. 38) which led off to the southeast through Tuckaleechee Cove, and on through the passes in the Great Smoky Mountains to the middle and lower Cherokee settlements in western North Carolina and northwestern South Carolina. From the crossing just below the mouth of Dumpling the main trail went along the west side of Boyd's Creek to its head and down the west side of Ellijay Creek to and across Little River, then through what is now Maryville, and from there southwestward to the Little Tennessee River at the mouth of Tellico Creek, near the site of Old Fort Loudon. From the latter place it passed up along the south side of Little Tennessee River, through numerous Cherokee towns and fields, to Echota, the ancient capital and peace town of the Cherokee, after which it continued southwest across Tellico Creek, passed along the ridge between Chestua and Canasauga Creeks, crossing the Canasauga near its mouth, and Hiwassee River at the old Cherokee town of Hiwassee. It now continued southwest across the Ocoee River near its mouth, passing south of what is now Cleveland, through the present Ooltewah, southwest to Old Chickamauga Town, on Chickamauga Creek, and thence on to the old Indian town of Citico, at the mouth of Citico Creek, in the suburbs of Chattanooga. Farther on it connected the Cherokee towns and settlements of Running Water and Nickajack with that at the Great Creek Crossing at Long Island (now Bridgeport Island) in Tennessee River, near Bridgeport, Ala. At Bridgeport Island it met several important trails leading to numerous

crossed some small mountains to the Tuckaleechee towns, and so on to the Over-hill villages of the Cherokees. The other and main fork, went up Boyd's Creek to its source, and falling upon the head branches of Allejay, descended its valley to Little River, and crossing near Henry's, went by the present town of Maryville, to the mouth of Tellico, and passing through the Indian towns and villages of Tellico, Chota and Hiwassee, descended the Coosa, where it connected with the Great War Path of the Creeks. Near the Wolf Hills, now Abingdon, another path came in from the north-west, which pursued nearly the same route now travelled from the latter place to Kentucky, and crossing the mountain at that remarkable depression called Cumberland Gap. It was along this path that the earlier English explorers and hunters first passed to Kentucky, and through it the Rockcastle and Ohio savages often penetrated, to molest and break up the early settlements upon New River and Holston."—Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 87-88.



LOCATION OF THE
OVERHILL CHEROKEE TOWNS
made by
HENRY TIMBERLAKE
1762



THE CAMINO REAL IN TEXAS (AFTER ZIVELY)

points in Georgia and Alabama and others which went into Middle Tennessee and the country beyond.²²

We reproduce in Plate 16 Timberlake's map of the Over-hill Cherokee towns in 1762,²³ which shows the Great Warpath ("Path from Virginia") entering ancient Echota ("Chote, the Metropolis"). It also gives the well-known path leading from Echota to the sea at Charleston and Savannah (Trail No. 35). Timberlake's map illustrates the large number of paths which were found in all thickly settled Indian regions, and among other things shows that just before this warpath crossed the river to enter Chote it came to "A Fort built by the Virginians [in] 1756 and soon after destroyed by the Indians." It also shows Fort Loudon at the mouth of "Tellico River" where the massacre occurred in 1760 which has taken such deep hold on the imagination of our people.

THE OHIO BRANCH

The main or Ohio prong of the Great Indian Warpath led from the forks of the trail at Long Island, Sullivan County, Tenn., up the valley of the north fork of Holston River, and past the recently discovered site of an ancient Indian town on the east side of the Holston Valley, about 6 miles northeast of the present village of Abram's Falls, in Washington County, Va.

This town was evidently deserted long before historic times, for no hint of its former existence reached the early white visitors. That it was a place of some importance and inhabited for many years is shown by the great number of skeletons of its one-time

²² The Indian crossing place at Long Island (also called Bridgeport Island) on Tennessee River near Bridgeport, Ala., known to the early whites in Middle Tennessee as the "Old Creek Crossing," was a natural gateway for aboriginal travel. The Cisca and St. Augustine trail, the Nickajack trail, the Chickamunga path, all crossed the Tennessee River at this point. Several other great paths leading through Georgia to Middle Tennessee and the North used it, as does the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Rail way to-day.

Its importance as a trading point was quickly grasped by all early white visitors to this region. On the French map of Guillaume De l'Isle, published in 1722, an island is shown at about the location of Long Island or the Old Creek Crossing, on one end of which a village of "Casquinampo" Indians is located, on the other a village of "Caskighi" (Tuskegee). This information De l'Isle probably obtained from those French traders who began passing up the Tennessee River as early as 1701.

There is an old manuscript map of this region in the British Archives, a copy of which was given to the Historical Society of South Carolina. It is undated but experts think it belongs to about the year 1715. An island on this also corresponds in location to the Long Island at Old Creek Crossing. In its center a French fort is located, with the words: "Since ye Warre a French Fort." It shows a village of "Cusatees" (probably Koasati) at either end. The author finds on another old map in the Library of Congress, "Carte de la Louisiane par N. Bellin," published in Paris in 1744, a "Fort et Poste Anglois" at what appears to be the same location, showing that about that time the English had a fort and trading post here. On account of its importance as a trading point and the command it assured of the river, it is evident that its possession was eagerly sought by both the French and the English.

The Cherokee came to Long Island after its successive occupations by the Casquinampo, "Caskighi," and Cusatees, probably after 1740.

Explorations by Mr. Clarence B. Moore in 1914 (Aboriginal Sites on the Tennessee River, p. 331) show that there was a village site on the lower end of the island. He found three mounds there, one on the Tennessee side of the Tennessee-Alabama State line and two in Alabama. The owner was unwilling to permit digging on the island, and consequently we do not know whether vestiges of a village on the upper end could be unearthed.

²³ Timberlake, Memoirs.

inhabitants which were found in two burial caves or cavern shelters in the adjoining mountain side. These burial caves were discovered in January, 1922, and announcement was immediately made by telegraph to the writer and Dr. A. Hrdlička by Col. Samuel L. King, of Bristol, Tenn. Colonel King states: "The caves were discovered by an enterprising moonshiner looking for a suitable location for a still [fact]." In his search, a round, well-like opening was found in the bottom of a small depression, and, descending by means of a rope, the searcher found at the bottom of the "well" a cave, where, immediately underneath the "well" opening, to his utter astonishment, he came upon an irregular mound of earth and stones with which some human bones were indiscriminately mingled. Doctor Hrdlička visited this site in February, and reported that this mound-like pile was an irregular oval, approximately 8 feet high, about 80 feet long, and 30 feet in width. The bodies appeared to have been brought down the well-like crevice and placed near the walls of the cave. The mound of earth had gradually accumulated by washings from the surface above and the stones had fallen from the roof of the cavern-shelter. The human bones had in some way become moved from their original positions near the side of the cave, probably by animals, and were mingled with this gradually accumulating mound, which appeared to contain the badly scattered fragments of several hundred human skeletons. Most of the bones were more or less broken.

Another near-by burial cave was also reported to contain a large number of fragments of human bones, and Colonel King was told later of still other burial caves in the neighborhood.

This skeletal material seems to suggest the Cherokee type.

From this ancient village site the trail continued on up the valley of the Holston about 25 miles until it reached the great salt lick at what was known to the early whites as King's Salt Works, from a settler who began the manufacture of salt at this point about 1810. As the place grew in importance it became known as Saltville, and, although the deposit has been worked for over 100 years, it continues to furnish great quantities of salt and is the site of a large manufacturing establishment in the products of which salt plays an important part.

The first white men who came to this salt lick found a small shallow lake covering a portion of the little valley, a great resort for waterfowl, and on or near its marshy edge in the trail-cut valley they discovered several bones which proved to belong to the mastodon, *Megalonyx* and other large extinct animals of the Pleistocene period. Some of the bones of these animals the reader may see, if he so desire, at the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh.

The old Cherokee path to Virginia (No. 37).—At Saltville the Ohio prong was joined by the old Cherokee path to Virginia, in existence

before 1775, which passed through the Carolinas and the extreme northeastern corner of Tennessee before reaching this point.

Route of the Ohio prong from Saltville to Kanawha Falls (No. 31 continued).—Although we have made diligent inquiry, we have been unable to locate the course of the Ohio prong between Saltville and the falls of the Kanawha with any degree of certainty. The existence of such a trail is well known, but it ran through a wild country with a poor soil and one that did not attract the aborigines; nor did it lie in such a position as to be used and thus emphasized by the oncoming wave of early white immigration. Probably this portion of the trail led from Saltville via the North Holston Valley along the west side of Lick Creek, up the Hunting Camp Creek Fork of Clear Fork, through Rocky Gap, and thence along the ridges between the Bluestone and New Rivers to the mouth of the former stream. The evidence for that portion of the route near the Bluestone is strengthened by the fact that there are some ancient Indian remains in Mercer County, where the trail crosses the eighty-first meridian, about 5 miles in a straight line southwest of Elgood. There it crossed New River, and probably went 1 or 2 miles to the east of Hinton, passing along the ridge about 3 miles east of Ramp, 2 miles west of Grassy Meadows and 3 miles west of Rainelle. About 4 miles west of Rainelle it was joined by a trail (No. 48) which led up from central Virginia, through White Sulphur Springs, Lewisburg, and Rainelle. From this point the Ohio prong followed the course of the old turnpike from Virginia which led along the Flat Top Mountain to the falls of the Kanawha. Local tradition affirms that this portion of the old road to Virginia followed an Indian trail. The fact that it left the valley for the ridge is confirmed by the following quotation from George Washington's "Tour to the Ohio."²⁴ Speaking of the Kanawha River he says:

"The river is easily passed with canoes to the falls, which can not be less than one hundred miles, but further it is not possible to go with them; that there is but one ridge from thence to the settlements upon the river above, on which it is possible for a man to travel, the country between being so much broken with steep hills and precipices."

From Saltville another fork of the Ohio prong led up the narrowing valley of the north fork of the Holston to its head northeast of Ceres in Bland County, Va. Thence it passed to the head of Walker Creek, a distance of less than 2 miles, and on down Walker Creek to its junction with New River.²⁵ It is probable that many travelers bound north from Saltville took this Walker Creek route, made canoes at the junction of Walker Creek and New River and floated down the swift New River to Kanawha Falls. Southbound travelers,

²⁴ Sparks, *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. II, p. 529.

²⁵ The author questions this sentence, evidently feeling doubtful of its complete accuracy.

who would have been compelled to force canoes up New River, probably used the land route via Rainelle.

Route down the Kanawha.—From Kanawha Falls the Ohio prong proceeded down Kanawha Valley. Some travelers probably went in canoes while others took the land trail as far as some Indian settlements along the Ohio River, near the mouth of the Kanawha. George Washington visited this region in 1770, and he relates ²⁶ that at that time the Ohio prong crossed the Ohio at the mouth of what is now Mill Creek, in the Great Bend.

“At this place begins what they call the Great Bend. Two miles below, on the east side, comes in another creek, just below an island, on the upper point of which are some dead standing trees, and a parcel of white-bodied sycamores; in the mouth of this creek lies a sycamore blown down by the wind. From hence an east line may be run three or four miles; thence a north line till it strikes the river, which I apprehend would include about three or four thousand acres of valuable land. At the mouth of this creek is the warriors’ path to the Cherokee country. For two miles and a half below this the Ohio runs a north-east course, and finishes what they call the Great Bend.”

Washington makes no mention of the crossing at the site of the old abandoned Shawnee town on the Ohio 3 miles upstream from the mouth of the Kanawha. The local branch of the Ohio prong, which formerly reached this Shawnee town, was probably so little used at that time as not to be noticeable. On page 527 of the work quoted Washington records:

“November 1st.—Before eight o’clock we set off with our canoe up the river, to discover what kind of lands lay upon the Kanawha. The land on both sides this river just at the mouth is very fine; but on the east side, when you get toward the hills, which I judge to be about six or seven hundred yards from the river, it appears to be wet, and better adapted for meadow than tillage. This bottom continues up the east side for about two miles; and by going up the Ohio a good tract might be got of bottom land, including the old Shawnee Town, which is about three miles up the Ohio, just above the mouth of a creek.”

The ancient Kanawha River settlements reached by this trail.—From Kanawha Falls to the junction of the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers this Ohio prong passed through a region which was occupied in succession by several different Indian tribes. Most of these occupancies were so old that the Indians of the period of 1750 appear not to have had even a tradition regarding them.

²⁶ Sparks, Writings of George Washington, vol. II, p. 526.

The remains left by some of these peoples were to be seen in the year 1890 at many places, but here we have space to enumerate only a few.

Fayette County.—Peculiar stone heaps and stone walls on both sides of the Kanawha at Mount Carbon.

Kanawha County.—The Clifton works, on which the present village of Clifton is located.

A rock wall fortification commanding the only easy approach to a natural fortress on top of the bluffs at the junction of Paint Creek and the Kanawha.

The ancient works at Brownstown.

The peculiar mounds in the deep valley of Len's Creek.

An interesting circular inclosure, 200 feet in diameter, on Elk River, 1 mile north of Charleston.

A series of mounds and other evidences of ancient inhabitants, for a distance of several miles up the Elk.

In a low gap, 5 miles up Elk River from Charleston, the trace of an ancient trail leading from these old Indian sites to the Ohio prong running along the Kanawha at Charleston.

The works and mounds near St. Albin, on Coal River, 2 miles above its mouth.

Traces of what was once a very large town, if indeed it should not be called a city, are to be found along the Kanawha, extending below Charleston from 3 to 8 miles. Late in the seventeenth century a Siouan town occupied by the Moneton tribe is thought to have been located near this site.²⁷ For a lengthy description of the remains here see Thomas in Twelfth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, pages 414 to 428.

Putnam County.—Continuing down the Kanawha, the Ohio prong touched the settlements of which the mounds and inclosure on the southern side of the Kanawha just below Winfield are the remains.

Mason County.—Farther down the Kanawha the trail struck settlements marked by the fine mounds on the land of Gen. John McCausland,²⁸ of which the following is a description:

“On the high bottom land of Gen. John McCausland, on the south side of the river, near the Putnam County line, are five mounds, from 30 to 90 feet in diameter and 4 to 8 feet high. In one of these were found the fragments of a large pot. Like nearly all the mound pottery of this section it was composed of pounded stone and clay. The pottery from the kitchen-middens nearly always contains pulverized shells instead of stone.”

²⁷ See Alvord and Bidgood, *First Expl. of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, pp. 221-222. The name has sometimes been spelled erroneously Mohetan, and Mooney has unfortunately copied this error in *Bulletin 22, Bur. Ethn.*

²⁸ Thomas, *Report on Mound Explorations*, p. 435.

There are large numbers of mounds and large burial rock heaps on this trail in other parts of the county.

"From Kanawha falls to the mouth of the river are abundant evidences that the valley has been occupied by the builders of the hard-cored mounds, and subsequently by a people who accumulated kitchen-middens and buried in them or in low mounds which shovel like ashes or alluvial soil. The hard-cored, conical mounds and the large ones having vaults are invariably on the high bottoms not subject to overflow; while the refuse heaps are upon either the first or second terrace. Though the different works are often near together, with the single exception of those on the Goshorn place they never intermingle, as though the later comers were careful not to intrude upon the grounds occupied by the more ancient works.

"Five miles above the mouth of the Kanawha, on the south side, on the farm of Charles E. McCulloch, is the largest mound in this section. Unlike most of the large mounds, it is not on the river bottom, but on a sloping terrace nearly a hundred feet higher, and after long cultivation is still 20 feet high and fully 300 feet in circumference. The old war trail [the Ohio prong (W. E. M.)] is said to have crossed the spur upon which it stands just below it. . . .

* * * * *

"Numerous rock etchings were formerly to be found along this part of the Kanawha valley, but most of these have been destroyed; yet enough remain to show their rude character.

"On the Miller farm, 3 miles above the mouth of the Kanawha, is a rock which has rolled down from the cliffs and lodged near the ancient trail. The face of this detached fragment, some 20 feet long by 4 wide, is covered with figures of animals, birds (one double-headed), serpents, etc.²⁹

"Immediately south of the Kanawha river, in West Virginia and extending southward into Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, the pecked or sculptured petroglyphs are replaced by painted figures of a style differing from the Algonquian," etc.³⁰

It is as yet impossible to identify all of the earlier tribes whose remains are found on the Ohio prong along Kanawha River, but archeologists and ethnologists are gradually uncovering facts which will solve some of the problems. Some of the copper gorgets from these early remains closely resemble gorgets found around Nashville, Tennessee, and on the Tennessee River in northern Alabama. Certain of the curious works resemble those found in Ohio. The remains show clearly the influence of a location of this kind on an important trail.

Junction of trails at the mouth of the Kanawha.—At the Ohio crossing at the mouth of the Kanawha the Ohio prong met several in-

²⁹ Thomas, Report on Mound Explorations, pp. 436-437.

³⁰ Mallery in 10th Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 46; see also p. 124.

portant trails in both West Virginia and Ohio, which led along the Ohio River to the many ancient settlements in the immediate Ohio Valley. The main trail went in a northwestwardly direction to the thickly populated Indian region around Circleville, in Pickaway County, Ohio, and from there lines of communication radiated in all directions. One of the most important was the Great Warriors' Trail which the continuation of the Ohio prong here met. This Great Warriors' Trail, coming up from the South through Tennessee and Kentucky, continued on via old Mingo Town (now Columbus), Wyandot Old Town (near the upper Sandusky in Wyandot County), and thence down the Sandusky River valley to Sandusky Bay on Lake Erie, where it connected with numerous land and water routes. Thus ended a great through trail running from the east around Charleston and Sandusky to Lake Erie at Sandusky Bay.

Migrations along the Great Indian Warpath.—The Great Indian Warpath with its various prongs has been the route of many migrations of people as well as many bands of warriors. Possibly it was by this trail that the Cherokee reached their later homes in the southern Appalachians. Many war parties of Iroquois passed along it to strike as far south as northern Alabama, and typical examples of its use by them may be found in George Washington's journals of his visits to the Ohio. In 1753, when he was at an Indian town on that river near the present site of Pittsburgh, he says:

“. . . We met here with 20 Warriors who were going to the *Southward* to War: But coming to a Place upon the Head of the great *Kunnaway*, where they found seven People killed and scalped (all but one Woman with very light Hair) they turned about and ran back for Fear the Inhabitants should rise and take them as the Authors of the Murder. They report that the Bodies were lying about the House, and some of them much torn and eaten by Hogs: By the Marks which were left, they say they were *French* Indians of the *Ottoway* Nation, &c. who did it.”³¹

When Washington visited the Ohio in 1770, 17 years later, and stopped at the Mingo town a few miles above the mouth of the Kanawha, his party “found and left more than 60 warriors of the Six Nations, going to the Cherokee country to proceed to war against the Catawbas.”³²

Thus along this trail the red warriors passed to and fro. From the North the Iroquois sallied forth against the Cherokee, Catawba, or other southern tribes, and from the South again and again went war parties of the latter nations to surprise and harass their northern enemies.

The Ohio prong an Indian Mason and Dixon's line.—The Ohio prong in West Virginia and its extension through Circleville to

³¹ Journal of Maj. George Washington, p. 39.

³² Sparks, in Writings of George Washington, vol. II, p. 521.

Sandusky Bay in Ohio was not only a pathway but it was what might be called an Indian Mason and Dixon's line. The linguistic map shows that it was the dividing line, roughly speaking, except at its northern end, between the Algonkians and the northern section of the Iroquoian stock.^{32a}

The immediate vicinity of the mouth of Walker Creek, in Giles County, Va., where one branch of the Ohio prong started down New River, was a connecting point between aboriginal tribes and linguistic stocks—Algonkian, Iroquoian, and Siouan—and later became such for the white man's States.

Near this point the first corner of the short-lived State of Franklin was also laid down.³³

That the Indians realized it was such a boundary is brought out by the fact that the route of the Ohio prong through West Virginia and the route of "The Cherokee path to Virginia before 1775" in North Carolina, constituted the extreme limit of the Cherokee claim on the east and northeast,³⁴ and the route down the New and the Kanawha was the eastern boundary of the great tract conveyed by the same tribe to the English in the treaty of October 18, 1770, at Lochaber, South Carolina.³⁵

THE CHESAPEAKE BRANCH

(Trail No. 36)

We have designated the second prong of the Great Indian War-path the Chesapeake Branch because its various ramifications led through Virginia to the Chesapeake Bay and beyond. We have been unable to discover the name given this trail by the Indians, though there is abundant evidence that it was one of great importance. The earliest unknown white traders and hunters, and later the first permanent settlers coming into this region, followed this trail and its several branches.

We are fortunate in having the written records of several of these first settlers, which clearly and fully establish the route. The trail and its ramifications were later widened and opened into permanent roads which continue to this day as the main highways of the region.

In the Abingdon, Bristol, and Kingsport (Long Island) region there were Indian trails running along each of the river valley floors. The various pioneers on reaching Moccasin Gap gateway used such of these valley routes as were best suited to their individual needs, each depending on the one in most direct line with the place from which he came.

The valley route most in use between Abingdon and the Block House at Moccasin Gap led from Abingdon westwardly until it struck

^{32a} See map in Bull. 30, part 1, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

³³ Johnston, History of Middle New River Settlements, pp. 91-92.

³⁴ See James Mooney's "Map of the Cherokee Country," Plate III, 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

³⁵ See Royce's Map, "Cherokee Cession No. 4," Plate VIII, 5th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

the North Fork of the Holston near the present site of Mendota, and passed down to the Block House near Moccasin Gap. The whites going to Kentucky used this route constantly, but the Indians from the north bound for the prehistoric Bristol settlements or those in East Tennessee or farther south availed themselves of the trail leading from Abingdon down Beaver Creek to ancient Bristol.

"Near the Wolf Hills, now Abingdon, another path came in from the north-west, which pursued nearly the same route now travelled from the latter place to Kentucky, and crossing the mountain at that remarkable depression called Cumberland Gap. It was along this path that the early English explorers and hunters first passed to Kentucky, and through it the Roekcastle and Ohio savages often penetrated, to molest and break up the early settlements upon New River and Holston."³⁶

The Chesapeake branch led from Long Island up Reedy Creek to the point where it crosses into Virginia, about 3 miles west of Bristol.³⁷ At the State line the trail split. One prong led to the northeast, passing near Three Springs (north of Bristol), and, farther on, Maple Grove Church, and joined the Bristol prong 1 mile west of Wyndale.³⁸ The other prong led eastward from the State line crossing of Reedy Creek to the old Indian settlement around King's Spring, which the early whites called Sapling Grove but later Bristol. Doubtless the Indians were drawn thither by the great spring and the immense number of waterfowl at certain seasons.

From King's Spring the trail led to the junction near Wyndale, and thence via Abingdon³⁹ to Glade Spring, and near there it was joined by the "Old Cherokee Path to Virginia prior to 1775" (Trail No. 37), coming from the Cherokee settlements on the Keowee and Tugaloo rivers and from the middle Cherokee towns in northwestern South Carolina and southwestern North Carolina.

From this junction a trail led off to the northwest to the salt lick at what is now the great salt and gypsum works at Saltville, Va., where it joined the Great Indian Warpath.

From Glade Spring the main trail continued by Sevenmile Ford, Marion, Rural Retreat, Fort Chiswell (about 2 miles southwest of Max Meadows), Draper, and Inglis' Ferry and across New River (about 1½ miles upstream from Radford).⁴⁰ From Inglis' Ferry the

³⁶ Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, p. 88.

³⁷ Mr. Myer's original trail map of Tennessee carries this trail up Beaver Creek instead of Reedy Creek. There were no doubt trails along both streams and therefore they have been so indicated on our present map.

³⁸ Given on the authority of L. P. Summers.

³⁹ "Abingdon was originally called Wolf Hills. Some of the early travelers called it Black's Station, because Black built a station near by. At a later date it was called Washington Court House, and finally Abingdon."—Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, p. 159.

⁴⁰ We are especially indebted to Col. Samuel L. King, Bristol, Tenn.; Hon. L. P. Summers, Abingdon, Va.; and Hon. J. Williamsen McGavock, Max Meadows, Va., for valuable aid in locating this portion of the trail.

main branch continued via Salem, Roanoke, Amsterdam, Lexington, Staunton, and Martinsburg to Wadkin's Ferry, where it crossed the Potomac and went on into points in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and States farther north.

Mr. John L. Baer informed me that the course of this trail from Wadkin's Ferry north lay through Pen Mar, Jack Mountain (where there was a well-known quarry from which the Indians obtained large quantities of rhyolite for their stone implements), near Gettysburg, near York, and through Lancaster, to Philadelphia and regions beyond that point. The present great highway passing through Hagerstown, Gettysburg, York, and Lancaster to Philadelphia follows this ancient trail to a considerable extent.

This trail was taken by many early white emigrants who began removing from Maryland and Pennsylvania into the newly opened Kentucky and Tennessee regions about 1780. John Filson, in his "History of the Discovery and Settlement of Kentucky," published in 1784, gives the following itinerary of the journey from Philadelphia to the Falls of the Ohio, at what is now Louisville, Ky., over this route:

PHILADELPHIA TO FALLS OF THE OHIO			
	Miles		Miles
From Philadelphia to Lancaster.....	66	To Washington C. H.....	45
To Wright's on the Susquehanna.....	10	To the Block-house.....	35
To Yorktown.....	12	To Powell Mountain.....	33
To Abbottstown.....	15	To Walden's Ridge.....	3
To Hunterstown.....	10	To Valley Station.....	4
To mountain at Black's Gap.....	3	To Martin's Cabin.....	25
To other side the mountain.....	7	To Cumberland Mountain.....	20
To Stone-house Tavern.....	25	To Cumberland River.....	13
To Wadkin's Ferry on Potomac.....	14	To Flat Lick.....	9
To Martinsburg.....	13	To Stinking Creek.....	2
To Winchester.....	13	To Richland Creek.....	7
To Newtown.....	8	Down Richland Creek.....	8
To Stoverstown.....	10	To Raccoon Spring.....	6
To Woodstock.....	12	To Laurel River.....	2
To Shenandoah River.....	15	To Hazel Patch.....	15
To North Branch Shenandoah.....	29	To Rockcastle River.....	10
To Staunton.....	15	To English Station.....	25
To North Fork James River.....	37	To Col. Edwards', Crab Orchard.....	3
To Botetourt C. H.....	12	To Whitley's Station.....	5
To Woods on Catawba River.....	21	To Logan's Station.....	5
To Paterson's on Roanoke.....	9	To Clark's Station.....	7
To Alleghany Mountain.....	8	To Crow's Station.....	4
To New River.....	12	To Harrod's Station.....	3
To Forks of Road.....	16	To Harlands'.....	4
To Fort Chissel.....	12	To Harbisons.....	10
To Stone Mill.....	11	To Bardstown.....	25
To Boyds.....	8	To Salt Works.....	25
To Head of Holstein.....	5	To Falls of the Ohio.....	20

A total distance of 826 miles.⁴¹

⁴¹ Speed, *The Wilderness Road*, p. 17.

“The distance from Philadelphia to the interior of Kentucky by way of Cumberland Gap was nearly eight hundred miles. The line of travel was through Lancaster, Yorktown, and Abbottstown to the Potomac River at Wadkin’s Ferry; thence through Martinsburg and Winchester, up the Shenandoah Valley through Staunton, and, following the great trough between the mountain ranges, it passed over the high ground known as the ‘divide:’ there it left the waters which ‘run toward sunrise,’ and reached an important station at the waters of New River, which run to the west. At that point another road, which led out from Richmond through the central parts of Virginia, intersected or rather came into the one just described. Thus were brought together two tides of immigrants. Near the ‘forks of the road’ stood Fort Chissel [Chiswell], a rude block-house, built in 1758 by Colonel Bird immediately after the British and Americans captured Fort Duquesne from the French, and called it Fort Pitt. Fort Chissel [Chiswell] was intended as a menace to the Cherokee Indians; it was an outpost in the wilderness of the West, yet from the point where it stood to Cumberland Gap was nearly two hundred miles. It is a point of great interest in studying the Kentucky immigration. It was there the immigrants reached the ‘borders of the great wilderness.’ From the Potomac to New River, along the valley, travel was not attended with difficulty or danger of any consequence. The wild, rough, and dangerous part of the journey commenced when New River was crossed at Inglis’ Ferry, and the travelers turned squarely toward the setting sun to make their way across the mountains and streams through the ‘uninhabited country.’ ”⁴²

Dr. Thomas Walker on his historic first visit to what is now Kentucky, when he passed through the great gap in the mountain wall and crossed the river beyond, giving to both the name of Cumberland, followed the course of this old trail.

THE RICHMOND BRANCH

(Trail No. 36A)

At the town of the Tutelo, near what is now Roanoke, an important branch trail led to central and eastern Virginia. It was discovered by the first whites who explored the region and was even then regarded as old. The topography of the region made it the logical route between the sections mentioned. We are able to trace the history of this trail for over 250 years. The first white expedition to pass along this branch and leave a written record was sent out by Major General Wood, under the leadership of Batts and Fallam, in 1671.⁴³

⁴² Speed, *The Wilderness Road*, pp. 12-13.

⁴³ The manuscript journal of this exploration is now in the British Museum, included with many others in vol. 4,432, entitled “Papers Relating to the Royal Society.” Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr., edited a transcript of this journal for the *American Anthropologist* (n. s.), vol. ix, pp. 45-56; and it was also reproduced by Alvord and Bidgood in *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, pp. 186 et seq.

Several portions of this trail are shown on "A map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, etc.," in "A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina" (Thomas L. Hutchins, 1778. Reprinted, Cleveland, 1904). There are numerous accounts of its use by the Indians and the whites.

Richmond prong itinerary.—The following itinerary of William Brown, dated 1782, enables us to locate the Richmond branch, from near Richmond, Va., to English's Ferry. His "Observations and Occurrences" picture the trail and the region through which it passed as it appeared to the eyes of a new settler eagerly watching for a good location in which to take up land and build a home in the wilderness. It can be found in William Brown's Journal, which is contained in a small manuscript book which also contains the journal of his journey to Kentucky by Braddock's Road and the Ohio River in 1790. "The journals are written in ink in his hand, and they may have been transcribed from earlier copies. The other contents of the book are interesting as throwing light upon the character of some of these pioneers. They consist of classical poems, memoranda upon inventions and scientific facts, and prescriptions for various ailments. The whole [book] is the work of a serious minded, intelligent man with a bent for [the acquirement of] knowledge."⁴⁴

WILLIAM BROWN'S ROUTE TO KENTUCKY IN 1782

	Miles		Miles
To Richmond, Henrico Co.....	18	To Big Flat Lick.....	10
To Widow Simpson's, Chester-		To Fort Lewis, Botetourt.....	12
ford.....	14	To Hans Meadows'.....	20
To Powhatan Co. House.....	16	To English's Ferry, New River..	12
To Joseph Thompson's, at the		To Fort Chiswell.....	30
forks of the road.....	8	To Atkins' Ordinary.....	19
To Long's Ordinary, Bucking-		To Mid Fork Holstein.....	—
ham.....	9	To Cross White's, Montgomery	3
To Hoolen's, on Willis Creek...	8	To Col. Arthur Campbell's.....	3
To Mrs. Sanders, Cumberland..	3	To 7-mile Ford of Holstein.....	6
To Widow Thompson's, passing		To Maj. Dysart's Mill.....	12
Hood's and Swiney's.....	27	To Washington Co. House.....	10
To Captain Hunter's.....	5	To Head of Reedy Creek, Sulli-	
To Thompson's, on the Long		van Co., North Carolina.....	20
Mo., Campbell.....	5	To Block House.....	13
To Dupriest.....	6	To North Fork Holstein.....	2
To New London.....	10	To Moccasin Gap.....	5
To Liberty Town.....	16	To Clinch River.....	11
To Yearley's, at Goose Creek,		To Ford of Stock Creek.....	2
Beauford.....	12	To Little Flat Lick.....	5
To M. Loland, at the Blue		To North Fork of Clinch.....	1
Ridge Gap.....	6	To Powell's Mountain.....	1

⁴⁴ Pusey, *The Wilderness Road to Kentucky*, pp. 40-41. Brown's Journal is now in the library of the University of Chicago.

	Miles		Miles
To Wallan Ridge.....	5	To Little Laurel River.....	5
To Valley Station.....	5	To Raccoon Creek.....	8
To Powell's River.....	2	To Hazel Patch.....	4
To Glade Spring.....	4	To Rockcastle Creek.....	6
To Martin's Station.....	19	To Rockcastle River.....	7
To Big Spring.....	12	To Seaggs' Creek.....	5
To Cumberland Mountain Gap.....	8	To Head of Dicks River.....	15
To Yellow Creek.....	2	To English Station.....	8
To Cumberland River.....	13	To Crab Orchard.....	3
To Big Flat Lick.....	9	To Logan's Old Fort.....	11
To Little Richland Creek.....	10	To Doehurty's Station.....	8
To Big Richland Creek.....	1	To Harrod's Station.....	6
To Robinson Creek.....	10	To Harrodsburg.....	6
To Raccoon Spring.....	1	From Hanover to Harrodsburg is	
To Laurel River.....	2	555 miles.	

“Observations and Occurrences: Set out from Hanover Monday, 27th May, 1782; arrived at the Block-house about the first week in July. The road from Hanover to this place is generally very good; crossing the Blue Ridge is not bad; there is not more than a small hill with some winding to go over. Neither is the Alleghany Mountain by any means difficult at this gap. There are one or two high hills about New River and Fort Chiswell. The ford of New River is rather bad; therefore we thought it advisable to cross in the ferry-boat. This is generally a good-watered road as far as the Block-house. We waited hereabouts near two weeks for company, and then set out for the wilderness with twelve men and ten guns, this being Thursday, 18th July. The road from this until you get over Wallen's Ridge generally is bad, some part very much so, particularly about Stock Creek and Stock Creek Ridge. It is very mountainous country hereabout, but there is some fine land in the bottoms, near the watercourses, in narrow slips. It will be but a thin-settled country whenever it is settled. The fords of Holstein and Clinch are both good in dry weather, but in a rainy season you are often obliged to raft over. From them along down Powell's Valley until you get to Cumberland Gap is pretty good; this valley is formed by Cumberland Mountain on the northwest, and Powell Mountain on the southeast, and appears to bear from north-east southwestwardly, and is, I suppose, about one hundred miles in length, and from ten to twelve miles in breadth. The land is generally good, and is an exceeding well-watered country, as well as the country on Holstein River, abounding with fine springs and little brooks. For about fifty miles, as you travel along the valley, Cumberland Mountain appears to be a very high ridge of white rocks, inaccessible in most places to either man or beast, and affords a wild, romantic prospect. The way through the gap is not very difficult, but from its situation travelers may be attacked in some places, crossing the mountain, by the enemy to a very great disadvantage.”⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Speed, *The Wilderness Road*, pp. 18-19.

THE CHARLOTTE COURT HOUSE BRANCH

(Trail No. 36c)

Another prong of the Chesapeake branch of the great Indian warpath went off to the southeast from about where the trail is crossed by the Southern Railway near Lawyers. This prong led from the town of the Saponi Indians on Otter River about 9 miles in a straight line east of what is now Bedford City, in Bedford County, Va. It passed by the site of the present Charlotte Court House, Charlotte County, and continued on to the important Occaneechi town on two islands in the Roanoke River just below the modern town of Clarksville, Va. Here it met the several trails leading to this strategic point.

Speed says: "I have also a partial itinerary of the route from Charlotte Court-House to Kentucky. It is on a leaf of a pocket memorandum book found among the papers of my grandfather, Thos. Speed; its date is 1790. It is headed: 'Distances from Charlotte Court-House to Kentucky.'

	Miles		Miles
From Charlotte Court-House to		To Farriss's.....	5
Campbell Court-House.....	41	To Clinch River.....	12
To New London.....	13	To Scott's Station.....	12
To Colonel James Callaway's....	3	To Cox's at Powell River.....	10
To Liberty.....	13	To Martin's Station.....	2
To Colonel Flemming's.....	28	To — (manuscript defaced).	
To Big Lick.....	2	To Cumberland Mountain.....	3
To Mrs. Kent's.....	20	To Cumberland River.....	15
To English's Ferry.....	20	To Flat Lick.....	9
To Carter's.....	13	To Stinking Creek.....	2
To Fort Chissel.....	12	To Richland Creek.....	7
To the Stone-mill.....	11	To Raccoon Spring.....	14
To Adkins'.....	16	Lo Laurel River.....	2
To Russell Place.....	16	To Hazel Patch.....	15
To Greenaway's.....	14	To Rockcastle.....	10
To Washington Court-House....	6	To — (manuscript defaced)." ⁴⁶	
To the Block-house.....	35		

THE PETERSBURG-SAPONI BRANCH

(Trail No. 36d)

Alvord and Bidgood⁴⁷ seem to have established the existence of a trail leading westward from the present site of Petersburg, to the Saponi town on Otter Creek, Campbell County, Va. It probably ran via Farmville, in Prince Edward County, and connected near the southwestern corner of Buckingham County with other trails leading from Richmond and Hanover Court House to the Saponi town and southwestern Virginia.

⁴⁶ Speed, *The Wilderness Road*, p. 21.⁴⁷ *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, pp. 31-33.

THE TUTELO-SAURA PATH

(Trail No. 36B)

Hutchins⁴⁸ shows a trail leading from what is now Roanoke southward, passing Rocky Mount and continuing to Martinsville. Near Martinsville, in Henry County, Va., it joined the trail which led from the Chesapeake region via the Saponi town in Bedford County southward to the old Saura town on the south side of the River Dan just below the mouth of Smiths (formerly Irvin) River, almost due north of Wentworth and about 2 miles southeast of Leaksville, in Rockingham County, N. C.

The location of the Saura town in 1671, as given by Lederer, was probably in Caldwell County, N. C. It was removed to the Dan sometime prior to 1700, probably about 1680, but about 1703 the tribe was forced to leave this beautiful and fertile location. See description by Byrd.⁴⁹

Both this trail and the Saura-Saponi trail (No. 46) which joined it near Martinsville were much used by the Iroquois in their raids on the Catawba, raids which were especially frequent in the period between 1670 and 1701.⁵⁰

For an interesting picture of travel along this trail in 1775 the reader is referred to the Journal of William Calk.⁵¹

Along the Saura-Saponi trail passed in the year 1710, Iwaagonst Terrutawanaren and Teonnottein, two chiefs of the brave and as yet peaceable Tuscarora Indians, to their Iroquois kindred (the Five Nations) and to the provincial government of Pennsylvania, asking to be allowed to remove to the Pennsylvania colony, where they might enjoy the peace and protection which William Penn's colony was then so graciously extending to all persecuted peoples. After the Tuscarora war the tribe itself followed.

TRAILS OF SOUTHERN WEST VIRGINIA

The Big Sandy and Guyandot Rivers in West Virginia run through rough and mountainous regions which contained few Indian settlements. Their valleys afforded somewhat rough passageways from the Indian towns in central Ohio, especially those in the lower Scioto Valley, to southwestern Virginia, and the routes along them were never used as much as that by Kanawha River, but the distance was less to certain southwestern Virginia points. When the whites advanced toward the mouth of the Kanawha they placed a small force at Culbertson's, a few miles below the junction of the Bluestone and New Rivers, and thus commanded the Ohio prong of the Great Indian Warpath along New and Kanawha Rivers.

⁴⁸ "A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, etc., 1778," in Hutchins's Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina.

⁴⁹ Writings of Col. William Byrd, pp. 306-307.

⁵⁰ See Mooney's *Siouan Tribes of the East*, Bull. 22, Bur. Am. Ethn., p. 58, and the references therewith.

⁵¹ Speed, *The Wilderness Road*, pp. 33-38.

Many marauding parties of Shawnee and other Indians came into the head of Bluestone in West Virginia, and also into southwestern Virginia, by these two routes, along which at that time, just before the Revolution, there were no white settlements. They gave the Indians an opportunity to dash in and out with comparative ease and safety.

There was at one time an Indian settlement at Logan, in Logan County, on the Guyandot. In later years a detachment of Indians who had killed a settler named Gilbert at what is now the junction of Gilbert Creek and Guyandot River, in Mingo County, on the Guyandot trail, fled along this trail and rested at what is now Logan before proceeding on down the river.

The whites know little about these two routes, and we have been unable to determine their exact location at all points, but their existence is clearly established. We are informed by Hon. Wells Goodykoontz, who formerly represented a considerable portion of this territory in Congress, that many of the early deeds in this section call for old Indian trails, and mention is made of the movement of the Indians over them by nearly every local history dealing with the early days in this section. Among these may be mentioned the "History of Virginia" by John Burch, Petersburg, Va., 1805, pp. 354-355. Their prominence in the Dunmore war is brought out in "Dunmore's War,"⁵² pages 7, 12, 60, 73, 76, 77, 80, 81, 84, 85, 116, 133, 139, 140, 142, 145, 226, 229, 233, 252.

Col. William Christian's report to Col. William Preston during the Dunmore war states, on pages 80-81, *op. cit.*:

"I wrote to you by Hamilton the Cause of my sending him to the Heads of Clinch & Sandy Creek. The inclosed Letter [is] from Capt. Doack to Crockett; the Messengers Report that Capt. Doack could not possibly raise the thirty men You had ordered; & the Report of the Discovery that should have been made down New-River, made Me think it my Duty to cover the Inhabitants that lie exposed to the Sandy Creek Pass, untill your further Pleasure should be known."

We reproduce one or two other references from the work quoted.

"I Suppose these Indians came up Sandy River and In by the Head of Blue Stone. I will make the Scouts go up High on Blue Stone and Watch the Roads that way."⁵³

["James Robertson to Col. William Preston.]

"Culbersons 12th August 1774.

"Sir—This morning Our Scouts met with a Couple of Poor Little Boys between this and Blue Stone one A Son of John McGriff's the Other a Son of Widow Snyder's at Burks fort, that made their Escapes from the Indians Last Tuesday night about midnight away

⁵² Thwaites and Kellogg, *eds.*, *Doc. Hist. Dunmore's War*, Madison, Wis., 1905.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

up towards the Clover Bottoms on Blue Stone or Between that and the lower war Road on Blue Stone."⁵⁴

"We never heard of the Damage being done untill the Boys Came in, the party Came up Sandy and Cross by the Clover Bottoms and I Imagine is going that way Again."⁵⁵

As well as we have been able to determine, the route followed approximately the locations indicated on the map (pl. 15; trails Nos. 54 and 55). Both the Guyandot and Big Sandy routes afforded canoe navigation for over half the distance.

The southwestern Virginia region to which the Big Sandy and Guyandot trails led had suffered severely from attacks by marauding parties of Shawnee and other Indians, and the men of this section took a leading part in the Dunmore war which followed. It was the outgrowth of a long series of mutual grievances and outrages between the frontiersmen of Virginia and Pennsylvania and Indians of the Ohio Valley. The decisive battle took place October 10, 1774, at Point Pleasant, where the Ohio prong of the Great Indian warpath crossed the Ohio River. Here a thousand Indians, mostly Shawnee, reenforced by Mingo, Delaware, Wyandot, and Ottawa, after an all-day fight, were beaten and driven back by the whites and forced to make peace.

A glance at the map will show a number of branches of these two trails intermingling on the headwaters of the Bluestone, Guyandot, and Big Sandy. They are very clearly established in "A History of the Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory," by David E. Johnston.

ROUTE FROM INGLIS FERRY TO THE KANAWHA VIA BECKLEY

(Trail No. 57)

The location of the route from Inglis Ferry via Beckley is shown in the following quotation referring to the return home of a raiding party of Indians accompanied by prisoners. They "passed down New River, crossing at the ford above the mouth of Bluestone, thence across what is called White Oak Mountain, the northeastern extension of the Flat Top, by way of where Beckley, in Raleigh County, is now situate, the old Indian trail passed at what is now the junction of the principal streets of the town, and on to the head of Paint Creek and down to the Kanawha. Thus it will be seen that they passed over the territory of Mercer County. This trail up Paint Creek, and either by Pipe Stem Knob or mouth of Big Bluestone was one of their frequently traveled ways to the East River and New River settlements. Paint Creek took its name from several trees standing thereon painted by the Indians as one of their guides or

⁵⁴ Op. cit., p. 140.

⁵⁵ Op. cit., p. 142.

landmarks on their marauding expeditions into the white settlements and on their return they by marks on these trees would indicate the number of scalps taken."⁶⁶

ROUTE FROM BUCK'S GARDEN DOWN THE BIG SANDY

(Trail No. 54)

The route from Buck's Garden down Big Sandy is brought out in Capt. William Preston's journal of an expedition against the Indians in 1756.⁶⁷ The following itinerary and summary will be sufficient for our purposes:

"An account of miles marched each day on our journey to the Shawnees' towns.

	Miles		Miles
From E. P. George to Cyphers'	15	Sunday 29, down Sandy Creek..	12
2nd day to R. Hall's-----	15	Monday 1st March, Sandy	
3rd day to F. A. Frederick----	15	Creek-----	6
19th Feb. to Wm. Sawyers-----	20	Tuesday 2, Sandy Creek-----	3
20th Feb. to McCaul's-----	13	Wednesday 3rd, Sandy Creek..	10
Sunday 22, to McFarland's----	7	Friday 5, Sandy Creek-----	15
Monday 23 to Bear Garden....	10	Saturday 6, Sandy Creek-----	2
Tuesday 24 to Burke's Garden..	9	Sunday 7, Sandy Creek-----	7
Thursday 26, to head of Clinch..	10	Monday 8, (Here the journal	
Saturday 28, to head of Sandy		ends M.)-----	7
Creek-----	10		

"It will appear by a close examination of this journal by one fully acquainted with the territory from the head waters of the Clinch to the mouth of the Dry Fork of the Tug Fork of Sandy, where the Station of Iaeger on the line of the Norfolk and Western Railway now stands, over which territory the expedition passed, that it proceeded by way of one of the North branches of the Clinch through the farm of the late W. G. Mustard in Tazewell County, thence through Maxwell's Gap on to the waters of Horse Pen Creek, thence down the same to Jacob's Fork, and down the same to the Low gap or Cane Brake in the ridge dividing the waters of Jacob's Fork from Dry Fork, and a little South and West of the residence of Rev. R. B. Godbey, on Jacob's Fork, thence down the Dry Fork to its junction with the Tug or main fork."⁶⁷

TRAIL CROSSING FROM THE HEAD OF THE BIG SANDY TO NEW RIVER

(Trail No. 59A)

The location of that portion of the trail leading up the Big Sandy to its head and thence crossing over to New River is brought out in the following quotation:

⁶⁶ Johnston, History of Middle New River Settlements, pp. 20-21.

⁶⁷ Op. cit., pp. 24-30.

"In the fall of the year 1763, about fifty Indian warriors ascended the Great Sandy, and passed over the present territory of Mercer County on to New River, where they separated, forming two parties, one going towards the Jackson River, and the other towards the Roanoke and Catawba settlements.

"Pitman, Paek and Swope, trappers on New River, discovered the trail of these Indians and the route they had taken. Suspecting that they were preparing to attack the settlements just mentioned, they set out, Pitman for Jackson's River and Paek and Swope for Roanoke, but the Indians reached both places ahead of them. After killing some people in the Jackson's River settlement and taking some prisoners, the Indians began a hasty retreat towards the Ohio, pursued by Captain Audley Paul with a company of twenty men from Fort Dinwiddie, and who followed the Indians up Dunlap's Creek over on to Indian Creek and New River, to the mouth of Piney Creek without discovering them, and Captain Paul started on his return.

"The party that had crossed over on to the Roanoke and Catawba committed some depredations and murders, and captured three prisoners, a Mrs. Katherine Gun, a man by the name of Jacob Kimberline (who was taken from a creek now called Kimberling, a branch of Walker's Creek) and another whose name is not given. This party was being pursued by Captain William Ingles, Captain Henry Harman and their men. On the night of the 12th of October, the Indians pursued by Ingles and Harman were discovered by Captain Paul and his men about midnight, encamped on the North bank of the New River opposite an island at the mouth of Turkey Creek (now Indian Creek) in Summers County. Paul's men fired on them, killed three and wounded several others, one of whom threw himself into the river to preserve his scalp, the rest of the party fled hurriedly down the river."⁵⁹

TRAIL IN THE VICINITY OF BLUEFIELD

(Trail No. 59B)

Speaking of a certain Mr. Ingles who had settled in Wright's Valley, about 2 miles west of the present city of Bluefield, West Virginia, "at a spring near the mansion house of the late Captain Rufus A. Hale," Johnston says:

"Here Mr. Ingles remained some two years, but finding himself dangerously near the Indian trail leading from (t)he head of Tug of Sandy southward across Eastriver Mountain, to the Wolf Creek and Walker's Creek settlements, he determined to seek a place more remote from Indian lines of travel."⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Op. cit., pp. 33-34.

⁶⁰ Op. cit., pp. 69-70.

TRAIL FROM NEW RIVER VIA BLUEFIELD AND CLINCH RIVER VALLEY
TO CUMBERLAND GAP

(Trail No. 58)

The location of a trail from New River via Bluefield and Clinch River Valley and Powell's River to Cumberland Gap, and thence into Kentucky, is next shown:

"At the date of the attack on the Pauley party in September, 1779, no settlements had been made along the East River, in fact none existed between Wood's Fort on Rich Creek and that of Thomas Ingles in Wright's Valley. The route being traveled by the Pauley party was along the hunters' trail leading from New River up East River by the site of the present city of Bluefield in Mercer County, and across the Bluestone-Clinch divide to the Clinch, down the same and on by way of Powell's River to Cumberland Gap. This was the route usually pursued by emigrants from the Greenbrier-New River section to Kentucky.⁶¹

BLUESTONE, FLAT TOP MOUNTAIN, AND CHERRY POND MOUNTAIN
TRAIL

(Trail No. 56)

Some Indian trails from Bluestone across Flat Top Mountain and Cherry Pond Mountain to the west fork of Coal River are mentioned incidentally in recording the pursuit of a Shawnee war party from Chillicothe, Ohio. The Indians took "the old Indian trail from the Bluestone across Flat Top Mountain, and down the divide between Guyandotte and Coal river waters along the top of Cherry Pond Mountain, where the trail separated, one branch thereof continuing down the west fork of the Coal River, and the other down the Pond fork of the same."⁶²

TRAIL DOWN THE NORTH FORK OF TUG RIVER

(Trail No. 59)

In our next citation appears a portion of the route down the north fork of Tug River:

"In the fall of this same year of 1789, a body of Indians came into the Bluestone and upper Clinch settlements, crossed the East River mountain on to the waters of the Clear fork of Wolf Creek, prowled around for several days to find, as afterwards ascertained, the home of George and Matthias Harman. They supposed they had killed Captain Henry Harman in the fight on the Tug the year before. Late in the evening of the first day of October, 1789, they

⁶¹ Op. cit., p. 72.

⁶² Op. cit., p. 88.

suddenly appeared at the door of the cabin of Thomas Wiley, on Clear Fork, at what is now known as the 'Dill's Place.' Mr. Wiley was from home, they took his wife, Virginia, and five children prisoners, plundered the house, and moved off up Cove Creek, where they killed all of Mrs. Wiley's children, crossed the East River mountain by the farm owned by the late Walter McDonald Sanders, down Beaver Pond Creek, by where the town of Graham, Virginia, is now situated, striking Bluestone, and across Flat Top mountain by way of the Pealed Chestnuts, and down the north fork of the Tug fork to the Harman battle ground." ⁶³

ROUTE CROSSING FROM THE TUG TO THE GUYANDOT RIVER

(Trail No. 55A)

The location of a trail from the junction of Four-pole Creek with Tug River across to the waters of the Guyandot comes out in an account of an expedition against the Indians by Major Crockett.

"They took the route down Horse Pen Creek, and to the head of Clear fork, and down to the Tug and on to the mouth of Four Pole, then crossing the dividing ridge between the waters of the Sandy and Guyandotte Rivers. They sent Gilbert and Lusk forward to a Buffalo lick on a creek flowing into the Guyandotte, to secure if possible a supply of game."

The hunters encountered Indians, however, who killed Gilbert and made a prisoner of Lusk.

"The Indians immediately hurried with their prisoner down the creek to Guyandotte, and then down the river to the mouth of Island Creek, and went into camp behind a rocky ridge called Hog Back at the present day. . . Early on the morning of the 25th (of July) the Indians took to their canoes, which they had left at this point on their way to the settlements, and rapidly descending the river to its mouth crossed the Ohio." ⁶⁴

TRAILS OF THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS

(Trails Nos. 33, 35, 37, 38, 39)

[One of the main trails of the southern Appalachians was the Great Indian Warpath (No. 31), already described, including the Chesapeake Branch of the same (No. 36). The eastern end of the Black Fox Trail (No. 23) also entered this section, and Boone's Trail from the Settlements on Yadkin River to the Block House near Kingsport (No. 45) crossed it. These are treated elsewhere. It now remains for us to devote a word to the following: The Old Cherokee Path to Virginia (No. 37), the Catawba Trail (No. 33), the Tuckaleechee

⁶³ Op. cit., p. 98.

⁶⁴ Op. cit., pp. 103-104.

and Southeastern Trail (No. 38), the Unicoi Turnpike (No. 35), and Rutherford's War Trace (No. 39).

Although these were named by Mr. Myer, he attempts an extended account of the last mentioned only.

Trail No. 37, as shown by the maps, branched from the Great Indian Warpath (No. 31) at Saltville, Va. It ran approximately south from this point, crossed the Chesapeake Branch of the Great Warpath (No. 36) at Glade Spring, continued on the South Fork of Holston River which it followed to its junction with Laurel Creek, ascended the latter, and then crossed into the extreme eastern edge of the present Johnson County, Tenn. It passed out of Tennessee into North Carolina at Zionville, went southwest to Newland, circled round to a point near Morganton, where it met Trail No. 39, continued on southeast to Collinsville, crossed the State line into South Carolina, passed north of Campello, and near Tigerville, where it crossed Trail No. 33, and then went on south to the site of Old Keowee Town among the Lower Cherokee.

The Catawba Trail (No. 33) ran southeast from the trail junction at Cumberland Gap, passed Tazewell, Tate Springs, Morristown, and Witts, near which it crossed the Great Indian Warpath, then went on near Rankin, and Newport, east from a point south of Newport to Paint Rock, and up the French Broad in North Carolina, diverging east to Stockville, passing near Asheville, and then southeast through Hendersonville, N. C., into South Carolina, where it became what was later known as the Old South Carolina State Road to the north (No. 78). This preserved the same general direction to the Congarees (Columbia) and Charleston.

The Tuckaleechee and Southeastern Trail (No. 38) left the Great Indian Warpath where it crossed the French Broad, passed near Sevierville and Dupont to Little River near Tuckaleechee, southeast from there to the North Carolina State line, and south near Ella and Whittier to the neighborhood of the point of junction of Swain, Jackson, and Macon Counties, where Trail No. 39 came into it from the east. It then went on south to Otto, where it turned east to the Lower Cherokee settlements in South Carolina. It may be said to have been continued as far as the Congarees (Columbia) by the Old Cherokee Trading Path (No. 76).

The Unicoi Turnpike (No. 35) began at the point where the Great Indian Warpath leaves the Little Tennessee River. It passed south near Belltown and Tellico Plains to the junction point of Monroe and Polk Counties, Tenn., and Cherokee County, N. C., and thence southeast to Murphy, up the Hiwassee River to Hiwassee, Ga., south from there to Robertstown, Little Echota, and Nacoochee, and from the latter point southeast through Clarksville to Toccoa, where it entered Trails 86 and 91.

The last of these trails is thus described by Mr. Myer:

RUTHERFORD'S WAR TRACE

(Trail No. 39)

An important Indian trail led from western North Carolina through the Blue Ridge at Swannanoa Gap and thence along the Swannanoa River to its junction with the French Broad at Asheville. From Asheville it passed to the southwest, following approximately the present line of the Murphy branch of the Southern Railway to Waynesville; thence to the east of the Southern Railway, crossing the Tuckasegee at Webster, and then southwest, passing down Cowee Creek to the ancient Cherokee town of Cowee, which we moderns prefer to call West's Mill, at the junction of Cowee Creek and Little Tennessee River. At Cowee it joined the great Tuckaleechee and Southeastern Trail (No. 38), running through that beautiful region which has well been called "The Land of the Sky."

The ancient Indians came under its spell and reproduced the musical sound of the waters of the river which traverses it in the name Tsiksi'tsi (Tuckasegee). The word has no meaning but was coined to reproduce the rushing noise of the stream.

In the wrack and rush of driving the Cherokee out of their homeland the Indian name of Rutherford's War Trace was lost. Fate was cross-eyed when it ordained that it should bear only that of the white despoiler, whose men burned the dwellings of the Cherokee and drove their women and children into the mountains. What little is known of this Indian trail is embedded in the story of their wrongs, which we give as recorded by Mr. James Mooney:

"In August of that year [1776] the army of North Carolina, 2,400 strong, under General Griffith Rutherford, crossed the Blue ridge at Swannanoa gap, and following the main trail almost along the present line of the railroad, struck the first Indian town, Stiká'yí, or Stecoee, on the Tuckasegee, near the present Whittier. The inhabitants having fled, the soldiers burned the town, together with an unfinished town-house ready for the roof, cut down the standing corn, killed one or two straggling Indians, and then proceeded on their mission of destruction. Every town upon Oconaluftee, Tuckasegee, and the upper part of Little Tennessee, and on Hiwassee to below the junction of Valley river—thirty-six towns in all—was destroyed in turn, the corn cut down or trampled under the hoofs of the stock driven into the fields for that purpose, and the stock itself killed or carried off. Before such an overwhelming force, supplemented as it was by three others simultaneously advancing from other directions, the Cherokee made but poor resistance, and fled with their women and children into the fastnesses of the Great Smoky mountains, leaving their desolated fields and smoking towns behind them. As was usual in Indian wars, the actual number killed or taken was small, but the destruction

of property was beyond calculation. At Sugartown (Kûlsetsi'yî, east of the present Franklin) one detachment, sent to destroy it, was surprised, and escaped only through the aid of another force sent to its rescue. Rutherford himself, while proceeding to the destruction of the Hiwassee towns, encountered the Indians drawn up to oppose his progress in the Waya gap of the Nantahala mountains, and one of the hardest fights of the campaign resulted, the soldiers losing over forty killed and wounded, although the Cherokee were finally repulsed. One of the Indians killed on this occasion was afterward discovered to be a woman, painted and armed like a warrior.

* * * * *

“The various North Carolina detachments which combined to form Rutherford’s expedition against the Cherokee in the autumn of 1776 organized at different points about the upper Catawba and probably concentrated at Davidson’s fort, now Old fort, in McDowell county. Thence, advancing westward closely upon the line of the present Southern railroad and its Western North Carolina branch, the army crossed the Blue ridge over the Swannanoa gap and went down the Swannanoa to its junction with the French Broad, crossing the latter at the Warrior ford, below the present Asheville; thence up Hominy creek and across the ridge to Pigeon river, crossing it a few miles below the junction of the East and West forks; thence to Richland creek, crossing it just above the present Waynesville; and over the dividing ridge between the present Haywood and Jackson counties to the head of Scott’s creek; thence down that creek by ‘a blind path through a very mountainous bad way,’ as Moore’s old narrative has it, to its junction with the Tuckasegee river just below the present Webster; thence, crossing to the west (south) side of the river, the troops followed a main trail down the stream for a few miles until they came to the first Cherokee town, Stekoa, on the site of the farm formerly owned by Colonel William H. Thomas, just above the present railroad village of Whittier, Swain county, North Carolina. After destroying the town a detachment left the main body and pursued the fugitives northward on the other side of the river to Oconaluftee river and Soco creek, getting back afterward to the settlements by steering an easterly course across the mountains to Richland creek (Moore narrative). The main army, under Rutherford, crossed the dividing ridge to the southward of Whittier and descended Cowee creek to the waters of Little Tennessee, in the present Macon county. After destroying the towns in this vicinity the army ascended Cartoogaja creek, west from the present Franklin, and crossed the Nantahala mountains at Waya gap—where a fight took place—to Nantahala river, probably at the town of the same name, about the present Jarretts station. From here the march was west across the mountain into the present Cherokee county and down Valley river to

its junction with the Hiwassee, at the present Murphy. *Authorities:* Moore narrative and Wilson letter in North Carolina University Magazine, February, 1888; Ramsey, Tennessee, p. 164; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, I, pp. 300-302; Royce, Cherokee map; personal information from Colonel William H. Thomas, Major James Bryson, whose grandfather was with Rutherford, and Cherokee informants."⁶⁵

THE OCCANEECHI PATH

(Trail No. 80)

This trail led from Bermuda Hundred on the James River and old Fort Henry (later Petersburg), Va., southwestwardly to the important Indian trading town of the Occaneechi on Roanoke River, where it crossed the present line between Virginia and North Carolina. Thence it passed on to the Catawba, Cherokee, and other tribes in southwestern North Carolina and northwestern South Carolina and from the Catawba via the Congaree post to the site of the present Augusta, Ga., where it connected with other trails leading to various sections of the Southeast. Its entire length was somewhat over 500 miles.

While this path was doubtless prehistoric, it does not appear to have become of great importance until the advent of white traders. It then sprang immediately into prominence, and this prominence has continued down to the present day, a period of over 250 years.

As the Tidewater region of Virginia became more settled a stream of colonists flowed along this trail and located in the most fertile spots, and in course of time it grew into a well-known turnpike, later followed by the line of the Southern Railway.

Occaneechi Town.—The town which gave its name to this trail was on the middle and largest island in Roanoke River just below its confluence with the Staunton and the Dan, near what is now Clarksville, Mecklenburg County, Va. Its written history begins with the description by Lederer in 1670, who says:

"This island, though small, maintains many inhabitants, who are fix't here in great security, being naturally fortified with fastness of mountains and water on every side."⁶⁶

Their cultivated fields were on the north bank of the river, and they raised large crops of corn, keeping a year's supply on hand as a reserve in case of attack by enemies. How long they had been located here is unknown, but by 1670 they had built up a unique position among Indian tribes, in that they had made their town a trading center for many of the surrounding peoples, even to a distance of 500 miles. For this reason they were much resorted to by

⁶⁵ 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., part 1, pp. 49 and 205.

⁶⁶ Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, p. 154.

white traders, though on the other hand they were inclined to discourage further advances of the Virginians into what might be called the Occaneechi trade preserves.

But, like its red owners, the old town was doomed, and by 1733 the inhabitants were gone and the ancient site entirely deserted.⁶⁷

The Knap of Reeds site.—At Occaneechi town this trail met Indian paths from all points of the compass. Passing southwest it came to an ancient village site on Knap of Reeds Creek, near the modern village of that name, in Granville County, N. C. Near this place, in one spot on the farm of Mrs. Mary P. Walker, three banner stones were plowed up which are of unique interest, because, so far as the writer has been able to discover, they are the only ones known with handles in place and shed some light on the much-disputed question as to how banner stones were mounted.

Mrs. Walker writes:

“There is a hill called Indian Hill about one-half mile from where these banner stones were found. Many Indians were buried there, the older people said.”

And she adds that many arrow heads have been found on Indian Hill.

We do not as yet know what ancient people once lived at the Knap of Reeds site and used these beautiful banner stones with stone handles.

The Eno town.—From Knap of Reeds the Occaneechi trail led on to the southwest, probably passing 4 or 5 miles north of Durham, to the Eno town on Eno River, somewhere near its junction with Little River and about 5 miles north of Durham. Little is known of these Eno, and Mr. Mooney expresses a doubt whether they were of Siouan linguistic stock, as they appear to have differed in physique and habits from their Siouan neighbors, although their alliances were all with them.⁶⁸

The Occaneechi town near Hillsboro.—From the Eno town the trail led west to a point near Hillsboro where, in 1701, Lawson found a settlement of the Occaneechi, a reminiscence of whom is preserved in the name of the Occaneechi Hills, near Hillsboro.

Haw Old Fields.—From the last-mentioned place the trail continued west to a former settlement of the Sissipahaw at Haw Old Fields. Most that is known of this tribe is given in the works above cited.

The forks at Greensboro.—In the neighborhood of Greensboro the Occaneechi trail appears to have divided. The Saura fork or Occanee Path (No. 89) led west to the distant Saura town, passing

⁶⁷ For further particulars regarding the Occaneechi consult Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East*, Bull. 22, Bur. Amer. Ethn.; and *Handbook of American Indians*, Bull. 30, pt. 2, Bur. Amer. Ethn., article “Occaneechi.”

⁶⁸ See Bulletins 22 and 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., above cited.

on the way near Winston-Salem, Old Town, and East Bend. Near Booneville it was joined by the Saura-Saponi trail (No. 46), coming down from northern and central Virginia, through Roanoke, via Martinsville. Thence it kept along Yadkin River to the many old Indian settlements scattered on that stream for a distance of several miles east of Wilkesboro, in Wilkes County, N. C., and passed beyond them to what was at one time a thickly settled Indian region in Caldwell County, around Patterson, Warrior, and Lenoir. The old Saura town mentioned by Lederer was probably somewhere in this locality,⁶⁹ but it is impossible to locate it with precision from Lederer's vague description. The people of this town have played an important part in the Indian history of North and South Carolina. While they were living on another site, they were visited by De Soto in the year 1540. Like many other aboriginal tribes they often moved their towns from various causes and at irregular intervals.

In this thickly settled Caldwell County region the Saura prong of the Occaneechi path met the Old Cherokee Path to Virginia (No. 37), which ran up through the extreme northeastern corner of Tennessee to southwestern Virginia, West Virginia, and parts beyond.

The Saura prong itself was continued on to the southwest by Trail No. 39, via Morgan and Old Fort, until it reached the Cherokee towns near Asheville and connected with the maze of trails thereabout.

The Cherokee traders' path prior to 1775.—The southern fork of the Occaneechi Path from its origin near Greenville to the Catawba country was identical with the Lower Cherokee Traders' Path prior to 1775 (No. 77). It passed, from the point where it parted from the Occaneechi Path, southwest through High Point. Near Lexington it was joined by a prong of the Saura-Saponi trail and from Lexington it led to Old Sapona.

The High Point settlement.—In 1701, 5 miles northwest of the place where this trail crossed the "Heighwaree" (Uharie) River, Lawson found the fortified town of the Keyauwee.⁷⁰ This was at or near the present town of High Point, Guilford County, N. C.

Old Sapona.—Old Sapona (Saponi (1701) of the map) was the next important town as we pass along this trail to the southwest. It was located where the path crossed Yadkin River at the Trading Ford, about 1½ miles below the present Yadkin River crossing of the Southern Railway, about 6 miles northeast of Salisbury, Rowan County, N. C. The Saponi who occupied it formerly lived at a town on Otter River, southwest of Lynchburg, Va., where they had been visited by Lederer and other explorers after 1670. Shortly

⁶⁹ Alvord and Bidgood, *op. cit.*

⁷⁰ For Lawson's account of these people see his *History of Carolina*, pp. 88-92.

after 1671 these Otter River Saponi, together with the Tutelo, having been harassed by the Iroquois, removed for protection to the old Occaneechi town near Clarksville, Va.

It is not known when the old Rowan County Saponi town on Yadkin River was first occupied or whether it was in existence at the same time as that on the Otter River or the later Saponi town at Occaneechi. The first mentioned was visited in 1701 by Lawson, who was struck by the beauty of its surroundings,⁷¹ and its remains could still be discerned in 1880, when the site was described by Rumple.⁷²

The melancholy story of the later wanderings and ultimate fate of the Saponi can be found in the works already cited.⁷³ The remnant was finally incorporated with the Cayuga Iroquois of New York.

From Old Sapona a prong of the Occaneechi Path, really an extension of Trail No. 39, probably led to the west via Statesville, Claremont, and Morganton, and joined the Saura prong near Glen Alpine. The Occaneechi Path itself continued on to the southwest, and traces of it in the neighborhood of Sapona are preserved. Rumple says:

"About a half-mile this side Trading Ford, the old Trading path turns off from the present road towards the south, and . . . crosses Crane Creek somewhere in the neighborhood of 'Spring Hill,' running perhaps a mile south east of Salisbury, and so on to the southward, between Salisbury and Dunn's Mountain. Along this path, before civilized men dwelt here, caravans passed to and fro, visiting the Red Men in their towns, and selling them guns, powder, shot, hatchets, or tomahawks, kettles, plates, blankets, cutlery, brass rings and other trinkets. Parallel to this path the great North Carolina Rail Road now rushes on bearing the commerce of the nation. And it was along this same path that emigrants from Pennsylvania and Virginia began to pour into Old Rowan in the first half of the last century."⁷⁴

The path led on to the southwest, passing near Salisbury and through Concord and Charlotte, to the several Catawba settlements along Catawba River in York and Lancaster Counties, South Carolina. The main Catawba settlement⁷⁵ was where this trail crossed the Catawba River at the mouth of Sugar (Sugaree) Creek, about 25 miles in a straight line south of Charlotte. From these York and Lancaster County Catawba towns the path continued on to the

⁷¹ Lawson, *History of Carolina*, pp. 80-81.

⁷² Rumple: *History of Rowan County, North Carolina*, pp. 6-7, 17-18. He adds this bit of local folklore: "Tradition says that at 'Swearing Creek,' a few miles beyond Sapona, the traders were in the habit of taking a solemn oath never to reveal any unlawful proceedings that might occur during their sojourn among the Indians" (p. 17).

⁷³ *Bulletins* 22 (pp. 37-56) and 30, pt. 2, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, article "Saponi".

⁷⁴ Rumple, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁷⁵ The Catawba were the most important of the Siouan tribes of the east. For information regarding them consult Mooney in *Bull.* 22, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, pp. 69-74, and *Bull.* 30, pt. 1, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, article "Catawba."

Cherokee settlements in northwestern South Carolina, where it joined a great maze of trails leading to every point of the compass.

Early explorers on the Occaneechi Path.—De Soto and his army are the first white men believed to have passed over any part of the Occaneechi trail, since it is probable that they traversed the extreme western portion of the Saura prong in 1540.⁷⁶

In 1650 Edward Bland, an English merchant, interested in the promotion of trade with the Indians, and apparently with a further view to the location of places suitable for white colonization, traveled over that part of the trail near Virginia.⁷⁷

In 1671 came the visit of John Lederer already mentioned. This traveler records so many exaggerations that his narrative, unless reasonably corroborated, is viewed with suspicion, but authorities agree that he either passed over this old Occaneechi trail to the ancient Saura town in western North Carolina, after it had been removed to a point somewhere near Patterson, or obtained and recorded reliable information regarding it from Indians at the old Clarkesville Occaneechi site. De Soto had visited the Saura 220 years before, when their town was situated at or near the junction of the Oconolufy and Tuckasegee Rivers, in Swain County, N. C.,⁷⁸ but before Lederer's time they had probably removed to a site near Patterson, Caldwell County. That the Saura town was located somewhere in that portion of the State now occupied by Caldwell, Wilkes, or Alleghany Counties is in some measure indicated by "A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, etc." by Thos. L. Hutchins, London, 1778, which shows a Saura town on the waters of the Dan about 7 miles south of the Virginia line and about $81^{\circ} 20'$ longitude W. of London.⁷⁹

Not long after the period of Lederer's visit trading along this route became common and in the wake of the traders permanent white settlers soon appeared.

THE WARRIORS' PATH IN KENTUCKY

(Trail No. 32)

The Warriors' Path in Kentucky was a continuation of several well-known trails which came up from the Carolinas and Georgia, through East Tennessee, to the great opening through the mountain wall at Cumberland Gap. From Cumberland Gap it ran northward, passing through Ouasioto Pass to the old Shawnee town, Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki, where it met several other trails. At Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki

⁷⁶ See the narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas, in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, pp. 176-178, and Bourne's *Narr. of De Soto*, vol. 1, pp. 69-73; and those of Ranjel and Biedma, *Narr. of De Soto*, vol. II, pp. 15, 102-107.

⁷⁷ See Alvord and Bidgood, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-127.

⁷⁸ The location of the Saura town in De Soto's time is not certainly known. This represents Mr. Myer's opinion.—ED.

⁷⁹ For an account of Lederer's travels see Alvord and Bidgood, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-159.

the Warriors' Path divided. One prong (No. 32A) led off to the northeast to a Shawnee town at the mouth of the Scioto; the other prong (No. 32B) also led northeast, divided again at the upper Blue Lick into trails 32C and 32D, one of which crossed the Ohio at the mouth of Cabin Creek, in what is now Mason County, Ky., a short distance upstream from Maysville, while the other reached the Ohio at Vanceburg and ascended that river to rejoin trail 32A.

As there were important trails in various sections of the United States each known as Warriors' Path, we have designated this the Warriors' Path in Kentucky, but in the text we shall call it simply the Warriors' Path.

This is one of the few ancient trails whose aboriginal names have been preserved. Speed says:

"The various stations or forts which were dotted all over the level lands where the great army of immigrants spread themselves were principally named in honor of the leading pioneers. The memory of the Indian was seldom perpetuated in the name of mountain or stream, village or fort, and never in the roads and traces of the country. The great highway leading from the Cumberland Gap to the mouth of the Scioto, the *Athiamiowee* of the Indians, was called by the pioneers '*Warrior's Path*;' and the trace of the sagacious buffalo through the trackless forests, named by the Indians *Alanantowamiwee*,^{79a} was called by our forefathers the '*Buffalo Path*.'" ⁸⁰

Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt reports that while "the means—historical and linguistic—available for determining the accuracy of these renderings are far from adequate" the name *Athiamiowee* appears "to belong to the Miami dialect of the Algonquian stock or at least to a cognate or closely related dialect of that stock" and signifies "'The Path of the Armed Ones,' or 'The Armed Path,' hence, 'Warriors' Path.'"

The route of the Warriors' Path is laid down on many early maps of this region. Lewis Evans's map of 1755 with Pownall's (1776) additions shows it. Evans calls it "the common path to the Cuttawas Country."⁸¹ It is also shown in John Filson's "Map of Kentucke," 1784.

Thomas Hutchins indicates this trail in a map entitled "A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina," London, 1778, and says of it: "The path to the Cuttawa Country. It goes through this Gap which is pointed out by the late Mr. Evans as a most important Pass." It also appears

^{79a} Dr. Truman Michelson states that the interpretation of this word is correct but that "t" has in some way become substituted for "s".

⁸⁰ Speed, *The Wilderness Road*, p. 70.

⁸¹ "A Topographical Description of Such Parts of North America as Are Contained in the Annexed Map of the Middle British Colonies, etc., in North America. By T. Pownall, M. P., Late Governor, etc., of His Majesty's Provinces of Massachusetts and South Carolina and Lieutenant Governor of New Jersey. London, 1776."

on many later maps and is mentioned by Dr. Thomas Walker in his journal, 1749-50, and in the journal of Christopher Gist, 1751.⁸²

Many references to the Warriors' Path are to be found in Collins's "History of Kentucky," Speed's "The Wilderness Road," Hanna's "Wilderness Trail," and the biographies of Boone.

This path played an important and tragic part in the Kentucky of the aborigines as well as in the Kentucky of the early white man. Over the prongs of it came armed parties from the north carrying war into the far south, and likewise there passed northward southern war bands to strike return blows at their enemy beyond the Ohio. Along it in the same way came Indians to harass the northern white settlements in Kentucky, and over it they carried Boone and many another white captive. Some of these were to be tortured and slain in the Ohio villages; others, like Boone, were by the caprice of fate to be held in weary captivity, while some were sold into slavery in distant Canada. The uncertainty, the dread, and the horror haunted it which justified the name "Dark and Bloody Ground." No country has seen bloodier deeds or greater daring than that along this ancient highway.

Route of the Warriors' Path.—The Warriors' Path led from the pass at Cumberland Gap down Yellow Creek and thence to the ancient ford of Cumberland River just below the present Louisville and Nashville Railroad bridge over the Cumberland at Pineville, Bell County.

Dr. Thomas Walker, who gave the present name of Cumberland to this beautiful stream, passed along this portion of the Warriors' Path on April 17, 1750. April 14-17 his journal contains the following entries:

"April 14th. We kept down the Creek 5 miles Chiefly along the Indian Road.

"15th. Easter Sunday. Being in bad grounds for our horses we moved 7 miles along the Indian Road, to Clover Creek. Clover and Hop Vines are plenty here.

"April 16th. Rai(n). I made a Pair of Indian Shoes, those I brought out being bad.

"17th. Still Rain. I went down the Creek⁸³ a hunting and found that it went into a River about a mile below our Camp. This, which is Flat Creek and Some others join'd, I called Cumberland River."⁸⁴

⁸² Johnston, First Explorations of Kentucky. Journals of Walker and Gist.

⁸³ "Clear (Clover) Creek empties into Cumberland River just above Pineville, where the river breaks through Pine Mountain, a range parallel to Cumberland Mountain, eight or ten miles distant. Yellow (Flat) Creek empties into it several miles above."

⁸⁴ Johnston, First Explorations of Kentucky, Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker, p. 50. Some have fallen into the erroneous belief, because Walker forced on this stream the name of the ignoble Duke of Cumberland, "the butcher of Culloden," that Walker discovered the Cumberland. This is far from the truth. This stream had been known to the whites by report since the time of Marquette, 1673, or about seventy-seven years. It had been visited by the French as early as 1710, or about 40 years before Walker saw it, and was known to them as the "Rivière des Anciens Chouanons" and is so named on Bellin's 1744 Map of Louisiana ("Carte De La Louisiane Cours du Mississipi et Pais Voisins, . . . Par M. Bellin, Ingenieur de la Marine 1744").

April 18, 1750, Walker records, "We kept down the Creek to the River along the Indian Road to where it Crosses. Indians . . . lived about this Ford Some years ago."⁸⁵ But there are many evidences that the strategic point where this trail crossed the Cumberland had been occupied long before the Indians of whom Walker speaks settled there."⁸⁶

From the old crossing at Pineville the path led northeast about 6 miles to a salt lick known to the early whites as Flat Lick.⁸⁷

The Wilderness Road.—At the Flat Lick the first white trail in this region branched off to the northeast and led to Boonsboro, Harrodsburg, and the region around Lexington. This was the Wilderness Road laid out by Boone. It is not known whether, as a whole, it followed a former Indian trail, but there are indications that it followed older animal and Indian paths for a portion of the distance.

Settlements of the ancient salt makers.—From Flat Lick the Warriors' Path continued nearly due north to the settlement of the ancient salt makers at the salt spring at the junction of Collins Fork and Goose Creek, near Manchester, Clay County. Rafinesque⁸⁸ mentions six mounds in this neighborhood, but it is not clear whether they were near together and indicated a single village or, as is more probable, lay at some distance from one another and marked the sites of as many distinct settlements.

This site developed into the most extensive single source of salt production in the State of Kentucky. The following quotations from Collins are of interest in connection with it:

"Salt, of the best quality, has been made much more extensively in Clay county, since 1800, than elsewhere in the State. In 1846, 15 furnaces produced 200,000 bushels per annum. So great is the supply and so fine the quality of the salt water that, with improved facilities, the manufacture could be increased to any extent.

* * * * * * *

"*Names.*—Collins' fork took its name from the first settler; Red Bird fork and Jack's creek, from two friendly Indians bearing those names, to whom was granted the privilege of hunting there; they

⁸⁵ Johnston, First Explorations of Kentucky, Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker, pp. 50-51.

⁸⁶ A wooden image was found at this place in 1869 by L. Farmer of Pineville. It was secured subsequently by Mr. Bennet H. Young of Louisville, Ky., and at his death was sold to the Museum of the American Indian, New York City. See Collins, History of Kentucky, vol. II, p. 412.

⁸⁷ A few miles from Flat Lick, probably near the old prehistoric settlement whose site is marked by the mound at the junction of Meadow Creek and the Cumberland in Whitley County, was an aboriginal fish dam, mentioned by Haywood. ("Civil and Political History of Tennessee," 2d ed., pp. 88-89.) The writer came upon traces of a similar aboriginal fish dam in the Obey River, near the mouth of Eagle Creek, in the mountains of Pickett County, Tenn. These dams were very efficient, and were constructed as follows: In shallow water were built two low walls of stone, closely but irregularly piled together. One wall from either shore extended downward and upward across the stream until they met near the center, and at the meeting point a small opening was left, into which a fish trap was fixed. The stone walls allowed the water to trickle through but stopped the larger fish, which, on endeavoring to pass downstream were led by these walls into the central trap, from which there was no escape. These low stone walls were easy to repair and remained much longer than one would suppose possible, as is proven by the one described by Hayward as "made in very ancient times."

⁸⁸ Annals of Kentucky, p. 33.

were both murdered for the furs they had accumulated, and their bodies thrown into the water.

"*The First Settler*, or first white man known to have entered within the present boundaries of Clay county, was James Collins, in 1798. He built his cabin upon the headwaters of Collins' fork; and in 1800, at a salt spring which he had discovered when following a buffalo trail, some months previously, made the first salt ever made in the county.

"*Burying Ground*.—But the Indians had manufactured salt here before James Collins—as [is] evidenced by a large Indian (or aboriginal) burying ground near the salt spring, by a flight of stone steps from the spring to the high [ground] or table-land, together with a huge heap of earthen and muscle-shell pots and a great mass of charcoal at the same place.

"*James White, sen.*, of Abingdon, Va., was the quartermaster of Gen. Cox, of Tennessee—whose duty was the protection of the white settlers on this frontier. When White was at Lexington purchasing supplies for the army, he heard of the salt spring and hastened to buy the land that embraced it—a purchase which has proved a source of great wealth to his family."⁸⁹

By 1795 the red man had been forced so far from his old salt-making town that he was no longer able to strike a blow at the new white settlement of Manchester building up around it.⁹⁰

It is not known to what tribe these salt makers belonged, nor when they passed away. The unburied stone steps and the "great mass" of charcoal, apparently not yet buried by earth mold, imply no great antiquity.

Ouasioto Pass.—From the town of the salt makers the Warriors' Path led northward to the mountain pass leading down Station Camp Creek, in Jackson and Estill Counties. The mountains here, extending northeastwardly through western Kentucky into West Virginia, were put down on early maps as the Ouasioto Mountains. They are so shown on Lewis Evans's map of 1755 with Pownall's 1776 additions, and on many other early maps. The pass was known as Ouasioto Pass. It formed a natural gateway and much aboriginal barter went through it.

An ancient settlement and lead mine.—In 1874 traces of a prehistoric settlement could still be seen on the south fork of Station Camp Creek where the Warriors' Path went through Ouasioto Pass. So far there appears to be no clue to the people who formerly lived here and raised these mounds. It is a mountainous region with only a few fertile spots along the creeks and would seem to have contained little to appeal to prehistoric man. A vein of so-called "silver ore"

⁸⁹ Collins, *History of Kentucky*, p. 141.

⁹⁰ The last recorded Indian depredation in the interior of the State of Kentucky is said to have occurred on March 28, 1795.—Collins, *op. cit.*

is said to have been found in this region, but it was probably galena, the veins of which contain very small traces of silver.⁹¹ Many such veins were worked to a slight extent by the whites, but they soon found that the value of the ores which they obtained was very much less than the cost of extraction. As to the Indians, while they often ground up lead ore into a silvery-white powder for body decoration, a small amount would suffice for a long period. Later, when they obtained guns, they probably resorted to these Kentucky ores to some extent for bullets.

The Shawnee town of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki.^{91a}—From the prehistoric Red Lick camp site the Warriors' Path led northward to Station Camp Creek and across Kentucky River near the mouth of the former. Then it continued in the same direction through Estill and Powell Counties to what our early white settlers called the Indian Old Fields, in Clark County, about 12 miles southeast of Winchester, near the site of the little village of Indian Fields on Lulbehrad Creek. Chartier's band of Shawnee were located here from 1745 to 1748, and some of the tribe continued to hunt in the neighborhood until about 1755. They called their town Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki or Es-kip-pa-kith-i-ka. However, there is reason to think that the place had been occupied at an earlier period.⁹² The site had many natural advantages which would appeal strongly to ancient man. The lick drew game and afforded salt, and there was sufficient fertile soil for truck patches.

THE SCIOTO PRONG

(Trail No. 32A)

At Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki the Warriors' Path divided, as we have already stated. The Scioto prong led off to the northeast and crossed the Ohio at the mouth of Scioto River. At a point on the west side of Brush Creek in the present Montgomery County, about 10 miles in a straight line northeast of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki and about 6 miles southeast of Mount Sterling, it came to what is probably one of the most ancient groups of earthworks to be found anywhere along the Warriors' Path. This was surveyed by Constantine Samuel Rafinesque in 1820, and the survey, together with a description from Rafinesque's unpublished manuscript, was reproduced by Squier and Davis.⁹³

⁹¹ See Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 353; and an exaggerated hunter's narrative in Haywood, *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, 2d ed., pp. 46-47. Also cf. Drake, *History of the Shawnee Indians*, Cincinnati, 1856, pp. 40-41.

^{91a} Dr. T. Michelson says that the first four syllables of the name undoubtedly contain the Shawnee word meaning "green."

⁹² Most that is known of the history of the Shawnee settlement is contained in Hanna: "The Wilderness Trail," particularly on pp. 240-242. Dr. D. G. Briaton thought that it was built about 1731 by Shawnees who had come up from the south the year before along the Great Warriors' Trail through Cumberland Gap (*Historical Mag.*, 1866, vol. x, p. 4), but this may be nothing more than a conjecture on his part. Regarding a possible older occupancy we may quote from Lyman C. Draper's Ms. "Life of Boone," in which he says: "Besides the evidences of recent habitations there were also mounds and fortifications, showing that it had been also the resort of the mound builders."

⁹³ Squier and Davis, *Ancient Monuments*, Pl. xxxiii, fig. 1; also p. 93.

The Scioto prong beyond Montgomery County.—From the town of the unknown peoples just mentioned the Scioto prong led northeast, passing an old animal lick on Licking River, near the present village of Salt Lick, in Bath County, and continued in nearly a straight line to its terminus on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Scioto. At this great aboriginal gateway it met trails leading to every part of the present State of Ohio and to regions beyond, but its main connection was a trunk path running almost due north to Sandusky Bay. This formed the last link in a great chain of connecting routes from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico and the territory of our present South Atlantic States.

The natural gateway at the mouth of the Scioto.—Through vast stretches of prehistoric time the Ohio crossing at the mouth of the Scioto must have been a gateway through which much of the communication took place between central Kentucky, east Tennessee, and certain sections of Georgia and the Carolinas on one hand and the prehistoric settlements in central Ohio and on Lake Erie on the other. With the coming of the railroad the position of the main north and south route was changed and this crossing lost its strategic importance.

The Indian settlements at the mouth of the Scioto.—On the hills and in the river bottoms on both sides of the Ohio at this point are found many remains of the Indians. These are on somewhat scattered sites, perhaps because they were left by several different peoples attracted to this important strategic point at various times. From the period when this region was first known to Europeans, however, until 1738, the site appears to have been unoccupied, but it was then taken possession of by a band of Shawnee and Delaware Indians, thought to have been those who had occupied Le Tort's town near the present village of Shelocta, on Crooked Creek, Indiana County, Pa. They appear to have avoided the old prehistoric sites, establishing themselves instead on a high bottom on the west bank of the Scioto at its mouth. The whites came to know this settlement as the Lower Shawnee Town, but Mooney believed that it was known to its own inhabitants by the same name as the town to which these Shawnee moved later, i. e. Chillicothe. In 1750 a great flood destroyed most of it and a new settlement was made on the Kentucky side of the river, but in 1758 its inhabitants abandoned the region entirely and settled on the Pickaway Plains, in Pickaway County. The most important memorials of previous occupants of this region are the great earthworks at Portsmouth, which are somewhat like those found at various points higher up the Scioto and at a few other places in Ohio as well as some in Indiana and along the Kanawha in West Virginia.

Ohio River connections of the Warriors' Path.—As has been said, the main connection northward of the Warriors' Path from the Ohio

River was the Great Scioto Trail. This led up the Scioto Valley through the very heart of the great Ohio mound region, around Portsmouth, Chillicothe, and Circleville, and from the last mentioned place through the Mingo town near Columbus, to Delaware, Upper Sandusky, and finally Lake Erie at Sandusky Bay, where it connected with the Great Lakes waterways. At the various central Ohio towns it was joined by trails leading to all the important aboriginal sections of our present North Central States.

One of the most important of these connections was at the Shawnee town of Maguck, near Circleville.⁹⁴ A trail led from this place northwest through old Pickawillany, on the Big Miami River, in Miami County, to an important and long-occupied site where is now situated Fort Wayne, Ind. When first visited by the French there was on the spot an Indian town called Kiskakon, through which the trail passed until it reached some small Indian settlements near the present site of Chicago. Thence it continued to the far northwest and into Canada.

The Warriors' Path and its connections no doubt served to guide many great movements of peoples seeking new homes as well as parties bent on war or trade.

THE UPPER BLUE LICKS PRONG

(Trail No. 32B)

The Upper Blue Licks prong of the Warriors' Path penetrated a section which seems to have been occupied successively by a number of peoples, but there is no clue as yet to their identity or the antiquity of the remains left by them.

From Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki the path led slightly east of north to one of these prehistoric towns on the site of what is now Mount Sterling, in Montgomery County. Not far off was a second ancient settlement.⁹⁵ Some of the objects obtained from them were presented to the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., in 1868, by Judge R. Apperson, through Prof. N. S. Shaler.⁹⁶

At the Mount Sterling town the Upper Blue Licks prong crossed the Old State Road built by early white settlers, which led from central Kentucky through Pike County and up the Russel Fork into southwestern Virginia. For at least a portion of its route it seems to have followed an earlier Indian trail connecting with the aboriginal settlements around Lexington, Georgetown, and Paris.

From the Mount Sterling site the Upper Blue Licks prong continued slightly east of north to the prehistoric works at Sharpsburg,

⁹⁴ Hanna (*The Wilderness Trail*, vol. II, p. 29) reproduces an original letter which throws some light on the condition of Maguck in 1764.

⁹⁵ Described by Collins, *History of Kentucky*, p. 632.

⁹⁶ *Second Ann. Rept. Peabody Museum*, pp. 12-15.

in Bath County,⁹⁷ which seem to resemble some of these low earthen circular embankments found in the Scioto Valley. The large circle which constitutes the most conspicuous feature may have been crowned by a stockade.

From Sharpsburg the trail went on 4 miles to another group of prehistoric mounds.⁹⁷

While passing along this trail Daniel Boone had one of those many exciting experiences which have made him the idol of every red-blooded boy in the Republic,⁹⁸ and the forests surrounding it afforded many exciting adventures for other pioneers.¹

Seven miles north of Sharpsburg and 5 south of Upper Blue Licks the trail passed another prehistoric settlement of an unknown people,² and farther on there is said to be still another interesting relic of early man,³ perhaps a ceremonial dance ground similar to the so-called "dance grounds" found on many elevated spots in the old Cherokee region in the mountains around Franklin, Macon County, N. C.⁴

Upper Blue Licks.—The trail we have been following next reached the Upper Blue Licks, in the present Nicholas County, on Licking River, about 12 miles upstream from the Lower Blue Licks. The Lower Blue Licks are on another trail, the Old Buffalo Path.

These well-known springs were principal sources for supplies of salt, both for prehistoric man and the early whites. They became especially famous in the period between 1840 and 1860.⁵

According to a tradition of doubtful reliability it was at a salt lick in this region, probably the Upper Blue Licks, that the Iroquois first saw the buffalo and obtained the buffalo dance.⁶

Salt Lick Creek prong (No. 32c).—At the Upper Blue Licks a number of minor trails concentrated, but space will not permit us to trace all of these. The path which we have been following itself separated into two branches. One led to the northeast, probably passing down Salt Lick Creek, in Lewis County, to the Ohio River, which it then followed up to the great crossing at the mouth of the Scioto.

Christopher Gist, on his journey of exploration into Kentucky in 1751, probably followed this Salt Lick Creek prong, but while he gives compass readings and distances, it is now impossible to deter-

⁹⁷ Collins, *History of Kentucky*, p. 47.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 653-654.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 654.

⁴ A few similar dance grounds are found in the former Cherokee country in East Tennessee. There is one 6 miles west of Oakdale, Morgan County, Tenn., measuring 200 by 100 feet.

⁵ For an account of these licks and the part they played in early Kentucky history see Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 654-663.

⁶ Mooney in 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 352.

mine his route with certainty on account of the evident errors in courses as they have come down to us.

Cabin Creek prong (No. 32D).—The other prong led almost due north and crossed the Ohio at the mouth of Cabin Creek, near the northeast corner of Mason County. It is the one shown on the Filson map of Kentucky of 1784.

This was the route chosen by Black Fish and the other Shawnee chiefs when they led a band of 444 Indians and 12 Frenchmen from Old Chillicothe to besiege Boonsboro. Until that time this was the largest band that had attacked the whites in the limits of the present State of Kentucky.⁷

OTHER ABORIGINAL TRAILS IN EASTERN KENTUCKY

ALANANT-O-WAMIOWEE (THE BUFFALO PATH)

(Trail No. 1)

The Alanant-o-wamiowee, which sweeps in a semicircle through north central Kentucky, is one of the oldest roads in America. From the point where it crossed the Ohio River it reached the celebrated Big Bone Lick in Boone County, a mile and a half away, and continued along trails made by animals in passing from one salt lick to another,⁸ through much of the salt-producing region of central and northern Kentucky, until it came out upon the Ohio River at Maysville, in Mason County, a distance of some 225 miles.

From Big Bone Lick it ran to Drennon's Lick (now Drennon's Springs), near the Kentucky River, in the eastern part of Henry County, and thence to the crossing of the Kentucky River at old Leestown. Morse calls it the best crossing place on that river and prophesied for the town located there a prosperous future which failed to materialize.⁹

From the above crossing the trail led to the site of the present town of Stamping Ground, in Scott County, "so named from the fact that the herds of buffalo which resorted here for salt water tramped or *stamped* down the undergrowth and soil for a great distance around."¹⁰ Thence it continued to the site of the present town of Great Crossings, 4 miles west of Georgetown, where it passed North Elkhorn Creek,¹⁰ and presently reached the Royal Spring, thus described by Collins:

"The 'Royal Spring' was the name given in 1775 to one of the finest springs in the state (of Kentucky), which bursts from a high

⁷ See Ranck's Boonesborough, p. 72; also see pp. 75-76.

⁸ Regarding buffalo paths in this section consult what Mr. J. Stoddard Johnston has to say on the subject, pp. 741-742.

⁹ See quotation in Collins, History of Kentucky, p. 242.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 697.

bluff of limestone rock, flows through the west end of Georgetown, and empties into Elkhorn five-eighths of a mile from its source. The spring affords an ample supply of water for the entire population, and the stream flowing from it sufficient water power for a woollen factory and grist mill which are located upon it."¹²

From Royal Spring the trail continued, via Paris, to the Great Blue Licks (now Blue Lick Springs) on Licking River, in Nicholas County, thence to May's Lick, in Mason County, and thence to Maysville, where it crossed the Ohio.

When the Indians came into this country they adopted the path from the buffalo, and the abundance of game about the licks induced them to establish their villages in the neighborhood. The white man succeeded, and Frankfort, Lexington, Paris, and some of the other leading Kentucky towns sprang up along the old trace. Its aboriginal name has been explained already.¹³

The western terminus of the Buffalo Path was, as we have said, at the mouth of Big Bone Creek, about 1½ miles in a direct line from Big Bone Lick, Boone County. By means of the crossing at the former place the near-by ancient settlements in southeastern Indiana and southwestern Ohio reached the salt and game at the lick, and faint traces of some of these towns may be seen at several points in the former State, such as the earthen mound on the Ohio River 2 miles south of Patriot, Switzerland County, Ind.; several mounds and "fireplaces" along Laughery Creek in Ohio County in the same State; several mounds which once stood near the Ohio River in or immediately around Aurora, Dearborn County, Ind.; several mounds and an inclosure in section 2, on a hill just north of Hardinsburg, also in Dearborn County. There was anciently a considerable population in the counties adjoining Dearborn on the west.

From Big Bone Creek crossing it was only about 30 miles by land or water to the mouth of the Great Miami River which opened up the thickly settled region of southwestern Ohio, and connection could be made here with the great network of trails covering Ohio and the adjoining States.

Another road (No. 2) led northeast from Big Bone Lick in a direct line to the Ohio crossing at Cincinnati, a distance of about 20 miles. The existence of this trail is confirmed by the fact that Filson's map of Kentucky shows "Gen'l Clark's War Road" leading along what we know to have been the Buffalo Path to Big Bone Lick and thence northeast along what was doubtless a continuation of this path to the Cincinnati crossing. That it was an established Indian warpath is further indicated by the name of a little creek which it crossed—War Creek.

¹² Collins, *History of Kentucky*, p. 698.

¹³ See p. 780.

From Big Bone Lick another trail (No. 4), about which very little is known, led off to the east to the Blue Licks.

The importance of Big Bone Lick in pre-Columbian, as well as later, times is set forth in the following quotation from Collins's History of Kentucky:

"In this county (Boone) is situated the celebrated *Big Bone Lick*, about twelve miles a little west of south from Burlington, and one mile and a half east from Hamilton, on the Ohio River. The lick is situated in a valley which contains about one hundred acres, through which flows Big Bone creek. There are two principal springs, one of which is almost on the northern margin of the creek; the other is south of the creek, and at the base of the hills which bound the valley. There is a third spring of smaller size some considerable distance north of the creek, which flows from a well sunk many years ago, when salt was manufactured at this lick. . . . At a very early day the surrounding forest had no undergrowth, the ground being covered with a smooth grassy turf, and the lick spread over an area of about ten acres. The surface of the ground within this area was generally depressed three or four feet below the level of the surrounding valley. This depression was probably occasioned as well by the stamping of the countless numbers of wild animals, drawn thither by the salt contained in the water and impregnating the ground, as by their licking the earth to procure salt. There is no authentic account of this lick having been visited by white men before 1739.

"In the year 1773, James Douglass, of Virginia, visited it, and found the ten acres constituting the lick bare of trees and herbage of every kind, and large numbers of the bones of the mastodon or mammoth, and the arctic elephant, scattered upon the surface of the ground. The last of these bones which thus lay upon the surface of the earth, were removed more than sixty years ago; but since that time a considerable number have been exhumed from beneath the soil, which business has been prosecuted as zealously by some, as others are wont to dig for hidden treasures. Some of the teeth of these huge animals would weigh near ten pounds, and the surface on which the food was chewed was about seven inches long and four or five broad. A correspondent informs us that he had seen dug up in one mass, several tusks and ribs, and thigh bones, and one skull, besides many other bones. Two of these tusks, which belonged to different animals, were about eleven feet in length, and at the largest end six or seven inches in diameter; two others were seven or eight feet long. The thigh bones were four or five feet in length, and a straight line drawn from one end of some of the ribs to the other would be five feet; the ribs were between three and four inches broad. These dimensions correspond with what Mr. Douglass has said of the ribs which he used for tent poles when he visited the lick in 1773. . . .

The first collection of these fossil remains was made by Dr. Goforth in 1803, and in 1806 was intrusted by him to the English traveler, Thomas Ashe, (the slanderer of our country), to be exhibited in Europe, who, when he arrived in England, sold the collection and pocketed the money. The purchaser afterwards transferred parts of this collection to the Royal College of Surgeons in London, to Dr. Blake of Dublin, and Professor Monroe of Edinburgh, and a part was sold at auction. The next collection was made by order of Mr. Jefferson, while he was president of the American Philosophical Society, about the year 1805,¹⁴ and was divided between that society and M. Cuvier, the distinguished French naturalist. A third collection was made in 1819, by the Western Museum Society. In the year 1831 a fourth collection was made by Mr. Finnell. This was first sold to a Mr. Graves for \$2,000, and taken by him to the eastern states, and there sold for \$5,000. In 1840, Mr. Cooper, of New York, estimated that the bones of 100 mastodons, and of 20 elephants besides those of several other animals, had been collected here.

"Salt was manufactured at Big Bone Lick by the Indians before 1756; and by the whites as late as 1812. It required 500 or 600 gallons of the water to make a bushel of salt."¹⁵

Regarding the paleontological importance of the salt licks in general and Big Bone Lick in particular, Prof. N. S. Shaler, at that time director of the Kentucky State Geological Survey, says:

"Moreover, the swampy grounds about these springs are filled with successive layers of buried animals belonging to the extinct life of the country. Elephants, mastodons, and many other animals which no longer live on our land lie buried by the thousand around the waters where they resorted for salt. Big Bone Lick, a territory of forty acres or more, is crowded with these remains, as interesting in their way as the ruins of Egypt. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance to science of a thorough study of these great burial places; through such work we may be able to understand the nature of the great changes that swept away the vast creatures which occupied the earth before the time of man."¹⁶

THE LICKING ROUTE

(Trail No. 3)

There was an ancient land and water route from the Indian settlements on the lower courses of the Great and Little Miami Rivers, reaching central Kentucky and continuing on to the south through Ouasioto Pass to East Tennessee and Georgia. It led up Licking River from its mouth to the junction of its north and south

¹⁴ Actually two years later. See Johnston in *First Explorations of Kentucky*, pp. 177-178.

¹⁵ Collins, *History of Kentucky*, pp. 51-52.

¹⁶ *Kentucky Geological Report*, vol. III, 1887, p. 18.

prongs at Falmouth, in Pendleton County, where it forked. From Falmouth the water route continued, in high water, by the main river until it reached a point near the lower Blue Licks (now Blue Lick Springs), in Nicholas County.

John Johnston, United States agent of Indian Affairs at Piqua, Ohio, in 1814,¹⁷ states that the Shawnee name for Licking River was *Nepepenime Sepe* (*nepepenime* = salt, *sepe* = river—i. e., Salt River), and this is reflected in the white man's name, Licking River, since it was noted for the large number of salt licks along its course. Louis Evans¹⁸ calls it "The Great Salt Lick River."

From Falmouth the land route fork continued southward to an important Indian town near the present site of Cynthiana, and another at Paris, where it connected with trails leading in many directions. While it is well established that this route ran on southward to Ouasioto Pass, its exact location between Paris and that place is uncertain.

The country along this portion of the route was so easily traversed that the Indian, not finding any animal trails leading toward Ouasioto Pass, did not confine himself to one beaten trail. However, it is quite probable that the most traveled way was along the course later followed by the old State road as far as the Indian town at Mount Sterling and thence south to the Shawnee town of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki, in Clark County, where it connected with the old Warriors' Path leading southward through the Ouasioto Pass into East Tennessee and Georgia.

A considerable portion of the travel on Licking River from the Ohio to the forks of the Licking at Falmouth appears to have been by water when the stage of the river permitted. Probably the land trail along Licking River was rough.

At times Indians bound south from the western Ohio towns are known to have floated down the Great or Little Miami and then to have paddled up the Licking to Falmouth or beyond. At the head of canoe navigation they concealed their canoes and followed the land route, and on their return took to their canoes again, floated down the Licking, and paddled up the stream which they had earlier descended.¹⁹

John Johnston, the United States Indian agent, states that the Wyandot name for Cincinnati was *Tu, ent, a, hal, e, whagh, ta*, "the land or place where the road leaves the river."²⁰

¹⁷ Trans. and Colls., Amer. Antiq. Soc., vol. 1, p. 299.

¹⁸ See his 1755 Map of the Middle British Colonies in America with Pownall's 1776 Additions.

¹⁹ See the account of Colonel Byrd's expedition against the Kentucky settlements in Collins's History of Kentucky, vol. II, pp. 328-329. Also cf. *ibid.*, pp. 325-326.

²⁰ Trans. and Colls., Amer. Antiq. Soc., vol. 1, p. 297.

THE BIG BONE-BLUE LICK TRAIL

(Trail No. 4)

This led from Big Bone Lick, in Boone County, Ky., to both the lower and upper Big Licks on the Licking River in Nicholas County. It is shown on Louis Evans's "1775 Map of the Middle British Colonies in America with Pownall's 1776 Addition," and J. Stoddard Johnston²¹ says: "From Big Bone Lick buffalo roads led to Blue Licks."

This meager information makes it certain that such a trail existed, but leaves its exact location in serious doubt. In placing it on our map we have been guided as to its general direction by Louis Evans's map, and in other respects by the ridges and the higher and more open lands, such as would be preferred by wild animals and moccasin-clad savages. This trail was not a very popular one with either the red man or the early whites.

TRAILS OF THE KENTUCKY PIONEERS

THE WILDERNESS ROAD

(Trail No. 5)

The route followed by Boone and his contemporary pioneers from Moccasin Gap, in southwestern Virginia, through the mountains to the rich blue-grass region of central Kentucky, was called "The Wilderness Road" or "The Road Through the Wilderness."²² Portions were used by the Indians, but as a whole it must be considered a white man's trail. Its route is given here because it is so intimately connected with the final passing of the red man.

Route of the Wilderness Road, Moccasin Gap to Cumberland Gap.—Mr. William Allen Pusey, a great grandson of the William Brown whose journals of travel over this old road are of so much interest, has made a careful examination of the Wilderness Road and given it much study. In his work²³ the following route from Moccasin Gap to Crab Orchard is laid down with great care. We quote with his permission.

²¹ See p. 742 and First Explorations of Kentucky, p. 184.

²² "Some confusion arises in the use of the term 'Wilderness Road' to designate the road from Virginia to Kentucky, for the reason that in some localities the course of the road has been changed and distinction is made between the Wilderness Road and the Wilderness Trail. For example: Northwest of Barbourville, Ky., the trail of 1775 followed one course, and the road provided for by the Kentucky Legislature, which was opened in 1795, followed another. In this district the road of 1775 is called the Wilderness Trail and the road of 1795 the Wilderness Road. Then, later, in this locality, both of these roads gave way, as the main traveled road between Barbourville and London, to another road laid off in 1850; and now this road as the main traveled road between these points has been succeeded by a road still further south, which goes through Corbin. I have had in mind in locating the road the old road of 1775. This was the important pioneer road. By 1795 this road had begun to divide its importance with the Ohio River Route to Kentucky, and after 1800 rapidly lost importance."—Pusey, *The Wilderness Road to Kentucky*, pp. 83-84.

²³ *The Wilderness Road to Kentucky*, pp. 87-129.

“The Wilderness Road proper began at the Block House. The roads from the north and the south brought the traveler to this point. The Block House was the last station before Moccasin Gap, or Big Moccasin Gap, the gate to the Indian country, and about the same distance from the important western rendezvous of the Holston pioneers, Long Island, in the South Fork of the Holston River. It was of course, for these reasons that the early travelers to Kentucky were used to gather at the Block House in order to form parties for the trip to Kentucky.

“The Block House was established about 1777, perhaps even in 1775 when Boone’s party went out, by Captain John Anderson who lived in it from that time until his death. It was located in Carter’s Valley at a point where the hills open out into a valley half a mile wide and a mile long. This little valley is today a meadow surrounded by wooded hills. The spot is a pleasant one in a rough country. The location of the fort itself was determined, as always at these stations, by the presence of a good spring. The fort stood upon a small hill above the spring and looked east up the valley.

“The old road to the Block House from Long Island, at the mouth of Reedy Creek, still exists. This is the road which Boone followed on his journey of 1775.

“From the Block House the present road through Moccasin Gap, Gate City, Speer’s Ferry, Clinchport, Duffield to Kane’s Gap in Powell Mountain is in practically the exact location of the Wilderness Road. The first landmark of the old road after leaving the Block House was the ford of the North Fork of the Holston, two miles distant. The old ford is about 300 yards up the river from the present bridge, and the old road, approaching the ford up the south bank of the river and going down the north bank, still exists. Four miles beyond this is Moccasin Gap which furnished the only passway through the Clinch Mountains from the settlements on the Holston to the Clinch Valley. It is traversed by Big Moccasin Creek, and is a perfect gap, which allows passage without grades through this otherwise difficult mountain range. One mile beyond Moccasin Gap stood Fariss’ Station in the outskirts of the present town of Gate City, Va. . . .

“From Moccasin Gap to the Clinch River the road found an almost perfectly straight westerly course between the Clinch Mountains and Moccasin Ridge, up the valley of Little Moccasin Creek, and down the valley of Troublesome Creek. . . . The old road left the present road at Speer’s Ferry railroad station, went up over the hill and came down a ravine to the Clinch River a couple of hundred yards below the present Speer’s Ferry. The old ford across the Clinch is located a few yards below a present mill dam, which is 200 yards downstream from the ferry across the river. The old ford was

over a shoal in the river formed by an exposed ledge of rock, and, although the Clinch is a considerable stream, was not a deep ford in ordinary stages of water. The ford of the Clinch was, of course, a landmark on the road.

“The next landmark was the ford of Stock Creek, two miles north of the ford of the Clinch, at the present village of Clinchport. . . .

“At the ford of Stock Creek the hard mountain travel begins, and continues until Powell Valley is reached on the headwaters of Station Creek. The road followed up Stock Creek in a tortuous, steep, and difficult climb over the north end of Purchase or Stock Creek Ridge. In its course up Stock Creek it went around the mountain through which Stock Creek has cut the famous Natural Tunnel. . . .

“When the road had gotten up Stock Creek to the present point of Horton's Summit it had surmounted Purchase Ridge which ends with the gorge of Stock Creek. . . .

“The next landmark on the road was Little Flat Lick which was located a few hundred yards east of the present Duffield Station. . . .

* * * * *

“One mile beyond Little Flat Lick, and half a mile beyond Duffield, was the next pioneer landmark on the road, the ford of the North Fork of the Clinch, here a small creek. Half a mile beyond this point began the steep climb over Powell Mountain, which the road crossed through Kane's Gap at an elevation of about 2,500 feet . . . From the foot of Powell Mountain on the west the old road is represented by the present road down Wallen Creek to Stickleyville. A short distance from the foot of Powell Mountain, on its west side, was situated Scott's Station. Beyond the present Stickleyville the road passed over Wallen Ridge and reached Powell Valley on Station Creek. The climb over Wallen Ridge was long and steep; not quite so long or so high, but otherwise like that over Powell Mountain. Five miles down Station Creek Valley from Wallen Ridge was situated Valley Station.

* * * * *

“When the traveler reached Valley Station he was in Powell Valley. Thence to Cumberland Gap the road goes over many hills, and through a country that is always rolling, but it has no more mountain ranges to cross and no great natural obstacles to overcome. From Station Creek the old road followed directly west to Jonesville along a direct but now little used road. Two miles beyond Valley Station and seven miles beyond Wallen Ridge the road crossed by one of its hair-pin fords Powell River. The next landmark beyond Powell River was Glade Spring at the present Jonesville, Va. . . .

“From Jonesville to within a few miles of Cumberland Gap the old road is preserved practically in the present direct road between

these points which is now a State road. From Boone's Path to Cumberland Gap a modern graded road has been built which, for the most part, is in the location of the old road. Except where this modern road is built upon it, the old road usually is visible paralleling it. One mile beyond the point called Boone's Path, where there is only a small country store that was formerly a post office, and half a mile east of the village of Rose Hill, the road crossed Martin's Creek. Martin's Station was located a mile south of this point.

"Martin's Station was the important station on the road between the Block House and Crab Orchard. It was the station of Captain Joseph Martin, who was Virginia Agent for Indian Affairs, and the most influential person both with the Indians and with the scattered settlers in Powell Valley. . . .

"Beyond Martin's Station the road passed into the valley of Indian Creek and followed down this valley almost to Cumberland Gap. . . .

"Twelve miles from Martin's Station and 6 miles from Cumberland Gap was 'Big Spring.' From this point to English's Station, three miles from Crab Orchard—120 miles—there was not a station. Here the traveler had to traverse 120 miles of uninhabited wilderness.

"From Boone's Path to Cumberland Gap down Powell Valley was the best stretch of the Wilderness Road. Here the traveler passed down a fertile wide rolling valley with the high rugged ridge of Cumberland Mountain close at hand. The mountain range dominates the scenery and, as William Brown vividly described it, 'affords a wild romantic prospect.'

*"Route of the Wilderness Road, Cumberland Gap to Crab Orchard.—*Nearing Cumberland Gap from the east the road started around the foot of Cumberland Mountain through the valley of Station Creek, a small branch of Indian Creek. It went up this valley through a deep ravine and passed from it over Poor Valley Ridge at Poor Valley Gap. Poor Valley Ridge is a ridge which parallels Cumberland Mountain for thirty or forty miles north from Cumberland Gap. From Poor Valley Gap the road passed along the base of Pinnacle Mountain in the valley of a branch of Gap Creek. It struck what is now Colwyn Street of Cumberland Gap Village and passed along this street to a point about fifty feet east of the present railroad station of Cumberland Gap. At this point, the road for the only time dips into Tennessee for a few hundred yards.

"Just beyond the railroad station the road began the sharp climb of the Gap proper. The old road ascended the Gap on the north wall of the ravine. The earliest wagon road ascended by numerous turns back and forth until it got half-way up to the Gap, and then, by a very steep path along the wall of the ravine, it reached the Gap itself. Going down from the west side of the Gap the road followed the south

wall of the ravine down a course of similar character to that on the east side of the Gap. The track of this old road is now well preserved, and can be followed on both the east side and the west side of the Gap. It was narrow, excessively steep in places, and so stony that one wonders how a wagon ever got over it. Before this road was built the trail for horses and men went up to the Gap by a shorter and steeper climb on the north wall of the ravine leading to the Gap. Approaching the Gap from the east the old foot trace is still visible in a path at present in use. I could find no trace of the old footpath on the west side of the Gap.

“Cumberland Gap itself is a magnificent mountain pass, worthy of its importance and its history. . . .

* * * * * * *

“Coming down the west side of the mountain from Cumberland Gap the road passed towards the south around the base of the mountain behind the present old brewery at Middlesboro, Ky., and emerged into the valley of Big Yellow Creek at the point where the town of Middlesboro now stands. . . .

“When the first explorers passed through Cumberland Gap they found the path which the Indians had made. This was the Warriors Path, the Indian path from Lake Erie to the Tennessee. From the Gap it went west three miles along Yellow Creek and then straight north, still along Yellow Creek for most of the distance, to the Cumberland River at Pine Mountain Gap. Just beyond Pine Mountain Gap, at the mouth of Straight Creek, it left the Cumberland River, turning north up the valley of the left fork of Straight Creek and through the mountains to the mouth of the Scioto River on the Ohio. The Wilderness Road followed The Warriors Path until it forded the Cumberland beyond Pine Mountain Gap. It went down Yellow Creek to a point where Yellow Creek turns abruptly to the east to go around Rocky Face Mountain. The road left the creek here and saved several miles in its course to the Cumberland by climbing over a gap on the west side of Rocky Face. It continued then straight north until it reached the Cumberland River at the mouth of Big Clear Creek. A few hundred yards beyond the mouth of Big Clear Creek there is one of the Boone Trail markers. The road followed along the west side of the Cumberland River for a mile and passed through Pine Mountain at the gap at the present site of Pineville. This is a fine gorge, at its narrowest point so narrow that the mountains come down to the river on either side. It furnishes a perfect passway through this mountain range and the only one giving access to the west. The road forded the Cumberland at the north end of the present town of Pineville. It went along the south bank of the river until it found a gravel bar, and then turned back on itself at an angle of about 45 degrees, and went upstream across the river by

a long, but shallow, ford to its north bank. This ford is situated about 200 yards below the present wagon bridge which crosses the river from the town of Pineville to the freight station.

"The ford of the Cumberland and Cumberland Gap are, to my mind, the two most interesting landmarks on the Wilderness Road, and the stretch of the road between these two points is the most interesting part of the road. At the ford of the Cumberland the Warriors Path met the Wilderness Road. This path started in the Indian villages around Sandusky, on Lake Erie, passed through the Indian villages on the Scioto, crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Scioto, and made its way almost directly south across the mountains of Eastern Kentucky. It came down Straight Creek, hugging the foot of Pine Mountain until it found the gap made by the Cumberland. . . .

* * * * *

"This section of the road from the eastern slope of the Cumberland Mountain Range at Cumberland Gap to the west side of Pine Mountain and the Cumberland River is the gateway to Kentucky from the southeast. It and the section between Stock Creek and Valley Station, in Virginia, are the parts of the road which cross over the ranges of mountains that interfere with east and west travel. When the traveler had passed the ford of the Cumberland he had surmounted the great natural obstacles of his journey. . . .

"Leaving the ford of the Cumberland the road followed along the north bank of the Cumberland River for 7 miles. It then turned north from the river, and 1 mile further reached Flat Lick. The old Flat Lick is one of the landmarks on the road. It was to the pioneer Big Flat Lick in distinction from Little Flat Lick at Duffield. The Lick is half a mile north from the present railroad station called Flat Lick. An old brick house stands there now as a reminder of the days when the road was a thoroughfare to the east. It is not a prepossessing spot.

"The present railroad parallels the old road from Pineville to Flat Lick Station. From that point the railroad follows the Cumberland to Barbourville, while the Wilderness Road cuts across the mountains and did not touch the present course of the railroad again until it reached London, 25 miles farther on. From Flat Lick the Wilderness Road followed the course of the present main road to Barbourville, but did not go through Barbourville. It followed the present road down Fighting Creek until it reached Trace Branch of Fighting Creek about 5 miles east of Barbourville. It turned up Trace Branch of Fighting Creek and went across to Trace Branch of Little Richland Creek, these two names, of course, commemorating the old trail. It went down Little Richland Creek, one of the landmarks named by Brown, and crossed it near where it joined Richland Creek. One

mile further west it crossed Richland Creek, another one of the landmarks, and then went up the west side of Richland Creek for two miles to the mouth of the Middle Fork of Richland Creek. At this point it diverged from what is the present road to London and went up the Middle Fork of Richland Creek along a road which is still preserved and passed into the present Laurel County through Lynn Camp. Thence it followed the course of an old road which is still in use and crossed Robinson Creek, one of the road's landmarks, passed Raccoon Spring on Robinson Creek, crossed Laurel River and came into the present main traveled road to London, a couple of miles southeast of the present station of Farriston. From this point it followed approximately the present main road through London to the village of Pittsburgh. From the railroad station of Pittsburgh to Hazel Patch the Wilderness Road did not follow the course of the present main traveled road between these points, but took a much more direct course than the present road or the railroad along a road which still exists. Hazel Patch, preserved in the present station of Hazel Patch, was one of the chief landmarks of the road. From this point the old road did not follow down the valley of Hazel Patch, or Rock Castle Creek, as does the railroad, but again saved a distance and went directly across towards Livingston over Wildeat Mountain. The road reached Rock Castle River just below the present station of Livingston. The old ford which crossed the Rock Castle is about 400 yards down the river from the present railroad bridge, and is still in use. At this ford, as at the ford of the North Fork of the Holston, and of Powell River, the road forms a sharp curve. It approaches near the river, then turns down stream until it finds a shallow where it crosses, then goes back for 400 or 500 yards along the other bank.

“From Livingston the Wilderness Road is represented by the present main road through Mt. Vernon and Brodhead to Crab Orchard, thence to Stanford, Danville, and Harrodsburg. Its general route is that of the railroad between these points but it is shorter by a very considerable distance, for, as usual, it takes the shortest line, making almost no concession to the difficulties which the railroad finds it best to go around.

“Between Hazel Patch and Brodhead there was another trail. This trail was found by Scaggs in 1769, and, according to the traditions of the district, was followed by Boone and John Finley on their first trip to the Falls of the Ohio in 1774. It seems to me also that the entries in Brown's journal indicate that it is probable that this trail was followed as late as 1782 when Brown made the journey recorded in his journal. This route left the other route of the Wilderness Road at Hazel Patch, followed down the valley of Hazel Patch or Rock Castle Creek, and crossed the river near the mouth of this creek; then it followed down the west bank of Rock Castle River to

the mouth of Scaggs' Creek. Brown's journal gives Scaggs' Creek as five miles from the ford of the Rock Castle which would accord with this route, while Scaggs' Creek is nowhere touched by the other route, and is nowhere within five miles of the ford of the Rock Castle at Livingston. This route followed up Scaggs' Creek; then up the East Ford of Scaggs' Creek to its head; then paralleling at about a mile distant the other road it struck the head of a fork of Nigger Creek near the station of Maretburg. It followed down this creek paralleling the present railroad to the head of Dix River at Brodhead. This trail is represented by a road now in use, except for a few miles.

"The site of the present village of Brodhead was a very important point to the pioneer traveler. Here Nigger Creek joins Boone's Fork to form Dix River. This point was in the journals of the pioneer traveler the 'Head of Dick's River'—and Dix River flows into the Kentucky River. Between Mt. Vernon and Brodhead the route passed over the watershed between the Cumberland and the Kentucky, and at Brodhead the pioneer was on the streams which reached the country that was his goal. West of Brodhead the road followed along the west side of the valley of Dix River for 5 miles, and then, leaving the river, it went northwest to what the pioneers called 'The Crab Orchard.' Eight miles from Brodhead was situated English's Station, the most easterly outpost on the road to the Kentucky settlements; and at the Crab Orchard, which is 3 miles beyond English Station, and which is now represented by the village of Crab Orchard, it had reached practically the terminus of what the pioneer regarded as the Wilderness Road. Crab Orchard was the real western terminus of the road as the Block House was its real eastern terminus.

"From the Block House to English's Station the road ran continuously through the mountains. At English's Station it emerged from the foothills upon the Blue Grass Plateau of Central Kentucky.

* * * * *

"From Crab Orchard to Harrodsburg the road is represented today by the present pike going through Stanford and Danville. Eleven miles beyond Crab Orchard was Logan's Old Fort, or St. Asaph. This was established by Logan after he separated from Henderson near the Rock Castle in 1775 and was only a few weeks younger than Boonesborough. It stood on the site of the present waterworks pumping station at Stanford. The location of the road from the Rock Castle to Logan's Fort, which became the main road to Kentucky, was made by Logan. Fourteen miles further on was Harrod's Station, and 6 miles beyond this was Harrodsburg, the oldest settlement in Kentucky.

"At Harrodsburg the early pioneer was in the heart of the Kentucky settlements, and although the road continued on through Bardstown and the Salt Works near Shephardsville to the Falls of the Ohio, Harrodsburg was the end of the trail."

BOONE'S TRAIL FROM THE YADKIN TO BOONSBORO

(Trail No. 45)

The path taken by Daniel Boone in 1769 from his home on the Yadkin River, "on a beautiful bluff overlooking the horseshoe bend of the river,"²⁴ near Salisbury, N. C., to Boonsboro, came up from North Carolina through Shallowford,²⁵ Huntsville, Yadkinville, Wilkesboro, Holman's Ford, Elkville, Three Fork Church, Boone, Hodges's Gap, Graveyard Gap, and Zionville. It crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains between Elkville and Boone, and the Stone Mountains on the Tennessee line at Zionville, N. C.; thence it went via Elizabethton and Watauga, down the Watauga River to Long Island, near the junction of the north and south forks of Holston River, and from thence to Moccasin Gap, Va. From Moccasin Gap to London, Ky., his route was over what later became the Wilderness Road.

Boone's trail from London to Boonsboro.—Boone's trail to Boonsboro left the Wilderness Road near London. We quote from Pusey:

"The trail to Boonesborough left the road to Crab Orchard somewhere near London or Altamont; then it struck north across the hills to the head of Parker's Creek. Thence it went down Parker's Creek to its mouth where it crossed Rock Castle River; then about half a mile down Rock Castle River. Then leaving Rock Castle River it went north to Trace Branch of Crooked Creek; then down Trace Branch to Crooked Creek and down Crooked Creek to its mouth where the trail reached and crossed Roundstone Creek. It then went up the valley of Round Stone to Boone's Gap. It crossed through Boone's Gap and reached the head of Brushy Fork of Silver Creek which flows into the Kentucky River. At Boone's Gap it thus passed over the watershed between the Cumberland River and the Kentucky River.

"The trace from London to Boone's Gap was through a rough mountainous country. The valley of Round Stone is a narrow valley, sometimes narrowing to a ravine, sometimes widening out for a mile or more in width, with fertile bottom lands. Boone's Gap is a narrow pass through the Big Hill Range of the foot hills of the Cumberland Mountains, and is the best passage for many miles through this range. It is now used by the railroad. The climb to it from the valley of Round Stone is steep and rough, but not very long, and the same characteristics apply to the descent from the gap to the valley of Brushy Fork.

²⁴ From "Marking Daniel Boone's Trail Through North Carolina," D. A. R. Magazine, April, 1914, p. 222.

²⁵ "The next marker is at historic Shallowford, where Cornwallis crossed on his way to fight Oreeene."—Ibid., p. 222.

“From Boone’s Gap to Berea the road followed down Brushy Fork through a valley similar to that of Round Stone. Just south of Berea the road left the valley and went up over the plateau on which Berea is situated. Reaching the site of Berea the road passed to the west of the present square; then down from the ridge to a valley west of Berea and down this valley to the valley of Silver Creek proper. The old road which is now abandoned for the most part, persists as a well marked trace, where it is not in use as a road, for many miles north of Berea. From a point a mile north of Berea it is an abandoned road which runs north through the valley and comes again into the present highway at Terrill. From Terrill the old road is represented by the present highway to Fort Estill. There the present highway goes off to the left of the old trail. The old trail, which is now abandoned, went directly north until it met the head of Central Fork of Otter Creek. It thus passed about two miles east of Richmond. It followed down the Central Fork of Otter Creek and down Otter Creek in the general location of the present road from Richmond to Boonesborough to the Kentucky River, and one mile down the river it ended at Boonesborough.”²⁶

WESTERN KENTUCKY TRAILS

THE CUMBERLAND AND GREAT LAKES TRAIL

(Trail No. 25)

The old Nashville-Lexington road (No. 25) was a pioneer trail which ran from the vicinity of the settlements around the salt spring on the present site of Nashville to the region around Lexington, Ky. It passed via Mansker’s Station (near Goodlettsville) to the neighborhood of the present sites of the villages of White House and Cross Plains; thence to the site of an ancient Indian village 2 miles southeast of Orlinda, in Robertson County, Tenn.; thence to a point near the present site of Franklin, Ky.; and from there, crossing Drake’s Creek of Kentucky, it passed a short distance north of Glasgow, where it forked.

One prong (No. 25A) led on to Columbia; thence up Sulphur Creek, crossing Green River near Pellyton, in Casey County; thence up Trace Creek; and thence it continued on to the northeast until it intersected the Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail (No. 29), near King’s Mountain, about 10 miles south of the site of McKinney’s old fort in Lincoln County. The pioneer from middle Tennessee, when he reached this junction with the Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail, could pass over it to the settlements in North Carolina and Virginia and the Southeast, or could turn northward to the newly settled regions of central Kentucky.

²⁶ Pusey, *Wilderness Road to Kentucky*, pp. 130-131.

The other prong of this trail led through Three Springs, in the southeastern corner of Hart County, after which it passed near the old pioneer station on the present site of Greensburg, and thence to Pitman's Station. Pitman's Station was one of the earliest on Green River. It was on the summit of a cliff, three-quarters of a mile from an ancient Indian fortification at the Narrows of Pitman Creek, 2½ miles from Greensburg. "At the Narrows, or neck of the bend, there was but little more room than a wagon way, hemmed in on either side by great precipices. The fortifications, three in number, just beyond this neck, enclosed several large trees, which had grown up since their abandonment, and a mound 4 or 5 feet high from which human bones were dug at an early day."²⁷ This bend enclosed about 200 acres of land.

From Pitman's Station and this strong prehistoric fortress the old road continued on to Knob Licks, and thence to Logan's Fort (now Stanford), where it connected with the Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail. At Pitman's Station a prong (No. 25B) led off to the southward to the pioneer's station on the present site of Greensburg, passing thence via Columbia, in Adair County, to the Cumberland River at Burkeville, in Cumberland County.

The first white settlers called this old road with its two prongs and the connecting Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail, "The Wilderness Road" or "The Road Through the Wilderness," because it ran through a section that was unsettled and contained a large amount of forest. Many of the first settlers in middle Tennessee followed these trails after coming through Cumberland Gap. They are shown on nearly all early maps of Tennessee and Kentucky,²⁸ including Filson's map of Kentucky, and Filson calls the main path "Road from the old settlements through the great wilderness." It continued in use by immigrants until the rush of new settlers caused the cutting out of the Walton road across the Cumberland Mountains in 1801, which reduced the travel distance from Knoxville to Nashville by more than one-half.

There is no positive evidence that this route followed an Indian trail, but it is extremely probable, for it is well known that our pioneers looked for and used such trails, as affording usually an easier

²⁷ See Collins's History of Kentucky, vol. II, p. 295.

²⁸ Among the many authorities for this road may be mentioned:

Filson's "Map of Kentucke," 1784.

"Map of the Western Part of the Territories Belonging to the United States of America," in Imlay's Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America, 1793 edition.

"A Map of the Tennessee Government Formerly Part of North Carolina, Taken Chiefly from the Surveys by Genl D. Smith and Others," Imlay, 1797 edition.

"Map of Cumberland and Franklin," p. 376, Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee.

"Map of the Former Territorial Limits of the Cherokee Nation of Indians." Royce, in Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology.

Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1823.

The stories of the trails handed down in families of the descendants of those who came over them, such as the Walton narrative, to be found in the chapter on the Cumberland Trace, in this volume.

passage. It was perhaps the original route for prehistoric man in going from middle Tennessee to central Kentucky, or to the great Indian region in Ohio. It led by licks which would draw game for the traveler, and some important Indian remains are located along it, but probably there was far less prehistoric travel over it than along such trails as the Great Warriors' Path. Narratives of journeys over this route have been left by André and François André Michaux (1795, 1802) and the exiled French princes, Louis Philippe and his two brothers (1797).²⁹

THE CUMBERLAND AND OHIO FALLS TRAIL

(Trail No. 24)

The old pioneer road from Nashville to the Falls of the Ohio at Louisville ran from the settlements in the vicinity of Nashville to the ancient Indian village on White's Creek, about 8 miles northwest of Nashville; thence via Springfield, Tenn., to Russellville, Ky.; Morgantown; Leitchfield (Shaw's Station); Elizabethtown; to the crossing of Salt River near its junction with the Ohio, and on to the Falls of the Ohio. It is shown on Royce's "Map of the Territorial Limits of the Cherokee Nation of Indians."³⁰ This is the route of an early white road, and there is no positive evidence that it was an Indian trail, but the same reasoning applies to this as to the old road from Nashville to Lexington. It is not laid down as an Indian trail by any of the early explorers, so far as the writer has been able to discover, but it was the logical route for prehistoric man from the region around Nashville to the comparatively thinly inhabited country in central Indiana. There are, however, few Indian remains along its route in Kentucky, and there was probably little prehistoric travel over it.

THE RUSSELLVILLE-SHAWNEETOWN TRAIL

(Trail No. 41)

An ancient Indian trail ran south from Shawneetown, Ill., connecting at Russellville, Logan County, Ky., with paths coming from near the present Nashville and Clarksville, and from other parts of the mid-Cumberland valley.

It ran northwest from Russellville, through Nortonville and Earlington, in Hopkins County, passed a prehistoric Indian village 2 or 3 miles west of Madisonville, and continued on to Dixon, in Webster County, where it forked. Thence one prong led to Highland Lick, an important lick about 6 miles to the westward, and from it through Henshaw to the crossing of the Ohio River at Shawneetown,

²⁹ Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 3, pp. 63-64, 206-249; *Century Magazine* (1901), n. s., vol. XL, pp. 753-754.

³⁰ Fifth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology.

joining there the great trail to the salt licks on Saline River, about 10 miles west. From this group of licks the trail led across southern Indiana and Illinois to a great Indian city whose vast ruins survive as the celebrated Cahokia group in the suburbs of East St. Louis, the largest and most important prehistoric settlement in the United States.

The other prong of the Russellville and Shawneetown trail (No. 41A) led from Dixon via Morganfield to the Ohio River, crossing at Uniontown, and from there to the Indian settlements scattered up and down the Wabash River.

Few particulars have been recorded regarding the route of the Russellville and Shawneetown trail within the State of Kentucky, but, by using the meager description given by Perrin and allowing ourselves to be guided somewhat by the sites of the prehistoric Indian towns between Russellville and Shawneetown, which appear to have been originally on this old trail, it is possible to locate it with at least a reasonable degree of accuracy.

Perrin³¹ states, in referring to Indian trails around Hopkinsville and Russellville:

"Another trail off to the northeast was that leading from Russellville, Logan County, then the oldest town south of Green River in Kentucky, in a northwesterly direction toward the Highland Lick in Lincoln, now Webster County. Near these celebrated licks, about two miles distant, and at a fork of the trail, there long stood a lone, solitary tree, like a grim sentinel of the desert, on which the head of Micajah, or 'Big Harpe,' the noted desperado and horse-thief, was hung after his decapitation by Stagall and the citizens who pursued and captured him."

Collins³² says:

"The old Indian trail or trace from Nashville, Tenn., to St. Louis, Mo., passed directly over the spot where Dixon is now built."

"Highland Lick, 6 miles west of Dixon, supplied, before 1800, the salt for quite a large scope of country. No salt works there now."

A glance at the map shows a large majority of all the mounds and other evidences of Indian towns in this region are on the line of this Russellville and Shawneetown trail.

In Union County, near where this trail crossed the Ohio and about 2½ miles south of Shawneetown, petroglyphs were reported by James D. Middleton, in 1886,³³ which appear to resemble petroglyphs found on the Mississippi River bluffs in Jackson County, Ill., almost due west.

¹ Perrin, W. H., *History of Christian County, Kentucky*. Chicago and Louisville, 1884, pp. 119-120.

² *History of Kentucky*, 1882 ed., vol. II, p. 757.

³ See Mallery in 10th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 81.

THE RUSSELLVILLE-HOPKINSVILLE TRAIL

(Trail No. 43)

Little is known about the Russellville-Hopkinsville trail other than the following from Perrin:³⁴ "Another trail was that from Russellville to Hopkinsville, where it fell into the trail first mentioned, that leading from Nashville to the Saline Works in Illinois." Perrin is corroborated by the fact that a mound and other evidences of an Indian settlement are found on the supposed line of this trail between Russellville and Hopkinsville, on the west fork of Red River, in Todd County. Some other Indian town remains are found near it a short distance south of Elkton.

THE PALMYRA-PRINCETON TRAIL

(Trail No. 42)

We are also dependent on Perrin for our knowledge of the Palmyra-Princeton trail:

"And still another [trail] passed through the southwest portion of the county, and leading from the Cumberland River, near Palmyra, to join, at Princeton, the trail crossing the Ohio River at Ford's Ferry. This ferry, some ten or twelve miles below Shawneetown, was long reputed to be a very dangerous place, on account of a gang of counterfeiterers, horse-thieves and cut-throats, who made it their chief rendezvous. They were finally suppressed by the Regulators after committing many depredations upon the defenseless citizens. . . . These trails, ready made to the hand of the pioneer, and generally trending to the north or northwest, to some noted saline deposit, are only interesting to the reader now from the fact that they were long used by the early settlers as their thoroughfares in traveling to and from salt works, or from one settlement to another. As soon as the tide of immigration began to set in more freely, and the different communities became more densely populated, they were no longer sufficient for the purposes of travel and had to be supplemented by other trails or roads."³⁴

This trail gave an outlet toward the north to a once populous Indian section in the Cumberland Valley. A glance at the archeological map of Tennessee will reveal mounds, cemeteries, and many other evidences of prehistoric man on the Cumberland River around Palmyra, in Montgomery County; and nearly every bend of the Cumberland River shows indubitable traces of occupancy by Indians for a distance of at least 20 miles upstream and 20 miles downstream from Palmyra. This stretch of fertile river valley must at one time have shown a continuous series of small Indian villages,

³⁴ History of Christian County, Kentucky, p. 120.

sometimes a mile or so apart, perhaps with single dwellings and truck patches scattered between them. In this stretch the summit of nearly every bold bluff contains the stone-slab graves of the former red inhabitants.

The salt works on Saline River.—The salt works in Illinois to which Perrin refers were on Saline River, in Gallatin County, within a few miles of the Ohio, and could be reached either via Ford's Ferry or the crossing at Shawneetown. Stone-slab cemeteries; a great abundance of fragments of pottery, salt kettles, and domestic pottery; faint indications of earthworks; and artificial terraces at the salt works near Equality, as also at a point 5 miles down Saline River, all testify to the interest taken in this section by aboriginal man. Extensive earthworks and mounds and many evidences of salt making are also to be found in the valley at the junction of Big and Little Saline Rivers. In fact traces of prehistoric occupancy occur all along the course of the Saline River in Gallatin County. We quote from an account of this site given by George E. Sellers:

“My first visit was in company with my friend the late Dr. David Dale Owen, about the year 1854. We found two water-worn ravines, commencing on the hills that rise abruptly on the south side of the Saline River, and drain into it. At the base of the hills they are crossed by a State road, between which and the river their bottoms are level, hard, and barren, and here, close to the road rise the salt-springs. Between the ravines is a bench or river-bottom subject to annual overflow.

“These bottoms, as well as the hillsides, were covered with a thick growth of young timber—the primitive forest having been cut off for fuel for evaporating the brine at the time the salines were worked by the early settlers. The principal spring was then, and is now, known as the ‘Nigger’ well or salt-works, as it was worked by slave-labor while the State of Illinois was a Territory.

“The spring in the west ravine overflowed a curbed well about eight feet square, which I sounded, and found to be about forty feet deep. In the east ravine a salt-spring was oozing. A short distance above the curbed well flows a sulphur-spring, and near it one of good fresh water.

“I have been informed by a reliable party who had personal knowledge of all that was done by the early settlers in working the salines, that in the east ravine they sunk a well and curbed it down to the bed-rock, a depth of 42 feet, and made a boring of about 150 feet in its bottom. That all the way from the surface to the rock they found pieces of broken pottery, and on the rock a pitcher or jug, with a handle made within the rim; this jug was sent to the Philadelphia Museum. My informant expressed the opinion that, at the time the aborigines used the waters, the spring had its outlet at or

near the bed-rock, and had since gradually filled by surface-washings, just as the well in the west ravine has been filled since my first visit, and is now a cattle-tramped salt-swamp.

* * * * * * *

“The great number of graves and the quantity of slabs that have been washed out prove either a dense population or a long occupancy, or both.

“On the crown of the main hill above the cemetery are ranges of circular depressions, from one to three feet deep, and from fifteen to twenty-five feet in diameter; they cover a large area, on two sides of which there is evidence of earthworks.

“I had the soil removed from one of these depressions, and found marks of long-continued fire in its centre, from which I infer that they are sites of the lodges of these ancient people.

* * * * * * *

“At the present salt-works, about five miles higher up the Saline River, on its south fork, near Equality, is the ‘Half-Moon Lick,’ where the earth has been licked away to a depth varying from twelve to sixteen feet, in the shape of a horseshoe, about 200 yards from point to point of the heels, and to the toe, or back of the curve, 250 yards. In this lick are still to be seen deeply-trodden buffalo-roads. On one bank is a slightly-raised ridge, in which were found imbedded a number of earthen vessels in a row. Mr. B. Temple, one of the proprietors of the salt-works, described them to me as between four and five feet in diameter and sixteen to eighteen inches deep. After uncovering, they were not removed, but suffered to go to decay. The bones of the mastodon have been found here.

* * * * * * *

“I will ask you to accompany me up the hill, not by the steep ascent, through the cemetery, but up the ravine, past the sulphur-spring. You will find it gradual and easy: in fact, part of the old, well-beaten foot-trail is now a wagon road; but, before reaching the top, the trail leaves the road and winds among the rocks, one branch sweeping off to the left to the ancient settlement. We will take the one to the right. When you near the top of the hill, though fully a quarter of a mile from the salt-spring, keep a sharp lookout, for you may chance on a good specimen of well-marked pottery. On reaching the crown, you will be some distance west of the old town-site. Here the plough has been working destruction for many years; but you cannot take up a handful of soil without finding in it the *débris* of the old salt-pans.

“You are now in a lane separating a young apple-orchard, thickly grown with clover (so thick as to cover all specimens), from freshly-ploughed cornfields, stretching far off to the south, over the grand valley of Eagle Creek.

“If you can take your eyes from the charming landscape, climb with me the snake-fence into these ploughed fields, and examine the soil: you will not be likely to find any specimens worth saving, unless it be in an old fence-row, for the ploughshare has ground them and the corn has fed on them. Still, the soil is largely composed of disintegrated pottery. You may walk the furrows, examine the washes, the entire slope, to the east, to the west—you may follow its descent to the south—in every ravine, drain, or wash, you will find these remains, and you may possibly be repaid for your tramp by discovering among the wasted pottery and flakes of chert a spade, a rough and peculiarly-chipped arrow-point, or a flaked axe or chisel.”³⁶

This ancient salt source has been frequented by animals and prehistoric men even from the long-past days of the mastodon. No doubt these ancient salt makers carried on a considerable salt barter traffic with the people both to the south and to the north. On the east they would soon meet competition from the salt sources along Salt River and in central Kentucky, and on the west from the salt of southeastern Missouri.

Cave-in-Rock.—This cave, situated at Ford’s Ferry, was anciently a resort for Indians and in later times for white criminals. It is thus described by Collins, though his conclusions regarding the animal-like petroglyphs are, of course, entirely untenable:

“*Ancient Cavern.*—On the Illinois side of the Ohio river, only a few feet beyond the jurisdiction of the state of Kentucky, is a cavern—in a rock, or ledge of the mountain, a little above the water of the river when high, and close to the bank. It is about 200 feet long and 80 feet wide; its entrance 80 feet wide at the base, and 25 feet high. In 1836, the interior walls were smooth rocks. The floor was remarkable, being level through the whole length of its center, the sides rising in stony grades, in the manner of seats in the pit of a theatre. Close scrutiny of the walls made it evident that the ancient inhabitants of a remote period had used the cave as their council house. Upon the walls were many hieroglyphics, well executed—among them, representations of at least eight animals of a race now extinct, three of them resembling the elephant, the tails and tusks excepted. This cavern is connected with another more gloomy, immediately over it—united by an aperture about 14 feet, to ascend which was like passing up a chimney; while the mountain was yet far above. For more than 60 years, this has been known to boatmen as *Cave-in-Rock.*”³⁷

Collins is in error as to the length of time this cave has been known to the whites. The writer found it shown (*Cavern dans le Roc*) on

³⁶ Sellers in *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. xi (1877), pp. 573-585.

³⁷ Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

an early French map, "Carte de La Louisiane Cours du Mississipi et Pais Voisins" par N. Bellin Ingenieur de la Marine, 1774, which is printed in Charlevoix's History of New France. The details of this portion of the map were obtained from the report of M. de Lery, a French engineer, who visited a portion of the region in 1729. It is also shown under the name "Cave in a rock" on the map accompanying Adair's "History of the American Indians," London, 1775. It will thus be seen that in Collins's time it had been known at least 153 years.

THE NASHVILLE-SALINE RIVER TRAIL

(Trail No. 40)

Among the many old trails leading into the ancient salt lick on the present site of Nashville was one which ran northwest to the group of large mounds on White's Creek, a short distance from the present village of White's Creek; thence up that creek to Joelton; thence northwestwardly to another ancient village site at the mound on Sycamore Creek near the common junction point of Davidson, Cheatham, and Robertson Counties, Tenn.; thence to a mound marking a small prehistoric settlement on Red River, about 1½ miles northwest of Adams; and thence northwestwardly up Red River to some mounds, an earthen embankment, a cemetery, and other traces of a prehistoric town at the junction of Buzzards Creek and Red River. The remains at this latter point indicate a town of considerable importance. It had once been fortified and some traces of the earthen embankment can still be seen. From this old fortified town the trail ran to a mound which marks a former village site about 2½ miles northeast of Guthrie, Ky.; thence to another town site near Trenton; thence to the present site of Hopkinsville where there was formerly a mound; and thence along the drier lands to Princeton, where it was joined by the Palmyra-Princeton trail leading up from ancient Indian sites near Palmyra.

The trail forked a few miles beyond Princeton, one prong (No. 40B) leading to the northwest to the prehistoric salt works on Saline River above described, and crossing the Ohio at Ford's Ferry, in Crittenden County. The other or Goleonda prong led to the crossing of the Ohio at Goleonda, Ill., and thence almost due west to the Mississippi River opposite Cape Girardeau, Mo. From the western bank at Cape Girardeau it traversed the State of Missouri to the present Oklahoma.

THE NATCHEZ TRACE AND THE MIDDLE TENNESSEE
CHICKASAW TRACE

(Trail No. 19)

When the whites first came into middle Tennessee they found an Indian path or trace running from the former Indian settlements around Nashville to the Chickasaw towns about Pontotoc in northern Mississippi, where it connected with trails leading to all sections of the southern United States. The middle Tennessee whites called it the Chickasaw Trace because it went to the Chickasaw towns, but later on it was known as the Natchez Trace. As there was another Chickasaw Trail in west Tennessee leading to these same towns, we have called the one under consideration the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace, and that in west Tennessee the West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail. The one under consideration was regarded by our early whites as being ancient and was spoken of by them as the old Chickasaw Trace. Its route was the logical one for movements between large and important sections in the central United States. Over it, beyond question, passed in later times parties of Chickasaw, Choctaw, Natchez, and other southern tribes on their way to middle Tennessee, Kentucky, and the territory of our present North Central States, while the many unknown peoples who preceded them must also have traveled it. Its key situation forced its use, and it played a vital part in the life of the region, both in war and in peace. The forced trek of the Shawnee from Alabama into middle Tennessee in the eighteenth century was along this trace.

"The Chickasaws formerly claimed for their nation, exclusively, all the lands north of the Tennessee, and they denied that the Cherokees were joined with them in the war against the Shawnees when they were driven from their settlements in Cumberland. They said that the Shawnees first came up the Tennessee in canoes, and thence up Bear Creek thirty miles; and there left their canoes, and came to war with the Chickasaws, and killed several of their nation. The Chickasaw chiefs and warriors embodied and drove them off. From thence they went to the Creeks, and lived with them for some time. They then returned and crossed at the Chickasaw Old Field, above the Muscle Shoals. From thence they went to Duck River and the Cumberland River, and settled there; and the Chickasaws discovered their settlements. Two of the chiefs of the Chickasaws, who were in those days their principal leaders—the one named Opoja Matehah, and the other Pinksey Matehah—raised their warriors and went against the Shawnees, and defeated them and took all their horses and brought them into the Nation."³⁸

The white man began using this trail as soon as he came into the region. Over it passed many southern Indian war parties to attack

³⁸ Haywood, *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, 2d ed., p. 426.

the feeble white settlements in Tennessee, and over it in return hurried armed white bands to attack and destroy their red enemies south of Tennessee River.

Malone³⁹ refers to a map bearing the following inscription, "London, Published as the Act Directs, December 27, 1794, by H. D. Symonds, No. 20 Paternoster Row," on which a portion of what is evidently the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace is designated "Mountain Leader's Trace." This was perhaps a tribute to the activity in aid of the English of the celebrated Chickasaw chief Piomingo or Mountain Leader, a really great Indian, about whose wisdom, bravery, steadfast friendship and honor much has been written and still more should be made known.

As the number of white settlers increased and their land and water traffic grew, Natchez, in the Mississippi territory, became of more and more importance. The whites floated their products by water to Natchez or beyond, but many of them preferred to return by land over the old Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace and its connections rather than by the long and laborious upstream pull-and-push-against-the-current journey by river. The newly formed United States Government also began to realize the possibilities of this great southern section very soon and planned to open better means of communication through it. With this object in view General Wilkinson, commander of the United States Army, concluded a treaty on October 24, 1801, with the Chickasaw at Chickasaw Bluff, or Fort Adams, as it was then called, on the present site of Memphis, and another treaty with the Choctaw, on the 17th of December, 1801, whereby the consent of these Indians was obtained to the opening of a wagon road through their lands.⁴⁰ By act of Congress April 21, 1806, the President was authorized to open a road from Nashville, in the State of Tennessee, to Natchez, in Mississippi Territory, a distance of about 500 miles, the Indians being allowed the privileges of operating ferries and collecting toll for the same along the route. The sum of \$6,000 was appropriated for the construction at this time and an additional \$3,000 in 1809. Thus the celebrated Natchez Trace was established. It followed substantially the route of the earlier Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace and its connections, departing therefrom only where the necessities of a wagon road varied from the requirements of aboriginal foot travel or where the newly formed settlements of the whites drew it slightly from its ancient course.

That portion of the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace or Natchez Trace in Tennessee, as marked on our map, follows the Marshall map in "Natchez Trace, 1911, Maps, Park Marshall," in the Car-

³⁹ The Chickasaw Nation, p. 356.

⁴⁰ These treaties may be found in the American State Papers, Indian Affairs, vol. 1, pp. 652-658.

negie Library, Nashville. In letters of December 1 and 31, 1919, Mr. Marshall says:

"The Natchez Trace followed the general course of the old Chickasaw Trail, but a wagon road could not very closely follow a footpath in a wild hilly country, through which many streams cut their way. General Wilkinson is reported as saying to the Indians 'The Chickasaw Trail is a very uncomfortable road and we wish to improve it for the use of both the Indians and the white people.'

"In Benton's 'Thirty Years View' he says his father originally had 30,000 acres, 'and the Indians' great war trail ran through it.' That land was at Leiper's Fork in Williamson County, Tennessee. The trail at its north end came toward Nashville, passing near Bellevue, where there is yet a Trace Creek.

"I have looked upon the Chickasaw trail as a route or path leading from the main villages of the Chickasaws, in what is now Pontotoc County, Mississippi, to the vicinity of Nashville. This trail crossed the Tennessee at the northwest corner of Alabama, close to the mouth of Big Bear Creek [near Waterloo—route 19 on map]. It was planned for the Natchez Trace to cross at the same place, but the officers in charge (Captain Butler and Lieut. E. Pendleton Gaines), perhaps with the consent of General Wilkinson, were persuaded to cause it to cross one or two miles above, at Colbert's Ferry [route 19A on map].

"Now Colbert was a principal chief, a shifty man who became rich, and he owned the ferry. You will see from the treaty that Indians having ferries along the trace could own them and charge tolls. There are many little things like this which affect the course of roads."

Mr. Marshall has carefully traced out the route in Tennessee, either in person or by diligent inquiry, and it is correctly shown in his maps in the Carnegie Library, Nashville, Tenn., above referred to. The United States Geological Survey, in its maps of that portion of Tennessee which was traversed by this trail, has adopted the same route as Mr. Marshall.

Haywood ⁴¹ mentions the Chickasaw Trail as still in existence in 1787. He refers to "Duck River, where the old Chickasaw trace crossed it," and farther on we read:

"About a month afterward [probably in May, 1787] Capt. Rains received orders from Col. Robertson to raise a troop and go southwardly through the woods from Nashville, and on finding any Indians on the Cherokee side of the Chickasaw divisional line between the Chickasaws and Cherokees, to destroy them. Capt. Rains raised sixty men, and took the Chickasaw trace, and crossed Duck River and Swan Creek, still traveling on the Chickasaw path, which was the boundary."⁴²

⁴¹ Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 2d ed., p. 231.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 239.

"Carey's General Atlas," Philadelphia, 1914, calls the place where this trail crossed the Tennessee "Chickasaw Crossing."

Route of the Natchez Trace.—The old Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace and the later Natchez Trace passed from Nashville through the following points in Tennessee: Near Bellevue, Davidson County; near Leiper's Fork, in Williamson County; near Leatherwood, in Maury County; through Gordonsburg in Lewis County and near Victory in Wayne County. It then passed into Alabama. At or near Dart, in Lauderdale County, Ala., the Natchez Trace (No. 19A) left the old Chickasaw Trace in order to cross Tennessee River at Colbert's Ferry, the latter trace crossing the Tennessee about 2½ miles downstream from Colbert's. The Natchez Trace joined the old Chickasaw Trace near Allsboro, in Colbert County, and thence passed into the State of Mississippi, where it went through Tishomingo and Saltillo, and on to the maze of Indian trails and Chickasaw towns in Pontotoc and Union Counties. Here the old Tennessee Chickasaw trace ended, but it connected with other Indian trails leading to all parts of the southern United States, one or two running to the crossing of the Mississippi River at Memphis. The Memphis, Pontotoc and Mobile Bay trail led south and southeast to the Choctaw towns in Neshoba and the adjoining counties of Mississippi and thence to the region around Mobile Bay.

Another great trail (No. 60) led eastward to the Atlantic coast. It was followed by Colonel Welch, the English explorer, in his expedition to the Mississippi River in 1689, and was later much used by English traders in visiting the friendly Chickasaw. It passed across the present States of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, and extended beyond. Finally, by means of its many connections, it reached the sea at Charleston, Savannah, and St. Augustine. Other connections went northeast through Tennessee and North Carolina into Virginia and on to eastern Pennsylvania and northward.

This trail is shown on the Purcell map, compiled not later than 1770 in the interest of British Indian trade, by John Stuart, His Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs.⁴³

The route from Pontotoc to Natchez.—Leaving the Chickasaw region in Pontotoc County the Natchez Trace continued on to Natchez over another old Indian trail, passing through or very near the following towns: Houston, in Chickasaw County; Ackerman, in Choctaw County; Kosciusco, in Attala County; Canton, in Madison County; Clinton and Raymond, in Hinds County; Port Gibson, in Claiborne County; Washington, in Adams County.

The most accurate map of the ancient Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace and its connections in northern Mississippi is Lusher's map reproduced by Malone, who has the following regarding it:

⁴³ The original of this is in the Edward E. Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill. It has been reproduced as Plate No. 7 in Swanton's *History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, Bulletin 73, Bureau of American Ethnology.

"A word as to Lusher's map. The copy I examined belongs to Captain J. D. Fontaine, Nestor of the Pontotoc bar, who kindly lent it to E. T. Winston of Pontotoc to send to me for examination, with many injunctions for safe keeping and its safe return. From outside to outside it is 18 x 24 inches, of fine workmanship, is on quite thin, but good paper, folds up book-like, with extra good binding, so that it can be carried in the coat pocket. This is the inscription on it:

"Map of the land ceded by the Chickasaws to the United States in 1832 and 1834 from actual survey by Henry M. Lusher, draughtsman in the office of the Surveyor General of lands in Missis. Ceded by the Chickasaws, 1835. Approved John Bell, Surveyor of land in Missis. Ceded by the Chickasaws, Benja. Reynolds, Chickasaw Agent.'

"Beneath the above in small print there is this: 'Pendleton's Lithography, Boston Eddy. delt. on stone.' Of course there was the usual display of capitals, etc., but I have made a literal copy of the verbiage: from which I think it appears that the map is as authentic and correct as one could be made in 1835. The Indians had not then left Mississippi, but were still occupying their ancestral homes.'"⁴⁴

Judge Joe C. Guild, who was one of the leading lawyers in middle Tennessee from 1825 to 1876, gives some interesting reminiscences of the hardy riders who carried the United States mails over the Natchez Trace in the years immediately following its opening, and incidentally a vivid picture of life along this old Indian trail at the time when it was passing from the red man to the white man.⁴⁵

PRINCIPAL TRAILS BETWEEN WESTERN TENNESSEE AND MISSISSIPPI

THE WEST TENNESSEE CHICKASAW TRAIL

(Trail No. 12)

The great trail, known in west Tennessee as the Chickasaw Trail, and designated West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail by us to distinguish it from the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trail or Natchez Trace (No. 19), connected west Tennessee with the Chickasaw and Choctaw settlements in Mississippi and Alabama. It ran from the populous region around Cisco, in a southwesterly direction, to the old fortified Indian town near Bolivar, where it connected with the Bolivar and Memphis Trail (No. 11) and reached Memphis and the southwest by that route. The West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail itself went

⁴⁴ Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, p. 98.

⁴⁵ *Old Times in Tennessee*, Nashville, 1878.

southward from Bolivar along the Pontotoc ridge, by the present site of Ripley, Miss., to the ancient Chickasaw town of Pontotoc, on or near the site of the present Pontotoc in Pontotoc County. Thence it led to the Tombigbee at Columbus, Miss., over Trail 66, and from Columbus to the region around Mobile over Trail 120.

This trail was used by the Chickasaw and Choctaw in going from Mississippi and Alabama to west Tennessee and beyond.⁴⁶

THE MEMPHIS, PONTOTOC AND MOBILE BAY TRAIL

(Trail No. 105)

An Indian trail having many branches led from the Chickasaw Bluff on the Mississippi River at the present site of Memphis to the Chickasaw towns in Pontotoc County, Miss., thence southeastwardly to the Choctaw towns in Neshoba and Kemper Counties, and from there on to the Indian settlements of the Mobile, Tohome, and other tribes around Mobile Bay. We have called this old trail the Memphis, Pontotoc and Mobile Bay trail. So far as we have been able to discover, the native name for this trail or trails has not been preserved, and probably it was not thought of as one through trail by the Indians, but only as a series of trails from settlement to settlement, which, if followed, would ultimately carry a traveler from the Mobile Bay region through the Choctaw and Chickasaw settlements to the Mississippi River crossing at Memphis.

Portions of this trail are shown on many maps, among which may be mentioned:

Carte de La Louisiane et du Cours Du Mississipi. De l'Isle, Paris, 1718.

Van Keulen's 1720 Map of New France, in Chatelain's Atlas, 1732.

De Crenay's Map 1733, Plate 5, Dr. Swanton's Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors, Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

Melish's Large Map of the U. S. 1818.

Lusher's Map—1835, reproduced in Malone's The Chickasaw Nation, Louisville, 1922.

It had many branches in the maze of Choctaw towns and likewise as it passed through the Chickasaw villages.

From Memphis to the Chickasaw towns in Pontotoc County the Indian had choice of three well-known trails, the weather determining in large measure the one to be selected. The most direct of these (the one under discussion) followed approximately the line of the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway through Oakville, Capleville, Olive Branch, Miller, and Byhalia. From Byhalia it led through Waterford and Thaxton to the Chickasaw town of Pontotoc, about 2 miles south of the present white town of Pontotoc. It was

⁴⁶ See Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, pp. 74-76; Bull. 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 2, p. 280; and De Fer's 1718 Map of Louisiana.

the shortest of the three routes between that place and Memphis, but it led through swampy places and crossed many streams, and was probably used only in very dry weather or in case of emergency. It is shown on Lusher's map reproduced in Malone's *The Chickasaw Nation*, and also on Melish's "Large Map of the United States, 1818." This shortest route was at one time known in Memphis as the Old Chickasaw Trace. Malone thus describes it:

"THE SHORT-CUT TRAIL, OR PIGEON ROOST ROAD

"Having referred to the long trail which could be used to the best advantage at all seasons of the year and in all kinds of weather, I will now call attention to what, for want of a better name, I will call the short-cut trail, which was the shortest route or way between the Chickasaws' home in north Mississippi and the Chickasaw Bluffs.

"Under the Chickasaw treaties of 1832 and 1834, all of the Chickasaw cession was laid off into sections, and the roads in Mississippi run on section lines, except where the roads of the white man adopted the Indian trails, and the Pigeon Roost Road falls into the excepted class, because it follows the ancient Chickasaw trail. It will now be described.

"This road was laid out by the Shelby County Court in 1828, when there was scarcely a handful of people in the then village of Memphis, and it ran along the Chickasaw short-trail or trace. The description of the road, as officially laid off, commences where Adams Street intersects Bayou Gayoso, the then corporate limits of the village, and after proceeding in a southeasterly direction with various calls and courses, it proceeds thus:

"Thence with said line of blaze bearing southeastwardly to the old Chickasaw trace on top of a ridge; thence with the said trace, occasionally straightening the same on good ground, to the northeast side of a lagoon in the bottom (the lagoon evidently being in Nonconnah bottom), thence with a line of chops and blazes to the creek (evidently Nonconnah) a short distance below the ford on the old trace; thence up the bank of the creek to the old trace, and with it cutting across some lands as above to where the same crosses the State Line."

"By actual measurements recently made, Nonconnah bottom begins eight miles from Second and Adams Streets, opposite the courthouse in Memphis, passing along the old Chickasaw trail, as near as that can be now traveled in the city, and then along the line of the present Pigeon Roost Road. Nonconnah is a considerable creek, and was much larger before the country was settled. In high water, even at this day, the creek is often a mile wide, and anciently its bottom was filled with lagoons and cypress brakes, and difficult to cross, except under most favorable conditions. To my knowledge during the Civil War the four long bridges over the sloughs, and the one over the main

stream, were down, at least the most of them were, and a ferry was maintained across the main stream, over which I often passed. In the winter the road became so out of repair that for days and days no vehicle could pass over it. . . .

"Leaving the courthouse at Memphis, Nonconnah bottom was [is] reached at eight miles, after descending Brown's Hill, formerly rising abruptly to high land, and this high land extends to Memphis. The bottom is a little over one mile wide, and emerging from this bottom the land is not high for some miles, but low, and formerly swampy. This low level land may be designated, according to local description, as second bottom lands, and extends from the true or low bottom lands, about two miles, passing through the village of Oakville (formerly called Shakerag), to a small creek or large branch with a good sized bottom, and then the road goes up on rolling land. Further on Ten-Mile Branch is crossed, its name implying its distance from Memphis. Capleville is reached at thirteen miles, and by it, or rather where it now stands, there flowed in 1859, and for years thereafter to my knowledge, a beautiful creek with delightful fish in it. To-day what is left of it forms a big ditch not made by nature, but by the hand of man, about one-eighth of a mile to the north, in which you may sometimes see a muddy conglomerate to which the phrase may be applied, 'as dull as ditch water.' The fate of this stream, on the upper waters of which, three miles distant, in my boyhood days I swam and sported, catching beautiful fish, is the common fate of all the streams through this section of the country. A few hundred yards beyond Capleville another creek is crossed.

"I will now give the small creeks and distances crossed from Memphis . . .

"At the State Line, 15.5 miles; 17.6 miles; 18.3 miles (Olive Branch passed); 20.8 miles; 23.8 miles (at Miller's); 25.6 miles (this is Cold-water River, with a bottom one mile wide); 29.3 miles; (Byhalia passed, 30.1) . . .

"From these gentlemen and Judge J. P. Young, of Memphis, I learned that going south from Memphis on the Pigeon Roost Road, it deflects at Byhalia from the present Holly Springs road . . . leaving Holly Springs about six miles to the east of its course opposite that city.

"This is in entire accord with Lusher's map.

"On Lusher's map of 1835 . . . the streams in the Chickasaw country are laid down with more detail and accuracy than upon any other map before or since that time; and while nearly all the streams have Indian names only, Pigeon Roost Creek forms an exception, and had on this map the same name it bears to this day.

"The fact is that the creek was so named on account of the vast pigeon roosts which formerly formed a conspicuous feature of its

heavily timbered bottoms; and bear in mind that this giant timbered country was the country to attract the pigeons for a roosting place. This roosting place must have been famous far and near, for it gave not only its name to the large creek in question, but to one of the most important thoroughfares leading to Memphis, a distance of some fifty miles.

"Lusher's map also shows that the shortcut Indian trail or trace crossed the headwaters of the Pigeon Roost Creek. This roost was undoubtedly known to the Chickasaws, for nothing of this character escaped their notice; and, moreover, it was doubtless a great asset to them, where, at least in certain years, they found an unlimited supply of most palatable and wholesome food. Indeed, the existence of this roost may have been one of the reasons for the trail passing through that vicinity."⁴⁷

The "De l'Isle map of 1718" shows a portion of the Memphis, Pontotoc and Mobile Bay Trail extending as far south as the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers. In the later maps it is made to reach the French settlements at Mobile, and on some still later a prong extends to the newly established trading post of the United States at St. Stephens, on Tombigbee River a few miles above its junction with the Alabama, near the site of the present St. Stephens, in Washington County.

Life on the Memphis, Pontotoc and Mobile Bay Trail in 1764.—Adair, the wily Scotch-Irish Indian trader, has left an interesting account of his experiences on this old Memphis, Pontotoc and Mobile Bay trail in 1764.⁴⁸ It very accurately reflects the life along the trail at that time.

The English trader with his own intrigues on the one hand and the counter intrigues of the French and Spanish traders on the other, for the friendship and trade of the wavering, vacillating, and sometimes disgusted Indian was much more likely to die from the tomahawk than from ennui. His labors for trade with the men and his affairs of love with the ladies often made his scalp rest uneasy on his none too worthy head. But withal one can not but admire the red-blooded, half-savage trade adventurer, who was usually the first white man to explore and to exploit the savage lands.

THE MIDDLE MEMPHIS-PONTOTOC TRAIL

(Trail No. 119)

An intermediate trail, intermediate in length as well as position, led from Memphis to Pontotoc, and we have designated it the Middle Memphis-Pontotoc Trail. It followed higher and drier

⁴⁷ Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, pp. 64-66, 75.

⁴⁸ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 297-303.

ground than the last, through Germantown, Collierville, Mount Pleasant, Hudsonville, and New Albany. We quote again from Malone:

“There is also marked on Lusher’s map of 1835 an intermediate trail, running with the long trail a short distance north from where New Albany now is; thence diverging westward where it crosses the headwaters of the Tallahatchie and Coldwater Rivers higher up than the short-cut trail, and still bearing northwestward follows the top of the ridge dividing the waters of Wolf River from those of Nonconnah Creek, the result being that it crosses neither Wolf nor Nonconnah, and does not pass over as large streams as the short cut. The disadvantages of this route consist in the fact that it is longer than the short cut, and being higher up towards the Tippah Highlands, it is more ‘mountainous.’ I went over this route some years ago and again in October, 1917, going from Memphis out Poplar Street Boulevard, by Collierville, there turning southward into Mississippi, and some eight or ten miles from Collierville we crossed a very low, flat expanse, the soil being evidently retentive of water and while in timber wet and swampy, and partly so even to this day, and of a pondy character. While for the most part the road is on high ground, still we passed over several streams, including Chewalla and Tippah . . . The windings of the road and its characteristics unmistakably stamp it as of Indian origin.”⁴⁹

In discussing the route he supposes De Soto to have taken after leaving the Chickasaw towns, Malone says:

“There is a bare possibility that De Soto traveled this trail rather than the short cut, but I do not think that probable.

“Lusher’s map also shows what I have denominated the short-cut route or trail, leading from Memphis along approximately what is now the Pigeon Roost Road, over which, in my opinion, De Soto passed; but it is due to say that this trail does not appear to cross Tallahatchie at New Albany, but further down and quite near where the Tippah flows into the Tallahatchie, running thence southwardly to one of the very few places marked on the map, Olacopotoo, which appears to be the modern Toccopola, a village of some 233 inhabitants in Pontotoc County.

“Here the trail forks; one fork runs almost due east, only twelve miles on section lines, to Pontotoc, which, of course, is marked on the map; while the other fork runs much further southward. I am frank to say that I do not believe that De Soto passed over this southern part of the short-cut trail, and my opinion is that he followed the main trail northwestward, crossing Tallahatchie where New Albany now is, on the rock bottom of the river. This is the conclusion also of Prof. Lewis.

⁴⁹ Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, pp. 94-95.

"My opinion is that not far northward of New Albany, there was a trail connecting the main trail with the short-cut trail, precisely as the intermediate trail is shown on the map to diverge westward from the main trail, only about one mile northward from New Albany; or it may be that the divergence was from the intermediate trail to the short cut, thus making a saving of distance of some twenty to thirty computed miles and crossing many less high hills. This view is precisely in accord with the statement of Judge Crum, as to the route the short cut took from New Albany on to Holly Springs, and thence on to where Memphis now is, as quoted hereinbefore.

"While Holly Springs is not on Lusher's map, still it does show the short-cut trail as crossing the headwaters of Coldwater River, Byhalia, Red Banks and Pigeon Roost Creeks, and these streams are crossed today by the Pigeon Roost Road.

"It is due to say, however, that according to my reckoning the trail did not pass the spot where Holly Springs is now located, but passed some six miles westward. I feel quite sure that Dr. Lowe is entirely correct in saying that the high land whereon Holly Springs is located stands off to itself, and is entirely disconnected with the Tippah Highlands, though some modern maps show otherwise. Lusher's map corroborates this statement of Dr. Lowe, in that it shows no streams passing over the immediate vicinity of Holly Springs, but does show streams radiating in various directions from that vicinity; from which I infer that the uplift or spur whereon the little city is located furnishes, at least in part, the origin of adjacent creeks."⁵⁰

THE MEMPHIS-BOLIVAR-PONTOTOC PRONG

(Trails Nos. 11 and 12)

The longest but best prong from Pontotoc to Memphis led over the Bolivar and Memphis Trail (No. 11), from Chickasaw Bluffs, at Memphis,⁵¹ to the fortified Indian town at Bolivar, in Hardeman County, Tenn., where it had several prongs, but the traveler from Memphis to Pontotoc took the West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail (No. 12). These two trails are described elsewhere. This route was very much longer but it was also much drier, better suited for aboriginal travel, and could be used at all seasons.

OTHER MEMPHIS TRAILS

The location of the Indian trails above mentioned leading from Memphis⁵² into the State of Mississippi is further confirmed by an

⁵⁰ Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, pp. 95-96.

⁵¹ "Probably [passing] near the present sites of Millston, Macon, Bartlett, and Raleigh," according to an earlier draft of Mr. Myer's description of this route.—Ed.

⁵² The Cherokee name for the present site of Memphis was *Tsudá'tá'lesüñ'yí* ("where pieces fall off," i. e., where the banks are caving in).—Mooney in 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 535.

old map in the Library of Congress, De Fer's 1718 map of Louisiana (No. 115283, map division), entitled "Partie Meridionale de La Rivière de Mississippi et ses Environs." This map shows three trails from Mississippi to Memphis. One of these corresponds to the Memphis to Pontotoc trail and the West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail beyond Pontotoc. It struck the Tombigbee near the present site of Columbus, Miss. It confirms the route outlined under the head of the West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail.

The second trail led down approximately by the present route of the Illinois Central Railroad to Grenada, Miss.

The third trail led approximately along the present route of the eastern prong of the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railroad, through Clarksdale, Leland, Rolling Fork, and to the Mississippi River at Vicksburg.

[As stated above, the first of these corresponds to Trail No. 105. The others Mr. Myer did not enter on his map presumably for lack of sufficient specific data to guide him in plotting them.—Ed.]

THE CHEROKEE TRACE

(Trail No. 90)

Describing conditions at Memphis about the year 1822, James Phelan⁵³ says:

"At this time the only semblance of a road leading to Chickasaw Bluffs from the interior was the so-called Cherokee Trace. A trail ran from the bluffs to the Chickasaw Old Fields in northern Mississippi where it connected with the Natchez Trace. The chief avenues of ingress were the Mississippi river and its tributaries, the chief means of transportation, flat-boats, perogues, and broad-horns."

It is to be regretted that Phelan did not make the course of the Cherokee Trace more definite. As we interpret his description in the light of the roads and trails known to have run out of Memphis at that time, we judge he here refers to the Cherokee Trace and to Trail No. 105. The Chickasaw Trail was the narrow and much inferior Indian trail which led through northwestern Mississippi to the Chickasaw towns in Pontotoc County. The Cherokee Trace, which also followed an ancient Indian trail, was more frequented and had become broadened into a white man's road. It kept along the route of the old Indian path which we have called the Bolivar and Memphis Trail (No. 11) to an Indian town site near Bolivar, Tenn., where it forked, the branch called the Cherokee Trace by Phelan turning southward. At or near Roger's Spring, in Hardeman County, it again forked, one prong passing eastward toward the Cherokee and following in a general way the line of the Southern

⁵³ History of Tennessee, p. 316.

Railway through Pocahontas and Chewalla, in Tennessee. From Chewalla it crossed into the northeast corner of Mississippi, going about 4 miles north of Corinth and about 2 miles north of Iuka, and continuing on into the northwest corner of Alabama until it crossed the Natchez Trace about 3 miles west of Cherokee, in Colbert County. That portion of it from Chewalla to the point last mentioned is laid down on Lusher's map, though no name is given. Beyond question there were one or more trails along or near both banks of the Tennessee River which led from the intersection of the Cherokee and Natchez traces to the Cherokee country in eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia. We have record of aboriginal travel through this section, but we have no definite information as to the exact location of the trail for a space of 10 or 15 miles. It is not probable that there was a large amount of through travel from the east Tennessee Cherokee region to what later became the site of Memphis.

THE CHICKASAW AND CHOCTAW TRAILS

According to Adair⁵⁴ there were three through trails from the Chickasaw region to Mobile Bay. As far as we have been able to determine these three are our Memphis, Pontotoc, and Mobile Bay Trail (No. 105), the Cotton Gin Port, St. Stephens and Mobile Bay Trail (No. 120), and the Cherokee and Mobile Bay Middle Route (No. 121). There were, however, a number of others, and numerous cross trails which connected all of the small Indian towns in the section. Thus primitive man, desiring to go from any Chickasaw town in the northern portion of Mississippi to the Mobile settlements, could attain his object by means of a series of connecting paths leading in an almost straight line through the Choctaw towns in the eastern central part of the State.

In Wayne County, Miss., his path would cross an important aboriginal east and west trail from Natchez to the Lower Creeks (No. 91). This connected with the famous Camino Real of the Spaniards which led from St. Augustine and Pensacola, Fla., to the towns of the Natchez Indians on St. Catherine's Creek, crossed the Mississippi River near the present city of Natchez, and continued via the Red River Valley through Natchitoches, to San Antonio, Tex., and thence southward to the City of Mexico.

On reaching this trail an Indian who desired commerce with the English took it eastward and found their traders at St. Stephens where it crossed the Tombigbee River.

If he sought the French, he crossed it and continued southward to the Mobile Bay region.

The ancient Indian life along this maze of Chickasaw and Choctaw trails was always intimately connected, sometimes in peace but quite

⁵⁴ History of the American Indians, p. 298.

often in war, and when these trails began to pass from the original owners to the whites, they became the center of innumerable intrigues and counter intrigues over Indian trade, clearly shown in the records of the struggles between the French and Spanish on the one side and the English on the other.

GAINES'S TRACE

(Trail No. 66)

In order to obtain a share in the Choctaw trade and other traffic going down these Chickasaw and Choctaw trails, and also down the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers to the French and Spanish at Mobile and Pensacola, the United States in 1802 established a trading post or factory at St. Stephens, on Tombigbee River, a few miles above its junction with the Alabama. This post was where the trail from Natchez to the Lower Creeks (No. 91) crossed the Tombigbee, and was very near the boundary between the United States and Spanish West Florida.

While its situation enabled it to compete for trade on both the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers and also on all the trails converging toward Mobile, it was never able entirely to overcome the hold of French and Spanish traders upon the commerce of the region. This was especially true of the Choctaw, who had long been friendly to the French and always more or less hostile or lukewarm to the English.

Pickett ⁵⁵ thus describes Gaines's Trace and St. Stephens about 1809-10:

"The factory of the United States, located at St. Stephens, continued to be managed with advantage, so far as the friendship of the Choctaws depended, which was the chief aim of the government. When quite a young man, Mr. George S. Gaines, a native of Virginia, and then a resident of Gallatin, Tennessee, received the appointment of assistant factor, and arrived at St. Stephens in the spring of 1805. The parsonage of the old Spanish church was used as a skin-house, and the old block-house served the purpose of the government store. In 1807 Gaines was made principal factor. He received a good salary, as also did the assistant clerk, the skinsman and the interpreter. To this establishment the Indians—principally Choctaws—and sometimes the American settlers, brought bear's oil, honey in kegs, beeswax, bacon, groundnuts, tobacco in kegs, and all kinds of skins and peltries. To pay for which, the Federal Government usually kept a stock of coarse Indian merchandise, besides all kinds of iron tools, ploughs, arms and ammunition. In the summer the furs and hides, often overhauled by the skinsman for the purpose of keeping out the

⁵⁵ History of Alabama, 1896 reprint, pp. 505-506.

worms, were assorted. In the fall they were packed up in bales and shipped to the Indian Agent at Philadelphia. Mr. Gaines at first came often in collision with the revenue authorities of Mobile, who exacted duties—delayed his vessels—and, upon one occasion, came near putting him in the calaboose of that place for venturing to remonstrate. The Federal Government, to avoid the payment of these duties, and to prevent delays, instructed the factor to obtain the consent of the Chickasaws for a road from Colbert's Ferry to St. Stephens. The government resolved to send supplies down the Ohio and up the Tennessee, to the former point. The faithful and enterprising Gaines was unable to procure the privilege of a road, but was allowed the use of a horse path. Upon the backs of horses he was accustomed to transport goods, hardware, and even lead, from Colbert's Ferry to Peachland's, upon the Tombigby. There, boats being constructed, the merchandise was floated down to St. Stephens. It is singular that our ministers, in forming the treaty with Spain in 1795, by which we acquired all of West Florida above the line of 31°, and the right of free navigation of the Mississippi, neglected to insert an article for the free navigation of the bays and rivers of Mobile and Pearl."

Leftwich⁵⁶ has the following account of the trail:

"As Gen. Edmund Pendleton Gaines marched reinforcements for Gen. Jackson's army just before the battle of New Orleans over the 'Trace Road,' crossing the Tombigbee at Cotton Gin Port, the resident population has since assumed that Gen. Gaines opened the road and gave it the name. This is erroneous. George Strother Gaines, who was from about 1805 to 1825 Government factor and assistant factor at St. Stephens on the Lower Tombigbee, first brought this road into prominence and gave it its name. George S. Gaines was a brother of the celebrated general, E. P. Gaines, and seems himself to have held rank in the militia, as the early chroniclers refer to him as 'captain' and 'colonel.' Both of the brothers bore a conspicuous part in the settlement of the Southwest. They were Virginians by birth, descended from a sister of Edmund Pendleton of Revolutionary fame. George S. Gaines published his reminiscences in the *Mobile Register* in June and July, 1872. It was Gen. E. P. Gaines who captured Burr near St. Stephens in 1807 and delivered him to the authorities at Washington.

* * * * *

"It will be observed that this trace road leaves the Tombigbee river on an elevated plateau and follows 'the divide' through to the Tennessee, thus avoiding water courses. It must not be assumed that Gaines marked out a virgin path for the Government mules to

⁵⁶ Cotton Gin Port and Gaines' Trace, pp. 267-270.

carry produce over. No doubt this path had been an Indian road for communication between the Indian settlements in Alabama and Tennessee and Mississippi as long as they had inhabited the country. The English traders from Savannah and Charleston, who so long held the Chickasaws under their influence, no doubt carried their commerce over this road a century before Gaines heard of it. They are known to have assisted the Chickasaws at the battle of Acha, 1736. When Bienville attacked the town he found it strongly fortified, having the English flag floating over it. Long before Gaines opened and widened this road it had been used by Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee settlers bound for the upper and lower Tombigbee. They floated down the Tennessee on rafts to the mussel shoals and thence crossed the country on high ground by way of this road to the Tombigbee at Cotton Gin Port long before that ancient village had its present name. At the latter point they either constructed rafts and floated down the Tombigbee or carried their produce south and southeast through the open prairies.

“From Cotton Gin Port this road ran nearly due west about ten miles to a kind of tavern kept by Major Levi Colbert, a Chickasaw chief. There the road forked, one branch leading northeast to Pontotoc, whence it intercepted the Natchez Trace running to Natchez and New Orleans. The other branch turned southeast through the prairie, running not far from Muldon and West Point to Waverly, in Clay county.

“At or near Waverly, where the Oktibbeha river unites with the Tombigbee, was Peachland's, the place mentioned in the quotation from Pickett's history. It was here that Gaines unloaded his produce carried all the way from Colbert's ferry on the Tennessee by way of Cotton Gin Port on pack horses and mules, and reloaded it on rafts or boats for St. Stephens. Peachland's was a famous place in early frontier days. John Peachland, or Jack Pitchlyn, as he was often called, and his two sons, Peter and Jack, owned all that section of Lowndes county and part of Clay. Jack Pitchlyn was a half-breed, the son of an Englishman. He was always a faithful and influential friend of both the Indian and the white man. His home is time and again mentioned in the early chronicles, and he is also frequently named as a participant in treaties and other important transactions. He had a commission as United States interpreter for the Choctaws, and was sub-agent. His home seems to have been once a famous stopping place for travelers. He was buried at Waverly, just across Tibbee in Chickasaw territory, that being the boundary between the Chickasaws and Choctaws. His widow and descendants made several pilgrimages to his grave after the removal of his tribe to Indian Territory, and they finally removed his bones there.

“Major Levi Colbert, the famous Chickasaw Indian chief, was another conspicuous figure in these early times. One of his wives, Seletia Colbert, is said to have lived at Colbert’s ferry, where the trace road crossed the Tennessee. The other wife lived at what is now known as the French farm, not far from Okolona, in Monroe county. It was near this point that one branch of the trace road turned south through the prairie and the other northwest to Pontotoc. It is about eighty miles from Cotton Gin Port on the Tombigbee to Colbert’s ferry on the Tennessee, and even a less distance ‘as the crow flies.’

“Gaines’ Trace is still a public road, with some slight variations. Col. J. B. Prewett, one of the oldest citizens of Monroe county, traveled over it when a little boy with his father, who was removing to Monroe county from near Columbia, Tenn., about 1824. It was then a famous highway. He remembers seeing crowds of Indians at Cotton Gin.

“From the Colbert settlement near Cowpen creek this road ran northwest to Pontotoc, being north of the present town of Okolona, near what was afterwards known as Chambers’ Lake. From Pontotoc to Cotton Gin Port the distance is about forty miles. Gaines’ Trace might have intercepted the Natchez Trace several miles nearer than Pontotoc, but Pontotoc’s prominence among the Chickasaws, with the English settlers there, the later location of the Government land office at that point and the general course of the streams, all led travelers by that route.

“Okolona is said to have been named after Major Levi Colbert’s herdsman, whose name in the Chickasaw tongue was ‘Ittawaniba,’ meaning ‘bench chief,’ which he received for having gathered together the old men and boys while the warriors were off on a hunt and ambuscaded and killed a body of Creeks with whom the Chickasaws were at war. From his quiet manner he received the name of ‘Okolona,’ which means calm or peaceful.^{56a}

“Gaines’ Trace road from the Colbert settlement to Waverly, through the midst of prairies, was doubtless the same path followed by De Soto and his Spanish warriors in his war of conquest about November, 1540. How long before that it had been an Indian trail leading from the Chickasaw settlements in Pontotoc, Lee and Monroe counties, to the Choctaw settlements in central and east Mississippi and to the Creek settlement on the lower Tombigbee, we can never know.”

The old town of Cotton Gin Port figures largely in the stories of these trails, and Leftwich, in the work quoted, records many interesting details of the story of this now vanished town.⁵⁷

^{56a} Unless this name has been very much corrupted, the interpretation is erroneous.—ED.

⁵⁷ Cotton Gin Port and Gaines’ Trace, pp. 263-266.

Adair's experiences on the Chickasaw and Choctaw trails in the winter of 1747 show that a trader's life along them in his time was as full of adventure as the wildest western romance.⁵⁸ It sounds more like J. Fenimore Cooper than the actual record of a few days in the life of an Indian trader. Pickett gives a vivid and a tragic picture of adventure and hardship undergone by a white party on Gaines's Trace in 1802.⁵⁹

THE TRAIL FROM NATCHEZ TO THE LOWER CREEKS

(Trail No. 91)

This led from the crossing of the Mississippi River at Natchez through what later became the United States trading post of St. Stephens, on the Tombigbee, near which place it connected with trails leading in many directions. Lorenzo Dow passed over this trail in 1804-5 on his way from Natchez through the States of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and on to the Northern States, and has left an account of his journey.⁶⁰

THE CAMINO REAL

(THE KING'S HIGHWAY)

(Trails Nos. 99, 100, 105, 106, 107, 111)

After the settlement of St. Augustine in 1565, or even from the time of Narvaez (1528), until after Florida was finally transferred to the United States in 1821, the Spaniards made great use of aboriginal trails in the southern portion of our present Gulf States. This was notably true of those which connected the important settlements of St. Augustine on the east coast, St. Marks on Apalachee Bay, and Pensacola on Pensacola Bay. The main route from St. Augustine to Mexico was over this trail by land to the fort at St. Marks on Apalachee Bay, and the rest of the way by sea, but there was at least some travel from St. Augustine, St. Marks, and Pensacola to New Orleans and the Spanish settlements around Nacogdoches and San Antonio in what is now Texas, and from thence southward to the City of Mexico. The traveler would take trails Nos. 107 and 111 from St. Augustine to Pensacola, and at Pensacola, if the inhabitants of Pensacola and Mobile were at peace, he would take trail No. 106 to a point on Mobile Bay opposite Mobile. He would leave Mobile by trail No. 99. If, however, he desired to avoid Mobile he would take trail No. 106 at Pensacola and follow it and its connections to the junction of the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers, where a few miles of travel on another path brought him into trail No. 99. This

⁵⁸ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 325-326.

⁵⁹ Pickett, *Hist. of Ala.*, pp. 466-469.

⁶⁰ See Dow, *History of Cosmopolite*, pp. 233-247.

came out at the crossing of the Mississippi River at Natchez, and from there a trail led up Red River Valley to Natchitoches, La., and thence in succession to Nacogdoches and San Antonio, Tex., the crossing of the Rio Grande at Presidio near the old mission of San Juan Bautista, and finally to the City of Mexico. This trail, later known as the Camino Real, was the first to be traveled for any considerable distance by white men in what is now the United States, for it is now nearly 400 years since De Soto and his band of armed adventurers first came upon it in 1539, near the present town of Alachua, Fla. There is considerable dispute in regard to portions of the route followed by De Soto, but no careful student of his expedition will deny he passed along this trail near Alachua. After the foundation of St. Augustine it became of the first importance, and with the founding of posts at St. Marks and later at Pensacola the travel over it increased. Where it crossed St. Johns River a ferry was established and the forts of St. Francis de Pupa and Picolata were built to protect it.

On account of the supposed poverty of the Texas Indians, as reported by Cabeza de Vaca (1528-1536), no white man set foot on the Texas section of this trail until 149 years after his time (1536-1685), and then only as the result of an accident. By an error in the calculation of his longitude the French explorer La Salle failed to find the mouth of the Mississippi River, and entered Matagorda Bay on the Texas coast where he built his little fort of St. Louis and raised over it the flag of France. This fort was soon afterwards abandoned by the French and the buildings burned, but meantime the Spaniards captured one of La Salle's vessels, which had blown out of its course, and thus learned of the French advance into territory claimed by them. In 1689 they sent an expedition to oust the intruders and in 1690 they built their first Texas mission, San Francisco de los Tejas near the Nabadache village.

In 1718 the Spaniards established the mission fort of San Antonio de Valero (later called San Antonio de Béxar and now San Antonio) at the junction of the Camino Real with another ancient trail, and two years earlier they built another mission on the former, among the Nacogdoches Indians, which later grew into the modern town of Nacogdoches, Tex. They built yet another fort farther east, near the present city of St. Augustine, Tex., and a mission fort among the Adai Indians at what is now Robelin, La., only 14 miles west of the French outpost at Natchitoches, La. This trail connected numerous Indian villages or communities, and to this day mounds and other evidences of ancient man are to be found upon its course.

After the building of these missions came the trading expedition of the Frenchman, St. Denis, who appears to have attempted to stand in with both the Spaniards and the French. He was a medium

of plots and counterplots, which ended in the old trail passing more and more from the red man to the white. It quickly developed into an important road called the Camino Real (King's Road) in accordance with the Spanish custom of calling any important road by that name.

As the missions sprang up various section of this ancient trail came to receive local names. From St. Augustine, Fla., to Nacogdoches, Tex., it was called by the Spaniards the Camino Real. From Nacogdoches, Tex., to the mission of San Antonio de Béxar it is now known locally as the Old San Antonio Road, and from San Antonio to the place where it crosses the Rio Grande near Presidio, as the Presidio Road.

Mainly through the efforts of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Texas, the route of this old Camino Real across the State of Texas has been carefully located, and stone markers have been placed at distances of 5 miles.⁶¹

The following is from the report to the Daughters of the American Revolution of Maj. V. N. Zively, who had been appointed by the Governor of Texas to survey and relocate it and whose map, with one slight correction, we also reproduce. (Pl. 17.)

"This 'Camino Real' traverses the State of Texas from Pendleton's Ferry on the Sabine River, near the upper boundary of Sabine County, to Paso de Francia (the French Ford) of the Rio Grande in the lower part of Maverick County, about six miles S. 60 degrees East from the old Mission San Juan Bautista in the State of Coahuila, Mexico.

"In traversing our imperial State it passes through or near the historic cities of San Augustine, Nacogdoches, Alto, Crockett, Bastrop and San Antonio, the city of the Alamo . . .

"It crosses the Angelina River at the old Linnwood crossing, within a stones-throw of the birthplace of that young patriot statesman, the Hon. Geo. B. Terrell of Cherokee. Passing old Fort Lacy it crosses the Neches River near the prehistoric Neches-Indian Mounds, and after passing within a short distance of that beautiful and thriving little city, Crockett, named for one of the immortals of the Alamo, crosses the Trinity River at Robbin's Ferry about six miles above the old Spanish Bluff or Fort.

"It crosses the Navasota River near Lake Afton at the Common Corner of four of the most populous and richest counties of the State; Leon and Madison, Robinson and Brazos. It crosses the

⁶¹ Mrs. Lipscomb Norvell, of Beaumont, Tex., as chairman of the Old Trails Committee of the D. A. R., deserves especial credit for her great labors in this movement, and the writer is indebted to her for much information. Mrs. Norvell is the author of "King's Highway Across Texas," in the D. A. R. Magazine March, 1916. She has contributed many other historical articles to various publications.

Miss Mary Eleanor Peters, formerly of Dallas, Tex., now of Berkeley, Calif., has given many additional facts. Miss Peters is the author of "Texas Trails," in Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, vol. 7 (1913-14).

Brazos River at the old Shoal Ford, about one and one-half miles above Moseley's Ferry at Stone City, and crosses the Colorado River at the city of Bastrop—'One hundred varas above the N. W. corner of the Stephen F. Austin Survey.'

"The next stream of importance is the beautiful Rio San Marcos, which it crosses four miles below the thriving little city of the same name. The next is the swift and limpid Guadalupe which it crosses within the city limits of New Braunfels, and at the intersection of Nacogdoches and Seguin Streets I placed post No. 78.

"Passing diagonally through San Pedro Park in the city of San Antonio, it follows the meanders of the West bank of San Pedro Creek nearly to its confluence with the San Antonio River. Thence it passes just south of the Mission de San Jose; it passes through the patio of the Mission de Espada. The next point of interest is the crossing of the Medina River at the Kerr Ford and the next stream of note is the Atascosa River which it crosses about two miles below the little village of Poteet. Crossing the San Miguel Creek near the town of Hinds the next stream of consequence is the Rio Frio which it crosses at the old Lawton Ford in La Salle County, and just one mile below Cotulla it crosses the beautiful and far famed Nueces River.

"From the crossing of the Nueces River on to the Rio Grande, it passes many points mentioned and described in the diary of Morfi: viz: the high hill, La Cochina, the pools of Romano, the head of San Roque and San Lorenzo creek, the San Pedro spring, the San Ambrosia creek and pass, and then Paso de Francia on the Rio Grande, perhaps the best natural crossing on the stream below Eagle Pass.

"The fact is the King's Highway is the natural road across the State, the one route meeting with the least resistance from nature, and as about 60% of it is now used as a road, let us hope that the near future will see the entire road opened and maintained by the State, in co-operation with the counties through which it passes."

Soon after 1800 the Camino Real became intimately associated with the movements which finally resulted in the Mexican war and Texan independence.⁶²

The following extract from "Texas Trails" in Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, vol. 7, 1913-14, pp. 58-60, tells briefly the interesting story of this Texas section.

"Old San Antonio Road, which was a part of the Spanish road across the Continent, starting at San Augustine, Florida, and known as the King's Highway. By this name the thoroughfare is known until it reaches Nacogdoches in East Texas, when it changes to the Old

⁶² See Norvell, King's Highway and History, Beaumont, Tex., 1918.

San Antonio Road, keeping this title until it reaches San Antonio, after which, coinciding with the road from the Presidio of San Juan Bautista to the mission-fort of San Antonio de Valero (later San Antonio de Béxar), it is known as the Presidio Road.

“The section [of the *Camino Real*] known as the Old San Antonio Road was mapped out and inaugurated in 1714 by Juchereau St. Denis, who came into Texas as agent of the monopolist Crozat to open trade between Louisiana and Mexico by way of Texas. The Spaniards, taking alarm at this insidious intrusion of their French rivals, sought to check their advance and to keep out their traders by establishing more missions at strategic points along the trail. They were assisted in the work by St. Denis himself, who, by clever manipulation, with his right hand received his commissions from his French employers, while with his left he sought the perquisites offered him by the Spaniards in return for his assistance both in smuggling and in laying out the road and establishing the posts which were to hold it.

“One of these missions, San Antonio, previously mentioned, was developed at the junction of the Presidio and San Antonio roads. Another, placed at the eastern terminus of the road among the Nacogdoches Indians, grew into the present town of Nacogdoches; while another was placed still further east, near the site of what is now San Augustine, Texas. The two towns which earliest figured in the colonial history of Texas were thus practically the oldest permanent settlements, though San Antonio grew more rapidly and has remained one of the largest of Texas cities, due no doubt to the fact that it became the headquarters of the Governor of Texas; while Nacogdoches remained a frontier settlement whose very existence was often almost annihilated by Indian attacks. It is now, however, one of the important centers of East Texas.

“This road was named as the northern boundary of American colonization when, in 1821, Stephen F. Austin brought in his first colony. Over it the early settlers from Arkansas traveled, excited to emigration by news of Austin’s projected enterprise. It was the line of demarcation between the roving Indian tribes and the American settlements, and was the great commercial and military highway in every era of the history of Texas, as well as the official road of the government whether of Spain, Mexico, Texas, the United States, or the Confederacy. Over it the Forty-niners made their way westward, striking it at Natchitoches, Louisiana, and following it to San Antonio, there picking up a trail marked on the map of 1856 as the ‘Emigrants’ Route’, which led westward to New Mexico, via Santa Fé through Arizona to their El Dorado. To unite her California settlers with their Eastern friends, the United States chose and maintained this old road as her post-road, over which all mail was sent to San Diego. When Texas invited the railroads to enter her territory,

the Southern Pacific laid its tracks upon this well-worn road; and thus it has been in constant use since Juchereau St. Denis, with his commission from Crozat, rode over it, spied out the land, and with keen eye selected the landmarks which should identify a permanent highway over his twofold enterprise. Spanish cavalry, French and American adventurers, Mexican armies, emigrant wagons, the pony-express, and the limited train have made their way gayly, courageously, laboriously, cautiously, indifferently over this stretch of road with which the Spanish King dreamed of holding his New World Empire. Its perpetuation has become the fixed purpose of the Texas Chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who are marking with bowlders the entire length of the King's Highway from Nacogdoches to the old Presidio of San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande.

"The stage of the trail from San Antonio to Presidio, known as the Old Presidio Road, was also laid out by St. Denis when he planned the Old San Antonio Road. It is still plainly visible, as it passes through Zavala County, deeply sunken, almost a chiasm, and unfit for use, but preserved intact—thanks to its impassable condition, which has rendered necessary the wearing of a new road beside it."

The Florida portion of the Camino Real has enjoyed a certain amount of distinction from the narrative of his journey over it in 1774 left by William Bartram.⁶³

MIDDLE TENNESSEE TRAILS

THE CUMBERLAND TRACE

(Trail No. 26)

This trail, which owes its name to the early white settlers, branched from the Tennessee River, Great Lakes, and Ohio Trail (No. 29) near the present site of Rockwood, in Roane County, and led to the west of the Cumberland River in Jackson County and the Indian settlements around Nashville. The celebrated Cherokee chief Tollunteskee at one time lived in Rockwood at the point where this trace took its rise. From Rockwood it proceeded through the pass just west of town and thence on to the plateau, afterwards following the present route of the Tennessee Central Railroad near the site of Crossville, Standing Stone (Monterey), and the old Indian town at the Officer Mounds near Algood, in Putnam County.

At the last mentioned place the trail branched. One prong ran slightly to the northwest to the ancient Indian settlements at the junction of Spring Creek and Roaring River, in Jackson County. Thence it went down Roaring River, where, 3 miles below, it reached the old town at McCain's, and continued down Roaring River to

⁶³ Wm. Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 182-261.

its junction with the Cumberland, crossed the latter, and proceeded to the old Indian settlements on Jennings Creek.

The other prong went down Flynn's Lick Creek to the Indian town at Flynn's Lick, thence to the settlements on Cumberland River at the mouth of Flynn's Creek, and from there to War Trace Creek. At the crossing of the Cumberland near the mouth of Flynn's Creek the whites built Fort Blount about 1784 to command it.

On War Trace Creek every vestige of the old trail has disappeared, but in the days of the early whites the trail along this creek, then used only as a war trail by the Cherokee and Shawnee, was so well known that it gave the creek its name. Here the trail probably forked, one prong going out at the head of War Trace Creek, probably by the ancient Indian settlement near the headwaters of Jennings Creek, from thence by the present site of Red Boiling Springs—which in Indian days was something of an animal lick on account of its salt-producing waters—and from thence to the great Indian settlement on Green and Barren Rivers in southern Kentucky.

The other prong probably followed down the Valley of the Cumberland via the sites of the modern villages of Defeated and Monoville, the fortified Indian town at the mouth of Dixon's Creek, the site of Hartsville, the fortified Indian town at Castalian Springs, and the fortified Indian town on Drake's Creek, near Hendersonville, to the numerous ancient Indian settlements around the salt licks on the present site of Nashville, where it connected with trails leading in all directions.

Cumberland Trace was much used by the Cherokee in going from the populous Indian region around the junction of the Clinch and Tennessee Rivers to the rich central portions of the Cumberland Valley. Traces of it can still be found in the wooded hills to the northwest of the Indian village site at the Officer Mounds near Algood.

Standing Stone.—One of the best known Indian relics in Tennessee is Standing Stone, at Monterey, by the side of the Cumberland Trace. It is of sandstone, and was originally about 8 feet high. All accounts of this interesting stone agree that the Indians held it in high esteem, but the exact nature of their attitude toward it has long been lost, if indeed it was ever known. The following information was communicated to the author by the Hon. John Turner Price, of Monterey, Tenn.

“This information regarding Standing Stone was largely obtained from Mr. Jack Whittaker. He perhaps knows more of the history of the old stone than anyone now living. He tells me that he got all the information from his father, Mr. Jeff Whittaker, who has lived in this immediate vicinity since his birth, 1818.

“The Standing Stone was originally located about one mile west of the town of Monterey, directly on the Walton Road and about

20 feet to the north of same. The stone was plain, about 8 feet tall, of pink sandstone, standing upright on a sandstone ledge. After it had fallen down some of the early settlers made some excavations under it, and found ashes and charcoal that seemed to have been buried there. It was the general impression with them that the stone marked the location of some treasures which the Indians had buried here a good many years ago. It was also undoubtedly a marker of their trail which led across the Cumberland Mountains from Kingston to the West, and was used by the Cherokee tribe.

“There are several caves near the stone, and Mr. Whittaker says his father found evidence that the Indians inhabited them, and it was his idea that they wintered here in the caves.

“After the stone had fallen down, people in passing by would chip off pieces of it, and in order to preserve it the Red Man built the present monument and placed the old stone on it.

“Mr. Whittaker does not know whether or not the Indians venerated it or offered sacrifices around it. There are a great many stories connected with it, but there does not appear to be any real foundation for them. It unquestionably bears some very close relationship to the early Indian in this country, but just what, none will probably ever know.”

It must be borne in mind that until as late as 1805 the white settlers in East Tennessee were separated from those in the Cumberland Valley by a great wedge of lands still belonging to the Cherokee. Where the Cumberland Trace crossed this, it was some 65 miles in width in a straight line. The western edge of it was near Double Springs, Putnam County, and the eastern edge at the junction of the Clinch and Tennessee Rivers, near Kingston.

When the first settlements were made on Cumberland River this route was a dangerous one for white people, because the Cherokee owners were unwilling to have them pass over it. By degrees they were able to obtain a grudging permission and some of the more adventurous began to use it, but as late as 1797 it was still only a path and regarded as hardly safe except for large parties.

A very interesting account of a journey over the entire length of this trail in the year 1797 is given by young Francis Baily,⁶⁴ who later became the president of the Royal Astronomical Society. Baily speaks of meeting upon it only one party of emigrants bound for the Cumberland settlements, but within two years there was such an urgent demand for a wagon road that the Government secured permission from the Cherokee to open such a road for the on-coming rush of colonists, and the Walton road was in consequence built by a captain of that name. It followed the old Cumberland Trace from Kingston to the present site of Algood, where it took

⁶⁴ Journal of a Tour in North America, pp. 415-439.

the prong leading almost directly west, over the trail along the level tops of the ridges to Chestnut Mound, and crossed Cumberland River at Allen's Old Ferry at Carthage, about three-quarters of a mile above the mouth of Caney Fork River.

In historic times it is probable that the Cherokee made little use of that prong leading from Algood to the large Indian settlements around Carthage, since the latter had long been deserted. Among these settlements was an ancient fortified town on the point at the junction of Caney Fork and Cumberland Rivers which commanded the travel by water up and down both streams. This old abandoned trail between Carthage and Algood was the only practicable route between these prehistoric settlements and east Tennessee.

The following information regarding the above-mentioned wagon road was furnished the author by Mr. W. B. Walton, of Nashville, Tenn., a son of Captain Walton:

"Knowing from experience and from observation how difficult it was to reach the Cumberland country (now Middle Tennessee) by the long circuitous route—the only one then opened, by way of Cumberland Gap and Central Kentucky—Capt. Walton determined to open a wagon road by a more direct route from Southwest Point (now Kingston) on the Clinch River, a hundred miles over the Cumberland Mountains, to the confluence of the Caney Fork and Cumberland Rivers. In 1799, when the legislature was sitting at Knoxville, Walton applied for and procured the appointment of a commission to mark out and locate the wagon road between the points above mentioned. William Walton and William Martin, of Smith County, and Robert Kogle, of Hawkins County, were appointed commissioners, and did the work in compliance with the Act of October 26th, 1799. Capt. Walton contracted to open and build the road. This he subsequently did, and became owner of the road; and he established along the route stands at which he kept supplies derived mainly from his farm on the Cumberland—this for the accommodation of emigrants. The first of these was located near Pekin, in Putnam County; the second was at White Plains, at the western foot of the mountain; the third at Crab Orchard, on the plateau of the mountain in Cumberland County; the fourth at Kimbroughs at the eastern foot of the mountains in Roane County.

"The construction was a great feat at that time, considering the rough topography of the route, the difficulty of keeping supplies for the workers, the long, hard route, hauling by wagon, and the danger from marauding Indians who were hostile.

"The Walton road was completed and thrown open to travel in 1801, and being nearer than the Kentucky route by more than one-half, it resulted in turning to this route a large number of emigrants from Virginia and the Carolinas, who were seeking homes in Middle

Tennessee and beyond the Mississippi and the Ohio, and hence expedited the populating of trans-mountain Tennessee and the more speedy building up of our great state and commonwealth."

The wheels of thousands of emigrant wagons wore down the old Walton Road to a depth of from 2 to 10 feet at the point where it crossed the Cumberland and entered Carthage, and the ancestors of probably half of the older inhabitants of middle Tennessee came over this old trail, while thousands of others passed on to southwestern Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, and Illinois.

The author, when a boy, saw hundreds of these old canvas-covered Conestoga-body "movers" wagons pass, and to the boyish, "Stranger, where are you moving?" the reply would be, "We are bound for the Arkansas," or "We are bound for the Elenoy."

Among early travelers of distinction to pass over the Fort Blount Prong of the Cumberland Trace may be mentioned André Michaux (1795), his son François André Michaux (1802), and Louis Philippe and his two brothers, the Count de Montpensier and the Count Beaujolais (1797.)⁶⁵

THE BLACK FOX AND SALINE RIVER TRAILS

An Indian trail, starting from the thickly settled Cherokee region in east Tennessee, ran through the present States of Tennessee and Kentucky to the crossing of the Ohio River at Golconda, traversed southern Indiana and Illinois to the crossing of the Mississippi River at Cape Girardeau, and continued westward through Missouri and Oklahoma.

That portion from east Tennessee to the neighborhood of Nashville was known to white colonists as the Black Fox Trail, and the section from Nashville to the Ohio River crossing at Golconda was known to middle Tennessee whites as the Saline River Trail.

THE BLACK FOX TRAIL—EASTERN SECTION

(Trail No. 23)

The Black Fox Trail began at the Cherokee settlements along the Hiwassee River in east Tennessee. Passing Rattlesnake Springs near the present site of Charleston, Tenn., it crossed the Hiwassee River near the mouth of Gunstocker Creek, ran down along the north side of the Hiwassee, crossing Tennessee River just above the mouth of Hiwassee a short distance from Chief Jolly's Island (now Hiwassee Island). From thence it led past the ancient salt lick at what is now Morgan Springs, in Rhea County, and westward to

⁶⁵ See *Early Western Travels*, Thwaites, ed., vol. III; *Louis Philippe in the United States*, by Jane Marsh Parker, *Century Magazine* (1901), vol. XL; *France's Rise and Fall of Louis Philippe*, Boston, 1848; *The Life of Louis Philippe*, by the Marquis de Flers; *Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee*, Philadelphia, 1852; *Joe Guild's Old Times in Tennessee*, Nashville, 1878; *Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee*, Nashville, 1859.

mounds which mark the site of an ancient Indian village in the beautiful and fertile Sequatchie Valley, about 5 miles south of the present town of Pikeville.

THE SEQUATCHIE TRAIL

(Trail No. 75)

From the Pikeville mounds a trail led down the Sequatchie Valley, keeping near Sequatchie River, passed the sites of large numbers of prehistoric villages, and finally reached the great crossing place of the Tennessee at Bridgeport Island over trail 21, near the mouth of the Sequatchie Valley. This was known to early whites as the Old Creek Crossing (see p. 751). Many important trails from both north and south led to it, and it was probably the greatest river crossing known to the aborigines in the eastern United States. From this place the traveler could take a direct trail to the southeast as far as Savannah or St. Augustine, to the north as far as Sandusky Bay, on Lake Erie, or to the southwest to Mobile Bay, Texas, and Mexico; or he could go to the northeast to Virginia and Pennsylvania and beyond.

In the Sequatchie Valley are traces of at least a dozen old Indian villages which contain a total of about 50 earthen mounds, some of which the writer explored during the summer of 1918, finding in them remains of what seems to have been the oldest culture in the Southern States. There was little pottery and it was rude. The bodies discovered had returned to dust, and what had been human flesh and bones was now only a faint dark streak of earth, while even the almost imperishable enamel of the teeth had become a grayish, soft powdery substance.

The Sequatchie Valley is a great trough, about 50 miles in length and from 2 to 4 miles in width, formed during the upheaval which threw up the mountain ranges of east Tennessee. It is closed at its northern extremity and is open only at its southern end. Down its center flows the Sequatchie, a bold, clear mountain river.

This fertile trough-like valley is hidden away in the mountains, and defended by a great mountain range on the east, and the wide, inhospitable Cumberland Plateau on the west.

When prehistoric man came into the Southern States he found this valley sheltered from the cold north wind and from the winds which blew from either the east or the west. These could be heard sweeping through the pines on the mountain tops but were unable to reach the sheltered valley below, open only to warm south winds, which were drawn into it by the long, tall north and south mountain ranges. The game was superabundant, the river easy to fish, the valley itself fertile, hidden, and protected. In short it was a spot exactly suited to his purposes.

ROUTE OF THE BLACK FOX TRAIL RESUMED

The main Black Fox Trail continued westward from the Sequatchie mounds across Cumberland Plateau. It reached the Caney Fork River a few miles upstream from the Falls of the Caney Fork, crossed the well-known Chickamauga Path a short distance south of Rock Island, passed thence to the junction of Mountain Creek with Collins River, and then up the north side of Mountain Creek to the present line between Warren and Cannon Counties, from which it continued via Woodbury, following near the line of the present Woodbury-Murfreesboro turnpike, to the famous Black Fox Spring in the suburbs of Murfreesboro. Black Fox Spring now furnishes the entire water supply for the town of Murfreesboro, of about 5,500 population. It received its name from the Cherokee chief, Black Fox, a principal chief of the Cherokee, who was accustomed to make his camp here when he came into middle Tennessee to hunt. Many other ancient trails led to this famous spring. Black Fox (Imali) was instrumental in bringing about the treaty of January 7, 1806, whereby the Cherokee ceded 7,000 square miles of their lands in Tennessee and Alabama to the whites. He was then an old man, and he was given a life annuity of \$100. The following year he and some others were allowed the privilege of hunting in their former middle Tennessee hunting grounds "until through settlement it might become improper." In 1810, as one of the members of the Cherokee Nation council, he signed an enactment which abolished the ancient custom of clan revenge.⁶⁶

From Black Fox Spring the trail continued on to Nashville by two routes. One ran to the west near the line of the present Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, finally striking what is now the Nolensville pike, and coming into Nashville over that road, while the other followed the present Murfreesboro and Nashville turnpike for a portion of the distance.⁶⁷

THE TENNESSEE RIVER, OHIO, AND GREAT LAKES TRAIL

(Trail No. 29)

The Indian name for this trail is unknown. The whites did not realize its extreme length and had no designation for it as a whole, therefore the writer has given it the name Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail, because it connected the regions mentioned.

Its branches began at the Indian settlements in north Georgia, where they connected with many well-known trails which led to all portions of the southern United States. Thence the branches continued to the old Indian towns on Tennessee River in the suburbs of Chattanooga, where they consolidated into one which ran up the west side of the Tennessee River, following the more level lands east

⁶⁶ See Mooney, in 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 87; and Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, pt. 1, Bur. Amer. Ethn., article Black Fox. For a part of the information regarding this section of the trail the author is indebted to Mrs. Blanche Bentley, of McMinnville, Tenn.

⁶⁷ Mr. Myer's maps show only one trail, No. 21.—Ed.

of the base of Wallen's Ridge to the present site of Rockwood, in Roane County.

The trail passed many Indian towns and settlements in this Chattanooga-Rockwood stretch, the best known of which was the famous town on the island in the Tennessee River at the mouth of Hiwassee River, now known as Hiwassee Island, and at one time as Jolly's Island. Here young Sam Houston lived with the Cherokee for three years. This island played a notable part in the story of Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma. At the Hiwassee Island town this path was crossed by the Black Fox Trail (No. 23), which led west across the mountains into middle Tennessee, coming down the Hiwassee from the many settlements along its banks, via the old Cherokee agency at the mouth of Oostanaula Creek and Hiwassee Old Town, near where the Louisville & Nashville Railroad crosses the Hiwassee at Reliance. At Hiwassee Old Town the Black Fox trail connected with the Great Indian War Path (No. 31), and with an ancient trail later followed by the Unicoi turnpike (No. 35) which went up the Hiwassee through the mountain passes to the Indian settlements in northwest South Carolina on the headwaters of the Savannah, whence it passed down the Savannah to the sea.

The Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail followed up the valley of the Emory River from Rockwood and passed to the Indian settlements on Cumberland River around the junction of the North and South Forks of Cumberland River at Burnside, Ky., and also to those at Mill Springs and Rowena. Thence it led to the Indian settlements in central Kentucky and to the present sites of Danville, Lexington, and Paris. As the Licking Route (No. 3) it then passed down Licking River to its mouth, opposite Cincinnati, where it crossed the Ohio and ran up the Big Miami River, touching the many towns along its banks, until it reached the numerous villages about its headwaters. Here it crossed over to the headwaters of the Maumee, and passed down that stream to Lake Erie, the shores of which it skirted as far as Detroit, where it connected with the Indian routes⁶⁸ of the Great Lakes region.

⁶⁸ The route of this Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail and the Warriors' Trail has been worked out from many sources, notably from "Lewis Evans's Map of the Middle British Colonies in America, 1755," with Pownall's 1776 additions, and the "Trader's Map of the Ohio Country before 1753." The original of this Trader's Map is in the Library of Congress. We also obtained much information from the following sources: John Filson's "Map of Kentucke" (1784), in the Library of Congress; "A map of some Wilderness Trails and Early Indian Villages of Pennsylvania and Ohio," p. 383; Hanna's "The Wilderness Trail," vol. I; the records of the early explorers in Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio, especially those of John Lederer, 1670; Needham & Arthur, 1673; Gabriel Arthur, 1674, reentered in "The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674," by Alvord and Bidgood; the records of the travels of Arnold Viele, the Dutch trader, from Albany, 1692-93; the Journal of Christopher Gist, a surveyor sent out by the Ohio Company of Virginia in 1750, in "First Explorations in Kentucky" (Journals of Walker and Gist), Louisville, Ky., Filson Club, 1898; George Croghan, Indian trader and English Government agent, 1744, described in pages 1-82, vol. II of Hanna's "The Wilderness Trail"; Collins's "History of Kentucky"; the many accounts of Daniel Boone; the chapter on John Finley and Kentucky before Boone in vol. II, Hanna's "The Wilderness Trail." For that portion of the Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail near Tennessee River, see Haywood's "Civil and Political History of Tennessee," 2d ed., pp. 284-285, and the accounts given by Judge McElwee in this volume.

On "A Trader's Map of the Ohio Country, 1750-52," a trail is marked leading from Cumberland Gap to Lake Erie. The designation of the trail, "Outaouaes the War Path against the Cuttawas," on the original map, is shown in faint lettering at the junction of the two trails near the head of the Miami River.

Route of the Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail in Tennessee and southern Kentucky.—In Tennessee and southern Kentucky this trail followed substantially the route of the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway. The author is especially indebted to Judge W. E. McElwee, of Rockwood, Tenn., for information in regard to it. We quote from him the following:

"There was a trail from the lower towns of the Cherokees which followed the eastern escarpment of the Cumberland Mountains (Wallen's Ridge, I give the ancient spelling) from Chattanooga to Emory River (Babahatchie), which it followed toward Kentucky. Another trail from the upper Cherokee towns led from the old Chota Ford (near Echota, the sacred town of refuge), passing the town of Stekee (Waginsi), now Lenoir City, crossing the Clinch one mile above the town of Kingston at the mouth of the Emory, and following up that stream until it intersected the trail or trace from the lower towns. These traces can be very well located by reading old entries and land grants which call for 'on the old Indian trace.' I am of the opinion that there was a trail continuing up the eastern base of the mountain to Cumberland Gap which could be correctly located from surveys of old land grants, many of which I have had reason to read, and especially to note this feature of them.

"The grant of land upon which I was born and reared was located on 'the old Indian trace' from the 'lower towns' toward the great hunting grounds. The command of Colonel Shelby returned from the dispersion of the Indians at Chickamauga by this trace and rested at 'Sale' Creek where the property taken from the Indians was divided by a public sale. The old Waterhouse tract in Rhea County included the 'Indian Medical Spring' (now Rhea Springs) on the 'old Indian Trace.' The Indian Spring at Harriman is on this 'trace.' In fact it is mentioned so often in land grants that one can almost walk it from the crossing at Chattanooga to the northern boundary of the State. In some of the grants it is called 'The Cumberland trace.' The old Indian Chief, Tullentuskee, who sold this part of the country to the whites, lived on a little round topped hill now in the corporate limits of Rockwood, upon which was planted the 'Catawba' witness tree to his 640 acre reservation."

In 1792 Sevier built a fort called Southwest Point at the junction of the Tennessee and Clinch Rivers. Haywood⁶⁹ says:

"The possession of this place would effectually prevent the intercourse between the upper and the lower Cherokees, together with

⁶⁹ Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 2d ed., pp. 284-285.

that of the small tribes of Northwards settled on the Tennessee; which communication extended at least three hundred miles up and down the river and up the river Clinch, which takes its rise in the vicinity of the Ohio and the Cole and the Sandy, two branches of the latter, by which advantages they had but a small passage by land from either of these rivers into the Clinch, which communicates with the Tennessee. It would also obstruct the passage of the Indians up and down the Clinch River, which the Creeks and Cherokees used in going and returning on their incursive expeditions up this river. The northern and southern tribes often passed in canoes one hundred and fifty miles, up and down, to its junction with the Tennessee; and then up or down this latter river into any part of the Cherokee country. A garrison fixed at the situation before mentioned [South-West Point—W. E. M.] would not only destroy water communication, but, being directly on the road between the southern and northern tribes, would obstruct their passage by land. The only two practicable fords on the Tennessee were both within five miles of this place; the same number on the Clinch, which were only eight miles from the same place; and the main gap in the Cumberland Mountain not more than ten."

We are indebted to Mr. L. E. Bryant, Roberta, Tenn., for the location of that portion of the Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail from Harriman, Tenn., to Lexington, Ky. He is a civil engineer of wide experience who has given the ancient trails of this region close study. It will be seen that this route divided near Wartburg. One branch is followed by the present line of the railroad; the other led by Cortland, down Brimstone Creek, until it joined the first near New River. We quote in substance from Mr. Bryant's letters to the author in September and October, 1919.

"I lived quite a while in central Kentucky near Danville and spent a great deal of time at Burnside on the Cumberland River and later lived five years at Harriman, Tennessee, and investigated the Indian mounds and works on the Seven Islands in the Tennessee River and adjacent bottom lands near the mouth of the Clinch.

"During all this time and for the past thirty years I have investigated Indian rock houses along the Cincinnati Southern Railway and also have walked over most of the old wagon road that paralleled the present location of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad and really was the cause of that road having been built.

"It is my opinion that this railroad today occupies the only animal trail from the Tennessee Valley to the Cumberland Valley at Burnside and on to central Kentucky, around Danville, Harrodsburg and Lexington. I base this information on the fact that this wagon road occupies the perfectly dry ridges from Burnside to the River crossing at New River, and from this point south. If the Indian and animal

trail is not the same as the railroad it went up Brimstone Creek to the left and east and struck into the head of Emory River at practically the same point that the railroad does and then down Emory to the Clinch.

"Wherever leading ridges join this road, as at Whitley City, Kentucky; Stearns, Kentucky; Cumberland Falls, Kentucky; Silerville, Kentucky; Oneida, Tennessee; Helenwood, Tennessee, Indian relics and chips are extremely plentiful and on the ridges that lead out from those junction points pieces of pottery and flint chips can be found together with large arrow heads and hatchets and tools for miles.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the Cincinnati Southern Railroad occupies practically the main artery of travel from the Tennessee to the Cumberland River, as the tops of the ridges all along show camp sites, especially at every cross ridge. There is a very marked quantity of flint chips on the ridge between Stearns and Whitley City and on ridges running out east and west, probably being along connecting ridges from the upper Cumberland Valley above Williamsburg and the lower Cumberland Valley around Monticello and Beaver Creek.

"The wagon road along the line of the C. N. O. & T. P. R. R. is approximately the old trail. The side branches are indicated where known. One of these branches starts above Whitley City and goes east of Bullet Mold Ridge to Cumberland River bottoms and settlements at Williamsburg. The second went west from Whitley City and Stearns, converging on Lick Creek Ridge, one mile west of Stearns, and going thence west to the Indian towns, near Monticello, and on to Mill Springs, in Wayne County, and to Rowena, in Russell County.

"At some time, probably over a hundred years ago, some person blazed this trail out with a tomahawk from immediately north of Stearns to the South Fork River, and the axe marks could be followed when I was a boy thirty odd years ago. Now, however, all the timber has been cut and nothing can be seen of this original trail which, however, may have had nothing to do with the Indians but may have been some land mark to guide some cattle man from the earlier settlements on Beaver Creek and Little South Fork through the mountains to the settlements above Williamsburg.

"There is a prominent trail crossing the railroad at Silerville. It connected the Jellico Creek and Elk Creek Indian towns with the Wayne County towns, and may have been the main east and west route overland, as distinguished from the Canoe route.

"At Winfield, Tennessee, there is a trail which leaves the main trail, going thence on to Wayne County on the west, and leading from Winfield to Buffalo Creek on the east.

"Every rock shelter around Winfield, Bear Creek and Oneida has at some time been lived in and contains flint chips, bones and

rubbish. All signs though point to hunters and travelers. The Winfield, Bear Creek, and Oneida rock shelters are about half way between the Tennessee River Indian towns around the mouth of Clinch River and those around Burnside, Kentucky, on the Cumberland River, and evidently were the night lodging places on this two days' journey.

"There are several shelters in this region around Winfield which are not directly on this old trail. They contain two or three feet of ashes and rubbish and indicate considerable human occupancy.

"My belief in this trail is founded on what I have heard all my life. People went from Crab Orchard, Stanford, Logan's Fort (which was within one mile of Stanford), Crow's Station and McKenney's Station in Lincoln County, Central Kentucky, south through the mountains along this old Indian trail. The talk then was the same as if today one mentioned a railroad.

"The first land patents were along this trail—never any distance away from it for the first 25 to 50 years, pioneers often building their homes along the trail itself. It was the only practicable route. The settlers moved their droves of stock along this road; later it became a wagon road and finally along its side came the railroad. It was dry and open even in wet weather. It followed the ridges and also gave a more level route."

The number of rock shelters scattered around Winfield and Oneida, which contain much ashes and other signs of human occupancy, and the further fact that some of them are not directly on the old trail, indicate a settled Indian community. This is further borne out by the branch trails leading out from near Winfield. Bodies of the dead appear to have been buried either in a sitting posture or lying on their sides. All of them were flexed. This mode of burial closely resembles that of certain ancient men whose remains are found at many points along the waters of the Tennessee River from Muscule Shoals to some distance above Knoxville.

Mr. Bryant's location of the trail from Burnside, Ky., to Lexington is further confirmed by the Filson map which shows trails leading from central Kentucky to Nashville, in middle Tennessee, following the route laid down by Bryant to their point of separation near Kings Mountain.

There was a large Indian population on the Cumberland River in the stretch between Burnside and Burksville, Ky., and undoubtedly many small trails led northeast from them to this main trail. It is quite probable that both of the paths leading to Nashville from central Kentucky followed, at least in part, some of these minor Indian trails.

THE CLINCH RIVER AND CUMBERLAND GAP TRAIL

(Trail No. 30)

The Indian name for this trail is unknown. It branched off from the Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail (No. 29) near the junction of Emery and Clinch Rivers, but very little is known in regard to it. It was probably used both as a land and a water route, some travelers preferring to go on foot, while others resorted to canoes for a portion of the distance. It is likely that it led along the eastern base of the mountain, following up the Clinch River to the mouth of Powell River and up the Powell until it joined the great Warriors' Path near Cumberland Gap.⁷⁰ There are some faint local traditions of its existence, but the main evidence is furnished by Haywood,⁷¹ in describing the erection of the fort at Southwest Point in 1792. He says:

“Gen. Sevier fixed his encampment, and determined to erect a fort at a spring a small distance above the confluence of the rivers Tennessee and Clinch. The situation was not altogether so commanding and elegant as at the extreme point of the peninsula, where there is no water except that of the river, which is 600 perpendicular feet, at least, below the surface of the ground above, and in the fork, suitable for a garrison. At this place it was very unlikely that water could be got by digging; the prospect at the spring was extensive and handsome, the water pleasant and conducive to health. At this place both rivers were sufficiently under the command of the garrison, and accessible on either side. In addition to these advantages was the spring, which would be under the walls, or within them if necessary. The possession of this place would effectually prevent intercourse between the upper and lower Cherokees, together with that of the small tribes of Northwards settled on the Tennessee; which communication extended at least 300 miles up and down the river, and up the river Clinch, which takes its rise in the vicinity of the Ohio and the Cole and Sandy, two branches of the latter, by which advantages they had but a small passage by land, from either of these rivers into the Clinch, which communicated with the Tennessee. It would also obstruct the passage of the Indians up and down the Clinch River, which the Creeks and Cherokees used in going and returning on their incursive expeditions up this river. The northern and southern tribes often passed in canoes 150 miles, up and down, to its junction with the Tennessee, and then up or down this latter river into any part of the Cherokee country. A

⁷⁰ Mr. Myer's map shows a wide bend in this trail toward the west abreast of the mouth of Powell River, probably due to later information.—ED.

⁷¹ Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 2d ed., pp. 284-285.

garrison fixed at the situation before mentioned would not only destroy the water communication, but, being directly on the road between the southern and northern tribes, would obstruct their passage by land.

"The only two practicable fords on the Tennessee were both within 5 miles of this place; the same number on the Clinch, which were only 8 miles from the same place; and the main gap in the Cumberland Mountains, not more than 10. The whole would be under the eye of a garrison at the spring, and their marauding gangs would be constantly exposed to the pursuits and chastisements of the scouting parties from the fort, which at this spot would be at the center of their intercourse and nation, in the way to their hunting ground, and so near to the body of the nation as would enable the troops at all times to fall suddenly upon them, and to expel them from the country if necessary. In thirty hours from this place by water any of the towns might be attacked, or in forty-eight by land. All necessary stores could be exported by water from any part of the District of Washington to this place. These reasons determined the general to make selection of this place. The governor approved of them. The place was called South-west Point by General Sevier. Blockhouses and a stockade fort were built near the spring."

Judge McElwee says of this Clinch River and Cumberland Gap trace: "I am of the opinion that there was a trail continuing up the eastern base of the mountain to Cumberland Gap which could be correctly located from surveys of old land grants." Traces of branch trails leading off from it can still be seen in Anderson County (see Pl. 14).

THE CISCA AND ST. AUGUSTINE TRAIL

The original Indian name for this trail has not been preserved. Indeed it is not likely that there was any name for the trail as a whole. The whites near Nashville called that portion in Tennessee the Nickajack Trail, because it led to the Nickajack town on Tennessee River.

THE MAIN TRAIL

(Trail No. 21)

This trail extended from Cisca, an Indian village somewhere in Tennessee about halfway between the waters of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, to the old Spanish settlement of St. Augustine. The earliest mention of it is on "Franquelin's 1684 Map of La Salle's Discoveries." It carries the words "Chemin par [où] les Casquinampo et les Chaouanens vont en traite aux Espagnols" (Path traveled by the Casquinampo and Shawnee in trading with the Spaniards).

Franquelin got the data for his map from La Salle's reports, and La Salle in turn probably obtained his facts from the Shawnee and other Indians who had lived in Tennessee and had removed to Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois River, to be near the French. There are many errors in this map, as was to have been expected.

It is now impossible to locate the site of Cisca with absolute certainty, but a careful study of the above map, taking into consideration the trails which we know to have existed formerly, suggests that it was perhaps identical with the ancient Indian town at the Old Stone Fort, near Manchester, in Coffee County, Tenn. The trail shown on Franquelin's map is undoubtedly the trail leading from that Old Stone Fort, via Battle Creek and the Old Creek Crossing on the Tennessee River near Bridgeport, Ala.,⁷² into Georgia. At any rate, the town at the Old Stone Fort was of great importance, as is shown by the size of its ruins and the fact that two great trails (the Cisca and St. Augustine from Georgia and the Great South Trail (No. 20) from Alabama) led to it. There is no other trail from Georgia corresponding to that laid down by Franquelin. If another of the great towns in middle Tennessee (for example one of those near Franklin, in Williamson County) had been Cisca the trail would show a decided bend to the west at the Old Stone Fort, but Franquelin's trail does not.

In Tennessee this trail ran from the Old Stone Fort via Pelham, Elk River, and Wonder Cave, crossed the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway branch line a little southeast of Monteagle, and followed down Battle Creek, crossing Tennessee River, as has been said, at the Old Creek Crossing near the mouth of Battle Creek, close to Bridgeport, Ala. At the crossing it connected with a great network of trails which united many parts of Georgia and Alabama with the populous and numerous Cherokee towns in east Tennessee, and then continued in a southeast direction through Georgia to Augusta and from there to St. Augustine, Fla., over trails 82, 84, and 85 or 82 and 110.

The Tennessee portion of this trail is shown by all the better early maps of the State; notably the map by Gen. Daniel Smith in 1795 and Cary's "General Atlas," Philadelphia, 1814. Copies of both of these are in the State Library at Nashville.

From Cisca (or the Old Stone Fort) the trail passed, via Fort Nash, on the headwaters of Garrison Fork, not far from the present site of the village of Beech Grove, and then by Black Fox Spring (Murfreesboro) to the Great Salt Lick, at the present site of Nashville.

⁷² See footnote on p. 751.

THE NICKAJACK TRAIL

(Trail No. 22)

As we have seen, the whites in middle Tennessee called that portion of the Cisca-St. Augustine Trail which was in Tennessee the Nickajack Trail, because it led to the Cherokee towns around Nickajack on Tennessee River. There were two prongs of this trail, one following the main line, the Cisca-St. Augustine Trail proper, the other, or North Prong of Nickajack Trail, branching off from the main line on the head of Hickory Creek in Grundy County. The latter went by Viola and Verville, approached the site of the present Smartt Station on the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, crossed the railroad about 1½ miles southwest of Smartt, turned westward, and ran about 1 mile north of Hollow Springs, continuing until it joined the main Cisca-St. Augustine Trail at the site of old Fort Nash, on the headwaters of Garrison Fork. Fort Nash was built so as to command the travel over both prongs of this trail.

The following information in regard to the North Prong of Nickajack Trail in Warren County was furnished by Mrs. Blanche Bentley of McMinnville, who has collected a large amount of valuable data concerning the Indians and early whites in Tennessee:

"I am sure it passed Verville and near Smarts. When a girl, I was shown a fragment of the trail near Verville, where, faint and worn and shadowy as a ghost, it disappeared in the woods. A mile from the old General Smart house, according to the late G. M. Smart, it passed 'The Big Spring.' The remainder of the line in Warren County is approximated from information and tradition. The pathway near Verville and near the old Hannah High College was plainly visible as late as 1875. This trail was traveled by many Cherokees, when they were removed from their homes in east Tennessee to the Indian Territory in 1838. From a very old gentleman living in the West comes the memory that his two pioneer grandfathers, Obediah Jennings and Christian Shell, visited a camp of these Cherokees near the Barren Fork of Collins River, on this trail, and heard an impassioned speech from one of the Cherokees to his people, there gathered about him, bidding goodbye to the homes of their ancestors. Mr. G. M. Smart in his youth saw companies of the Cherokees passing by and stopping at 'the Big Spring.'"

THE CHICKAMAUGA PATH

(Trail No. 27)

The Chickamauga Path was one of several routes which led north from the Indian settlements in north Georgia and around Chattanooga. It crossed Tennessee River at the Old Creek Crossing (see p. 751) along with the Cisca-St. Augustine Trail (No. 21),

led thence up Battle Creek to the forks of the creek, near Comfort, and afterwards passed along the Cumberland Plateau by Coal-mont, Beersheba Springs, and the Rock Island crossing of Caney Fork River, to the prehistoric fortified Indian town at Cherry Hill, in White County. At the latter place it seems to have forked, the eastern fork probably intersecting the old Cumberland trail near the present Mayland on the Tennessee Central Railroad in Cumberland County, and passing on in a northerly direction until it met the great East and West Trail (No. 28) at the settlement near the present site of Jamestown, Fentress County. It was then possible to follow the latter trail westward to the long string of Indian settlements on the Obey and Wolf Rivers, or eastward by the settlements at B. R. Stockton Rock Shelter on White Oak Creek and at the mound at Rugby, to its intersection with the Tennessee River, Ohio and Great Lakes Trail (No. 29) at Glenmary. From Glenmary the Indian traveler could go north or south on the trail last mentioned, or he could continue eastward, on the East and West Trail, by an ancient Indian village site—of which three mounds still remain—on Brimstone Creek in the Brimstone Mountains in Scott County, and thence by the present sites of Clinton and Knoxville, to the Indian settlements of east Tennessee.

If there was indeed a western prong of the Chickamauga Trail from Cherry Hill, it probably led to the Cumberland Trace at the Officer Mounds near Algood in Putnam County and from thence west over the Cumberland Trace. No remains of such a road have been reported, but one probably existed, as there must have been some travel between the Cherry Hill and Officer towns.

The following information in regard to that section of the Chickamauga Path in Warren and White Counties was furnished by Mrs. Bentley:

“I feel sure of the correctness of this path where it comes to Caney Fork at Rock Island and starts northeastward through White County, and also to the south of Rock Island where it skirted the western side of Dyer’s Gulch. The remainder of the route in Warren County is approximated from Captain John Kelly Roberts’ outline. Old grants in Warren County call for the Chickamauga Path, according to Mr. W. H. Horton, former county surveyor.

“In coming northward from Battle Creek to Warren County this path probably crossed Cumberland Mountain near Beersheba Springs, and passed by these springs along a deeply imbedded path, which, from time immemorial, has led from the mountain top, near the great chalybeate spring, down to the valley below, in the direction of Rock Island. This path was there before 1836. This path probably led Beersheba Coin to the discovery of these healing springs.

"One of the early grants on Caney Fork near Rock Island calls for a line 'where the Chickamauga Path crosses the river at McClure's Ford (later called Hash's Ford), near McClure's Battle Ground, in a remarkable bend of the river.'

"The first comers were familiar with this trail. Its route is given by Captain John Kelly Roberts, who knew it well from tradition: 'My grandfather, Reuben Roberts, who came to this section in 1794, knew the Chickamauga Path as did other early settlers. I have frequently heard its route outlined as beginning at the Chickamauga towns in northern Georgia and crossing the Tennessee near the mouth of Battle Creek; thence continuing north across the mountain into Warren County; following along the spur on the west side of Dyer's Gulch and crossing the Caney Fork at Hash's Ford (known seventy-five years ago as McClure's Ford); thence leading away toward the northeast through White, Putnam and Fentress Counties. McClure's Ford (now abandoned) was within three hundred yards of the stone fort, built by the early whites in the bend of the river, where McClure's battle was fought with the Indians.' Tradition says that along this path the Indians traveled when they removed from this section after their defeat at McClure's Ford (Rock Island)."

THE GREAT SOUTH TRAIL

(Trail No. 20)

The Great South Trail led southward from the settlements around the Great Salt Lick at Nashville,⁷³ and this part was formerly a great animal trail. It probably crossed Harpeth River at the large fortified Indian town, the mounds of which are on the old De Graffenried farm about 3 miles southeast of Franklin, running thence in a southeasterly direction to the head of Wartrace Creek, to which it gave its name, and down said creek to the site of the present town of Wartrace. From the latter place it kept near to the route since followed by the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway to the site of the modern town of Tullahoma,⁷⁴ passed down Rock Creek (called Trace Creek on Gen. Daniel Smith's map of 1795) to its junction with Elk River, and from there to a point about 2 miles west of Winchester, after which it went in a southerly direction to the headwaters of Flint River, and followed that stream almost to its mouth. Thence it continued to the crossing of the Tennessee River at Chickasaw Old Fields, and beyond to the Indian settlements in Alabama and Mississippi.

⁷³ The *Dāgū'nāwe'lāhī*, i. e., "Mussel-liver Place," of the Cherokee. See 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 514.

⁷⁴ Tullahoma would mean "red stone" or "red metal" in the language of both the Choctaw and Chickasaw. The town is somewhat out of the region occupied by the Chickasaw and Choctaw in historic times, but beyond doubt Indians from these two tribes occasionally passed over this old trail through Tullahoma, and "red stone" fits the appearance of the stones around the place.

The Chickasaw Old Fields, formerly occupied by the tribe whose name they bear, were on the north side of Tennessee River, opposite Chickasaw Island, about 4 miles below Flint River, in southeast Madison County, Ala. At this place the Chickasaw utterly routed the Cherokee in 1769.⁷⁵

Haywood says that the "Big South Road crossed the Harper [Harpeth] River 7 or 8 miles above the present town of Franklin." On page 217 of his *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, 2d ed., he continues:

"This South Road, as it was called, was a broad beaten path made by the buffaloes which came from the South to the French Lick (Salt Lick at Nashville Sulphur Springs bottom) and apparently had been used by them for ages. It was worn into the earth one or two feet or more in many places. In some places it was three or four feet wide. This South Road extended from the French Lick to Duck River, and how much farther the writer has not yet ascertained."

The route of this Great South Road in Franklin, Coffee, and Rutherford Counties, Tenn., is copied from a map of that portion of the State, now in the archives of the State of Wisconsin (their No. 72252) made by Gen. Daniel Smith. A copy is in the State Library of Tennessee. This map is not dated, but bears evidence of having been prepared about 1795.

THE OLD WATERLOO ROAD

(Trail No. 34)

The author learns from A. P. Moore, of Lawrenceburg, Tenn., that there was a trail leading northeast from a point on the Natchez Trace in Wayne County, probably somewhere near the present site of Vietory. It went to Lawrenceburg, but from there on its route is not clear. It probably passed through or near Lynnville to the numerous settlements in Marshall County around Lewisburg, where it connected with trails which bring one ultimately to all parts of the State. In Lawrence County it is known as the "Old Waterloo Road" and is there believed to have led from points in east Tennessee, through Lawrenceburg, to Mississippi, via the Natchez Trace, crossing Tennessee River at Colbert's Ferry, near Waterloo, Ala.

The present village of Culleoka, in Maury County, is not far from the probable route of this trail. Its name seems to be from the language of the Choctaw or Chickasaw and to refer to a spring (káli), and, although the site is somewhat out of the region occupied by either of those tribes in historic times, individuals belonging to them probably passed upon the trail.

⁷⁵ See Bull. 30, pt. 1, pp. 261-262, Bur. Amer. Ethn. The date of the battle was actually one year earlier.—ED.

WEST TENNESSEE TRAILS

THE LOWER HARPETH AND WEST TENNESSEE TRAIL

(Trail No. 17)

By the aid of Judge W. L. Cook, of Charlotte, Tenn., Hon. J. Benjamin Fuqua, of Waverly, and the large map of Tennessee issued by Mathew Rhea, of Columbia, in 1832, the author has been able to determine the route of the old Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail which led from the Indian settlements on the lower reaches of Harpeth River (especially the great town at the narrows of the river and the old citadel on the point at its mouth) to the crossing of the Tennessee at Reynoldsburg, about 2 miles downstream from the present site of Johnsonville. This trail had branches leading to the numerous Indian settlements on Duck River near the mouth of Buffalo River and beyond.

Judge Cook and Mr. Fuqua have given information obtained by a careful sifting of local traditions and references to this ancient trail in the early land deeds, and the author was able to verify their data and to fully establish the route by means of the early white men's roads as laid down on Rhea's map of 1832. Mr. Paul Hunter, of Nashville, who has, so far as the author knows, the only copy of Rhea's map now in existence, kindly placed it at the author's service.

One prong of the Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail united the numerous small Indian settlements scattered along Cumberland River, 10 miles each way from the mouth of the Harpeth, and among these it was probably joined by several small trails leading to the north and east. It crossed Cumberland River at the old citadel and town at the mouth of Harpeth River and passed by the present sites of old Bellsburg and Dull, and through "Promised Land"; thence it went along the ridge about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of Charlotte, passing near or through Sylvia; thence down the ridge, between the east fork of Yellow Creek and Cedar Creek, to Adams Cross Roads, where it crossed Yellow Creek and then went down Trace Creek. It was known locally as the Chickasaw Trace, because it led to the Chickasaw region in west Tennessee. In Deed Book A, page 14, of Dickson County, Tenn., is recorded an old deed from Samuel Smith and James A. Richardson, of Baltimore, Md., to William Norris, in which the beginning corner is " $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles below where the Chickasaw Trace crosses Yellow Creek."⁷⁰

Another branch of the Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail started from the great Indian settlements at the narrows of Harpeth and joined the mouth of Harpeth prong at Dull. At the narrows of Harpeth it connected with, or was a continuation of, trails leading to the Indian settlements in Williamson and Davidson Counties.

⁷⁰ Information furnished by Judge W. L. Cook, February, 1920.

Probably one of these trails followed substantially the present line of the Nashville and Charlotte pike, from the Nashville settlements to a point near the crossing of the Harpeth, where it led off to the narrows.

At the crossing of Yellow Creek the trail forked, one prong leading down Trace Creek to near the present site of Waverly (called Pravats on the Rhea map, 1832). Thence it continued down Trace Creek until within about 2 miles of Tennessee River, where it turned north to the crossing of the Tennessee at Reynoldsburg, 2 miles downstream from Johnsonville. Trace Creek is so called because this old Indian trace ran along near it.

At the Reynoldsburg crossing it probably joined two trails leading to the great Indian settlements in the west and south.

At Waverly a prong went southwest to Indian settlements at Painted Rock and Hurricane Rock, on Duck River, and thence to the crossing of the Tennessee River at the present site of Dixie Landing.

Crossing the Tennessee at Dixie Landing this prong joined the Cisco and Middle Tennessee Trail (No. 14), which led through a long stretch of country almost bare of Indian inhabitants, by the present site of Lexington, to the great town of Cisco, in Madison County, near the present site of Pinson. The author has been unable to go over this route and verify the existence of that portion of the trail from the Dixie Landing crossing to Pinson, but the necessity for its existence justifies placing it on the map, although as doubtful. Further research will probably confirm its existence.

The other prong at the Yellow Creek crossing of this trail ran southwest, along the divide between Blue Creek and Hurricane Creek in Humphreys County, to the Indian settlements on Duck River around the mouth of Buffalo River. Thence it led by the settlements at Painted Rock and Hurricane Rock to the Tennessee crossing at Dixie Landing.

THE DUCK RIVER AND NORTHEAST MISSISSIPPI TRAIL

(Trail No. 18)

From the settlements on Duck River around the mouth of Buffalo and from Painted Rock and Hurricane Rock the Duck River and Northeast Mississippi Trail went southward, up Tennessee River, keeping near that stream, through Humphreys and Perry Counties, to the Indian villages near Clifton; thence to the large Indian towns on the present site of Savannah; thence southward, touching the many settlements along the banks of the Tennessee River, in Hardin County, and on out of the State. It probably joined the Natchez Trace in the northeast corner of Mississippi, but the author has not been able to verify the portion of this trail south of Clifton.

THE MISSISSIPPI AND TENNESSEE RIVER TRAIL

(Trail No. 16)

There was probably some travel between the populous Indian settlements in Crockett and Lauderdale Counties and the settlements on the Tennessee River and beyond, but it may have been comparatively small; hence the difficulty we find in locating a trail. As Mathew Rhea's map of 1832 shows a white man's road leading from the Reynoldsburg crossing of the Tennessee River, via the present sites of Camden, Huntingdon and Trenton, and as this is the logical route, it is probable that the Indians also used it. From Trenton the Indian route must have gone to the numerous settlements on the banks of the middle fork of Forked Deer River around Brazil, where it would connect with the Brownsville, Fort Ridge and Hale's Point Trail (No. 15). The author has not been able to establish any portion of this very doubtful Mississippi River and Tennessee River Trail.

THE BROWNSVILLE, FORT RIDGE AND HALE'S POINT TRAIL

(Trail No. 15)

There must have been a trail connecting the large number of related settlements on the middle and south forks of Forked Deer River with those around Hale's Point at the mouth. This trail, as shown on our map, probably ran from the large mound about 3 miles west of Brownsville, via the great town at Fort Ridge, and the present sites of Alamo, Eaton, and Dyersburg, to the large settlements around the mouth of Forked Deer River. The author has been unable to determine the course of this trail, but it undoubtedly existed. Rhea's map (1832) shows an early white man's road over a large portion of this route.

THE CISCO AND SAVANNAH TRAIL

(Trail No. 13)

This ancient trail led from the populous settlements on Tennessee River, in the neighborhood of Savannah, to the headwaters of the south fork of Forked Deer River, and thence to the great town of Cisco, in Madison County, and the many adjoining towns near Pinson. At Cisco it connected with several others.

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INDEX

[References to towns bearing the same names as the tribes which occupied them are placed under the tribal name]

	Page		Page
ABIHKA—		AIS—	
a White town.....	254	lost language of.....	678
ceremonial title of.....	307, 614	reference to dress of.....	681
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.....	194	ĀKITA DANCE—	
clans, phratrīes and moieties of.....	158, 159	a woman's dance.....	528
connection of, with origin of Upper		described.....	528
Creeks.....	40	mention of.....	524
early history of.....	50	AKTAYATCI CLAN, story concerning.....	109
legendary association of, with Coweta.....	53	ALABAMA—	
mention of.....	36, 348	allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
one of four leading towns.....	548	arrangement of square ground of.....	225, 263, 264
the gateway to the Creek country.....	307	belief of, in future life.....	513
ABIHKA-IN-THE-WEST—		belief of, in supreme deity.....	482
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	burial customs of.....	397, 398
arrangement of square ground of.....	206, 208	ceremony of.....	544-545, 601-602
clan councils of.....	123	clan affiliations of.....	149-153
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.....	192	clan councils of.....	125
clans, phratrīes and moieties of.....	158-159	clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.....	193, 194
position of beds at.....	198	clans, phratrīes and moieties of.....	159-160
Upper Creek White town.....	123, 254	creation beliefs of.....	487
ABIHKA (NEAR EUFAULA)—		customs of.....	700
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	dances of, described.....	524-534
arrangement of square ground.....	206, 207	election of chiefs of.....	285
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.....	192	facial painting of.....	524-525, 686
position of beds at.....	198	ghost story of.....	511-512
ABIHKUTCI—		greetings of.....	450
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	habitations of.....	173-174
arrangement of square ground of.....	212, 221	hair dressing of.....	684
clan councils of.....	124	horned snake known to.....	494
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.....	192	house at, for ceremonial objects.....	186
clans, phratrīes and moieties of.....	158-159	hunting beliefs of.....	445
position of beds at.....	198	hunting customs of.....	444-445
Upper Creek White town.....	124, 254	informants among.....	32
ABINGDON, VA.—		list of dances of.....	524
early names for.....	759	marriage customs of.....	370, 375
trails near.....	750, 758, 759	medicines of.....	663-666
ABRAM'S FALLS, VA., mention of.....	751	mention of.....	36
ACCOMAC, mention of.....	694	mourning customs of.....	379
ACHESE, mention of town yard of.....	175	name of, for deity.....	482
ACHIA, battle of.....	826	of Muskogean stock.....	677
ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM, medicinal use of.....	663	origin myth of.....	52
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	31-33, 745	part of, join the Cboctaw.....	45
ACOLAFISSA, mention of.....	686	part of, repair to Mobile.....	45
ACORN, a Cherokee clan.....	118	personal names of.....	100
ADAI INDIANS, mission among.....	829	plan of ceremonial ground of.....	225, 265
ADAIR, experiences of.....	819, 828	population of.....	150
ADAMS, CHARLIE, an informant.....	528	position of beds at.....	198
ADOPTION OF CAPTIVES.....	167	punishment among, for adultery.....	348
ADORNMENT—		relations of, with Hilibi.....	568
for ball game.....	460, 463, 465	relationship terms of.....	88, 91
for dance at busk.....	600	sabria known to.....	498
<i>See</i> DRESS.		sketch of bed in square ground of.....	186-187
ADULTERY, punishment of.....	346-355, 697	tales by, of supernatural beings.....	498
AESCLUS, medicinal use of.....	658	terms of, for months.....	402
AGED, THE. <i>See</i> OLD PEOPLE.		town emblem of.....	244
AGRICULTURE.....	691-692	union of, with Muskogee.....	45, 48
social side of.....	443-444	Upper Creek Red town.....	125, 255
Southeastern culture built on.....	2	use of cassine by.....	542

ALABAMA—Continued.	Page	APALACHEE—Continued.	Page
war customs of.....	425	mention of.....	324
war names abandoned by.....	100	of Muskogean stock.....	678
war of, with the Muskogee.....	42-44	Seminole treated as, by Milfort.....	47
war of, with the Choctaw.....	425-426	APALACHICOLA—	
witchcraft among.....	634	a town of refuge.....	252-253
ALACHUA , trail near.....	829	alliance of, with the Creeks.....	39
ALANANT-O-WAMIOWEE , an ancient trail.....	788	allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
ALBAMOS . See ALABAMA .		arrangement of square ground of... 226, 270, 271	
ALEXANDER , N. L., mention of.....	333	busk held at.....	585
ALEXANDER MOUND—		clan councils of.....	126
collection from.....	19	clans of, furnishing chiefs and henibas. 193, 194	
pipes from.....	19	clads, phratries and moieties of.....	160
ALGONKIAN CULTURE AREA , features of.....	713	Lower Creek White town.....	126, 254
ALGONKIAN TRIBES , habitat of.....	713	position of beds at.....	198
ALGONKIAN TRIBES OF VIRGINIA AND CAROLINA—		united with Kasihta.....	38
cultural features of.....	713-714	APHOOSA PHEESKAW—	
customs of.....	694, 696, 698, 702, 709	identification of.....	39
descent among.....	696	Kasihta name of river.....	37
See CAROLINA INDIANS ; VIRGINIA INDIANS .		APPALACHIANS—	
ALGOOD , TENN., trails of.....	833, 835	southern, trails of.....	771-775
ALIBAMO , a stockaded town.....	438	See APALACHEE .	
ALIBAMOS . See ALABAMA .		APPERSON , JUDGE R., gift from, to Peabody Museum.....	786
ALINDJA—		APPROPRIATION FOR AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY	1
information furnished by.....	65, 67, 546	APRON , worn by young girls.....	683
legend repeated by.....	64	ARBECA MICCO , mention of.....	576
ALLIGATOR—		ARBOR . See BED .	
association of, with disease.....	647	ARCHEOLOGICAL WORK OF BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY	2-3
town emblem of Tukabahchee.....	243	ARCHI-MAGUS . See FIRE MAKER .	
used as food.....	693	ARISTOCRACY AMONG CHITIMACHA	695
ALLIGATOR CLAN—		ARISTOLOCHIA SERPENTARIA , medicinal use of.....	667
native names for.....	115	ARK , SACRED—	
reasons for associations of.....	145	a war medicine.....	503
story concerning.....	108	carried in war.....	408, 425, 705
ALLIGATOR DANCE—		contents of.....	425
described.....	530	description of.....	411-412
mention of.....	524	place of, in ceremony.....	422
ALTAR STONES , reference to.....	709	ARKANSAS RIVER , Lower towns on.....	333
AMSTERDAM , VA., trail passing.....	760	ARKANSAS TERRITORY , Creek removal to... 505	
ANADARCO , custom of.....	702	ARMOR , among southern Indians.....	438-439
ANGELICA , medicinal use of.....	657	ARROW CLAN , native name for.....	116
ANIMAL DANCES—		ARROWHEADS , materials used for.....	692
list of.....	523-524	ARROWS—	
performance of.....	610	flaming, use of.....	439
ANIMAL SPIRITS propitiated by dances.....	549	game played with.....	468
ANIMALS—		woods used for.....	692
ability to talk attributed to.....	489	See BOW AND ARROW .	
association of, with diseases.....	638	ARTHUR , GABRIEL, reference to.....	736
diseases traced to.....	638-649	ASCLEPIAS , species of, used medicinally... 667, 668	
domestication of.....	694	ASCYRUM , species of, used medicinally.....	666
extinct, at Big Bone Lick.....	742, 790, 791	ASCYRUM MULTICAULE , medicinal use of.....	664
extinct, at Saltville.....	752	ASHE , THOMAS, dishonesty of.....	791
supernatural.....	497-498	ASI—	
trails made by.....	735, 741, 788	a busk medicine.....	547
ANNUITIES PAID TO CREEKS , distribution of.....	317-318	ceremonial drinking of... 538-544, 565, 604, 666	
ANT DISEASE , symptoms of.....	648	medicinal properties of.....	666
ANTENNARIA , species of, used medicinally... 668		mention of.....	449, 577, 582, 588, 598, 603, 606, 608
ANTICHE—		preparation of.....	565
Coweta chief.....	34	use of.....	607
name interpreted.....	34	See BLACK DRINK ; CASSINE ; ILEX VOMITORIA .	
ANTONE , an Alabama chief.....	193	ASILANABI—	
APALACHEE—		allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
dispersion of.....	48	arrangement of square ground of... 214, 232	
fighting methods of.....	440		

	Page		Page
ASILANABI—Continued.		BALL POSTS—	
clan councils of.....	124	ceremony of erecting.....	544-545
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henahas.....	192	emblems on.....	244
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	158-159	BALL POSTS, SINGLE. See CHUNK-POLE.	
mention of.....	547	BALL STICKS—	
new fire ceremony of.....	589	description of.....	456, 459
plan of ceremonial ground of.....	214, 233	legendary use of.....	52
position of beds at.....	198	BANNER STONES, found at Knap of Reeds....	776
Upper Creek White town.....	124, 254	BANQUETING HOUSE, mentioned by Bartram.....	183
ASUNÁLGI—		BAPTISIA, medicinal use of.....	658
a Creek clan.....	116, 119	BARCELONETA, P. R., collection from.....	18
affiliations of.....	121	BARK—	
derivation of the name.....	121	canoes of.....	744
ATAKAPA—		dwellings covered with.....	688
belief of, in chief deity.....	482	garments made of.....	682, 683, 690
cannibalism among.....	705, 713	BARTRAM, WILLIAM, journey of, over Camino Real.....	833
cultural distinctions of.....	712	BASKETRY, paper on.....	17
descent among, uncertain.....	695	BATHING—	
ATAKAPAN GROUP, linguistic relations of....	678	as a purifying rite.....	358,
ATÁSÁ—		359, 360, 366, 395, 553, 601, 604	
carried in women's dance.....	549	customs of.....	520-521
the war symbol.....	549	obligatory.....	699
<i>See WAR CLUB.</i>		punishment for neglect of.....	357
ATASI—		regulations concerning.....	365-366
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	BAYLEY, G. W., assistance of.....	9
arrangement of square ground of.....	219, 249, 250	BAYOGOLA, smoke holes used by.....	688
at Tukabachee busk.....	559, 568	BAYS, used medicinally.....	670
clan councils of.....	125	BEADS—	
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henahas.....	192, 194	use of.....	685
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	159-160	<i>See WAMPUM.</i>	
headship of, among Tallapoosa towns....	310	BEANS, celebration of new crop of.....	550, 568
myth regarding.....	69	BEAR CLAN—	
position of beds at.....	198	associations of.....	149
square of, described by Bartram.....	183	native names for.....	115
town emblem of.....	243, 244	story concerning.....	110
Upper Creek Red town.....	125, 255	story of origin of.....	113
ATCUEKIBA, name of lizard.....	495	BEAR DANCE—	
ATHAHACHI, mention of mound at.....	175	described.....	527
ATKINS, Miss JULIA, resignation of.....	19	mentioned.....	523, 524
AUSECTU. See ARIHKA.		BEAR DISEASE, description of.....	640
AUGUSTA, GA., trail to.....	775	BEARD, a Broken Arrow chief.....	322
AURORA, IND., mention of mounds around....	789	BEARS, hunting of.....	693
AURORA BOREALIS, belief concerning.....	479	BEAR'S OIL, use of, at busk.....	598-599
AUTHORITIES MADE USE OF.....	3'	BEAUX BANTER, Tukabachee chief.....	322
AVAVARES, mention of.....	739	BEAVER, illness caused by.....	644
AVOYEL INDIANS, reference to.....	692	BEAVER CLAN—	
AXES, STONE.....	689-690	native names for.....	115
AYER COLLECTION OF AMERICANA, reference to.....	680	origin of.....	111, 113
BADGER, belief concerning.....	644	position of.....	148-149
BAER, JOHN L., information from.....	760	story concerning.....	108
BAILY, FRANCIS, journey of.....	835	BEAVER DANCE, mentioned.....	523, 534
BALL FOR CREEK GAME—		BECKLEY, W. VA., trail passing.....	767
described.....	456	BED DANCE—	
supernatural object in.....	492	mention of.....	524
BALL GAME—		no details known of.....	529
adornment for.....	460, 463, 465	BED IN SQUARE GROUND, sketch of.....	187
at Tuskegee busk.....	585	BEDS—	
Chickasaw.....	456-458	construction of.....	689
Creek.....	458-459	discussion of position of.....	199-200
described.....	60-61, 456-466	erection of, for new ground.....	545
fighting at.....	463-464	names given to.....	191-192
managed by war officials.....	297	number of.....	187
mythical origin of.....	55, 157	orientation of.....	18
single pole.....	467-468	position of, in various towns.....	197-200
		surrounding square ground.....	181-187

	Page		Page
BELOVED MEN—		BITTERSWEET, medicina luse of.....	661
a class of officials.....	301-304	BLACK CREEK, reference to.....	38
part taken by, in the busk.....	302	BLACK DIRT, home of, in Oklahoma.....	391
position of, in the beds.....	302-303	BLACK DRINK—	
rulers of Creek nation.....	303-304	ceremonial and medicinal properties of... ..	666
BELTS—		ceremonial drinking of.....	537, 538-541
events recorded in.....	455	ceremony connected with.....	245
materials used for.....	681	ceremony of serving.....	537, 538, 544
BENTLEY, MRS. BLANCHE, information fur-		customs connected with.....	182, 183
nished by.....	839, 848, 849-850	effect of.....	538, 541, 542
BENZOIN AESTIVALE, medicinal use of.....	657	mention of.....	485, 503, 536
BERDACHES, reference to.....	700	method of brewing.....	536, 538, 541, 542, 543
BEREA, KY., trail to.....	802	mode of disgorging.....	639, 541
BERMUDA HUNDRED, VA., trail from.....	775	not taken by women.....	540, 543
BERRYHILL, WILLIAM—		precedence in serving.....	544
dance described by.....	527	preparation of, at square.....	185
informant.....	534	really "the white drink".....	548
BERRYVILLE, VA., archeological material from	18	religious heliefs concerning.....	538
BETULA, used medicinally.....	659	taken daily by Tukabahchee officials.....	543
BEVAN, JOSEPH VALLENCE, brief compiled		<i>See ASI; CASSINE; ILEX VOMITORIA.</i>	
by.....	309	BLACK FALLS, reference to ruins near.....	4
BIG BONE CREEK, trail terminated at.....	789	BLACK FISH, Shawnee chief.....	788
BIG BONE LICK—		BLACK FOX, a Cherokee chief.....	839
description of.....	790-791	BLACK FOX SPRING, naming of.....	839
extinct animals buried at.....	742	BLACK FOX TRAIL.....	837-838
importance of.....	790	BLACK WARRIOR RIVER, reference to.....	38
salt making at.....	741-742	BLACK WEED, medicinal use of.....	658
trails to.....	788, 789, 793	BLACKBIRD CLAN, native name for.....	117
BIG HOUSE. <i>See SQUARE GROUND.</i>		BLACKBIRD DANCE—	
BIG JACK—		mention of.....	524
Hilibi informant.....	488	reason for not dancing.....	529
information from.....	111, 164, 256, 545, 546, 624	BLACKWELL, THOMAS, work of.....	18
BIG MIAMI RIVER, trail up.....	840	BLADDER TROUBLE, treatment of... ..	655-656, 658, 659
BIG SANDY, trail along.....	765, 766, 767, 768-769	BLAND, EDWARD, travels of.....	779
BIG WARRIOR—		BLANDINA RIVER. <i>See ROANOKE RIVER.</i>	
head chief of Upper towns.....	315, 329	BLIND SAVANNA, a wrong clan interpretation..	118
speaker for Upper Creeks.....	328	BLOCK HOUSE—	
BIGNONIA CRUCIGERA, used medicinally.....	670	established by Capt. John Anderson.....	794
BILOXI INDIANS—		roads from.....	794, 800
cultural distinctions of.....	713	BLOOD LETTING—	
descent among.....	696	as a remedy for sickness.....	625
information regarding clans of.....	118	<i>See SCRATCHING.</i>	
BIRCH, WHITE, used medicinally.....	659	BLOOD TABOO.....	520
BIRD CLAN—		BLOOD-OF-THE-BEAR DISEASE, treatment for..	640
native names for.....	115	BLOWGUNS, use of.....	693
of the Cherokee.....	118	BLUE LICK SPRINGS, KY.—	
origin of.....	111, 113	trail to.....	789
story concerning.....	108	upper and lower.....	787
BIRD TAIL KING, Kasihta chief.....	322	BLUE LICKS, buffalo roads to.....	742
BIRDS—		BLUE PEOPLE, a Cherokee clan.....	118
domestication of.....	694	BLUEBERRY, used medicinally.....	664
of prey, tabooed as food.....	518	BLUEFIELD, W. VA., trail in vicinity of....	769, 770
supernatural.....	498	BLUESTONE, trails from.....	770
BISON—		BLUESTONE RIVER, trails to head of.....	765-766
early disappearance of.....	693	BOAS, FRANZ, paper by.....	17
<i>See BUFFALO.</i>		BOILS, treatment of.....	667
BISON CLAN—		BOIS D'ARC, origin of the name.....	692
mentioned by Adair.....	119	BOLIVAR, TENN., trail to.....	815
native names for.....	115	BOLIVAR AND MEMPHIS TRAIL, followed by	
BISON DANCE—		Cherokee trace.....	822
described.....	527	BOLSOVER, WILL, account of plates by.....	504
mentioned.....	523, 524	BONE DANCE—	
performance of.....	573-574	described.....	531
<i>See BUFFALO DANCE.</i>		mentioned.....	524
BISON DISEASE, mention of.....	640	BONE PICKERS—	
BISON HAIR, used as a charm.....	501	reference to.....	687, 700
BISON MEDICINE, use of.....	658	<i>See "BUZZARD" MEN AND WOMEN.</i>	
BISON SKIN, used for legendary record....	33-34		

Page	Page
BONES—	BUFFALO DANCE, tradition concerning..... 787
broken, treatment of..... 660	<i>See</i> BISON DANCE.
mammoth, found at Big Bone Lick..... 790	BUFFALO PATH..... 788-791
of Big Bone Lick, disposal of..... 791	BUFFALO TRACE, route of..... 742
of the dead, burial of..... 389	BUFFALO TRAILS, followed by immigrants... 742
of the dead, disposal of..... 700-701	BUILDINGS—
BOONSET, medicinal use of..... 658	custodians of..... 180
BOONE, DANIEL—	public, evolution of..... 176
adventures of..... 787	public, types of..... 191
carried over Warriors' Path..... 781	sacred, of the Creeks..... 687
road traveled by..... 794, 799	BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY—
BOONE'S GAP, described..... 801	policy of..... 1-2
BOONE'S TRAIL..... 801-802	report on work of..... 1-19
BOONEVILLE, N. C., trail near..... 777	BURIAL CUSTOMS..... 337, 384, 388-398
BOONSBORO, Ky.—	BURIALS—
besieged by Shawnee..... 788	along Saline River..... 808
trails to..... 782, 801-802	around Winfield..... 844
BOOSKE TAB—	cave..... 752
name for celebration of new corn crop.... 568	change in, after Civil War..... 397
<i>See</i> BUSK (1).	covered with stones..... 702
BOOS-KE-TAU—	flexed..... 844
name for training of priest or doctor.... 619	in Burton Mound..... 9
<i>See</i> BUSK (2).	in dwelling of deceased..... 392, 394, 395
BOW AND ARROW—	in Province of Gualdape..... 689
expert use of..... 439	in sitting posture..... 390, 392, 395, 397
woods used for..... 692	in sitting posture, explanation of... 397, 397-398
BOYS' BED, one of four beds..... 191	medicine taken after..... 664
BOYS' FAST OF THE DUSK..... 563, 575	near salt spring..... 783
BRACELETS..... 685-686	of bones of the dead..... 389
BRACHYCEPHALIC TYPE IN THE SOUTHEAST... 677	of stillborn or very young children.... 398
BRAGGS, OELA.—	of the living, no evidence of..... 384
ceremonial ground near..... 602	orientation in..... 390, 395, 396, 398
medicinal spring near..... 669	under bed in dwelling..... 381, 383, 392
BRASS PLATES. <i>See</i> PLATES, COPPER AND BRASS.	under house floor..... 394, 395
BREATH HOLDER—	<i>See</i> MORTUARY CUSTOMS; SCAFFOLD BURIALS; TREE BURIALS.
connection of, with sacred fire..... 483	BURNSIDE, KY., trail from, to Lexington.... 844
explanation of the term..... 481	BURTON, LEWIS T., owner of Burton Mound. 8
story regarding..... 483	BURTON MOUND VILLAGE—
BREATH MASTER, Muskogee name for God... 454	old Indian name for..... 8
BREECHCLOUT, described..... 681	work at, of J. P. Harrington..... 8-10
BRIDGEPORT, ALA., mention of..... 750, 751	BUSHNELL, DAVID I., Jr.—
BRIDGEPORT ISLAND—	acknowledgment to..... 670
a crossing place of the Tennessee..... 838	journal edited by..... 761
trail to..... 750, 751	BUSK (1)—
BRIGHT'S DISEASE, treatment of..... 667	a peace ceremonial..... 548
BRISTOL, TENN., trails in region of..... 758, 759	a religious ceremony..... 671
BROADHEAD, site of, an important point... 800	at Otciapofa..... 581, 583
BROKEN ARROW. <i>See</i> LIKATCKA.	attendance at..... 576-577
BROTHER—	benefits derived from..... 546
application of the term..... 83	ceremony of..... 546-614
elder, application of the term..... 81, 92	changes in celebration of..... 579-580
younger, application of the term..... 81, 92	custom connected with..... 122
BROTHER-IN-LAW, application of the term... 82,	decline of..... 601
83, 84, 93	fast of..... 569
BROWN, WILLIAM, trail described by..... 762	fines for not attending. 320, 356, 555, 567, 577 603
BROWNSTONE, W. Va., ancient works at.... 755	invitations to..... 252, 554
BROWNSVILLE, TENN., trail from mound near. 854	length of..... 577
BRYANT, L. E., acknowledgment to..... 842	meaning of the word..... 546
BUCKEYE, medicinal use of..... 658	new year beginning with..... 401
BUCKNER, WILEY, information from..... 544	object of, the tribal health..... 547
BUCKNER AND HERROD, list of months made by..... 401	of the Texas Alabama..... 601-602
BUCK'S GARDEN, Va., route from..... 768	offenses canceled at..... 344, 373
BUFFALO—	origin of..... 60
gathering of, at Salt Licks..... 742, 743, 788	preparations for..... 591
trails made by..... 741	psychological effect of..... 548
<i>See</i> BISON.	

	Page		Page
BUSK (1)—Continued.		CALLICARPA AMERICANA, medicinal use of....	663
religious character of	548,	CALUÇA PROVINCE, localization of.....	39
549, 568, 569, 570, 590, 593, 600		CALUÇA TRIBE, confused with Caluça prov-	
restrictions connected with.....	573	ince.....	39
similarity of, in various towns.....	589	CALUMET—	
sin expiated at	590	carried in war parties.....	435
stories of origin of.....	546-547	ceremonial smoking of.....	535-536, 537
unifying element in Creek confederacy..	548	deposited in sanctuary.....	184
<i>See</i> BOOSKE TAN.		precedence in smoking.....	537, 542
BUSK (2), for training of priest or doctor....	617-620	<i>See</i> PIPES.	
BUSK DANCES, summarized.....	609-610	CALUMET DANCE, a peace ceremonial.....	703
BUSK DAY, observance of.....	554, 555	CALUSA—	
BUSK FIRE—		a lost language.....	678
connection of, with sun.....	484	customs of.....	702
reference to origin of.....	262	CAMASSIA ESCULENTA, used medicinally....	667
symbolism of sticks of.....	548	CAMINO REAL, THE.....	828-833
<i>See</i> NEW FIRE.		history of Texas section.....	831-833
BUSK GROUND—		route of.....	823, 830-831
arrangement of.....	177	various names of.....	830
in relation to the town.....	172	CAMPBELL, DUNCAN G., extracts from letters	
<i>See</i> CEREMONIAL GROUNDS.		of.....	308-309, 315, 329
BUSK MEDICINES, origin of.....	546-547	CAMPING DAY, observance of.....	554
BUSK NAMES. <i>See</i> TITLES OR BUSK NAMES.		CAMPS, about busk ground.....	190
BUTLER, CAPTAIN, mention of.....	813	CANADIAN RIVER, Upper towns on.....	333
BUTTON SNAKE-ROOT—		CANE, use of.....	688, 689, 690, 692
a war physic.....	584	CANE CLAN—	
medicinal use of.....	655-656, 668	affiliations of.....	122
BUTTON WILLOW, medicinal use of.....	661	native names for.....	116
BUZZARD CLAN—		CANEY FORK, fortified town on.....	836
existence of.....	118-119	CANNIBALISM, practice of.....	705, 713
native names for.....	116	CANOE FIGHT, description of.....	440-441
BUZZARD DANCE—		CANOEES—	
described.....	534	construction of.....	689
mentioned.....	523	varieties of.....	744
BUZZARD DISEASE, symptoms of.....	644	CANYON DEL MUERTO, repairs to tower in....	5-6
BUZZARD FEATHER, insignia of doctor.....	618	CAPITAL TOWNS, rating of.....	307-308
"BUZZARD" MEN AND WOMEN, work of.....	701	CAPTIVES—	
BUZZARDS CREEK, Indian remains on.....	810	adoption of.....	167
BYINGTON, DOCTOR, list of months recorded		assimilation of.....	79, 167
by.....	402	attitude toward.....	343
CABEZA DE VACA—		burning of.....	167, 189, 437
experience of, as a trader.....	738-739	disposition of.....	423, 427
mention of.....	829	mutilation of.....	705
CABIN CREEK, trail to.....	788	the property of captor.....	343
CABINS—		torture of.....	189, 416-418
arrangement of, in town square.....	311-312	CARDINAL POINTS—	
painting of.....	312	colors applied to.....	623-624
<i>See</i> BEDS.		observance of, in treating the sick.....	624
CABRILLO, JUAN RODRIGUEZ, mention of....	8	significance of.....	623, 624
CACIQUE. <i>See</i> CHIEF.		CARMONA, ALONSO DE, Apalachee described	
CADDO—		by.....	440
customs of.....	700, 701, 702, 703, 705, 706, 707	CAROLINA INDIANS—	
descent among.....	695	authorities on.....	680
dwellings of.....	687, 688	canoes of.....	689
feather cloaks worn by.....	682	customs of.....	691, 692, 693, 694, 696,
hair dressing of.....	684	697, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 707, 708	
linguistic relations of.....	678	dwellings of.....	191, 687, 688
position of.....	118	feather cloaks used by.....	682
reference to pottery of.....	690	hair dressing of.....	684
trade of, in Osage orange wood.....	692	tattooing among.....	686
CADDO CULTURE AREA, features of.....	717	CARTHAGE, TENN., trail from, to Algood....	836
CABINNO, custom of.....	703	CASQUI, mention of mound at.....	175
CAHOKIA MOUNDS, mention of.....	805	CASSINE—	
CALENDAR OF THE CREEKS.....	400-403	ceremonial and medicinal properties of... 666	
CALHOUN, JOHN C., mention of letters to....	308,	ceremonial drinking of.....	300, 306, 598
315, 329		description of plant.....	542, 543
CALIFORNIA INDIANS, bulletin on.....	16	mention of.....	536
		preparation and drinking of, at busk....	584

	Page		Page
CASSINE—Continued.		CHENOPODIUM AMBROSIODES, medicinal use	
where grown	539	of	657
<i>See</i> ASI; BLACK DRINK; ILEX VOMITORIA.		CHERAW, pearls found in	739
CASTALIAN SPRINGS, TENN., mound at	729	CHEROKEE—	
CAT BRIAR, medicinal use of	667	attack by, on Coweta	54
CATAWBA INDIANS—		belief of, concerning comets	478
attacked by Iroquois	735	husk ceremonies of	602
called Flatheads	687	cultural distinctions of	712
pottery made by	690	final peace with	61-63
CATAWBA SETTLEMENTS—		food of, eaten cold	521
attack on	769	linguistic relationship of	712
location of	778	medicines of	666
CATAWBA TRAIL	772	pipes made by	704, 736
CATFISH DANCE, mentioned	523, 534	reference to relationship terms of	96
CAVE, at Ford's Ferry	809-810	rotunda (Tookofa) of, described	178-179
CAVE BURIALS, in Holston Valley	752	social divisions among	695
CAVE-IN-ROCK, described by Collins	809	trade of	736
CAVES, inhabited by the Muskogee	44	type of buildings of	191
CAYUGA INDIANS, researches among	11	war against	773-775
CEANOTHUS AMERICANUS, medicinal use of	664	CHEROKEE BOUNDARIES	758
CEDAR, medicinal use of	552, 657, 668	CHEROKEE CLANS—	
CELASTRUS SCANDENS, medicinal use of	661	equated with Natchez clans	118
CELESTINE, second chief of Alabama under		listed by Mooney	118
Antone	193	CHEROKEE PATH TO VIRGINIA	752-753
CENTPEDE, cure for bite of	645	<i>See</i> OLD CHEROKEE PATH TO VIRGINIA.	
CERCIS CANADENSIS, medicinal use of	665	CHEROKEE SETTLEMENTS IN TENNESSEE	749
CEREMONIAL GROUNDS—		CHEROKEE TOWNS, trails from	841
arrangement of	205-235	CHEROKEE TRACE	822-823
origin of	59-60	CHEROKEE TRADERS' PATH	777
seating in	174-241	CHEROKEE WAR, mention of	339
<i>See</i> BUSK GROUND.		CHERRY HILL, TENN., trail forked at	849
CEREMONIAL HOUSES	702	CHERRY POND MOUNTAIN TRAIL	770
CEREMONY—		CHESAPEAKE BRANCH OF GREAT INDIAN	
connected with burials	389-398	WARPATH	758
monthly	522, 534	CHIAHA—	
of crowning warriors	420	A Lower Creek Red town	126, 255
of drinking cassine	300	allocation of clans in beds at	201-204
of inducting war chief into office	299-301	arrangement of square ground of	229-231,
of name giving	102	279, 280	
of peace-making	441-443	bison dance held by	528
CHACHUMA, identical with Ranjel's Sac-		busk ceremonial of	603
chuma	39	clan councils of	126
CHAPLETS OF SEEDS, events recorded in	455	clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas	193, 194
CHAPMAN, JOSEPH, mention of	8	clans, phratries and moieties of	161
CHARLESTON, W. VA., remains below	755	dances of, described	551-554
CHARLESTON, S. C., trail to	751	fire making at busk of	555
CHARLEVOIX, a source of information	680	mention of	324
CHARLOTTE, trail through	778	position of beds at	199
CHARLOTTE COURT HOUSE, VA., trail from, to		CHIAHA SEMINOLE—	
Kentucky	764	a Red town	127, 257
CHARMS	498-510	allocation of clans in beds at	201-204
failure of	502	arrangement of square ground of	234-235, 292
to prevent misfortune	628	clan councils of	127
<i>See</i> LOVE CHARMS; SABIAS.		clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas	193, 194
CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER—		clans, phratries and moieties of	161-162
Muskogee settled on	45	house at, for ceremonial objects	186
place of, in Creek migration legend	39	plan of ceremonial ground of	235, 293
Yuchi settled on	46	position of beds at	199
CHATTANOOGA—		CHICKAMAUGA PATH	848-850
old Indian towns at	839	CHICKAMAUGA TOWN, OLD, trail to	750
trails touching	750, 839-840	CHICKASAW—	
CHEKILLI—		a stockaded town	438
Creek head chief	33	and Kasihta, friendship of	51
legend given by	33-38	adoption among	705
mention of migration legend of	546	adultery punished by	697
possible meaning of the name	33	association of, with Creeks	590
speech of, on bison skin	455	beliefs of	482, 497, 513, 710
		burial customs of	389

CHICKASAW—Continued.	Page	CHIEFS—Continued.	Page
ceremony of, on return of war party	421-423	of Lutcapoga	210
cultural relationships of	712	power of	314-315, 319
customs of	353-353, 424, 700, 702, 706	prominent, list of	322
deerskins worn by	682	seating of, at general council	311, 312
distinct origin of	260	status of	690
divisious of the day among	398-399	Tukabachee, selected from Eagle clan	148
dwellings of	687, 688	CHIEFS, ASSISTANT—	
greeting of	450	clans from which selected	285
hair dressing of	684	duties of	287
head flattening among	687	selection of	285, 286-287
lands claimed by	811	CHIEFS' BED—	
legendary origin of	50, 55-56	called "the White bed"	277
legendary origin of the name	54	one of four beds	191
map of land ceded by	815	position of, in various towns	197-200
marriage customs of	368-370	CHIEFS SOCIETY OF THE YUCHI, reference to	156
medical practices of	622	CHIEFTAINSHIP, alternation of, between two	
mention of	35, 39	clans	287-288
mourning customs of	383	CHIGOE DANCE, described	534
name of, for deity	482	CHILD—	
names given by, to the seasons	400	application of the term	83, 92
names of, for supernatural beings	481	newborn, treatment of	360
of Muskogean stock	677	See CHILDREN; DAUGHTER; SON.	
part of, given refuge by Creeks	46	CHILD BIRTH—	
physical type of	677	customs connected with	358-362, 698
preparation of paper on	7	ease of delivery in	361
priesthood of	620	medical practices connected with	485, 658, 662, 665, 670
punishment among, for adultery	349	CHILDERS, ELLIS—	
social divisions among	695	acknowledgment to	32
stools used by	689	ceremonies described by	551-556
traditions of origin of	40	Chiaha chief	551
trail used by	811	Chiaha square ground described by	230
war of, with Creeks	51	information from	603
war of, with Shawnee	811	CHILDREN ²	
witchcraft among	633-634	burial of	398
CHICKASAW BLUFFS, road to	822	care of	363
CHICKASAW OLD FIELDS—		disposition of, in cases of divorce	371, 374, 377
location of	851	education of	363-367
trail to	822	hardening of	366
CHICKASAW REGION, trails from, to Mobile		illegitimate, care of	354
Bay	823	marriage of	371
CHICKASAW TRACE, road known as	811, 852	punishment of	363-364
CHICKASAW TRAIL—		sympathetic magic practiced on	361
naming of	744	CHILDREN'S DISEASES, remedies used for	656, 657, 658, 665, 666, 668, 669
route of	822	CHILICOTHE—	
CHICKEN DANCE—		a Shawnee settlement	785
described	530-531	trail near	786
mentioned	523, 524	CHIPPEWA—	
CHICOTE, SAMUEL, head chief	331	derivation of the name	12-13
CHIEF, COWETA, description of	303	researches among	12
CHIEF CLAN, native name for	117	CHITIMACHA—	
CHIEF SPEAKERS, office of	329	adultery punished by	697
CHIEFS—		beliefs of	482, 710
burial of	701	ceremony of	707
cause of increase in number of	317	hair dressing of	684
clans furnishing	50, 192-197	head flattening of	686
counseling	316	information concerning clans of	118
election of	330	poisoning practiced by	697
election of, under new government	330-331	puberty customs of	698
filling vacancies among	320	religious beliefs of	709
increase in number of	317	snoke holes used by	688
instruction of, at installation	332	social customs of	695
list of	331	the brachycephalic type	677
location of dwelling of	174	CHITIMACHA CULTURE AREA, features of	716
marriage of	369		
most influential in 1791	323		

	Page		Page
CHITIMACHAN GROUP, linguistic relations of..	678	CLAN ANIMALS—	
CHITTO HADJO, headquarters of.....	251	painted on beds.....	182, 235
CHOCTAW—		<i>See</i> TOTEM; TOTEM ANIMALS.	
addicted to gaming.....	457	CLAN ASSOCIATIONS.....	120-158, 162-166
beliefs of.....	497, 710	CLAN COUNCILS—	
customs of.....	424, 700, 702, 707	description of.....	122
deficiencies of, in swimming.....	399	list of.....	123-127
demonstration by, against the English....	421	meeting of.....	306
dwellings of.....	687, 688	CLAN SYSTEMS, comparison of.....	695-696
hair dressing of.....	683	CLANS—	
head flattening of.....	686	associations of, in moieties.....	162-166
mourning customs of.....	383	associations of, with towns.....	275
names of, for the seasons.....	400	Cherokee.....	118
of Muskogean stock.....	677	connection of.....	155
prostitution among.....	697	connection of, with offices.....	304-305
reference to scaffold burials of.....	235	customs connected with.....	166-170
social divisions.....	695	descent of, from female ancestor.....	110
source of strength of.....	324	descent of, from totem animals.....	110
sources of information on.....	680	discussion of.....	114, 118-120
tattooing among.....	686	discussion of seating of.....	237-241
the brachycephalic type.....	677	distribution of.....	267-273
trail used by.....	811	distribution of, with reference to land and	
type of buildings of.....	191	town.....	170-174
wars of, with the Alabama.....	425-426	dual division of.....	156
CHOCTAW CULTURE AREA, features of.....	716	furnishing chiefs.....	50, 192-197
CHOCTAW TOWNS, trails through.....	823	furnishing henihās.....	192-197
CHOTA, trail through.....	750	grading of.....	168
CHOTA FORD, trail from.....	841	henihagi, discussion of.....	194-195
CHOTE. <i>See</i> ECHOTA.		holding chieftianship, discussion of....	196-197
CHRISTIAN, COL. WM., report of, cited.....	766	how linked into phratries.....	121
CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE.....	55-56, 78, 482-483	influence of, in marriage.....	166-167
CHRISTIAN RELIGION, attitude toward, of		list of.....	115-117
chiefs.....	320	local separation of.....	170
CHUNKEY GAME, description of.....	466, 706	origin of.....	273-275
CHUNKEY POLE—		part taken by, in marriage.....	374-375
description of.....	188, 189-190	position of, in beds or arbors.....	197, 200-241
location of.....	175, 176	precedence of, in war.....	43
CHUNKEY STONES—		retaliation by, for murder.....	345
care of.....	466	rights of, on war parties.....	433
town property.....	337	seating of, summarized.....	237
CHUNKEY YARD—		segregation of, after death.....	701
description of.....	175-176, 188-190	separation of, in games.....	165-166
location of.....	171	stories of origin of.....	107-114
origin of the term.....	189	towns, phratries, and moieties, tabulation	
plan of.....	176	of.....	158-162
CHURCHES, INDIAN, mentioned.....	191	CLARK, CHARLES W., acknowledgment to ..	731
CINCINNATI—		CLARK, MISS MAY S., work of.....	19
Indian name for.....	792	CLARKE, J. C.—	
trail to.....	789	collection contributed by.....	4
CINCINNATI, NEW ORLEANS AND TEXAS PA-		collection secured by.....	19
CIFIC RAILWAY, trail followed by.....	744	CLARKSVILLE, VA.—	
CINCINNATI SOUTHERN RAILROAD, trail fol-		Occaneechi town near.....	778, 779
lowed by.....	842, 843	trails near.....	764
CINCUEFOIL, medicinal use of.....	667	CLIFTON, W. VA., Indian remains at.....	755
CIRCLEVILLE, OHIO, trails.....	757, 786	CLINCH RIVER—	
CIRCUMCISION AMONG THE MACHAPUNGA...	698	ford of.....	794-795
CISCA—		fort on, at Tennessee River.....	841
location of site of.....	847	CLINCH RIVER AND CUMBERLAND GAP	
trail from, to St. Augustine.....	846-847	TRAIL.....	845-846
CISCO, trail to.....	854	CLINCH RIVER VALLEY, trail through.....	770
CISCO AND MIDDLE TENNESSEE TRAIL,		CLOTHING—	
route followed by.....	853	of head chief, used as talisman.....	432
CITICO, an Indian village.....	750	<i>See</i> ADORNMENT; DRESS.	
CITY LIFE, economic limitations of.....	726	CLOUD, LASLIE—	
CIVIL WAR, effect of, on the Creeks.....	330, 332	information furnished by.....	198, 216
CIVILIZATION, economic limitations to.....	725-726	medicine maker of Tuskegee.....	549
		myth related by.....	636

COACHMAN, WARD—	Page	Coosa—Continued.	Page
head chief.....	331	connection of, with origin of Upper	
second chief.....	331	Creeks.....	40
COAHUILTECO, linguistic relations of.....	678	considered as offspring of Hickory Ground	70
COAL RIVER TRAIL.....	770	independent origin of.....	262
COAST AND INTERIOR CULTURES, contrasted.....	718-724	legendary origin of name.....	53
COAST AND INTERIOR PEOPLE, relations of.....	724-726	mention of.....	36
ÇOÇA, punishment in, for adultery.....	347	myths concerning town of.....	69-72
COCHMANS BROTHER, Chief.....	322	synonym for.....	69
COFITACHEQUI—		COOSA RIVER—	
identified as Kashta.....	310	Alabama established on.....	44
reference to dress of.....	683	Muskogee settled on.....	45
COLBERT, LEVI—		COOSA TOWN, mention of, in Kashta legend..	39
a Chickasaw chief.....	826	COOSADES. <i>See</i> KOASATI.	
mention of.....	827	COPPER SHIELDS. <i>See</i> PLATES, COPPER AND	
owner of ferry.....	813	BRASS.	
COLBERT'S FERRY—		CORN—	
mention of.....	825, 826, 827	burned in New Fire ceremony.....	555,
Natchez Trace, crossing at.....	813, 814	562-563, 584, 604, 605, 606, 607	
COLDS, treatment of.....	661, 663, 664, 667, 668	ceremonies connected with.....	707
COLLECTIONS ACQUIRED BY THE BUREAU.....	18	green, taboo concerning.....	554, 573
COLLINS, H. B., work of.....	3	importance of introduction of.....	726
COLLINS, JAMES, first settler in Clay County,		preparation of, for busk fire.....	562-563
Ky.....	783	white-flour, medicinal use of.....	665
COLLINSIA VIOLACEA, medicinal use of.....	667	<i>See</i> AGRICULTURE; NEW CORN CROP.	
COLON, PANAMA, Indians from. <i>See</i> TULE		CORN CLAN, native name for.....	116
INDIANS.		CORN DANCE—	
COLONISTS, trails used by.....	731	described.....	534
COLOUSE CREEK, mention of.....	36, 38	<i>See</i> GREEN CORN DANCE.	
COLORS, applied to cardinal points.....	623-624	CORNCRIB, community.....	444
COLUMBIA, KY., trail to.....	802	CORNUS, medicinal use of.....	660
COLUMBUS, GA., legendary occurrence at site		CORPSE—	
of.....	39	a source of disease.....	511, 651-652
COLUMBUS, OHIO, on Great Warrior's Trail.	757	belief concerning.....	702
COMETS—		left unburied.....	393, 394
belief concerning.....	478	<i>See</i> BURIALS.	
story concerning.....	479	CORTEZ, HERNANDO, mention of.....	41
COMMERCIALISM, development of, in north-		COSMOS, THE, beliefs concerning.....	477-481
eastern section.....	723-724	COTTON GIN PORT—	
COMMUNICATION, means of.....	446	mention of.....	827
COMOGRES, name for Tule Indians.....	10	road from.....	826
CONCH-SHELL BEADS as medium of exchange.	456	COTTONWOOD, medicinal use of.....	660
CONCH SHELLS, used for black drink.....	503	COUGHS, treatment of.....	660-661, 667, 668
CONCORD, N. C., trail through.....	778	COUNCIL—	
CONFEDERACY. <i>See</i> CREEK CONFEDERACY.		forming new government.....	330
CONGAREE INDIANS—		manner of conducting.....	536-537
birds domesticated by.....	694	COUNCIL FIRE, description of.....	536
mention of.....	704	COUNCIL GENERAL, of the Confederacy.....	310-320
CONJURER, love charms made by.....	635-636	COUNCILS. <i>See</i> CLAN COUNCILS; TOWN	
CONSUMPTION—		COUNCIL.	
treatment of.....	658, 659, 667	COUNTING.....	453-456
<i>See</i> TUBERCULOSIS.		by fingers.....	454
CONVOLVULUS PANDURATUS, medicinal use of	670	decimal system of.....	453
COOK, JUDGE W. L., information furnished		COUSINS, GEORGE, Enfaula chief.....	322
by.....	852	COUSSA. <i>See</i> COOSA.	
COOK, MISS EMILY S., collection purchased		COUSSEHATÉ. <i>See</i> KOASATI.	
from.....	18	COVADE, custom resembling.....	359-360
COOK, ZACHARIAH—		COW DANCE, mention of.....	534
acknowledgment to.....	32	COWABBE. <i>See</i> LITTLE PRINCE.	
information furnished by.....	65, 78, 306, 524, 527	COWASSAWDAYS—	
miko of Tukababee town.....	557	bean festival of.....	568
names furnished by.....	98, 99, 103-105	<i>See</i> KOASATI.	
stomp dances and busk described by.....	557-568	COWEE, trail to.....	773
COOSA—		COWETA—	
a town of refuge.....	253	allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
a White town.....	254	and Kashta, medicine divided by.....	546
arrangement of square ground of.....	206-208		

COWETA—Continued.	Page	CREEK INDIANS—	Page
arrangement of square ground of.....	228-	alliance of, with Apalacheicola.....	39
	229, 274, 275	ceremonial grounds of.....	687
attempted explanation of the name.....	73	condition of, in 1845.....	332-333
belief of, concerning busk.....	546	customs of.....	702, 703, 707
busk name of.....	614	divisions of.....	68
busk of, described.....	586-589, 604-605	dwellings of.....	687, 688
busk of, held with Eufaula.....	568	extreme cruelty of.....	418
ceremonial title of.....	307	facial painting among.....	686
claims of, to ownership of land.....	338	feather cloaks worn by.....	682
clan councils of.....	126	leggings worn by.....	682
clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas.....	193-194	location of.....	51
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	161	meeting of, with the whites.....	75-77
description of chief of.....	308	origin of the name.....	48
distinguished from the Kasihta.....	38	papers on.....	17
friendship of, with Tukabahchee.....	66, 67, 68-69	predecessors of.....	51
leadership of.....	308-309	preparation of paper on.....	6-7
legendary associations of.....	53	prostitution among.....	697
legendary origin of.....	50, 53	puberty customs of.....	698
legendary origin of the name.....	54	rank of tribes of.....	50
Lower Creek Red town.....	126, 255	social divisions among.....	695
Lower Creek towns controlled by.....	323	Upper and Lower, traditional meeting of.....	68
medicine of, buried under fire.....	545	war of, with Chickasaw.....	51
medicine taken at.....	608	war of, with Seminole.....	51
Muskoquee element represented by.....	40	writers on.....	679
mythic history of.....	55-63	CRESPI, FATHER, Burton Mound village	
one of four leading towns.....	548	described by.....	8
origin of position as head war town.....	55	CRIME, atonement for, at busk.....	595-596
originally united with Kasihta.....	261	CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.....	338-358
place of general assembly.....	311	CROCKETT, MAJOR, expedition of, against the	
position of beds at.....	199	Indians.....	771
primacy of.....	327, 328	CROFFUT, MRS. W. A., acknowledgment to.....	33
right of, to dispose of the country.....	309	CROUP, remedy for.....	656
selection of chief of.....	284-285	CROW DANCE, described.....	533-534
separation of, from Kasibta.....	546	CROW FEATHERS—	
town emblem of.....	243	importance of.....	436
union of, with Tukabahchee.....	68	used as war feathers.....	496
war of, with Cherokee.....	54	CROWNS, FEATHER—	
COWETA AND TUKABACHEE, friendship be-		bestowed on warriors.....	420
tween.....	66, 67	description of.....	420
"COWHIDE PURCHASE," myth of.....	76	mention of.....	435
COWKEEPER, an Oconee chief.....	449	CULLEOKA, TENN., derivation of the name.....	851
COX, P. E., work done by.....	3	CULTURAL SUBDIVISIONS, study of.....	717-724
CRAB ORCHARD, KY.—		CULTURE AREAS, discussion of.....	713-717
route to.....	793, 796	CUMBERLAND AND GREAT LAKES TRAIL.....	802-804
western terminus of the Wilderness Road.....	800	CUMBERLAND AND OHIO FALLS TRAIL.....	804
CRABAPPLE, WILD, medicinal use of.....	659	CUMBERLAND GAP—	
CRACCA VIRGINIANA, medicinal use of.....	658	named by Dr. Thomas Walker.....	761
CRADLE SONGS.....	362-363	route from, to Crab Orchard.....	796
CRANE DANCE, mention of.....	523, 534	route to, from Moccasin Gap.....	793
CRAZY SNAKE, headquarters of.....	251	trail through.....	750, 779
CREATION MYTHS.....	487-488	trail to.....	770, 845
CREEK-AMERICAN WAR OF 1813, towns refus-		CUMBERLAND RIVER—	
ing aid in.....	323	ancient fortified town on.....	836
CREEK CONFEDERACY—		discovery of.....	781
bulletin on history of.....	31	mention of.....	44
divisions of.....	315	named by Dr. Thomas Walker.....	761, 781
effect of, on bulk of people.....	321	trails meeting at.....	798
effect on, of Civil War.....	330, 332	CUMBERLAND TRACE—	
evolution of.....	259-275	remains of.....	834
general council of.....	310-320	route followed by.....	833-834
increase in power of.....	323-324	CUMBERLAND VALLEY—	
protection given by, to component tribes.....	46	a populous Indian section.....	806
time of foundation of.....	310	trail down.....	834
CREEK CULTURE, intrusive character of.....	718, 726	CUMMINGS, DAVID, information from.....	217,
CREEK CULTURE AREA, features of.....	715-716		524, 531, 550

	Page		Page
CUNAS, name for Tale Indians.....	10	DANCE--Continued.	
CUSABO, mention of.....	697	Rabbit.....	524, 533
CUSHMAN, H. B., an American missionary, value of writings of.....	680	Scalp.....	524, 529
CUSSETAB. <i>See</i> KASHITA.		Screech owl.....	523, 524, 530
CUSSETAWS. <i>See</i> KASHITA.		Sheep.....	523, 534
CUSSETUB. <i>See</i> KASHITA.		Skunk.....	523, 524, 528, 529
CUSSETUB TUS-TUN-NUG-GEE, warrior of the nation.....	328	Small frog.....	523, 534
CUSSITAW KING, Kasihta chief.....	322	Snake.....	523, 524, 525
CUSTOMS--		Snow.....	523, 529
burial.....	337, 384, 388-398	Tadpole.....	603
concerning debts.....	335	Tcitahaia.....	604, 605
concerning property.....	334-338	Trapin.....	524, 532-533
concerning widows.....	334, 337	Tick.....	524, 533
connected with clans.....	166-170	Tree frog.....	524, 531
connected with war.....	405-443	Turkey.....	577, 603, 610
general.....	358-470	War.....	524, 529
marriage, affected by clans.....	166-167	Wolf.....	534, 556
summary of.....	713-717	Women's.....	559-560, 560-561, 571, 574, 578, 581, 597-598, 604, 609, 671
CYNTHIANA, KY., trail near.....	792	<i>See</i> BUFFALO DANCE.	
DADDY-LONGLEGS CLAN--		DANCE GROUNDS, ceremonial, near Franklin, N. C.....	787
affiliations of.....	122	DANCES--	
native names for.....	116	animal.....	523-524, 610
DÄNNHARDT, myth recorded by.....	483	busk, summarized.....	609-610
DANCE--		circuit observed in.....	522
Äkita.....	524, 528	described.....	524-534
Alligator.....	524, 530	held monthly.....	556
Bear.....	523, 524, 527	"last," of the series.....	556
Beaver.....	523, 534	list of.....	523-524
Bed.....	524, 529	Pishofa, to cure the sick.....	622-623, 708
Bison.....	523, 524, 527, 573	preceding the busk.....	553
Blackbird.....	524, 529	songs accompanying.....	522-523
Bone.....	524, 531	special, named for animals.....	558
Buzzard.....	523, 534	steps used in.....	522
Cattfish.....	523, 534	time for holding.....	522, 525, 527
Chicken.....	523, 524, 530-531	to avert witchcraft.....	629
Chigoe.....	534	<i>See</i> DANCE.	
Corn.....	534	DANCING--	
Cow.....	534	at general council.....	312
Crane.....	523, 534	before ball game.....	457
Crow.....	533-534	common practice of.....	449
Double-headed.....	524, 532	to celebrate victory.....	419
Duck.....	523, 524, 529-530	DANVILLE, KY., trails of.....	800, 840
Dumpling.....	567, 606, 610	D'ARTAGUETTE, mention of defeat of.....	502
Feather.....	586, 607, 609	DATHA--	
Fish.....	524	King of the Province of Duhare.....	688
Fox.....	523, 524, 528	mention of.....	708
Friends'.....	524, 533	DAUGHTER, application of the term.....	81
Garfish.....	523, 531-532	<i>See</i> CHILD.	
Green Corn.....	554	DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, application of the term..	83, 93
Hair.....	534	DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLU- TION--	
Heniba.....	603	road marked by.....	830
Horned owl.....	523, 524, 525-526	work being done by.....	833
Horse.....	523, 524, 530	DAY, divisions of.....	398-399
Kinia.....	524, 528	DAYS OF THE WEEK, terms for.....	404
Little screech owl.....	549	DEATH--	
Long.....	566, 610	accidental, punishment in case of.....	342
Mosquito.....	523, 534	as form of punishment.....	355
of Itei yahola.....	566-567	DEBTS, customs concerning.....	335
of the spirits.....	629	DECORATIONS ON HOUSES OF SQUARES.....	184-185
Okádjihándja.....	524, 533	DEEP FORK, Upper towns on.....	333
Old.....	602, 606, 610	DEER, method of hunting.....	693
Old men's.....	523, 524, 534, 556	DEER CLAN--	
Parroquet.....	524	associations of.....	149
Pumpkin.....	524, 529	native names for.....	115
Quail.....	523, 524, 532	of the Cherokee.....	118

	Page		Page
DEER DISEASE, treatment for.....	639-640	DOGWOOD, medicinal use of.....	660
DEER'S POTATO, medicinal use of.....	660	DOLICHOCEPHALIC TYPE IN THE SOUTHEAST..	677
DEITY—		DOUBLE-HEADED DANCE—	
Christian, confused with native concep-		described.....	532
tions.....	481	mentioned.....	524
names for.....	482	DOUGLASS, JAMES, visit of, to Big Bone Lick..	790
supreme, belief in.....	709	DOW, LORENZO, trail followed by.....	828
DE LA VENTE, cited on Natchez record.....	456	DRAGONFLY CLAN, error regarding.....	120
DELAWARE INDIANS, mention of.....	96	DRAPER, VA., trail by.....	759
DELAWARE, OHIO, trail to.....	786	DRAPER'S MEADOWS, reference to massacre	
DENSMORE, FRANCES, work of.....	15	of.....	742
DESCENT—		DREAMS—	
explained by Stiggins.....	114	belief in.....	515
matrilineal.....	376	importance attached to.....	409
supposed, from the Hebrews.....	421	DRENNON'S LICK, KY.—	
DE SOTO EXPEDITION, mention of.....	438,	buffalo roads to.....	742
438-439, 440, 446, 510, 682, 683, 701, 704, 706,		trail to.....	788
740, 777, 779, 820, 829.		DRENNON'S SPRINGS, mention of.....	788
DEVIL'S SHOESTRING, medicinal use of.....	658, 668	DRESS—	
DE WITT, JOHN H., acknowledgment to.....	745	change in, of Lower Creeks.....	332
DEW MAKERS, employment of.....	631	for dances.....	524-525, 671
DICKERMAN, SUMNER, busk described by..	670-671	of ball players, myth concerning.....	157
DISEASES—		of fire-maker.....	583, 594
attributed to dead bodies.....	511	of priests.....	710
children's, treatment of.....	656,	of Southeast tribes.....	681-683, 685-686
657, 658, 665, 666, 668, 669		of Upper Creeks.....	333
contagious, transmitted through food....	519	of warrior when crowned.....	420
diagnosed by kila.....	615	See ADORNMENT; HEADDRESS.	
discussion of.....	636-654	DRINKING CUSTOM, to obtain luck.....	521
instruction in treatment of.....	618	DROPSY, remedies for.....	655, 657, 663, 665
new, method of dealing with.....	654	DRUMS, construction of.....	521, 600
prevention of.....	658, 659, 664	DRUNKEN DANCE—	
See DOCTORS; MEDICAL TREATMENT;		described.....	534
MEDICINES; SICKNESS.		season closed with.....	534, 556, 610
DISHES, materials used for.....	689	DRUNKENNESS AMONG THE CREEKS.....	433
DISPUTES, settlement of.....	553, 555	DUAL DIVISIONS OF CLANS—	
DISTANCES COVERED BY INDIANS.....	735-736	names of.....	156-157
DIVISIONS, CREEK. See CLANS; MOIETIES;		origin myth of.....	157
PERRARIES; TOWNS.		DUROIS, BARENT, information from.....	505, 510
DIVORCE.....	376-378, 700	DUCK DANCE—	
See MARRIAGE, SEPARATION AFTER.		described.....	529-530
DIX RIVER, trail along.....	800	mentioned.....	523, 524
DIXON, KY., trail over site of.....	805	DUCK RIVER, trail from settlements on.....	853
DOCTORS—		DUMPLING DANCE—	
beliefs concerning.....	626-627	mention of.....	567, 606
claims of, concerning spirits.....	626	performance of.....	610
insignia of.....	618, 621	DUNMORE WAR, use of trails in.....	766, 767
punishment for failure of.....	631	DU PRATZ—	
specialization among.....	638	Caluca described by.....	39
supernatural fights of.....	626-627	cited on Natchez organization.....	91
training of.....	617-618, 619-620	DWELLINGS—	
treatment of sick by.....	622, 623, 625	construction of.....	688
witchcraft cured by.....	634	of the Southeast.....	687-688
See DISEASES; MEDICAL PRACTICES;		See HABITATIONS.	
PRIESTS.		DYSENTERY, treatment of.....	659, 660, 664, 668
DOG, as a pack animal.....	736	EAGLE—	
DOG CLAN, native name for.....	116	supernatural power of.....	634
DOG DISEASE, symptoms and treatment of...	641	town emblem of Coweta.....	243
DOG KING, young people corrected by.....	364	value placed on.....	495
DOG WARRIOR—		wooden, use of.....	503
an influential chief.....	323	EAGLE CLAN—	
chief of Upper towns.....	322	chiefs selected from.....	148
DOG WHIPPERS, function of.....	528	native names for.....	116
DOGS—		story concerning.....	109
stories told of.....	489, 496	EAGLE DISEASE, symptoms and treatment	
superstition concerning.....	525	of.....	644
used as food.....	693, 694	EAGLE FEATHERS, symbolism of.....	36
		EAKINS, D. W., information furnished by..	78, 318

	Page		Page
EAR ORNAMENTS.....	685	EUFAULA SEMINOLE—Continued.....	
EARTH, Indian conception of.....	477, 480	clan councils of.....	126
EARTHWORKS—		claus of, furnishing chiefs and henibas..	193, 194
ancient group of.....	784	claus, phratrries and moieties of.....	161-162
at Portsmouth.....	785	plan of ceremonial ground of.....	234, 289
EAST TENNESSEE, trail from.....	837	position of beds at.....	199
ECHOTA, trails of.....	750, 751	EUFAULA, UPPER—	
EDUCATION.....	363-367	allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
ELDER BROTHER. See BROTHER, ELDER.		arrangement of square ground of.....	223-224, 260, 261
ELDERBERRY, medicinal use of.....	661	clan councils of.....	125
ELEPHANT, ARCTIC, at Big Bone Lick.....	790	claus of, furnishing chiefs and henibas..	193, 194
ELICHE—		claus, phratrries and moieties of.....	159-160
Coweta "king".....	34	emblem on ball post of.....	244
name interpreted.....	34	house at, for ceremonial objects.....	186
ELK RIVER, remains on.....	755	plan of ceremonial ground of.....	262
ELM, medicinal use of.....	660	position of beds at.....	198
ELM, SLIPPERY, medicinal use of.....	665	Upper Creek Red town.....	125, 255
ELVAS, GENTLEMAN OF, cited.....	682, 702	EU-FAU-LAU TUS-TUN-NUG-GEE, warrior of	
EMATHLA, CHARLEY, murder of.....	394	the nation.....	328
E-MAUT-LAU HUT-KE, warrior of the nation..	328	EUPHORBIA, mention of.....	661
EMETICS, plants used as.....	657, 659, 670	EWENAUKE, mention of.....	34
ENDOGAMY.....	695	EWING, JUDGE ROBERT, acknowledgment to..	745
ENGLISH (?) CLAN, native name for.....	116	EXO GAMY.....	695-696
ENGLISH WRITERS ON THE SOUTHEAST.....	678, 679, 680	EXPLORERS, EARLY, on Occaneechi Path.....	779
ENGLISH'S FERRY, VA.—		EYE TROUBLES, remedies used for.....	662, 664, 665
trail from Richmond to.....	762	FACIAL PAINTING.....	
See INGLIS' FERRY.		as a mourning custom.....	396
ENO—		as indication of rank.....	305
as traders.....	723	as insignia of doctor.....	618, 621
mention of.....	704	distinctive of towns.....	246
town of, on Eno River.....	776	for dances.....	524
EPILEPSY, remedy used for.....	658	for war.....	436
EPITHETS, use of.....	358	object of.....	170
ERYNGIUM YUCCA-FOLIUM, medicinal use of..	655	of the dead.....	390, 391, 392, 393
ERYTHRINA HERBACEA, medicinal use of.....	666	of warrior.....	420
ESAR-KEE-TUM MEE-SEE—		to distinguish towns.....	306
the Life Controller.....	509	FAIRIES. See LITTLE PEOPLE.	
See HISAGITA IMMISI.		FALLS OF THE OHIO, trail from Philadelphia	
E-SAU-GE-TUH EMS-SEE—		to.....	760
the Great Spirit.....	514	FAMILY—	
See HISAGITA IMMISI.		Muskogee conception of.....	79
ES-KIP-PA-KI-THI-KI—		obligations of.....	382
a Shawnee town.....	779, 784	offenders protected by.....	343
trail from.....	786	rights of, in case of murder.....	343
ETISSO, duties of.....	409	FANS, turkey feather.....	683
EUFAULA—		FARNHAM, quoted on Creek government.....	330
busk ceremonial of.....	581-583, 604	FAST—	
busk of, held with Coweta.....	568	of boys.....	563, 575
native explanation of the name.....	73	of men.....	571
relations of, with Hilibi.....	559	of the busk.....	546, 590-593
use of medicine at.....	608	of women.....	571
See EUFAULA, UPPER.		strict observance of.....	592
EUFAULA HADJO—		FASTING—	
information furnished by.....	256	as a purifying rite.....	410, 416, 422
leader of the Snake Indians.....	655	as preparation for war.....	408
EUFAULA HOBAYI—		before ball game.....	457
a Red town.....	255	before going to war.....	429
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	essential to training of priests.....	617
arrangements of square ground of.....	229, 277, 278	for the busk.....	574
claus of, furnishing chiefs and henibas..	193, 194	object of.....	593
claus, phratrries and moieties of.....	161	observance of, at busk.....	592
position of beds at.....	199	to avert calamity.....	535
See LOWER EUFAULA.		See BUSE (1); BUSK (2); POSKITA.	
EUFAULA SEMINOLE—		FATUER—	
a Red town.....	126, 257	application of the term.....	80, 92
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	attitude of, toward children.....	363, 365
arrangement of square ground of.....	233-234, 289		

FATHER-IN-LAW—	Page	FISH CLAN—Continued.	Page
application of the term.....	82, 84	referred to by Adair.....	119
attitudo toward.....	451	story concerning.....	109, 112
term employed for.....	92	FISH DAMS, construction of.....	782
FEAST DAY, observance of.....	554	FISH DANCE—	
FEAST OF NEW CORN.....	568, 580, 584, 603, 605	mention of.....	524
<i>See</i> BUSK.		<i>See</i> GARFISH DANCE.	
FEASTS—		FISH POND TOWNS—	
celebrating renewal of friendship.....	551	distribution of medicine at.....	608
description of.....	535-536	emblems on ball posts of.....	244
foods served at.....	599	<i>See</i> ASILANABI; LÄLOGÄLGA; ORCHAI.	
given at ball ground.....	404	FISHERIES, ownership of, in Chattahoochee	
series of.....	556	River.....	59
social.....	708	FISHING, methods of.....	694
soup-drinking.....	555-556	FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES, <i>sabia</i> known to.....	498
to renew friendship.....	651	FLAG, U. S., Indian name for.....	576
FEATHER CROWNS. <i>See</i> CROWNS, FEATHER.		FLAT LICK, KY.—	
FEATHER DANCE—		location of.....	798
discussion of.....	609	trail to.....	782
performance of.....	586, 607	FLAT TOP MOUNTAIN, trail across.....	770
reference to.....	294	FLINT RIVER—	
<i>See</i> TICITABAIA DANCE.		Muskogee settled on.....	45
FEATHER HEADDRESS—		trail along.....	850
described.....	594	FLORIDA—	
<i>See</i> BUZZARD FEATHER; OWL FEATHER.		lost languages of.....	678
FEATHERS—		northern, sources of information on.....	679
garments made of.....	682	physical type of tribes in.....	677
symbolism of.....	436	southeastern, source of information on.....	679
FERN, medicinal use of.....	668	southwestern, sources of information on.....	679
FEVERS, remedies for... 655, 656, 657, 663, 665, 667, 668		FLORIDA CULTURE AREA, features of.....	715
FEWKES, DR. J. W.—		FLORIDA INDIANS—	
assistance rendered by.....	729	cultural differences of.....	711
collection made by.....	18	custom of..... 693, 694, 696, 700	
report of.....	1-19	hair dressing of.....	684
work of.....	4	mention of.....	47
FIELDS, COMMUNITY—		FLORIDA TRIBES—	
management of.....	336	destroyed or scattered.....	324
protection of.....	444	type of buildings of.....	191
FINES—		FLOGGING. <i>See</i> WHIPPING.	
custom of.....	168	FLUTE—	
for failure to attend busk..... 555, 567, 577, 603		ceremonial use of.....	703
FINLEY, JOHN, trail followed by.....	799	described.....	521
FIRE—		use of.....	521
called grandfather.....	484	FLUX, remedies used for..... 660, 663, 664, 668	
connection of, with the deity.....	484	FLYNN'S CREEK, trail to.....	834
kindled at grave.....	394, 395, 396	FOOD—	
medicine buried under.....	545	beliefs concerning.....	517-521
national, originated by Creeks.....	547	buried with the dead.....	395-396
religious significance of.....	608	of the Creeks.....	448
sacred, reference to.....	701	scarcity of, on war party.....	409, 411
spiral.....	703	storage of.....	693
torture by.....	417-418	time for taking.....	399
<i>See</i> NEW FIRE CEREMONY.		varieties of.....	691-692
FIREARMS, of the Creeks.....	453	FOOSEHAT-CHE TUS-TUN-NUG-GEE, warrior	
FIRE DISEASE, name for fevers.....	651	of the nation.....	328
FIRE MAKER—		FOOTBALL, game similar to.....	468
dress of.....	583, 594	FORD'S FERRY, trail crossing Ohio River at... 806	
time of husk set by.....	583	FORMULAS—	
FIRE MAKING.....	695	magical, use of.....	503
origin of.....	56	used in medical practice..... 623, 639-640,	
FISH BLADDERS, as ornaments.....	685	641-642, 642-643, 646, 647-648, 652-653, 656	
FISH CLAN—		FORT BLOUNT, trail crossing commanded by... 834	
associations of.....	145	FORT CHISWELL, VA.—	
native names for.....	115	interest attached to.....	761
		trail by.....	759

	Page		Page
FORT DUQUESNE, reference to.....	701	GAMES—Continued.	
FORT HENRY, VA., trail from.....	775	played on bear skin.....	468-469
FORT LOUDON, massacre of.....	751	"rolling a stone".....	469-470
FORT LOUDON, OLD, trail touching.....	750	separation of clans in.....	165-166
FORT MIMMS, attack on.....	105	GAMING, fondness for.....	456, 457
FORT PITT, reference to.....	761	GARCILASSO, cited.....	684
FORT RIDGE, TENN., trail passing.....	854	GARDEN, of physic maker.....	444
FORT ST. LOUIS, account of.....	829	GARDENS, community.....	443-444
FORT TOULOUSE, mention of.....	321	GARFISH—	
FORT WAYNE, IND., trail to.....	786	town emblem of Alabama.....	244
FORTIFICATIONS, at the Narrows of Pitman Creek.....	803	town emblem of Koasati.....	243
FOUNDATION TOWNS OF CREEK CONFEDERACY	307	GARFISH DANCE—	
POWKE, GERARD—		mention of.....	523
collections made by.....	18, 19	of Koasati, described.....	531-532
work of.....	4	of the Alabama.....	531
FOX CLAN—		of the Mikasuki.....	531
native names for.....	115	GATHERERS-IN-THE-WATER DISEASE, symp- toms and treatment.....	644-645
story concerning.....	108	GATSCHET, ALBERT S.—	
FOX DANCE—		information obtained through.....	225
a woman's dance.....	528	Kashta legend recorded by.....	55-63
described.....	528	list of months made by.....	401
mention of.....	523, 524	mention of.....	40
FOX INDIANS—		Muklasáigi recorded by.....	118
papers on.....	16	names collected by.....	100
preparation of papers on.....	7	names from notes of.....	99
FOX SKIN, insignia of doctor.....	618	names interpreted by.....	106-107
FRANKFORT, KY.—		names translated by.....	34
settlement of.....	789	Nawphawpe River identified by.....	39
trails near.....	742	reference to.....	31, 185
FRANKLIN, State of, mentioned.....	758	terms of relationship recorded by.....	91
FRANKLIN PIKE, origin of.....	741	translation by, of Creek migration legend.....	34-38
FRANQUELIN, map made by, showing trail.....	847	GENERAL COUNCIL—	
FRENCH FORD OF THE RIO GRANDE, road to.....	830	beginning of.....	321
FRENCH LICE—		ceremony of opening and closing.....	319
mention of.....	741	described by Eakins.....	318-320
trail to.....	851	time for holding.....	313
FRESH LAND CLAN, native names for.....	116	towns attending.....	321-322
FRIENDS' DANCE—		GEORGIA TRIBES, sources of information on.....	679
described.....	533	GETTYSBURG, trail near.....	760
mentioned.....	524	GHOSTS—	
FULOTKEE, narrative obtained from.....	68	driven off by noises.....	511, 512
FUQUA, J. BENJAMIN, information furnished by.....	852	exorcised by medicine.....	664
FUTURE LIFE, conception of.....	513, 514	fear of.....	511-512
GABAOOSA, GEORGE, Chippewa texts dic- tated by.....	12	illness caused by.....	669
GAINES, GEN. E. P., account of.....	825	medicines used against.....	652
GAINES, GEORGE S., work of, at St. Ste- phens.....	824-825	GIANTS—	
GAINES, LIEUT. E. PENDLETON, mention of.....	813	belief in.....	497
GAINES'S TRACE.....	824-828	treatment of disease caused by.....	649-650
naming of.....	825	GIFTS, use of, in courtship.....	371, 372
route of.....	827	GILL, DE LANCEY, work of.....	17-18
GALAXY—		GINSENG—	
Indian name for.....	479	ghosts exorcised by.....	511, 656
See MILEY WAY.		medicinal use of.....	485, 656, 660
GAMBLING.....	707	GIRLS—	
GAME—		apron worn by.....	683
distribution of.....	445	hair dressing of.....	684
See HUNTING.		GIST, CHRISTOPHER, explorations of.....	787
GAMES.....	456-470, 706-707	GLADE SPRING, VA., junction of trails.....	759
between men and women.....	555	GLEDITSIA TRIACANTHOS, medicinal use of.....	669
for boys.....	470	GNAPHALIUM OBTUSIFOLIUM, medicinal use of.....	661, 663-664
moccasin.....	469	GOFORTH, DR., fossils collected by.....	791
played by women.....	468	GOLDENROD, medicinal use of.....	664
		GONORRHEA, remedies used for.....	661, 662
		GOOD-CHILD CHIEF, story of.....	61-63
		GOOD SNAKE, or Celestial One, described.....	494

	Page		Page
GOOD-SNAKE DISEASE, treatment for.....	649	GREETINGS—Continued.	
GOODYKOONTZ, WELLS, information from.....	766	usual form of.....	449
GORE, OKLA., medicinal spring near.....	669	<i>See</i> SALUTATION, FORM OF.	
GORGETS—		GREGORY, JAMES R.—	
shell, distribution of.....	685	acknowledgment to.....	32
silver, use of.....	525	information furnished by.....	54, 63, 226, 243
GOVERNMENT—		GRENADA, MISS., trail to.....	822
Creek, described by Farnham.....	330	GRIERSON, ROBERT, clan of wife of.....	120
form of.....	314	GUALE—	
new, after Civil War.....	330	Creek tribes in population of.....	51
of the Creeks.....	276-334	of Muskogean stock.....	678
officials of.....	315-316	GUIANA INDIANS, paper on.....	16
GRANARIES, use of.....	688-689	GUILD, JUDGE J. C., reminiscences of.....	815
GRANDCHILD, application of the term.....	82, 92	GULF INDIANS, hair dressing of.....	684
GRANDFATHER—		GULF OF MEXICO—	
application of the term.....	80, 91	Muskogean stock on.....	678
name for fire.....	484	physical type of tribes on.....	677
GRANDMOTHER, application of the term.....	80, 91	GUM, BLACK, medicinal use of.....	659
GRAPE, summer, medicinal use of.....	645, 660	GUN, MRS. KATHERINE, capture of.....	769
GRAVE POSTS, war exploits recorded on.....	396	GUN DANCE—	
GRAVES—		at Coweta.....	587
bark lined.....	392	described.....	587
beliefs concerning.....	652-653	performance of.....	567, 586, 604, 605, 606, 607, 610
log structures over.....	396	GUNS, fired at burials.....	393, 394
of Burton Mound.....	9	GUYANDOT RIVER, trail to, from the Tug.....	771
stone slab.....	396	GUYANDOT TRAIL.....	765-766, 767
<i>See</i> BURIALS.		HABITATIONS—	
GRAVES COLLECTION, reference to.....	4	Creek.....	172
GRAYSON, GEORGE WASHINGTON—		Seminole.....	173
acknowledgment to.....	31	<i>See</i> DWELLINGS.	
appointed chief by President Wilson.....	331	HAERERLIN, H. K., paper by.....	17
brass plates described by.....	509	HAIR—	
busk described by.....	574-576	articles made of.....	690
clan of.....	228	artificially colored.....	684
information furnished by.....	67,	facial.....	683
112, 169, 251, 436, 501, 611		manner of dressing.....	525
mention of.....	494	removal of.....	683
myth recorded by.....	71	used as a quiver.....	684, 693
name of father of.....	105	HAIR DANCE, described.....	534
name recovered by.....	100	HAIRDRESSING.....	683-684
names translated by.....	34	HAESI, meaning of the word.....	338-339
GRAYSON, MRS., names furnished by.....	100	HALE'S POINT, TENN., trail to.....	854
GRAYSON, WASHINGTON, successor to G. W.		HALF-MOON LICK, remains found at.....	808
Grayson.....	331	HAMBLY, COL., on seat of government.....	310
GREAT DIPPER, Indian name for.....	478	HANNA, OKLA., Okchai square ground near.....	589
GREAT INDIAN WARPATH.....	749-765	HAPPY HUNTING-GROUND, mention of.....	513
an Appalachian trail.....	771	HARJO, JOHN, mention of.....	576
in Tennessee.....	749-751	HARMAN, CAPT. HENRY, pursuit of Indians	
migrations along.....	757	by.....	769
Ohio branch of.....	751-758	HARPEETH RIVER, trail from settlements on.....	852
GREAT LAKES, trail to.....	839-844	HARRIMAN, TENN., trail from, to Lexington,	
GREAT SALT LICK, trail from.....	850	Ky.....	842
GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS, trail through.....	750	HARRINGTON, JOHN P., work of.....	8-10
GREAT SOUTH TRAIL.....	850-851	HARRISON, GENERAL, mention of.....	508
GREEN CORN DANCE—		HARRODSBURG—	
derivation of the term.....	554	end of Wilderness Road.....	800
<i>See</i> BUSK.		oldest settlement in Kentucky.....	800
GREENBRIAR, medicinal use of.....	661	trail to.....	782
GREENLEAF PRAIRIE, OKLA., medicinal		HASH'S FORD. <i>See</i> McCLURE'S FORD.	
spring of.....	669	HATCHEE TCABA, a Red town.....	255
GREENSBORO, N. C., trail divided at.....	776	HÄTKO-FÄSKI DISEASE, cause of.....	649
GREENSBURG, KY., trail near.....	803	HÄTKUTÄP DISEASE, cause of.....	649
GREETING, form of.....	702-703	HAW OLD FIELDS, Sissipahaw settlement at.....	776
GREETINGS—		HAYÜ'YA, a male deity.....	485
between friendly towns.....	450	HAZEL PATCH, KY., a landmark of the Wil-	
Chickasaw.....	450	derness Road.....	799
of husband and wife.....	451		
of the Alabama.....	450		

HEAD CHIEF—	Page	HITCHITI—	Page
clothing of, used as talisman.....	432	allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
of Upper Creeks, election of.....	329-330	arrangement of square ground of... 226-227, 272	
HEAD FLATTENING—		clan councils of.....	125
reference to.....	37, 39, 50	clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.. 193, 194	
tribes practicing.....	686	clans, phratries and moieties of.....	160
HEADNANOS, materials used in.....	683	Lower Creek White town.....	125, 254
HEADRESS—		of Muskogean stock.....	677
of fire maker.....	594	position of beds at.....	198
of priest or doctor.....	618, 621	terms of relationship.....	88
<i>See</i> CROWN.		tribes speaking.....	248
HEBREW ANCESTRY OF INDIANS, theory of.. 678		HITCHITI SEMINOLE—	
<i>See</i> ORIGIN OF AMERICAN INDIANS.		allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
HENHA DANCE, performance of.....	603	arrangement of square ground of.....	233, 288
HENHĀLGI, duties of.....	293-295	clan councils of.....	126
HENHĀLGI CLANS, discussion of.....	194-195	clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.. 193, 194	
HENHAS—		clans, phratries and moieties of.....	161-162
clans furnishing.....	192-195	position of beds at.....	199
concerned with pursuits of peace.....	305	Seminole White town.....	126, 257
function of.....	192	HIWASSEE, trail through.....	750
HENHAS' BED—		HIWASSEE ISLAND, account of.....	840
one of four beds.....	191	HIWASSEE OLD TOWN, trails connecting at.. 840	
position of, in various towns.....	197-200	HIWASSEE RIVER, trail down.....	837
HENRY, CELISSY, information furnished by.. 402		HOBAYI IMALA, warrior of the nation.....	328
HENRY, GEORGE, information furnished by.. 402		HOBOL-HIL YAHOLA, a Tukabahchee leader... 309	
HERBS, used as medicine.....	35	<i>See</i> O. PORTHLE YOHOLU; OPOTBLEO- HOLO; OPOTHELYOHOLU.	
HERROD. <i>See</i> BUCKNER AND HERROD.		HODGE, DAVID, information furnished by... 125	
HESAKEDUM ESEE, the supreme deity..... 514		HOG ISLAND MOUND, collection from.....	19
<i>See</i> HISAGITA IMMISI.		HOG MEDICINE, use of.....	658
HETISSU, duties of.....	422	HOGS, tabooed as food.....	518
HEWITT, J. N. B.—		HO-ITH-LE-POIE HAU-JO, warrior of the nation. 328	
cited.....	740, 780	HOLAHTA HADJO, warrior of the nation.....	328
work of.....	11-13	HOLIBONAYA, office of.....	296
HIAWATHA, reference to.....	548, 550	HOLIWAHALI, a Red town.....	255
HICKORYNUT CLAN—		<i>See</i> Liwahali; Ulibahali.	
affiliations of.....	122	HOLLOWING KING, an influential Coweta chief.....	322, 323
native name for.....	115	HOLLY, medicinal use of.....	665
HIGH POINT, N. C., settlement at.....	777	HOLLY SPRINGS, MISS., trail to.....	821
HIGH PRIEST. <i>See</i> MEDICINE MAKER.		HOLSTON VALLEY—	
HIGHLAND LICK, mention of.....	805	ancient Indian town in.....	751
HILIBI—		trail through.....	749
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	HOME, use of the word.....	171
arrangement of square ground of... 222-223, 258		HOMICIDE, punishment in cases of.....	344
belief of, concerning husk.....	546	HONEY LOCUST, medicinal use of.....	658
chunky poles at.....	190	HOPKINSVILLE, KY.—	
clan councils of.....	125	mound on site of.....	810
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.. 193, 194		trail to.....	806
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	159-160	HOPOIE TUS-TUN-NUG-GEE, warrior of the nation.....	328
New Fire ceremony of.....	545	HO-PO-ITHLE HO-POIE, warrior of the nation.. 328	
origin of the town.....	357	HOPOY HADGO, mention of.....	329
plan of ceremonial ground of.....	259	HORN, BISON, utensils of.....	689
position of beds at.....	198	"HORNED," story concerning.....	491
relations of, with Alabama.....	568	HORNED-OWL DANCE—	
relations of, with Eufaula.....	559	described.....	525-527
Upper Creek Red town.....	125, 255	mention of.....	523, 524
use of medicine at.....	608	HORNED OWL FEATHER, insignia of doctor.. 618	
HILSALGI—		HORNED SNAKE—	
a Creek clan.....	115, 119	described.....	494
affiliations of.....	121	horn of, used as a charm.....	494, 502
HILL, GEORGE, head chief.....	331	HORSE DANCE—	
HILLSBORO, N. C., Occaneechi town near... 776		described.....	530
HISAGITA IMMISI, name of supreme being... 481		mentioned.....	523, 524
HITCHCOCK, GEN. E. A.—			
a source of Creek ethnology.....	679		
use of notes of.....	66		

	Page		Page
HORSE GENTIAN, medicinal use of.....	667	ILLUSTRATIONS, report on.....	17-18
HORSE STEALING, punishment for.....	356, 357	IMAGE—	
HORSEMINT, medicinal use of.....	657	ceremonial use of.....	707-708
HORSES—		stone, of the Natchez.....	709
buried with the dead.....	392, 393	wooden, at Atasi.....	310
introduction of.....	693	wooden, found at crossing of Cumber-	
killed at grave.....	394	land.....	782
HOSPITALITY—		wooden, of Oke.....	709
of the Creeks.....	334, 335, 447, 448	IMALAS, position of.....	301
shown to visitors.....	703	IMMORTALITY—	
HOSTAQUA, a Timucua chief.....	686	belief in.....	390,
HOTÁLGIMALA, second chief.....	331	391, 392, 419, 480, 481, 513, 514, 515, 709-710	
HOTALGHUYANA, a Red town.....	255	<i>See</i> SOUL.	
HOT HOUSE—		IMEATIENS, species of, used medicinally.....	663
description of.....	177-180	INCEST, punishment for.....	355, 697
<i>See</i> ROTUNDA; TCOKOFA.		INDIAN FIELDS, KY., Shawnee bands near.....	784
HOUMA INDIANS—		INDIAN MEDICAL SPRING, mention of.....	841
a branch of the Chakchiuma.....	39	INDIAN OLIVE, used as a charm.....	502
custom of.....	702	INDIAN VILLAGE SITES, paper on.....	17
head flattening among.....	687	INFANTICIDE—	
HOUSE—		law concerning.....	333-334
building of.....	403	practice of.....	345
built for defence.....	688	INFORMANTS.....	32
location of, lucky or unlucky.....	516	INGLES, CAPT. WM., pursuit of Indians by.....	769
use of the word.....	171	INGLES, MARY, a captive of the Shawnee.....	741-742
<i>See</i> DWELLINGS; HABITATIONS.		INGLIS' FERRY, VA.—	
HOUSE OF KINGS, branch of new government.....	330	end of safe travel.....	761
HOUSE OF WARRIORS, branch of new govern-		route from, to the Kanawha.....	767-768
ment.....	330	trail from.....	759-760
HOUSEHOLD, Creek, members comprising.....	79	<i>See</i> ENGLISH'S FERRY.	
HRDLÍČKA, A., investigations of.....	752	INLANISÁLGI—	
HUNTER, PAUL, acknowledgment to.....	852	a Creek clan.....	116, 119
HUNTING—		affiliations of.....	121
affected by witchcraft.....	634	INTERIOR AND COAST CULTURES CONTRASTED.....	718-
after husk.....	564	724	
beliefs concerning.....	445	INTERIOR AND COAST PEOPLE, relations of.....	724-726
customs connected with.....	404-	INTERPRETER, functions of.....	295-296
405, 444-446, 516, 628, 693		IPOMOEA PANDURATA, medicinal use of.....	670
parties.....	405	IRIS, used medicinally.....	669
preparations for.....	444-445	IRONWEED, medicinal use of.....	668
sacrifices offered in.....	516, 517	IROQUOIAN TRIBES—	
snake charm used in.....	494	in Missouri and Oklahoma.....	13
HUSBAND—		researches among.....	11
greeting of, to wife.....	451	IROQUOIS—	
term for.....	451	long house of, traced along Atlantic sea-	
use of the term.....	84	board.....	687
HYCAT, Kashta chief.....	322	of New York related to Cherokee.....	712
HYDES FERRY, stone pipe from.....	18	war expeditions of.....	735, 757
HYDROPHOBIA, treatment of.....	659	ISFANÁLGI, use of the term.....	120
IBOFÁNGA, The One Above.....	546	ISHPANI, a totemic division of the Chickasaw.....	120
<i>See</i> HISAGITA IMMISI.		ISHTOHOLO, holy men.....	423
ICE WEED, medicine used in ceremony.....	552	ISHTOHOOLLO AHA ELOA, the god of thunder.....	485,
ICHISI, chief in southern Georgia.....	175	486	
ICONOCLAST, Indian, case of.....	412	ISLANDS, JAMES, information from.....	503, 568
IDOLS. <i>See</i> IMAGES.		ISEAHIHTCA—	
IFA HADJO—		head chief.....	331
Medal chief of Tukabahchee.....	514	information furnished by.....	53, 185, 225, 281
quoted on manslaughter.....	342	ISPOCOGA, compact of, with Shawnee.....	507-508
IGWA, a Tule chief.....	10	IS-PO-CO-GEE MIC-CO, mention of.....	66
IGWA NIGIDIPIPI, songs recorded by.....	16	ISEOKOGI—	
ILEX, medicinal use of.....	665	interpretation of the name.....	307
ILEX VOMITORIA—		name for Red towns.....	250
an article of exchange value.....	711	plates brought by, from Source of Life.....	509
purpose of, in ceremonial use.....	711	supernatural beings.....	65-66
use of.....	666	<i>See</i> ISPOCOGA.	
<i>See</i> ASI; BLACK DRINK; CASSINE.		ISPOKOGI MIKO. <i>See</i> IS-PO-CO-GEE MIC-CO; SPOKE-	
		OAK MIKO.	

	Page		Page
ISPOKOGIS, laws and regulations traced to	547	KASHITA—Continued.	
IS-TAU-NUL-GEE, identified as Isfanáigi	120	position of beds at	198
ISTI ÁTCAGÁGI. See BELOVED MEN.		priority claim of	310
ITCHA OBÁNGA DANCE. See WOMEN'S DANCE.		review of line of migration of	38-39
ITCI YAHOLA—		separation of, from Coweta	546
dance of	560-567	separation of, into two parts	261
dress of	566	square of, described by Hawkins	183
ITCO HADJO MIKO—		the oldest town	262
chief of the Upper towns	330	united with Apalaehicola	38
second chief	331	KASHITA YAHOLA, information furnished by	69, 108, 192
JACK MOUNTAIN, PA., Indian quarry at	760	KASKINAMPOS, trading at St. Augustine	510
JACKSON, E. S., collection presented by	19	KAWAJGI, a White town	254
JATROPHA URENS, medicinal use of	670	KEALEDJI—	
JAUNDICE, remedy used for	667	allocation of clans in beds at	201-204
JEAGA, reference to dress of	681	arrangement of square ground of	220, 251, 252, 259
JEALOUSY AMONG CREEKS	370	at Tukababehee busk	559, 568
JEFFERSON, MR., collection made by order of	791	clan councils of	125
JEFFERSON, SILAS—		clans of, furnishing chiefs and henahas	192, 194
information from	529, 585, 621, 624	clans, phratries and moieties of	159-160
Tuskegee informant	216	plan of ceremonial ground of	220, 253
JOKING RELATIONSHIP	168	position of beds at	198
JONES, C. C., cited	740	Upper Creek Red town	125, 255
JONESVILLE, VA., trail from	795	KEEKA, snakes handled by	645-646
JOUTEL, an authority on the Caddo	680	KELLESSECHUPPO, Broken Arrow chief	322
JUDAS TREE, medicinal use of	665	KENNARD, JOHN, Hitchiti chief	322
JUGGLER, power of	615, 616	KENNARD, MOTY, successor to Roly Me-	
KANAWHA FALLS, W. VA., trail to	753	Intosh	330
KANAWHA RIVER—		KENTUCKY—	
ancient settlements on	754-755	gateway to	798
junction of trails at	756-757	mineral springs of	742
trail along	749	route to	759
visited by George Washington	754	Warrior's Path in history of	781
KANTA ROOTS, prepared for food	404	Western, trails	802-810
KANTÁLÁGI—		KENTUCKY PIONEERS, trails of	793-802
a Creek clan	116, 119	KEYAUWEE, fortified town of	777
affiliations of	121	KEYAUWEE INDIANS, hair on faces of	683
KAN-TCATI—		KIDNEY TROUBLE, treatment of	655-656, 658, 659
allocation of clans in beds at	201-204	KILA—	
arrangement of square ground of	206, 209	a diagnostician	615
clan councils of	123	supernatural power of	616
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henahas	192	See PROPHETS.	
clans, phratries and moieties of	158-159	KILLING, religious basis of	438
position of beds at	198	KIMBERLINE, JACOB, capture of	769
Upper Creek White town	123, 254	KING, COL. SAMUEL L.—	
KAPITCA MIKO, burial of	397	acknowledgment to	759
KASHITA—		information furnished by	752
a Lower Creek White town	125, 254	KING'S HIGHWAY, or Camino Real	828-833
allocation of clans in beds at	201-204	KING'S SALT WORKS, W. VA., trail to	752
and Chickasaw, friendship of	51	KING'S SPRING, Indian settlement around	759
and Coweta, medicine divided by	546	KINGSPORT, TENN., trails of	749, 758
arrangement of square ground of	225-226, 265, 266, 267, 268	KINGSTON, TENN.—	
belief of, concerning busk	546	important fort at	745
busk ceremonial of	603-604	trail from, to the west	835, 836
ceremonial title of	307, 614	KINIA DANCE—	
clan councils of	125	a woman's dance	528
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henahas	193, 194	described	528
clans, phratries and moieties of	160	mention of	524
distinguished from Coweta	38	KISKARON, on site of Fort Wayne	786
history of	55-63	KITCHEN, Mrs. A. H., appointment of	19
legend derived from	33-38	KITCOPATAKI, a Red town	255
legendary association of, with Coweta	261, 262	KNAP OF REEDS, N. C., an ancient village site	776
legendary origin of	50	KOASATI—	
legendary origin of the name	54	black birds offended by	529
Muskogee element represented by	40	clan affiliations of	149-153
one of four leading towns	548		

KOASATI—Continued.	Page	LAPLÁKO—Continued.	Page
clan councils of.....	124	arrangement of square ground of.....	230-
clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas.....	192, 194	221, 254, 255
informants.....	32	at Tukababchee busk.....	559, 568
mention of.....	45	clan councils of.....	125
of Muskogean stock.....	677	clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas.....	193, 194
peace-making rite of.....	443	clans, phratries and moieties of.....	159-160
population of.....	150	plan of "rallying ground" of.....	256
stomp dance observed by.....	550	position of beds at.....	198
terms of, for months.....	402	Upper Creek Red town.....	125, 255
town emblem of.....	243, 244	LAURUS, used medicinally.....	670
union of, with Creeks.....	48	LAWRENCEBURG, TENN., trail to.....	851
Upper Creek White town.....	124	LAWS—	
See COWASSAWDAYS.		digest of, approved by council of 1840.....	333
KOASATI No. 1—		enforcement of.....	344
a White town.....	254	observance of.....	314
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	origin of.....	316
arrangement of square ground of.....	217	reasons for strict observance of.....	359
position of beds at.....	198	subjects of.....	333
the main body of Koasati.....	550	LEAD MINE, aboriginal.....	783
KOASATI No. 2—		LEADER, BARNEY, information furnished by.....	149
a White town.....	254	LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS, work done on	
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	rituals of.....	11-12
arrangement of square ground of.....	217, 243	LEARY, MISS ELLA, work of.....	18
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	158-159	LEDERER, JOHN, travels of.....	779
position of beds at.....	198	LEESTOWN, trail to.....	788
terms of relationship of.....	88, 89-91	LEGENDS—	
KOGLE, ROBERT, mention of.....	836	dealing with Creek history.....	33-78
KOSA, synonym for Coosa.....	70	mention of.....	711
KOZA, synonym for Coosa.....	70	LEGGINGS, described.....	682
KROEBER, A. L., bulletin by.....	16	LEIFER'S FORK, trail near.....	813, 814
KUNTI, application of the name.....	692	LE MOYNE—	
KUTNAHIN, Chitimacha chief deity.....	707	cited on ball game.....	468
KU-ZHI-SI-E, assistance rendered by.....	14	picture by, of stockade.....	438
LABOR—		LEN'S CREEK, mounds in valley of.....	755
division of.....	384-388, 700	LEPTOTAENIA NUTTALLII, used medicinally.....	667
hours of.....	399, 443	LEWIS, JACKSON—	
LACINARIA, species of, used medicinally.....	660	acknowledgment to.....	32
LADLES, wooden.....	689	game described by.....	460
LA FLESCHE, FRANCIS—		Indian doctor in Civil War.....	436
paper by.....	16	information furnished by... 147, 148, 186, 187, 192,	
work of.....	13-14	193, 227, 256, 307, 344, 361, 367, 384, 395, 437, 467,	
LA SALLE, in Matagorda Bay.....	829	478, 481, 485, 486, 493, 494, 499, 500, 501, 523,	
LAKE EBIE, trail to.....	840, 786	543, 546, 581, 604, 617, 625, 631, 638, 640, 641,	
LÁLOGÁLGA—		643, 651, 655, 656, 657, 659, 660, 661.	
a White town.....	124, 254	myth related by.....	73
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	names of peace clans explained by.....	164-165
arrangement of square ground of.....	215, 236	naming of.....	102
clan councils of.....	124	story told by.....	52
clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas.....	192	LExINGTON, KY.—	
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	158-159	settlement of.....	789
mention of.....	547	trails of.....	760, 777, 782, 840
New Fire ceremony of.....	589	LIALGI—	
plan of ceremonial ground of.....	215, 238	a Creek clan.....	116, 119
position of beds at.....	198	affiliations of.....	121
LANCASTER, PA., trail through.....	760, 761	LIBRARY, report on.....	18
LAND—		LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, documents of, con-	sulted.....
cultivation of.....	691	118
ownership of.....	696	LICKING RIVER—	
public ownership of.....	336, 337	Shawnee name for.....	792
town ownership of.....	338	trail along.....	791-792
LANGUAGES—		travel on.....	792
interest of missionaries in.....	678	LICKING ROUTE, course of.....	840
of the Southeast.....	677-678	LIDJÁMI CLAN, story concerning.....	108
LAPLÁKO—		LIGHT HORSE, duties of.....	316, 320, 332
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	LIGHTNING—	
		beliefs concerning.....	487, 631, 638
		See THUNDER AND LIGHTNING.	

	Page		Page
LIKATCKA—		LOUISVILLE, KY., trail to.....	760
a Red town.....	255	LOVE CHARMS.....	499, 500, 635-636
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	LOWER BLUE LICKS, location of.....	787
arrangement of square ground of.....	229, 276	LOWER CREEKS—	
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.....	193	location of.....	315
clans, phratries, and moieties of.....	161	origin of the name.....	307
position of beds at.....	199	LOWER EUFAULA—	
residence of Little Prince.....	310	clan councils of.....	126
LION DISEASE, symptoms and treatment....	643-644	Lower Creek Red town.....	126
LITTER, use of.....	299, 703	<i>See</i> EUFAULA HOBATL	
LITTLE DOCTOR, leader of Creek band.....	330	LOWER HARPETH AND WEST TENNESSEE	
LITTLE PEOPLE—		TRAIL.....	852-853
supernatural power of.....	496-497	LOWER SHAWNEE TOWN, settlement of.....	785
treatment of disease caused by.....	649-650	LOWER TOWNS, territory covered by.....	333
LITTLE PRINCE—		LOWRIE, WALTER, information obtained	
also called Cowabbe.....	322	from.....	505, 506
at Cowcta.....	309	LUSDER'S MAP, described.....	815
head chief of the Creeks.....	310, 315, 328, 329	LUTCAPOGA—	
LITTLE-SCREECH-OWL DANCE, a prayer to the		allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
screech owl.....	549	an Upper Creek White town.....	123, 254
LITTLE TALLESEY. <i>See</i> OTCIAPOFA.		arrangement of square ground of.....	209-210, 216, 217
LIWAHALI—		clan councils of.....	123
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.....	192
arrangement of square ground of.....	221-222, 257	clans, phratries and moieties of.....	158-159
clan councils of.....	127	laying out of busk ground of.....	546
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.....	193	length of busk at.....	590
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	159-160	name for assistant chief of.....	286-287
oldest Upper Creek Red town.....	263	position of beds at.....	198
position of beds at.....	198	selection of chief of.....	285
story regarding.....	69	LYE DRIP (?) CLAN, native names for.....	115
<i>See</i> HOLIWAHALI; ULIBAHALI.		MABILA, a stockaded town.....	438
LIWAHALI SEMINOLE—		<i>See</i> MOBILE INDIANS.	
a Red town.....	127, 257	MACCAULEY—	
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	cited on clan name.....	119
arrangement of square ground of.....	234, 290, 291	hair dressing illustrated by.....	684
at Tukabahchee husk.....	559, 568	MACCAUSLAND, GEN. JOHN, mounds on land	
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās.....	193, 194	of.....	755
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	161-162	MCCLURE'S FORD, TENN., Indian defeat at.....	850
decline at, of the busk.....	188	MC COMBS, WILLIAM—	
plan of ceremonial ground of.....	234, 291	acknowledgment to.....	32
position of beds at.....	199	cited on naming customs.....	98
LIZARD, MONSTER, tale of.....	495	cited on punishment for adultery.....	353-354
LIZARDS, connected with witchcraft.....	635	cited on Roly McIntosh.....	331
LOCHABER, S. C., treaty at.....	758	information furnished by... 107, 145, 529, 532, 644	
LOCUST, HONEY, medicinal use of.....	669	myth related by.....	112, 113, 114
LODGE SITES ALONG SALINE RIVER.....	808	names furnished by.....	99
LOGAN, W. VA., Indian settlement at.....	766	McCULLOCH, CHAS. E., mound on farm of... 756	
LOGAN, JAMES—		McELWEE, JUDGE W. E.—	
quoted on Creek annuities.....	317	acknowledgment to.....	841
quoted on Creek government.....	320-321	cited.....	846
LOGAN'S FORT, now Stanford.....	803	McGAVOCK, J. WILLIAMSON, acknowledgment	
LOGAN'S OLD FORT, location of.....	800	to.....	759
LONDON, KY., trails of.....	801-802	McGILLIVRAY, ALEXANDER—	
LONG DANCE, performance of.....	566, 610	an unofficial dictator of Creek nation.... 323	
LONG DEW CLAN, native name for.....	116	busk described by.....	583-584
LONG, GEORGE, mentioned.....	576	effect of death of.....	327
LONG-HAIRED PEOPLE, a Cherokee clan.....	118	Indian name of.....	324
LONG ISLAND (in Holston River), trail to... 749, 801		influence of, on Creek government.....	324-325
LONG ISLAND (in Tennessee River)—		information furnished by.....	96
successive occupations of.....	751	innovations introduced by.....	298
trail crossing at.....	750, 751	law introduced by.....	356
LOST TEN TRIBES OF ISRAEL. <i>See</i> ORIGIN OF		means used by, to secure power.....	325-326
AMERICAN INDIANS.		mention of.....	310
LÔTCA HADJO, bead chief.....	331	power of.....	40
LOUGHRIDGE, account by, of brass plates... 506-507		relations of, with the British.....	325
LOUGHRIDGE AND HODGE, list of months		McGILLIVRAY, LACHLAN, father of Alexander. 326	
given by.....	401		

	Page		Page
MACHAPUNGA, circumcision among.....	698	MARTIN'S STATION, KY., importance of.....	796
MCINTOSH FAMILY, wealth of.....	333	MARTINSBURG, W. VA., trail passing.....	760, 761
MCINTOSH PARTY, a name for the Lower Creeks.....	68	MARYVILLE, TENN., trail through.....	750
MCINTOSH, ROLY—		MASK, purchased by Mr. Hewitt.....	12
first chief of Lower Creeks in the west..	330	MASON AND DIXON'S LINE, trail similar to.	757-758
head chief of the nation.....	316, 320	MASTER OF BREATH—	
head chief of Lower Creeks.....	315, 320	mention of.....	514, 584
MCINTOSH, ROLY (2d)—		<i>See</i> HISAGITA IMMISI.	
named by the first.....	331-332	"MASTERS OF WATERS," beliefs concerning..	490
second chief.....	331	MASTODON—	
MCINTOSH, WM.—		bones of, found at Big Bone Lick.....	790
at Coweta.....	309	bones of, found at Saltville.....	752
head chief of Coweta.....	328	MASTODON DISEASE, basis for name.....	649
head chief of Lower towns.....	315	MATRILINEAR CLAN SYSTEM, tribes associated by.....	713
influence of.....	328	MATRILINEAR DESCENT.....	695-696
speaker of the nation.....	329	MAWMOUTH, Kealedji chief.....	322
MCKEE, MRS. JAMES, information furnished by.....	666	MAY'S LICK, KY., trail to.....	789
MCPIERSON, Little Tulsa chief.....	322	MAYSVILLE, KY., trails of.....	742, 780, 788, 789
MAD DOG, Tukabahchee chief.....	322	MEASURES—	
MAD DOG KING, an influential chief.....	323	of distance.....	454
MAGUCK, a Shawnee town.....	786	of length.....	454
MAKAH INDIANS—		MEAT, burned in new fire.....	605, 606
manuscripts on music of.....	15	MEDICAL PRACTICES—	
uses of plants by.....	15	influenced by whites.....	622
MALACHIE. <i>See</i> MALATCHI.		methods of.....	622-629
MALARIA, remedy for.....	655, 663	<i>See</i> DISEASES; DOCTORS; MEDICAL TREATMENT; MEDICINES; PRIESTS.	
MALATCHI—		MEDICAL TREATMENT—	
chief of Coweta.....	391	result of failure of.....	626
head chief of the Creeks.....	96	payment for.....	623
MALUS, medicinal use of.....	659	<i>See</i> DISEASES; DOCTORS; MEDICAL PRACTICES; MEDICINES.	
MANITOUS OF ALGONKIAN TRIBES, mention of.....	511	MEDICINE. <i>See</i> MEDICINES.	
MANY SNAKES, meaning of the term.....	644	MEDICINE BALL, used in ball game.....	462
MANY-SNAKES diseases.....	644	MEDICINE CLAN, native name for.....	115
MAP, archeological, by W. E. Myer.....	730	MEDICINE MAKER—	
MAPS, showing trails, reference to.....	746,	office of.....	620-621
749, 751, 762, 765, 779, 780, 789, 793, 803, 804,		power of.....	621
810, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 819, 820, 822,		preparations of, for ball game.....	462, 464, 465
823, 840, 841, 844, 846, 847, 850, 851, 852, 854.		selection of.....	620
MARION, VA., trail past.....	759	MEDICINE MAN—	
MARSHVILLE, LA., Avoyel Indians near.....	692	garden of.....	444
MARRIAGE—		on hunting party.....	445
at early age.....	368, 371	<i>See</i> DOCTOR; MEDICINE-MAKER; PRIEST; PROPHET.	
between clans.....	151-153	MEDICINE MEN—	
between White and Red towns.....	251-252	classes of.....	367
by proxy.....	369	education of.....	367
ceremony used in.....	368-369	MEDICINE MIXERS, duties of.....	552
customs concerning.....	79, 368-384, 699	MEDICINE SPRING PRAIRIE, OKLA., medicinal spring of.....	669
endogamous.....	355	MEDICINES—	
influenced by clan.....	166-167	buried under fire.....	545
official and unofficial.....	376	ceremony of taking.....	582
payment in.....	369	collection of.....	552
regulations concerning.....	165	composing the adiloga.....	607
relationships, terms used in.....	82	Creek.....	639-663
separation after.....	371, 373, 374, 376	Creek, origin of.....	50
temporary.....	368, 371, 376	for stomp dance.....	557
trial.....	369, 374, 375	making of.....	563
MARRIED COUPLES, attitude of, toward each other.....	451	most popular.....	710-711
MARSH, R. O.—		of the busk.....	578, 607-608
donation by, to U. S. National Museum..	10	of the Coweta.....	65, 67
with Tule Indians in Washington.....	10	of the strong snake.....	658
MARSHALL, B., wealth of.....	333	of the Tukabahchee.....	65, 67, 509
MARSHALL, PARK, quoted on Natchez Trace.	813	precedence in taking.....	558
MARTIN, CAPT. JOSEPH, Indian agent.....	796	preparation of, for busk.....	569
MARTIN, WILLIAM, mention of.....	839		

MEDICINES—Continued.	Page	MIKO HOYANĪDJA—	Page
religious significance of.....	608	a busk medicine.....	547, 552
taken by fasters.....	588	use of.....	607, 617, 655
taken on hunting party.....	445	MILFORD—	
used in ceremony.....	552-553	ethnological authority.....	679, 680
<i>See</i> PALLADIA; WAR PHYSIC.		influence claimed by.....	430
MEGILLIS HADJO—		relations of, with McGillivray.....	326
beliefs concerning.....	615	value of writings of.....	40, 429-430
medical beliefs of.....	644	version by, of Creek migration legend.....	40-47
prophet of Tukabahebe.....	615	MILITARY EXPEDITIONS, trails used by.....	731
weather controlled by.....	629-630	MILKWEED, medicinal use of.....	667, 668
MEIBOMIA, species of, used medicinally.....	663	MILKY WAY—	
MELETTE, OKLA., old busk ground near.....	218	name given to.....	513
MEMPHIS, trails from.....	816, 821-822	<i>See</i> GALAXY.	
MEMPHIS-BOLIVAR-PONTOTOC TRAIL.....	821	MILLEPEDE DISEASE, symptoms and treat- ment.....	648
MEMPHIS, PONTOTOC, AND MOBILE BAY TRAIL.....	816-821	MILLER, OKUSKY, information furnished by.....	108
MEN, occupations of.....	355-388	MINE, aboriginal.....	783
MENDOTA, V.A., trail passing near.....	759	MINGO TOWN, trail passing.....	757, 786
MENSTRUAL BELIEFS.....	651	MINK CLAN—	
MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS.....	356, 358-360, 698	affiliations of.....	121-122
MENSTRUAL IRREGULARITY, remedies used for.....	660, 662	native name for.....	116
METEORS, belief concerning.....	478	MISCARRIAGE, burials in case of.....	398
MEXICO, mention of.....	40	MISSIONARIES, nature of records made by.....	678
MEXICO CITY, trail to.....	823, 829	MISSIONS, SPANISH, building of.....	829
MICAJAH OR BIG HARPE, reference to.....	805	MISSISSIPPI, northeast, trail to.....	853
MICHABO, story of.....	709	MISSISSIPPI RIVER—	
MICHELSON, TRUMAN—		Creek name for.....	38
papers by.....	16	mention of.....	43
work of.....	7	Muskhogeana stock on.....	678
MIDDLE MEMPHIS-PONTOTOC TRAIL.....	819-821	physical type of tribes on.....	677
MIDDLE TENNESSEE CHICKASAW TRACE.....	811	MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND TENNESSEE RIVER TRAIL.....	854
MIDDLE TENNESSEE TRAILS.....	833-851	MISSOURI RIVER, mention of.....	43
MIDDLESBORO, KY., trail passing.....	797	MISTLETOE, medicinal use of.....	659
MIGRATIONS ALONG GREAT INDIAN WAR- PATH.....	757	MITCHELL, MR., on seat of government.....	310
MIKALGI—		MITTAKAWYE, Oconee war chief.....	34
application of the name.....	288	MNEMONIC DEVICES.....	446, 453-456
office of, described.....	290-292	MOBILE INDIANS—	
MIKASUKI—		mention of.....	324
a Seminole Red town.....	257	punishment among.....	348
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	<i>See</i> MABILA.	
arrangement of square ground of... 235, 294, 295		MOCCASIN GAME.....	469
burial customs of.....	396	MOCCASIN GAP—	
clan councils of, unobtainable.....	127	Boone's trail through.....	801
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henibas.. 193, 194		road through.....	794
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	161-162	route from, to Cumberland Gap.....	793
dances known by.....	524	trails leading from.....	758
dances of.....	528, 530, 531, 533-534	MOCCASINS—	
medicines used by.....	608	of women.....	683
mourning customs of.....	379	worn for traveling.....	682
plan of ceremonial ground of.....	235, 296	MOHAWK INDIANS, researches among.....	11
position of beds at.....	199	MOIETIES.....	156-166
MIKO—		associations of clans in.....	162-166
chief executive of the tribe.....	276	clan occurrences in.....	162-166
clan furnishing.....	280	origin of.....	157
duties of.....	277-280	relation of, to games.....	165-166
head, council of.....	295	towns, clans, and phratries, tabulation of.....	158-162
installation of.....	282-283	MOLE CLAN—	
peace made by.....	441	native names for.....	115
selection of.....	281-282, 284-285	story concerning.....	109
stone under bed of.....	545	MOLE DISEASE, symptoms of.....	644
theoretical position of.....	279	MOLES, belief concerning.....	519
usually associated with peace.....	277	MOLTON, BRYEN, Tuskegee chief.....	322
MIKO AOKTA, principal subordinate chief... 286		MONARDA, species of, used medicinally.....	637
MIKO HATEI, chief of Tulsa.....	331	MONETON TRIBE, town of.....	755

	Page		Page
MONEY, SNELL, use of.....	721-722	MUMPS, treatment of.....	661, 668
MONIAC, SAM, Creek name of.....	105	MUNROE, MISS HELEN, work of.....	17
MONTEREY, TENN., standing stone at.....	831	MUNSEE INDIANS, researches among.....	11
MONTEZUMA, mention of.....	41	MURDER—	
MONTEZUMA, mention of.....	41	attitude toward.....	339
MONTNS—		procedure in cases of.....	343
division of.....	401	punishment for.....	339, 343, 696
names of.....	401, 402	reparation made for.....	343
naming of.....	707	trial for.....	344
MOON—		MURFREESBORO AND FRANKLIN TURNPIKE,	
beliefs concerning.....	479-480	origin of.....	741
ceremonies timed by.....	551, 553	MUSCLE SHOALS—	
MOONEY, JAMES—		archeological material from.....	18
cited.....	740, 785	work on mounds at.....	3, 4
list of Cherokee clans by.....	118	MUSIC, accompanying dance.....	600
story of the Cherokee recorded by.....	773	MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.....	521-522, 628, 708
MORGAN, LEWIS H.—		MUSKOGEOAN STOCK—	
cited on clans.....	118	languages embraced in.....	677-678
cited on terms of relationship.....	81, 83, 84, 87, 88	largest in the Southeast.....	677
MORNING STAR, Indian name for.....	478	MUSKOGEOAN TRIBES, study of culture of.....	3
MORRIS, EARL H., work of.....	5-6	MUSKOGEE INDIANS—	
MORTARS AND PESTLES, use of.....	689	ancestors of, from the west.....	40
MORTUARY CUSTOMS.....	511,	hunting custom of.....	516
513, 664, 687, 696, 699, 700-702		list of tribes.....	248
<i>See</i> BURIALS; CORPSE; GHOSTS; GRAVES;		proportion of, in Creek Confederacy.....	49
MOURNING CUSTOMS.		sanctuaries of the.....	185-186
MORUS RUBRA, medicinal use of.....	659	Shawnee origin of name.....	307
MOSKOOWIS. <i>See</i> CREEKS; MUSKOGEE.		terms of relationship.....	80-88
MOSQUITO DANCE—		tribes of, among Lower Creeks.....	40
jokes played in.....	534	tribes of, among Upper Creeks.....	40
mention of.....	523	union of, with the Alabama.....	45
MOTERELL, name of mountain.....	37	war of, with the Alabama.....	42-44
MOTHER, application of the term.....	80, 92	MUSERAT, illness caused by.....	644
MOTHER-IN-LAW—		MYER, WILLIAM EDWARD—	
application of the term.....	82, 84, 92	biography.....	729-730
attitude toward.....	451	papers by.....	17
custom concerning.....	700	reference to work of.....	3
MOTY TIGER—		MYRICA, medicinal use of.....	664
head chief.....	331	MYTHS—	
second chief.....	331	creation.....	487-488
MOUND, at Casqui, mention of.....	175	confused with tales.....	2
MOUND BURIALS.....	701	illustrating diseases and remedies.....	636-638
MOUNDS—		ritualization of.....	63
artificial, in center of settlements.....	174-175	NABEDACHE, custom of.....	702
Chickasaw, explanation of.....	64	NACOGDOCHES—	
in Mason County.....	755-756	founding of.....	829
near Pikeville.....	838	road starting from.....	831-832
towns indicated by.....	789	trail to.....	829
use of.....	176	NACOGDOCHES INDIANS, mission among.....	832
MOUNT CARRON, W. VA., Indian remains at.....	755	NAGUATEX. <i>See</i> NABEDACHE.	
MOUNT STERLING, KY., site of prehistoric town.....	786	NAMES.....	97-107
MOUNTAIN LEADER, Chickasaw chief.....	812	ceremony of bestowing.....	102
MOUNTAIN LEADER'S TRACE, road called.....	812	change of, for busk.....	614
MOURNERS, hired.....	383	changed to cure sickness.....	624
MOURNING CUSTOMS.....	182,	changed with war honors.....	434
353, 378-384, 393, 396, 397, 398, 699, 702		<i>See</i> TITLES OR BUSE NAMES; WAR NAMES.	
MUD-POTATO CLAN, story concerning.....	109	NAMES AND NAMING.....	698
MUFLASA, a former Alabama town.....	118	customs connected with.....	97-98
MUFLASA CLAN, native name for.....	116	NAMES OF CHILDREN, assumed by parents.....	107
MUFLASALGI, identification of.....	118	NANA ISHTOHOOLLO, warning given by.....	511
MULBERRY—		NANABOZDO, derivation of the name.....	12-13
connection of, with stomp dance.....	550	NANTAHALA MOUNTAINS, battle in.....	774
French, medicinal use of.....	663	NAPETACA, mention of town yard of.....	175
medicinal use of.....	659	NAPOCHES, an extinct tribe.....	104
sanctified by ceremony.....	550	NARROWS OF PITMAN CREEK, KY., fortifica-	
MULLEN, medicinal use of.....	660-661	tions at.....	803
MUMMY CAVE HOUSE, repairs on.....	5-6	NASHVILLE, TENN., trails of.....	834, 847, 850

	Page		Page
NASUVILLE-LEXINGTON ROAD.....	802	NICHOLS, MRS. FRANCES S., work of.....	16
NASUVILLE-SALINE RIVER TRAIL.....	810	NICKAJACK, mention of.....	750
NATCHEZ CULTURE AREA, features of.....	716	NICKAJACK TRAIL.....	846, 848
NATCHEZ INDIANS—		NIDIVER, GEORGE, mention of.....	8
ancient burial custom of.....	384	NIECE—	
belief of, concerning comets.....	478	application of the term.....	82, 92
busk ceremonial of.....	603	term for, used by women.....	83
clans of, equated with Cherokee.....	118	NIGGER HEAD, a plant used in cases of tuber-	
customs of.....	692, 699, 701, 702	culculosis.....	662
dwellings of.....	687, 688	NOKFAHÁLGI—	
dwellings of chiefs of.....	174-175	a Creek clan.....	116, 119
feather garments made by.....	682	affiliations of.....	121
food of, eaten cold.....	521	NOKFILA—	
food taboos of.....	520-521	legendary destruction of.....	61
hair dressing of.....	684	name for white people.....	61
head flattening of.....	686	NOKFILÁLGI—	
hunting method of.....	693	application of the name.....	121
incorporated into the Creek Confederacy.....	47	name for white people.....	68, 121
medicines of.....	666-668	NOKOSÍMALA, information obtained from.....	655
mortuary customs of.....	699	NOKOSI, JUDGE—	
of Muskogean stock.....	677	mention of.....	491
place of sun in worship of.....	482	myth related by.....	65
reckoning of time by.....	456	NONCONNAH CREEK, described.....	817-818
religious beliefs of.....	709	NONDACAO. <i>See</i> ANADARKO.	
sabilia known to.....	498	NORTH CANADIAN RIVER, mention of.....	491
social divisions among.....	695	NORTH FORK, Upper towns on.....	333
stools used by.....	689	NORTH STAR, Indian name for.....	478
terms of relationship of.....	91-96	NORTHSCORDUM BIVALVE, medicinal use of.....	668
trail used by.....	811	NORVELL, MRS. LIPSCOMB, acknowledgment	
type of buildings of.....	191	to.....	830
union of, with the Creeks.....	48	NOSE ORNAMENTS.....	685
NATCHEZ, MISS., trails of.....	812, 823, 828	NOSEBLEED, remedy used for.....	668
NATCHEZ TRACE—		NUNN, ROSCOE, acknowledgment to.....	745
crossed by Cherokee Trace.....	823	NUYAEA—	
development of.....	812	allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
route called.....	811	an Upper Creek White town.....	124, 254
route followed by.....	813, 814	arrangement of square ground at.....	210, 218
NATCHITOCHES, LA.—		clan councils of.....	124
French outpost at.....	829	clans of, furnishing chiefs and henibas.....	192
mention of.....	686	clans, phratries and moieties of.....	158-159
trails of.....	823, 829	customs of.....	517, 608
NAUFAWPI CREEK, mention of.....	37, 39	plan of ceremonial ground of.....	219
NAUPHAWPE RIVER, identified as Naufawpi		position of beds at.....	198
Creek.....	39	NYMPHAEA, medicinal use of.....	669
NEGRO, payment for murder of.....	344	NYSSA, medicinal use of.....	659
NEPHEW—		OAK, POST, medicinal use of.....	659
application of the term.....	81, 92	OAK, RED, medicinal use of.....	665
term for, used by women.....	83	OATHS, used in giving testimony.....	357
use of the term by clans.....	145	OCCANEETCHI—	
NESHOBA RIVER, called River of the Wolves.....	46	as traders.....	723
NEURALGIA, treatment of.....	655	feasts of.....	708
NEW CORN CROP—		OCCANEETCHI PATH.....	775-779
celebration of.....	550, 568	OCCANEETCHI TOWN—	
<i>See</i> GREEN CORN DANCE; BUSK.		a strategic point.....	764
NEW FIRE—		described.....	775
belief concerning.....	594	removal of Saponi to.....	778
burial under, of old fire.....	589	OCHESÉE—	
distribution of.....	555, 559, 563, 602, 603, 605	a Seminole White town.....	126, 257
preparation for.....	561	allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
symbolic meaning of sticks of.....	548	arrangement of square ground at.....	232, 283
<i>See</i> BUSK FIRE; NEW FIRE CEREMONY.		clan councils of.....	126
NEW FIRE CEREMONY.....	545, 555, 562-563, 570, 571-572, 577, 581, 583, 589, 595-596, 609	clans of, furnishing chiefs and henibas.....	193, 194
NEW JERSEY TEA, medicinal use of.....	664	clans, phratries and moieties of.....	161-162
NEW RIVER, trails of.....	749, 759, 770	position of beds at.....	199
NEW YEAR, celebrated by busk.....	546, 551	OCILLA RIVER, mention of.....	686
NEWBERRY LIBRARY, reference to.....	680	Ocmulgee, stand made at, by Creeks.....	49

	Page		Page
OCMULGEE RIVER—		OCMULGEE—	
Creeks on	51	a Lower Creek White town	125, 254
Muskogee settled on	45, 262	allocation of clans in beds at	201-204
OCONEE PATH	776	arrangement of square ground of	226, 269
OCONEE RIVER—		clan councils of	125
Creeks on	51	clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas	193, 194
Muskogee settled on	45	clans, phratries and moieties of	160
OFFENCES, canceled at busk	571	old, ghost story of	512
OFFICER MOUNDS, mention of	833, 834	position of beds at	198
OFFICES—		supposed origin place of Creek Confed-	
connection of, with clans	304-305	eracy	262
held by descent and by merit	305	OEOLONA, Miss., naming of	827
nature of records made by	678	OLACOPOTO, early name of Toccopola	820
OGECHEE RIVER—		OLD BRACKET, plates described by	504
Creeks on	51	OLD CUEROKEE PATH TO VIRGINIA	771, 772
Muskogee settled on	45	OLD CHILLICOTHE, mention of	788
OGLETHORPE, GOVERNOR, reference to	33, 38	OLD DANCE, performance of	602, 606, 610
OGUE HILI IMÁLA, story told by	492	OLD KEOWEE TOWN, trail to	772
OHIO—		OLD MEN'S DANCE—	
eastern, trail in	749	described	534, 556
Great Indian Warpath in	751-758	mentioned	523, 524
OHIO FALLS, trail to	804	OLD PEOPLE—	
OHIO RIVER—		provision for	79, 171, 182
mention of	44	treatment of	345
trails of	757, 785-786	OLD SAN ANTONIO ROAD	830
OKÁDJIBÁNDJÁ DANCE—		story of	831-833
described	533	OLD SAPONA. <i>See</i> SAPONA, OLD.	
mentioned	524	OLD STONE FORT, TENN.—	
OKCHAI—		ancient Indian town at	847
a White town of the Upper Creeks	124, 254	trail from	847
allocation of clans in beds at	201-204	OLD WATERLOO ROAD	851
arrangement of square ground of	215, 231	ONATHAGUA, a Timucua chief	686
busk name for	614	ONEIDA INDIANS, researches among	11
clan councils of	124	ONONDAGA TRIBE, researches among	11
clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas	192, 194	OOLTEWAD, TENN., trail through	750
clans, phratries and moieties of	158-159	OPECUANCANOUGH, attempt of, to poison	
chunkey-poles at	190	colonists	697
disposal of sacred utensils at	186	OPILÁKO, former Creek town	106
location of village of	46	OPILTB-MICO—	
plan of ceremonial ground of	215, 235	an influential chief	323
position of beds at	198	opposition of, to McGillivray	325
protection given to, by Creeks	46	OPITHLI—	
application of the name	709	interpretation of name	34
OKFUSKEE—		Sawokli "kiog"	34
allocation of clans in beds at	201-204	OPOIA MATEHAI, a Chickasaw chief	811
an Upper Creek White town	124, 254	O. PORTHLE YOHOLO, speaker of the Upper	
arrangement of square ground at	210, 212, 220	Creeks	329
busk name of	614	<i>See</i> HOBOI-HIL YAHOLA	
clan councils of	124	OPOSSUM CLAN—	
clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas	192, 194	native name for	116
clans, phratries and moieties of	158-159	of the Yuchi	118
position of beds at	198	OPOSSUM DISEASE, the name for croup	644
synonym for	73	OPOTLEOHOLO, opinion of, regarding brass	
OKFUSKEE SEMINOLE—		plates	505
a White town	126, 257	<i>See</i> HOBOI-HIL YAHOLA.	
allocation of clans in beds at	201-204	OPOTHLEYOHOLO, wealth of	333
arrangement of square ground at	232, 284	<i>See</i> HOBOI-HIL YAHOLA.	
clan councils of	126	ORATORY OF THE CREEKS	313-314
clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas	193, 194	ORIENTATION—	
clans, phratries and moieties of	161-162	of houses, reason for	634
plan of ceremonial ground at	232, 285	of square ground	187
position of beds at	199	ORIGIN BELIEFS OF SOUTHEASTERN INDIANS	480
OKILSÁLGI, meaning of word	122	ORIGIN LEGEND OF THE CREEKS—	
OKITIYAGANA, a White town	254	as given by Bartram	49
OKLAHOMA, material collected in	31	as given by Hawkins	49-51
		as given by Swan	47-48

- ORIGIN MYTHS— Page
 Alabama, where given 33
 Hitchiti, where given 33
 Muskogee 33-75
- ORIGIN OF AMERICAN INDIANS, theory concerning 507, 518, 519, 520, 543, 678
- ORIGIN OF MAN, Creek story regarding 64
- ORNAMENTS, use of 685-686
- ORPHANS—
 care of 79, 382
 term for, in Natchez 93
- OSAGE INDIANS—
 paper on 13-14, 16
 revision of names of 14
- OSAGE ORANGE, wood of, used for bows 692
- OSOCHI—
 a Lower Creek Red town 126, 255
 allocation of clans in beds at 201-204
 arrangement of square ground of 231-232, 281, 282
 clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās 193, 194
 clans, phratries and moieties of 161
 marriage regulations of 126
 of uncertain connection 248, 249
 position of beds at 199
- OSSACHILE, town and house of 174
- OSSUARIES, located on mounds 175
- OSSUARY, use of 700-701
- OTCIAPOFA—
 allocation of clans in beds at 201-204
 an Upper Creek White town 123, 254
 arrangement of square ground of 208, 211
 busk ceremonial of 581, 583-584, 604
 clan councils of 123
 clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās 192
 clans, phratries and moieties of 158-159
 home town of McGillivray 40
 importance of 251
 plan of ceremonial ground of 208, 212
 position of beds at 198
 square of, described by Swan 183
- OTTAWA, noted as traders 740
- OTTER, illness caused by 644
- OTTER CLAN—
 associations of 148
 native names for 116
- OTTER RIVER, Saponi on 777
- OUASIGOTO PASS, trails of 779, 783, 792
- OUSTA—
 Kasihta chief 34
 name interpreted 34
- OUTLAWS, class of 357
- OWATAMKA RIVER, mention of 37
- OWL—
 a prophetic bird 496
 story concerning 480
See HORNED OWL; SCREECH OWL.
- OWL CLAN, Hitchcock authority for 119
- OWL FEATHER, significance of 619
- OXAILLES. *See* OCHAL.
- PAHOSA CLAN, associations of 148
- PAINT CLAN OF THE CHEROKEE 118
- PAINT CREEK, trail up 767
- PAINTING, facial and body 686
- PAINTINGS, of clan symbols 235-236
- PAKAN TALLAHASSEE— Page
 allocation of clans in beds at 201-204
 an Upper Creek White town 254
 arrangement of square ground at 212, 224, 225
 busk name of 614
 clan councils of 124
 clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās 192, 194
 clans, phratries and moieties of 158-159
 plan of ceremonial ground of 212, 226
 position of beds at 198
 seating of the miko of 285-286
 tookofa at 180-181
- PALLSADES 705-706
- PALLADIA—
 almost unknown to Creeks 503
 discussion of 503-510
- PALMETTO, use of, in building 688
- PALMYRA-PRINCETON TRAIL 806-810
- PANIC GRASS, medicinal use of 667
- PANICUM, species of, used medicinally 667
- PAN^SFALAYA, name for the Choctaw 683
- PANTHER CLAN—
 associations of 149
 native names for 116
 of the Natchez 118
 origin myth of 111-112
- PANTHER DISEASE, mention of 644
- PAPAGO SONGS, analyzed by Miss Densmore 15
- PARADISE—
 conception of 513, 514
 location of 513
- PAREJA, material preserved by 679
- PARIS, KY.—
 settlement of 789
 trails connecting at 792
- PARROQUET DANCE—
 mention of 524
See OKÁDJIBANDJÁ DANCE.
- PARTHENOISSUS, medicinal use of 662
- PARTHIDGE CLAN, native name for 117
- PASA—
 a busk medicine 547, 552
 use of 604, 607, 608, 655
See WAR PHYSIC.
- PASCAGOULA TRIBE—
 descendants of, in Wolf clan 125, 150
 reference to 713
- PASO DE FRANCIA, TEX., road to 830
- PATRI LINEAR DESCENT, Quapaw 696
- PATRIOT, IND., mention of mound at 789
- PEABODY MUSEUM, gift to 786
- PEACE—
 dominating idea of the busk 548
 limitations of 549
 making of 441-443
- PEACE BED. *See* HENIHAS' BED.
- PEACE CLANS, application of the term 165
- PEACE COLOR 37
- PEACE MAKING 706
- PEACHLANDS, MISS.—
 description of 826
 mention of 825
- PEAK. *See* WAMPUM.
- PEARLS, worn by upper classes 685
- PEN MAR, PA., trail through 760

	Page		Page
PENNSYLVANIA, western, trail in	749	PIPESTONE QUARRY, mention, of	49
PENSACOLA—		PISHOFA DANCES—	
derivation of the name	683	modern Chickasaw ceremonies	590
otter skin mantles from	682	to cure the sick	622-623
trails from	828	PITCHLYN, JACK, account of	826
PENTSTEMON, species of, used medicinally	667	PITMAN CREEK, Indian fortifications on	803
PEOPLE OF ONE FIRE, use of the term	250	PITMAN'S STATION, KY., location of	803
PERCH DISEASE, symptoms and treatment	647	PLANTS—	
PERIWINKLE DISEASE, symptoms and treatment	647	medicinal uses of	655-670
PERRYMAN, JOSEPH M., head chief	331	uses of, by Makah Indians	15
PERRYMAN, LEGUS—		PLATANUS OCCIDENTALIS, medicinal use of	659
acknowledgment to	32	PLATES, COPPER AND BRASS—	
head chief	331	account of	503-510
information furnished by	73,	ceremony of carrying	505
110, 126, 146, 192, 226, 285, 286-287		descriptions of	504, 507, 508
legends told by	52-53	exhibition of	570, 572
PERSIMMON, widely used	692	origin of	505, 507, 509, 510, 570, 572
PETERS, MISS MARY ELEANOR, acknowledgment to	830	sacred character of	503-504, 572, 575
PETERSBURG, VA., trails	764, 775	<i>See</i> SHIELDS, COPPER.	
PETROGLYPHS—		PLEASANT PORTER—	
in Kanawha Valley	756	head chief	331
near Shawneetown	805	mention of	52
<i>See</i> PICTOGRAPHS.		PLEIADES, Indian name for	478
PHILADELPHIA, trail from, to Falls of the Ohio	760-761	PLEURISY, remedy used for	658
PHILATOUCHEY, Chief	322	PLEURISY ROOT, used medicinally	667, 668
PHORADENDRON FLAVESCENS, medicinal use of	659	PLUM, WILD, medicinal use of	659
PHRATRIES—		PNEUMONIA, remedies used for	660, 664, 668
discussion of	120-123	POEPIGHE—	
divided between moieties	165	Apalachicola "king"	34
relationships between	155	name interpreted	34
Timucua	156	POLYGAMY—	
towns, clans, and moieties, tabulation of	158-162	not common	370
PHYSIC MAKER—		practice of	79, 371, 373, 374, 376, 699
garden of	444	supposed influence of	354
<i>See</i> MEDICINE MAN.		when permissible	353
PHYSICAL TYPES OF THE SOUTHEAST	677	PONTOTOC, Miss., trails of	816, 821
PICKAWAY PLAINS, OHIO, Shawnee settlement on	785	PONTOTOC COUNTY, Miss., route from, to Natchez	814-815
PICKAWILLANY, trail through	786	POOR, THE, provision for	182
PICOLATA, FLA., fort of	829	POPULATION—	
PICTOGRAPHS—		Alabama	150
occurrence of	756	Kosati	150
<i>See</i> PETROGLYPHS; ROCK ETCHINGS.		Saline River region	808
PICTURE WRITING, on bison skin	455	POPULUS, medicinal use of	660
PIGEON ROOST CREEK, origin of the name	818-819	PORCUPINE OULL WORK	690
PIGEON ROOST ROAD	817-819	PORT ROYAL, importance of records of	679
PIKE, ALBERT, terms of relationship recorded by	91, 92	PORTER, PLEASANT. <i>See</i> PLEASANT PORTER.	
PIKEVILLE MOUNDS, trail to	838	PORTERANTHUS, species of, used medicinally	667
PINE, medicinal use of	664	PORTSMOUTH, OHIO, trail near	786
PINE ROSIN, used medicinally	659	POSKITA. <i>See</i> BUSK (1) and BUSK (2).	
PINEVILLE, KY., trails of	781, 782, 797	POTANO TRIBE, mention of	324
PINKSEY MATEHAR, a Chickasaw chief	811	POTANO MARSH, use of	692
PIOMINGO, Chickasaw chief	812	POTATO CLAN—	
PIONEERS, Kentucky, trails of	793-802	native names for	115
PIPES—		story concerning	108, 109
ceremonial use of	449	POTENTILLA CANADENSIS, medicinal use of	667
chiefs'	703	POTOMAC INDIANS, belief of	709
from Alexander Mound	19	POTTERY—	
steatite, trade in	736	Clarke collection	4-5
stone bird, from Hydes Ferry	18	of the Southeast	690
<i>See</i> CALUMET.		on Saline River	808, 809
		POWELL VALLEY, trail through	795, 796
		POWERS, MISS EMMA, work of	17
		POWESHIEK, HORACE, translation made by	7
		POWHATAN—	
		flute used by	703
		reference to	693

POWHATAN—Continued.	Page	PUNISHMENT—Continued.	Page
"treasure house" of	688	gradation of, to fit offence	350
tribute exacted by	705	in future life	513, 514
POWHATAN INDIANS—		of children	363
customs of	691, 694, 708, 709	<i>See</i> SCRATCHING.	
hair dressing of	684	PURDUE, A. H., acknowledgment to	745
PREDESTINATION, belief in	512	PUSEY, WILLIAM ALLEN, quoted on Wilder- ness Road	793-800
PRESIDIO ROAD	830	PUSHETONEQUA, mention of	7
route of	832	PUSSY TOES, medicinal use of	663, 668
PRESTON, COL. WM., report to, cited	766	QUAIL DANCE—	
PRICE, JOHN TURNER, information furnished by	834	described	532
PRIESTHOOD, existence of, in the Southeast	710	mentioned	523, 524
PRIESTS—		QUAMASH, used medicinally	667
dress of	710	QUAPAW—	
initiation of	627-628	cultural distinctions of	712
insignia of	618-619, 621	descent among	696
training of	617-618, 619-620	dwellings of	688
<i>See</i> DOCTORS.		position of	118
PRINCETON, KY., trails joining at	806	QUERCUS STELLATA, medicinal use of	659
PRISONERS—		QUIGALTANQUI, mention of	440
treatment of	705	QUILL WORK, porcupine	690
<i>See</i> CAPTIVES.		QUINTOCKEY, a rendering of Kentucky	47
PROCTOR, CALEY—		QUIPU OF PERU, system similar to	40, 455
assistance rendered by	501, 645	QUIVERS—	
information from	655, 656, 657, 658, 661, 662	bark or skin	693
myth obtained from	71	hair used as	684, 693
war name of	104	RABBIT CLAN—	
PROCTOR, LEWIS, Indian name of	150	native names for	115
PROPERTY—		use of the term	145
buried with the dead	337, 391, 392, 393, 395, 397, 513	RABBIT DANCE—	
community of	334-335	described	533
customs concerning	334-338	mentioned	524
descent of	337	RABBIT DISEASE, treatment for	641
destroyed before busk	580-581	RACCOON CLAN—	
wagered on games	458, 464, 466	busk names of	614
willed to relatives	391	facial painting of	170
PROPERTY RIGHTS IN MARRIAGE	377	native names for	115
PROPHECIES, regarding the Indians	77-78	of the Natchez	118
PROPHETS—		story concerning	108
distinct from priests	711	Tukabahchee chiefs selected from	148
initiation of	627-628	RACCOON DISEASE, children afflicted by	641
supernatural power of	496, 616	RAFINESQUE, CONSTANTINE SAMUEL, earth- works surveyed by	784
the kilas or "knowers"	615	RAFTS, use of	689
<i>See</i> KILA.		RAIDS, distances covered in	736
PROSTITUTION—		RAIFORD, PHILIP H., letter by, to commis- sioner	317
among southern Indians	384	RAILROADS—	
an established custom	697	following buffalo trails	742
PRUNUS, medicinal use of	659	Indian trails followed by	744
PUBERTY CUSTOMS	358-360, 698	RAIN—	
PUBES HAIR CLAN, native name for	116	controlled by water creatures	450
PUBLIC GROUNDS, elements of	177	superstition regarding	515-516
PUBLIC SQUARE. <i>See</i> SQUARE GROUND.		RAIN MAKER, responsibility of	630
PUBLICATIONS OF THE BUREAU—		RAIN MAKING	616, 629-631
distribution of	17	RAINBOW—	
report on	16	beliefs concerning	480
PUCCON ROOT, used to color the hair	684	Indian name for	480
PUMPKIN DANCE—		RAINBOW DISEASE, treatment for	649
mention of	524	RAT OR MOUSE DISEASE, treatment for	642
no details known of	529	RATTLE, manufacture of	521-522
PUNISHMENT—		RATTLESNAKE—	
capital	320	belief concerning	490
crime and	338-358, 696-697	taboo against killing	169
for adultery	346-355	RAVEN, held to be impure	496
for murder	339-345		
for theft	356, 357		

	Page		Page
RAVEN CLAN—		RICHLAND CREEK, trail following.....	798-799
a Cherokee clan.....	118	RICHMOND, VA., trail from.....	761
Adair authority for.....	119	RICHMOND BRANCH OF GREAT INDIAN WAR-	
native name for.....	116	PATH.....	761-763
RECALL, power of.....	305	RIDICULE, among the Creeks.....	452
RED, as war color.....	37	ROANOKE, long house at.....	688
RED CLANS—		ROANORE BEADS.....	685
and Red towns, association between.....	249	shell money of.....	721-723
<i>See</i> TCILOKI CLANS.		ROANOKE RIVER, explorers on.....	683
RED PAINT, Muskogee clan.....	119	ROANOKE SETTLEMENTS, attack on.....	769
RED RIVER—		ROANOKE TRAILS.....	760, 761, 765, 777
Houma Indians on.....	687	ROARING RIVER, trail down.....	833
Indian remains on.....	810	ROBELIN, LA., mission at.....	829
of Chekilli legend.....	38	ROBERTS, CAPT. JOHN KELLY, route of	
physical type of tribes on.....	677	Chickamauga Path given by.....	850
RED RIVER VALLEY, trail through.....	823, 829	ROBERTS, EARLE O., skulls collected by....	19
RED ROOT, medicinal use of.....	662	ROBERTS, HELEN H., paper by.....	17
RED SHOE—		ROBERTSON, MRS. A. E. W., terms of rela-	
an influential chief.....	323	tionship recorded by.....	91
<i>See</i> RED SHOES.		ROCK ETCHINGS, in Kanawha Valley.....	756
RED SHOES—		<i>See</i> PETROGLYPHS.	
chief of Alabama and Koassati.....	322, 323	ROCK MEDICINE, use of.....	658
name of, analyzed by Adair.....	98	ROCK SHELTERS, on trail.....	843-844
oration on.....	314	ROCKY MOUNTAINS, name given to.....	52, 53
trader killed by.....	446	ROGERS, D. B., assistance of.....	9
RED TOWNS—		ROLLER, mentioned in Muskogee legends....	498
clans, phratries and moieties of....	159-160, 161	ROOT CLAN, identified as Potato clan.....	118
devoted to prosecution of war.....	249	ROSE, WLD, medicinal use of.....	660
list of.....	255	ROTH, WALTER E., paper by.....	16
of the Lower Creeks.....	126	ROTUNDA—	
of the Seminole.....	126-127	description of.....	177, 178-179
of the Upper Creeks.....	124	location of.....	171, 175, 176
relation of, to Teiloki clans.....	192-197	<i>See</i> TCOKOFA.	
REDEUD, medicinal use of.....	665	ROYAL SPRING, KY., described by Collins... 788-789	
REICHARD, D. L., collection secured by....	18	RUNNERS—	
REINCARNATION, belief in.....	710	distance covered by.....	735
RELATIONSHIP—		endurance of.....	446
discussion of terms of.....	87-88, 96-97	RUNNING WATER, Cherokee town, mention	
joking.....	168	of.....	750
supplementary terms of.....	84, 93	RURAL RETREAT, VA., trail by.....	759
tables of.....	85-86, 89-90, 94-95	RUSSELLVILLE-HOPKINSVILLE TRAIL.....	806
terms of, applied to tribes.....	96	RUSSELLVILLE-SHAWNEETOWN TRAIL.....	804-805
terms of, used by man.....	80-83, 91-93	RUTHERFORD, GEN. GRIFFITH, expedition of,	
terms of, used by woman.....	83, 84, 93	against the Cherokee.....	773-775
RELIGION—		RUTHERFORD'S WAR TRACE.....	773-775
native, attitude of missionaries toward... 678		RYE, GOV. THOMAS C., acknowledgment to... 745	
of the Southeast.....	2	SABIAS—	
repository for articles connected with.... 184		crystal.....	498
sanctuary dedicated to.....	184	description of.....	499
RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.....	709-710	supernatural power of.....	499-501
RETALIATION—		vegetable.....	500-501
gradually given up.....	344	SACCHUMA, identical with Chakehiuma.....	39
interference of, with legal punishment... 343		SACRED PLATES. <i>See</i> PLATES, COPPER AND	
principle of.....	339, 340-342, 345	BRASS.	
REVENGE. <i>See</i> RETALIATION.		SACRIFICES.....	516-517
REWARD, in future life.....	513, 514	custom of making.....	708
REYNOLDSBURG, TENN., trail crossing at.... 853		human.....	762, 712
RHAMNUS CAROLINIANA, medicinal use of.... 667		ST. ALBIN, W. VA., remains near.....	755
REHA SPRINGS, TENN., mention of.....	841	ST. ANDREW'S CROSS, medicinal use of.....	666
RHEUMATISM, remedies used for.....	655,	ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA.—	
656, 657, 660, 661, 663		Shawnee and Kaskinampos trading at... 510	
RHUS COPALLINA, medicinal use of.....	659	starting point of King's Highway..... 831	
RHUS GLABRA, medicinal use of.....	659	trail to, from Cisca.....	846
RHUS TRELOBATA, medicinal use of.....	667	trails from.....	828
RIBAULT, reliance upon narrative of.....	679	ST. DENIS, JUCHEREAU, activities of... 829, 832, 833	

	Page		Page
ST. FRANCIS DE PUPA, fort of.....	829	SARA INDIANS, mention of.....	691
ST. LOUIS, trail to.....	805	SARSAPARILLA, medicinal use of.....	658
ST. MARKS, FLA., trails from.....	828	SASSAFRAS, used medicinally.....	652, 661
ST. PETERSBURG, FLA., collection from mounds near.....	18	SAUK INDIANS, preparation of paper on.....	7
ST. PETER'S-WORT, medicinal use of.....	664	SAURA PRONG OF OCANEECHU PATH.....	777
ST. STEPHENS, ALA.—		SAURA-SAPONI TRAIL.....	765
a trading point.....	823, 824	SAURA TOWN—	
described.....	824-825	location of.....	765, 777, 779
SAKAPADAI. <i>See</i> TALLAHASUTCI.		trail to.....	776
SALEM, VA., trail passing.....	760	SAVANHAUGAY—	
SALINE RIVER—		part of, admitted to Creek Confederacy..	47
Indian remains on.....	807	<i>See</i> SHAWNEE.	
salt works on.....	807	SAVANNAH, GA.—	
SALISBURY, N. C., trail near.....	778	located on site of Yamacraw settlement..	38
SALIX, species of, used medicinally.....	655	trail to.....	751
SALT—		SAVANNAH RIVER—	
an object of trade.....	740	Creeks on.....	51
made at Big Bone Lick.....	791	Muskogee settlements on.....	45
manufacture of.....	782	SAVANNAH, TENN., trails past.....	853, 854
means of obtaining.....	690-691	SAWANOGALGI, phratry called.....	120
substitutes for.....	691	SAWATCKA, a busk medicine.....	547
taboo concerning.....	573, 601	SAWELLI, a White town.....	254
when taken at busk... 573, 578, 598, 601, 603, 604		SCAFFOLD BURIALS.....	701
SALT CLAN—		clan symbols associated with.....	235
associations of.....	148	mention of.....	235, 389
native names for.....	116	<i>See</i> BURIALS; TREE BURIALS.	
SALT LICK, KY., trail near.....	785	SCAGGS, trail found by.....	799
SALT LICK CREEK, trail along.....	787	SCALP DANCE—	
SALT MAKERS, settlements of, in Kentucky ..	782	mention of.....	524
SALT WORKS, on Saline River.....	807	no details known of.....	529
SALTVILLE, VA.—		SCALPING—	
development of.....	752	a means of advancement.....	426, 434, 438
trails of.....	749, 753, 759, 772	method of.....	415
SALUTATION—		SCALPS—	
form of.....	447, 449	as decorations.....	188-189
<i>See</i> GREETINGS.		disposition of.....	419
SAM, WATT, Natchez informant.....	478, 624	division of.....	415, 427
SAMBUCUS CANADENSIS, medicinal use of.....	661	importance attached to... 405, 415, 435, 704, 705	
SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—		used in ceremony.....	419, 421, 422, 423
highway through.....	831	value of.....	434
mission at.....	832	SCARIFICATION—	
trails to.....	823, 829	at Tuskegee busk.....	585
SAN AUGUSTINE, FLA. <i>See</i> ST. AUGUSTINE.		<i>See</i> SCRATCHING.	
SAN AUGUSTINE, TEX., mission at.....	832	SCHOOLCRAFT, information collected by.....	78, 318
SAN BLASEÑOS, name for Tule Indians.....	10	SCIOTO PRONG OF WARRIORS' PATH.....	784-786
SAN FRANCISCO DE LOS TEJAS, building of... 829		SCIOTO RIVER—	
SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, mention of.....	829, 830	Indian settlements at mouth of.....	785
SANCTUARY—		trails from mouth of.....	785
for depositing sacred paraphernalia.....	183,	SCIOTO VALLEY, trail through.....	786
184, 185-186		SCOTT, JOHN—	
plates kept in.....	503	an Alabama chief.....	193
SANDERSON, J. O., collection secured by....	19	information furnished by.....	402
SANDUSKY BAY, trail to.....	757, 786	SCRATCHING—	
SANGER BEAVER, information from.....	545, 547	as a form of punishment.....	354-355,
SANTA BARRARA COUNTY, CALIF., archeolog- ical work in.....	9	363-364, 540, 554	
SANTEE RIVER, trade on.....	739	as a hardening process.....	363, 364, 365
SANTIAGO, MRS. ALICE DE, collection pre- sented by.....	18	as a token of friendship.....	452
SAPLING GROVE, now Bristol.....	759	to relieve fatigue.....	445-446
SAPONA, OLD, trail to.....	777	SCREECH-OWL DANCE—	
SAPONA INDIANS, sweat lodges of.....	689	described.....	530
SAPONI, incorporated with Cayuga Iroquois..	778	mention of.....	523, 524
SAPONI INDIANS—		<i>See</i> LITTLE-SCREECH-OWL DANCE.	
account of.....	777-778	SCREECH-OWL MEDICINE, used for eye troubles..	662
trail from town of.....	764	SCURVY, remedy used for.....	668
		SEARLES, STANLEY, work of.....	16
		SEASONS, recognition of.....	707
		SEASONS, FOUR, of the Creeks.....	400

SEATING—	Page	SHAWNEE—Continued.	Page
arrangement of, in ceremonial grounds. 174-241		war of, with Chickasaw.....	811
at general council.....	311-312, 313	<i>See</i> SAVANHAUGAY; SEAWANESE.	
in council house.....	535, 536-537	SHAWNEE PROPHECY, plates in possession of..	508
of clans, discussion of.....	237-241	SHAWNEETOWN, ILL., trail from.....	804
of clans, summarized.....	237	SLEEP DANCE, mentioned.....	523, 534
SEATS—		SHELL, utensils of.....	689
number of, in heds.....	186	SHELL MONEY—	
<i>See</i> STOOLS.		use of.....	696, 721-723
SEBASTIANA LIGUSTRINA, medicinal use of....	665	values measured by.....	456
SECOND MEN, meaning of the name.....	192	SHENANDOAH VALLEY, trail up.....	761
SELLERS, GEORGE E., description by, of		SHERREL, S. W., acknowledgment to.....	745
Saline River region.....	807-809	SHIELDS—	
SEMINOLE—		copper, carried in busk ceremonials. 564, 565-566	
admission of, into Creek Confederacy....	47	copper, dance of bearers of.....	605
clan councils of.....	126-127	general use of.....	704
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	161-162	mention of.....	50
division among.....	394	used by southern Indians.....	439
dwellings of, described.....	173	<i>See</i> PLATES, COPPER AND BRASS.	
Florida, outlaws among.....	357	SHORT-CUT TRAIL.....	817-819
government of.....	332	SICKNESS—	
meaning of the name.....	48	caused by supernatural beings.....	496-497
Oklahoma, Red and White divisions of. 257		treatment for.....	622-626, 710
Oklahoma, smoke signals of.....	446	<i>See</i> DISEASES.	
origin myth of.....	47-48	SIGN LANGUAGE, use of.....	446
public building of, described.....	191-192	SILVERVILLE, KY., trail crossing at.....	843
square grounds of.....	232-235, 241	SILVER, breastplates of.....	685
village life of.....	400	SIM-MO-ME-JEE, warrior of the nation.....	327
war of, with Creeks.....	51	SINGER, CHIEF, story concerning.....	341-342
SENECA INDIANS—		SIUAN CULTURE AREA (eastern) features of. 714-715	
of Missouri and Oklahoma, identification		SIUAN TRIBES, EASTERN—	
of.....	13	called Flatheads.....	687
researches among.....	11	customs of.....	701, 702, 704, 707, 708
SEQUATCHIE VALLEY—		domestication of animals by.....	694
described.....	838	dwellings of.....	687
mounds of, explored.....	838	information concerning clans of.....	118
trail down.....	838	linguistic differences of.....	713
SEVEN, sacred number of the Cherokee.....	603	linguistic relations of.....	678
SEVENMILE FORD, VA., trail by.....	759	prostitution among.....	697
SEVIER, fort built by.....	841	social divisions among.....	696
SEXES—		SISTER—	
relations between.....	386, 388	application of the term.....	81, 92
separation of.....	384-385	elder, application of the term.....	83
SEXUAL ABSTINENCE, while on war party....	412	younger, application of the term.....	83
SEXUAL LOOSENESS, attitude toward.....	354	SISTER-IN-LAW, application of the term.....	82,
SFANI. <i>See</i> ISHPANI.			83, 84, 93
SHALER, N. S.—		SITCOTĀPKĀLGI, a Creek clan.....	116, 119
cited.....	742, 791	SKIN DRESSING, uniformity of.....	690
mention of.....	786	SKINS, used for clothing.....	681-682
SHALLOWFORD, N. C., crossing of Cornwallis at	801	SKUNK, the chief of all animals.....	496, 529
SHAMAN, duties of, in battle.....	437	SKUNK CLAN, native names for.....	115
SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE.....	614-670	SKUNK DANCE—	
SHARPSBURG, KY., prehistoric works at....	786-787	a woman's dance.....	528
SHAWANESE—		described.....	529
union of, with the Creeks.....	48	mention of.....	523, 524
<i>See</i> SHAWNEE.		time for holding.....	404, 529
SHAWNEE—		SKY, Indian conception of.....	478
capture of Mary Ingles by.....	741-742	SKY WORLD, beliefs concerning.....	480-481
connection of, with Tukabahchee plates. 505,		SLAVE POSTS—	
506, 507, 508, 575		captives burned at.....	437
doctors of, esteemed by Creeks.....	627	description of.....	188
friendship of, with Tukabahchee.....	614	mention of.....	175-176
habitat of.....	712	SLAVE SYSTEM, nonexistent in the Southeast..	79
influence of, with Creeks.....	547-548	SLAVERY—	
relations of, with Creeks.....	47	among the Creeks.....	48, 167
supernatural power of.....	120	among the Seminole.....	167
trail used by, in trek from Alabama.....	811	as an institution.....	705

	Page		Page
SLAVES, trade in.....	737	SOUL, THE—	
SLINGS, use of.....	693	beliefs concerning.....	510-515
SLUG DISEASE, symptoms and treatment.....	648	journey of, after death.....	513
SMALL FROG DANCE, mentioned.....	523, 534	return of, to earth.....	513
SMALLPOX—		sickness caused by absence of.....	654, 666
most dreaded disease.....	636	<i>See</i> IMMORTALITY; SPIRIT WORLD.	
inability to treat.....	670	SOULS, transmigration of.....	710
SMILAX—		<i>See</i> CAROLINA INDIANS.	
use of.....	692	SOUP-DRINKING FEAST.....	555-556
used medicinally.....	661, 670	SOUTH CANADIAN RIVER, mention of.....	491
SMILAX BONA-NOX, medicinal use of.....	667	SOUTH CAROLINA TRIBES—	
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, paintings de-		sources of information regarding.....	679
stroyed in fire at.....	527	<i>See</i> CAROLINA INDIANS.	
SMOKE HOLES, occurrence of.....	688	SOUTH ROAD, a buffalo trail.....	741
SMOKE SIGNALS.....	446	SOUTHEAST, early literature dealing with... 678-680	
SNAKE—		SOUTHEASTERN CULTURE—	
corduroy, supernatural power of.....	492	evolution of.....	724-726
the townd emblem of Atasi.....	243	former northward extension of.....	726
SNAKE BITE, treatment for..... 645-646, 655-656, 660		SOUTHWEST POINT, TENN.—	
SNAKE CLAN—		erection of fort at.....	841, 845
native names for.....	115	importance of fort at.....	842
of the Natchez.....	118	now Kingston.....	836
SNAKE DANCE—		SPANALGEE, identified as Isfanáigi.....	120
customs connected with.....	525	SPANIARDS, use made by, of aboriginal trails. 828-	
mention of.....	523, 524	829	
SNAKE DISEASE, name given various ailments. 645		SPANISH (?) CLAN, native names for.....	116
SNAKEROOT—		SPANISH MOSS, garments of.....	683
use of, for snake bite.....	646	SPANISH MOSS (?) CLAN, native name for.....	116
<i>See</i> BUTTON SNAKEROOT.		SPANISH ORIGIN OF TUKABAHOCEE PLATES... 66	
SNAKES—		SPANISH WRITERS, as source of information on	
belief concerning.....	490	the Southeast.....	678, 679, 680
eaten by Virginia Indians.....	693	SPEAKERS, CHIEF, office of.....	329
handled by doctors.....	645-646	SPECK, FRANK G.—	
stories concerning.....	492-495	acknowledgment to.....	33
taboo against killing.....	490	information from.....	216
<i>See</i> GOOD SNAKE; HORNED SNAKE;		SPEECH, text of, with translation.....	611-614
MANY SNAKES.		SPEECHES—	
SNEEZING, superstitions regarding.....	515	at general council.....	311-314
SNOW DANCE—		of the busk.....	610-611
a woman's dance.....	529	<i>See</i> ORATORY.	
mention of.....	523	SPICEWOOD, medicinal use of.....	657
SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.....	695-711	SPIGELIA ANTHELMINTICA, medicinal use of... 669	
SODOMY, practice of.....	697	SPIRIT, EVIL, misfortunes caused by.....	485
SOLIDAGO, species of, used medicinally.....	664	SPIRIT MEDICINE, use of.....	661
SON, application of the term.....	81	SPIRIT OF FIRE—	
<i>See</i> CHILD.		belief in.....	483-484
SON-IN-LAW, application of the term.....	83, 93	first-fruit offering to.....	595
SONAK HADJO, information furnished by... 379, 396		SPIRIT-OF-WAR DISEASE, symptoms and treat-	
SONGS—		ment.....	650
accompanying dances.....	522-523	SPIRIT WORLD—	
cradle.....	362-363	conception of.....	514
for deer disease.....	639-640	<i>See</i> IMMORTALITY; SOUL.	
for dog disease.....	641-642	SPIRITS—	
for periwinkle disease.....	647-648	animal, propitiated by dances.....	549
for rat or mouse disease.....	642-643	bad, conception of.....	510, 511
for snake sickness.....	646	dance of the.....	629
magical, use of.....	503	good, conception of.....	510-511
necessary in use of medicines.....	668	SPLEEN, enlarged, remedy used for.....	662
of horned-owl dance.....	530	SPOKE-OAK, MICO, plate transported by... 505	
of screech-owl dance.....	530	SPOKOGL. <i>See</i> ISPOKOGL.	
of the fasters.....	588	SPOONS, materials used for.....	689
of the sabia.....	499	SPRAINS, treatment of.....	660
of triumph, chanted by women.....	419	SQUARE GROUND—	
of war.....	408, 424	arrangement of.....	205-235
used while at work.....	443	descriptions of.....	175-176, 181-188
<i>See</i> FORMULAS.		location of.....	171
SOBES, treatment of.....	665	of Atasi, described.....	183-185
		Seminole.....	232-235, 241
		<i>See</i> TOWN SQUARE.	

	Page		Page
SQUIER, cited on origin of term "chunky".....	189	SUN DISEASE, symptoms and treatment.....	650
SQUIRREL CLAN—		SUNDAY, observance of.....	516
native name for.....	116	SUNFLOWER SEED, use of.....	692
of Yuchi and Chickasaw.....	118	SUNSET INDIANS, name for the Natchez.....	48
SQUIRREL DISEASE, symptoms of, and treat- ment for.....	641	SUPERNATURAL, attached to created things.....	489
STAMPING GROUND, origin of the name.....	742, 788	SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, beliefs concerning.....	481-498
STANDING STONE, described.....	834-835	SUSQUEHANNOCK, mention of.....	706
STANDLEY, PAUL C.—		SWANTON, JOHN R.—	
acknowledgment to.....	553, 655	acknowledgment to.....	739
plants identified by.....	15	papers by.....	17
tree identified by.....	14	work of.....	6-7
STANFORD, KY.—		SWEAT BATH—	
formerly Logan's Fort.....	803	as a purification rite.....	627
trail through.....	800	before hunting.....	445
STATUE, wooden, described by Adair.....	245	description of.....	300
STAUNTON, VA., trail passing.....	760, 761	in treatment of the sick.....	626
STEALING. <i>See</i> THEFT.		SWEAT LODGE, purpose of.....	710
STEATITE, bowls of.....	9	SWEENEY, ALBERT, work of.....	17
STEATITE PIPES, trade in.....	736	SWEET BAY, medicinal use of.....	664
STECOE, attack on.....	773	SWIMMING, skill in.....	399
STEPBROTHER, term applied to.....	83	SWINE, tamed as food.....	518
STEPCHILD, term applied to.....	83	SYCAMORE, medicinal use of.....	659
STEPDAUGHTER, term for.....	92	SYMBOLS, CLAN, paintings of.....	235-236
STEPSISTER, term bestowed upon.....	83	SYPHILIS, remedy used for.....	668
STEPSON, term for.....	92	TABOOS.....	517-521
STIGGINS, a source of Creek ethnology.....	679	against killing rattlesnake.....	169
STILLINGIA, species of, used medicinally.....	662	against killing totem animals.....	168-169
STIMELACOWECHE—		connected with husk.....	554, 563, 573, 591, 601
name interpreted.....	34	connected with fire.....	599
Osochi "king".....	34	connected with hunting.....	516-517, 445
STOCK CREEK, trail along.....	795	effect of violation of.....	630
STOCKADES—		for medicine men.....	621
description of.....	438	TADPOLE DANCE, performance of.....	577, 603
where found.....	438	TAENSA, customs of.....	687, 701, 702
<i>See</i> PALISADES.		TAHMOKMI, Eufaula war captain.....	34
STOICISM, display of.....	418, 457	TAITT—	
STOMACH DISORDERS, remedy used for.....	657	hot horse described by.....	179
STOMP DANCE—		reference to.....	185
at end of ball game.....	463	square described by.....	185
following busk.....	567	TAL MUTÇASI—	
medicines used at.....	564	information from.....	488, 547, 589
object of.....	547	medicine maker.....	488
preceding the busk.....	550	TALAHASUTCI, feast held at.....	535
time for holding.....	550	TALI, mention of.....	324
Tukabahchee, described.....	557-558	TALIMECO—	
STONE, use of, for building.....	688-689	mound at.....	175
STONE AGE MAN, work on.....	729	ossuary of.....	438
STONE HEAPS, as memorials to the dead.....	391	TALISMAN, made of clothing of head chief.....	432
STOOLS, three-legged, use of.....	689	TALLADEGA—	
STOREHOUSES. <i>See</i> GRANARIES.		allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
STORYTELLING, custom connected with.....	521	arrangement of square ground of.....	205
STRANGERS, treatment of.....	334	clan councils of.....	123
STRUCTURES, social and ceremonial, changes in	191	clans of, furnishing chiefs and benibas.....	192
SUGAR, source of supply.....	692	clans, phratries and moieties of.....	158-159
SUGARTOWN, Cherokee village of.....	774	plan of ceremonial ground of.....	206
SUCIDES, deprived of burial.....	397	position of beds at.....	198
SULLIVAN, death of, for opposing McGillivray.....	325	Upper Creek White town.....	123, 254
SUMAC—		TALLADEGA CREEK, mention of.....	39
black, medicinal use of.....	659	TALLAHASSEE HATCHEE CREEK, mention of.....	39
red, medicinal use of.....	659	TALLAHASUTCI, a Red town.....	255
smoked with tobacco.....	659	TALLAHASUTCI SEMINOLE—	
STMMERS, L. P., acknowledgment to.....	759	a White town.....	126, 257
SUN—		allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
beliefs concerning.....	479	arrangement of square ground of.....	233, 286
place of, in Indian religion.....	482	clan councils of.....	126
		clans of, furnishing chiefs and benibas.....	193, 194

TALLAHASUTCI SEMINOLE—Continued.	Page	TCOKOFA—Continued.	Page
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	161-162	structure of roof of.....	180
plan of ceremonial ground of.....	233, 287	See HOTHOUSE; ROTUNDA.	
position of beds at.....	199	TCOWASTÁLGI, affiliations of.....	122
TALLAFOOSA RIVER—		TECUMSEH—	
mention of.....	39, 503	incident from life of.....	76-77
Muskogee settled on.....	45	mention of.....	735
settlement of Shawnee on.....	47	TEETH, blackening of.....	685
TALLASI-HUTCHEE RIVER—		TEIT, H. W., paper by.....	17
mention of.....	37	TEKESTA, burials of.....	701-702
See TALLASI-HUTCHEE.		TELLICO, trail through.....	750
TALLASI-HUTCHEE, name for Tulsa Creek....	39	TEMPLES, used as ossuaries.....	701
TALLESSEY KING, a Tulsa chief.....	322	TENNESSEE—	
TALLO-WAU-THLUCCO TUS-TUN-NUG-GEE,		Cherokee settlements in.....	749
warrior of the nation.....	328	trail map of.....	730
TALMUTCASI—		See EAST TENNESSEE; MIDDLE TEN-	
a Red town.....	255	NESSEE; WEST TENNESSEE.	
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	TENNESSEE CENTRAL RAILROAD, trail fol-	
arrangement of square ground of.....	212, 222	lowed by.....	744
clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas....	192	TENNESSEE, EAST, trail through.....	749
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	158-159	TENNESSEE RIVER—	
position of beds at.....	198	fort on, at Clinch River.....	841
TÁLWA—		mention of.....	44
use of the word.....	276	palisaded towns on.....	706
virtually self-governing.....	276	trails along.....	823
TÁLWA MÍKÁGI—		trails crossing.....	751
extension of the term.....	250-251	TENNESSEE RIVER, OHIO, AND GREAT LAKES	
name for White towns.....	250	TRAIL.....	839-844
TÁMÁLI MIKO, chief of the Upper towns....	330	TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP. See RELATIONSHIP.	
TASCALUÇA, dwelling of, on mound.....	175	TERMS OF REPROACH.....	427
TÁSIKAYÁLGI, position of.....	301	TERRAPIN BONE, a charm against snake bite..	501
TÁSIKAYAS' BED. See YOUTHS' BED.		TERRAPIN DANCE—	
TASQUIGUY—		described.....	532-533
given protection by the Creeks.....	46	mentioned.....	524
See TUSKEGEE.		TERRAPIN DISEASE, symptoms of.....	647
TÁSTÁNÁGIS—		TEXAS, physical type of tribes in.....	677
ceremony of inaugurating.....	298-301	TEXAS INDIANS, avoided by whites.....	829
concerned with war.....	305	THEFT, punishment for.....	356-357, 697
duties of.....	207-298	THLOCOTHO. See LÍKATCKA.	
mention of.....	40, 42	THLE-CHUM-ME TUSTUNNIGGE, warrior of	
TÁSTÁNÁGI HOPAL, speaker for the Lower		the nation.....	328
Creeks.....	328	THOMPSON, CHARLIE, information furnished	
TASTANÉGY. See TÁSTÁNÁGIS.		by.....	402
TATTOOING—		THORN BUSH, a Cherokee clan.....	118
practice of.....	686	THREE SPRINGS, VA., trail passing near....	759
war honors indicated by.....	170, 306	THUNDER—	
TCATOKSOFEA—		conception of.....	486
a White town.....	254	control of.....	631
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	THUNDER AND LIGHTNING, God of.....	485-486
arrangement of square ground of.....	212, 223	THUNDER DISEASE, symptoms and treat-	
belief of, concerning busk.....	547	ment.....	650
ceremony of, in setting up ball post.....	545	THUNDER MEDICINE, use of.....	660
clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas....	192	THUNDERBOLTS, described.....	486
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	158-159	TICK DANCE—	
position of beds at.....	198	described.....	533
TCHACTAS. See CHOCTAW.		mentioned.....	524
TCHLOKI CLANS—		TIE SNAKE, beliefs concerning.....	492-493
origin of.....	113	TIGER, common name for panther.....	498
relation of, to Red towns.....	196-197	TIME—	
use of eagle feathers by.....	495	divisions of.....	707
TCILOKOGÁLGI—		means of counting.....	704
a Creek moiety.....	157	reckoning of.....	454-455
nicknames for.....	157	TIMUCA—	
TCITAHAIÁ DANCE—		customs of.....	701, 702
performance of.....	604, 605	descent among.....	695
See FEATHER DANCE.		dwellings of.....	687
TCOKOFA—		linguistic relations of.....	678
description of.....	177-181		
description of council in.....	536		

- | | | | |
|---|--------------|---|--------------|
| TIMUCA—Continued. | Page | | Page |
| ornaments of..... | 685 | TOWN HOUSE, strangers lodged in..... | 447 |
| phratries..... | 156 | TOWN SQUARE— | |
| possibly ancestors of Osochi..... | 249 | seating in, at general council..... | 312 |
| reference to dress of..... | 681 | <i>See</i> SQUARE GROUND. | |
| second men among..... | 192 | TOWN YARD. <i>See</i> SQUARE GROUND. | |
| town house of..... | 687 | TOWNS— | |
| TIPPECANOE, mention of..... | 508 | busk names of..... | 614 |
| TITLES..... | 97-107 | clans, phratries and moieties, tabulation | |
| of busk names, discussion of..... | 100-102 | of..... | 158-162 |
| succession of..... | 305 | classification of..... | 327-328 |
| war, bestwed on victor..... | 420 | classified as White or Red..... | 254-255 |
| TOAD CLAN— | | discussion of classification of..... | 255-257, 259 |
| native names for..... | 115, 233 | emblems of..... | 243-246 |
| story concerning..... | 109 | facial painting distinctive of..... | 246 |
| TOBACCO— | | geographical division of..... | 306-307 |
| ceremonial use of... 449, 537, 554, 576, 578-579, 587 | | most influential in 1791..... | 323 |
| custom connected with..... | 452 | natural classification of..... | 248-259 |
| mixed with sumac for smoking..... | 659 | origin of dual division of..... | 55 |
| object of conjuration with..... | 580 | placed in nine classes..... | 258-259 |
| sacred character of..... | 703 | unity in..... | 246-247 |
| use of, for purification..... | 592-593 | <i>See</i> WHITE TOWNS; RED TOWNS. | |
| TOBACCO BEGGARS, performance of..... | 566 | TRADE— | |
| TOBACCO, RABBIT, medicinal use of..... | 663-664 | articles of..... | 452-453 |
| TOBACCO, WILD— | | between tribes..... | 736-740 |
| description of..... | 662 | development of, in northeastern sec- | |
| mythical origin of..... | 509 | tion..... | 723-724 |
| uses of..... | 662 | distances covered in..... | 737 |
| TOCCOPOLA, MISS., trail to..... | 820 | materials used in..... | 736, 737 |
| TOCOBAGA, mortuary custom of..... | 701 | TRADERS— | |
| TOCWOGB, mention of..... | 706 | influenced by native superstition..... | 502 |
| TOENABI, reference to..... | 5 | nature of records made by..... | 678 |
| TOLLUNTEESKEE, Cherokee chief..... | 833 | safety granted..... | 740 |
| TOMAHITAN INDIANS, mention of..... | 745 | trail used by..... | 778 |
| TOMBIGBEE RIVER, trail crossing..... | 823, 824 | TRADING PLACE, on the Tennessee..... | 751 |
| TOME TUSKUMUGGEE, at Coweta..... | 309 | TRAILS— | |
| TOMECHAW— | | antiquity of..... | 740-741 |
| Kasihta "war king"..... | 34 | as dividing lines..... | 758 |
| name interpreted..... | 34 | choice of, by Indians..... | 743 |
| TOMERUCIHI, "dog king" of the Hitchiti..... | 34 | list of..... | 746-748 |
| TOMMARTELE MICCO, chief of Upper | | made by animals..... | 741, 788 |
| Creeks..... | 315-316 | names of..... | 744 |
| TOMOCHICHI— | | of Tennessee, map of..... | 730 |
| a descendant of the Apalachicola..... | 38 | paper on..... | 17 |
| chief of the Yamacraw..... | 38 | size of..... | 743 |
| in England..... | 38, 397 | use of, by Spaniards..... | 828-829 |
| TONSILITIS, remedy used for..... | 660 | use of, by war parties..... | 757 |
| TONTY, an authority on the Caddo..... | 680 | TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS, belief in..... | 710 |
| TOOTBACHE, remedies used for... 660, 663, 664, 666 | | TRAVEL— | |
| TORTURE, of prisoners..... | 189, 416-418 | among Indians..... | 735 |
| TOTEM— | | by water..... | 741-745 |
| distinct from town emblem..... | 243 | customs of..... | 447-452 |
| represented on cabin..... | 182, 235 | TREE BURIALS— | |
| <i>See</i> CLAN ANIMALS; TOTEM ANIMALS. | | of Mikasuki..... | 396 |
| TOTEM ANIMALS— | | <i>See</i> SCAFFOLD BURIALS. | |
| descent from..... | 110, 168 | TREE-FROG DANCE— | |
| etiquette extended to..... | 168 | described..... | 531 |
| tahoo against killing..... | 168, 169 | mentioned..... | 524 |
| TOTEMISM..... | 695-696 | TRIBE, rights of, in case of murder..... | 343 |
| TOWN— | | TRIBES. <i>See</i> TÁLWA; TOWNS. | |
| arrangement of..... | 171-173 | TRIOSTEUM PERFORIATUM— | |
| evolution of..... | 170-171 | fruit of, used as a charm..... | 502 |
| unit composing..... | 170 | used medicinally..... | 667 |
| use of the word..... | 242 | TRIPLETS, supernatural power of..... | 615 |
| TOWN COUNCIL, functions of..... | 306 | TUBERCULOSIS— | |
| TOWN CREEK, ALA., collection from mounds | | remedy used for..... | 659 |
| near..... | 18 | <i>See</i> CONSUMPTION. | |

	Page		Page
TUCKABATCHES' TOWN—		TUKPAFKA—Continued.	
brass plates preserved in.....	501	plan of ceremonial ground of.....	214, 231
<i>See</i> TUKABACHEE.		position of beds at.....	198,
TUCKALEECHIE AND SOUTHEASTERN TRAIL.	750, 772	TULA, custom of.....	702
TUCKASEGEE, origin of the name.....	773	TULE INDIANS—	
TUCKER, MISS MAE W., appointment of.....	19	brought to Washington.....	10
TUG RIVER—		language of.....	10
route down north fork of.....	770	manuscripts on music of.....	15
trail from, to the Guyandot.....	771	study of music of.....	15-16
TUGGLE COLLECTION, myths from..	111-112, 508-509	TULLAHOMA, TENN., meaning of the name..	850
TUKABACHEE—		TULLENTUSKEE, CHIEF, land sold by.....	841
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	TULSA—	
arrangement of square ground of.....	217-218, 244, 245, 246	busk name of.....	614
assistant chiefs of, of one clan.....	285	clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās..	194
belief of, concerning busk.....	546	length of busk at.....	590
busk ceremonial of.....	605-606	mention of.....	39, 63
ceremonial title of.....	307	migration legend of.....	52-53
clan councils of.....	124	mythical origin of the name.....	70, 72-73
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās..	192, 194	TULSA CANAGIAN—	
clans, phratrries and moieties of.....	159-160	a White town.....	254
enclosure at, for sacred vessels.....	186	arrangement of square ground of.....	209, 215
esoteric title of.....	250	clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās..	192
first busk fire built in.....	547	position of beds at.....	198
friendship of, with Coweta.....	65-69	TULSA LITTLE RIVER—	
Green Corn dance of.....	506	allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
head war town of Upper Creeks.....	307	arrangement of square ground of... 208-209, 213	
hothouse of, described.....	179-180	clan councils of.....	123
marriage customs of.....	373-374	clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās..	192
mention of square of.....	504	clans, phratrries and moieties of.....	158-159
names applied to.....	64	plan of ceremonial ground of.....	214
one of four leading towns.....	548	position of beds at.....	198
organization of.....	283-284	Upper Creek White town.....	123, 254
origin myths of.....	64, 65-66	TUNICA—	
place of general assembly.....	311	customs of.....	700
place of rotunda at.....	181	head flattening of.....	686
plan of ceremonial ground of... 218-219, 247, 248		reference to pottery of.....	690
position of beds at.....	198	TUNICAN CULTURE AREA, features of.....	716-717
position of, in confederacy.....	327, 328	TUNICAN GROUP—	
square of, described.....	185	linguistic relations of.....	678
stomp dances of.....	557-558	tattooing practiced by.....	686
story concerning sacred plates of.....	307	TURBANS, use of.....	525
story regarding.....	69	TURKEY CLAN—	
town emblem of.....	243	associations of.....	145,
union of, with Coweta.....	68	native names for.....	115
Upper Creek Red town.....	124, 255	story concerning.....	108
use of black drink at.....	541	TURKEY DANCE, performance of.....	577, 603, 610
<i>See</i> TUCKABATCHES' TOWN; TUKET-BATCHET.		TURKEYS, domestication of.....	694
TUKABACHEE MIKO—		TURNHIKES, following Indian trails.....	744
belief of, concerning the earth.....	477	TURTLE CLAN—	
medicine maker of Upper Creeks.....	330	affiliations of.....	121
information from.....	479, 480	mentioned by Adair.....	119
knowledge possessed by.....	66	native names for.....	116
TUKABACHEE PLATES, origin of.....	66	TURTLE DISEASE, symptoms and treatment.....	646-647
TUKET-BATCHET—		TURTLE DOVE, a Cherokee clan.....	118
Creek assemblies held at.....	46	TUSCALUCA, punishment in, for adultery....	347
received by the Creeks.....	46	TUSCARORA—	
<i>See</i> TUKABACHEE.		as traders.....	723
TUKABACHEE MIKKO, brass plates exhibited by.....	506	position of.....	118
TUKPAFKA—		related to Cherokee.....	712
a White town.....	254	removal northward.....	765
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	researches among.....	11
arrangement of square ground of... 213-214, 230		TUSKEGEE—	
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihās..	192	allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
clans, phratrries and moieties of.....	158-159	arrangement of square ground of... 216, 241, 242	
		burial customs of.....	394
		celebration of busk at.....	585

TUSKEGEE—Continued.		VIRGINIA INDIANS—Continued.	
clan councils of.....	Page 124	customs of.....	Page 682, 691, 692, 693, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 703, 704, 706, 707, 708
clans of, furnishing chiefs and benches.....	192, 194	dwelling of.....	688
clans, phratries and moieties of.....	158-159	tattooing among.....	686
customs of.....	359	See POWDATAN INDIANS.	
facial painting in.....	246, 297	VISIONS, belief in.....	515
location of.....	46	VISITING, intertribal.....	735
medicines taken at.....	608	VISITORS—	
position of beds at.....	198	ceremonial reception to.....	575-576
Upper Creek White town.....	124, 254	treatment of.....	703
war bundle of.....	425	VISITORS' DAY, observance of.....	554
See TASQUIGUY.		WABASH RIVER—	
TUSSEKIAN MICCO, narrative obtained		mention of.....	44
from.....	49-51	trail to settlements on.....	805
TUS-TUN-NUC, warrior of the nation.....	328	WADKIN'S FERRY ON POTOMAC, trail	
TUTELO-SAURA PATH.....	765	through.....	760, 761
TUTELO VILLAGE, trail at.....	761	WAGERS, laid on games.....	707
TUWECHE, Oconee "king".....	34	WAKOKAI, a White town.....	254
TWINS—		WAKAKALGI, a Creek clan.....	116, 119
beliefs concerning.....	361	WALAM OLUM, reference to.....	34
supernatural power of.....	615	WALI—	
UCHEAN STOCK, linguistic relations of.....	678	Apalachicola war captain.....	34
UCITA, mention of mound at.....	175	name interpreted.....	34
UDGI—		WALKER, DR. THOMAS, cited.....	741
given refuge by the Creeks.....	46	WALKER, JOHN, second chief of Alabama.....	193
See YUCHI.		WALKER, MRS. MARY P., banner stones	
ULCERS, treatment of.....	661, 670	found on farm of.....	776
ULIBAHALI, a stockaded town.....	438	WALKER CREEK, travel on.....	753
See LIWAHALI.		WALTON, CAPTAIN, road built by.....	835, 836
ULMUS, medicinal use of.....	660	WALTON, WILLIAM, mention of.....	836
ULMUS FULVA, medicinal use of.....	665	WALTON, W. B., information furnished by.....	836
UNCLE—		WALTON ROAD—	
application of the term.....	81, 92	route of.....	835-836
maternal, children corrected by.....	365	traffic over.....	836-837
use of the term by clans.....	145	WAMPUM—	
UNICOI TURNPIKE.....	772	introduction of.....	685
UNITED STATES FLAG, Indian name for.....	576	manufacture of.....	721-722
UPRAPEE CREEK, mention of.....	39	use and abuse of.....	724
UPOIMICO, Little Tallessee chief.....	322	WA-NON-SHE-ZHIN-GA, information furnished	
UPPER BLUE LICKS, location of.....	787	by.....	14
UPPER BLUE LICKS PRONG, of Warriors'		WAR—	
Path.....	786-788	as means of social advancement.....	366, 405, 406, 424
UPPER CREEKS—		causes of.....	405, 407
location of.....	315	civil, prevented by chiefs.....	321
origin of the name.....	307	customs connected with.....	405-443
UPPER EUFAULA. See EUFAULA, UPPER.		discipline during.....	433
UPPER SANDUSKY, trail to.....	786	equipment for.....	429
UPPER TOWNS, territory covered by.....	333	exploits of, recorded on grave posts.....	396
URN BURIAL, in Alabama.....	702	making of, by independent towns.....	321
UTINA TRIBE, mention of.....	324	methods of waging.....	406-415
UUPON TEA. See BLACK DRINK.		motives for waging.....	405, 406, 424, 426, 704
VACCINIUM, species of, used medicinally.....	664	order observed in.....	43
VANCEBURG, KY., trail to.....	780	place of, in busk ceremony.....	549
VENEREAL DISEASES, among the Creeks.....	636	preparation for.....	407-408
VERBASCUM THAPSUS, medicinal use of.....	660	prisoners of, the property of captor.....	343
VERDIGRIS RIVER, Lower towns on.....	333	qualifications for leaders in.....	436
VERMIFUGE, plants used as.....	657, 668	rank of officers in.....	436-437
VERNONIA, medicinal use of.....	658	spoils of, property of captor.....	338
VESSELS, SACRED, place of deposit of.....	186	torture of prisoners of.....	416-418
VICKSBURG, MISS., trail to.....	822	use of the term.....	405
VILLAGES—		victims of, dismembered.....	415
abandonment of.....	332	See MILITARY EXPEDITIONS.	
See TOWNS.		WAR BUNDLE. See ARK.	
VIRGINIA, trail through.....	761-763	WAR CHIEFS—	
VIRGINIA INDIANS—		head, mission of.....	298
authorities on.....	680	of the Creek towns.....	40
canoes of.....	689		

	Page		Page
WAR CHIEFS—Continued.		WASHINGTON, GEORGE—	
power of.....	327	cited.....	753, 754
war declared by.....	428	visits of, to the Ohio.....	757
WAR CLANS, application of the term.....	165	WATER, medicinal.....	669
WAR CLUBS.....	704	WATER BEAR, belief in.....	495
described.....	406	WATER BISON, belief in.....	495
notched sticks referring to.....	186	WATER CALF, belief in.....	495
symbolism of.....	430-431	WATER CREATURES—	
WAR COLOR.....	37	beliefs concerning.....	494-495
WAR DANCE—		story concerning.....	490-491
mention of.....	524, 529	WATER LILY, medicinal use of.....	669
performance of.....	557, 570, 572-573, 610	WATER MOCCASIN CLAN, native names for.....	115
WAR MEDICINE—		WATER PERSON, belief in.....	495
of the Cussitaws.....	36	WATER ROUTES, paralleling trails.....	744
taken at busk ceremonial.....	584	WATER TIGER, belief in.....	495
taken by warriors.....	431, 432	WATEREE, mention of.....	696
virtues of.....	432-433	WATERLOO, ALA., trail crossing near.....	851
WAR NAMES—		WATTOOLA-HAWKA-HUTCHE, name for	
bestowal of, at busk.....	570-571	Whooping Creek.....	39
granting of.....	366-367	WAVERLY, Miss., road to.....	826
lists of.....	103-107	WAXHAW—	
WAR OFFICIALS—		custom of.....	703
functions of.....	297	head flattening of.....	687
three classes of.....	297	WEALTH OF THE CREEKS.....	333
WAR PAINT.....	436	WEAPONS.....	704
WAR PARTY—		carried by warrior.....	406
assembling of.....	704	WEATHER—	
equipment of.....	427	control of.....	629-631
in action, description of.....	414	<i>See</i> RAIN MAKING.	
number comprising.....	412	WEEDEN ISLAND, remains from.....	19
organization of.....	410-411, 428, 431	WEEVIL (?) CLAN, native name for.....	116
precautions taken by.....	413-414	WESLEY, JOHN, mention of.....	482
responsibility of leader of.....	416	WESLEY, JOHN (Choctaw Indian), story	
return of.....	415-416, 419, 421	told by.....	493
WAR PHYSIC—		WEST, the land of spirits.....	512-513, 514
a charm against ills.....	429	WEST TENNESSEE, trails of.....	852-854
buttonsnake root used as.....	656	WEST TENNESSEE CHICKASAW TRAIL... 811, 815-816	
WAR PIPES, description of.....	435	WEST VIRGINIA, southern, trails of.....	765-771
WAR POLE, description of.....	383	WEST'S MILL, N. C., trail to.....	773
WAR SONGS—		WETUMKA, OKLA., mention of.....	492
sung by dying captive.....	418	WETUMPKA CREEK, an affluent of Big Uchee..	39
sung by women.....	424	WETUMPEA RIVER. <i>See</i> OWATAMKA RIVER.	
WAR SPEAKER, office of.....	296	WHIPPING—	
WAR TITLE, bestowal of.....	420	as punishment.....	350,
WAR TRACE CREEK, trail along.....	834	351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 697	
WARFARE—		of children.....	364
conclusion of.....	441-443	WHITE, the peace color.....	37, 253
methods of.....	705	WHITE, JAMES, salt spring purchased by.....	783
sham, at busk ceremony.....	570, 572	WHITE CLANS—	
WARRIORS—		a Creek moiety.....	157
crowning of.....	419-420	origin of.....	113
dress of, when crowned.....	420	relation of, to White towns.....	194-197, 249
headdress of.....	406	"WHITE DAY"—	
second class of.....	301	meaning of.....	548
weapons carried by.....	406	received from Ibofanga.....	547
WARRIORS' BED—		term used in medical formulæ.....	626
one of four beds.....	191	WHITE KING—	
position of, in various towns.....	197-200	feast in honor of.....	535
WARRIORS' PATH, common use of the name... 780		Hohwahaji chief.....	322
WARRIORS' PATH IN KENTUCKY..... 779-788		WHITE LIEUTENANT, an influential chief... 323	
connection of, with history of the State... 781		WHITE MOIETY, clans composing.....	111, 113
maps showing route of.....	780-781	WHITE OAK MOUNTAIN, trail over.....	767
route followed by.....	797, 798, 781	WHITE SEAT, use of, in peace making.....	442, 443
WARRIORS' SOCIETY OF THE YUCL, reference		WHITE SMOKE—	
to.....	156	meaning of.....	548
WARTRACE, TENN., trail to.....	850	term used in medical formulæ.....	626

WHITE TOWNS—	Page	WIOGUFKI—Continued.	Page
alien towns taken in by.....	206	clans, phratries and moieties of.....	158-159
as place of refuge.....	252-253	plan of ceremonial ground of.....	229
clans, phratries, and moieties of.....	158-159, 160	position of beds at.....	198
devoted to maintenance of peace.....	249	Upper Creek White town.....	124, 254
list of.....	254	WIOKEE KING, Wiwohka chief.....	322
of the Lower Creeks.....	125-126	WITCHCRAFT—	
of the Seminole.....	126	belief in.....	345-346, 631-636
of the Upper Creeks.....	123-124	punishment for.....	631, 632, 633-634, 635
protection of.....	344	remedy for victim of.....	667
relation of, to White clans.....	194-197, 249	symptoms of.....	653-654
WHITES, class of, found among Creeks.....	326	WITCHES, power of.....	632, 633
WHITTAKER, JACK, information obtained from.....	834	WIWOHKA—	
WHITTAKER, JEFF, information obtained from.....	834	allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
WHOOPIING, as means of communication.....	446	arrangement of square ground of.....	215-216, 239, 240
WHOOPIING COUGH—		clan councils of.....	124
fatal to Creek children.....	636	clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihah.....	192, 194
treatment of.....	667	clans, phratries, and moieties of.....	158-159
WHOOPIING CREEK—		origin of the town.....	357
an affluent of Big Uchee.....	39	position of beds at.....	198
mention of.....	37	Upper Creek White town.....	124, 254
WHOTAUINI—		WIZARD—	
Chihaha war chief.....	34	curing of.....	635
name interpreted.....	34	power of.....	632, 633
WIDOWERS, customs concerning.....	378-384	WOCKUCOY KING, Wakokai chief.....	322
WIDOWS—		WORSI CLAN, story concerning.....	109
care of.....	382	WORSI MIRO—	
customs concerning.....	337, 372, 378-384	information from.....	544
law concerning.....	334	myth related by.....	70
strangled and buried.....	384	WOLF—	
WIFE—		belief concerning.....	490
application of the term.....	82	taboo against killing.....	490
term used for.....	92, 93, 451	WOLF CLAN—	
WILDCAT CLAN, native names for.....	116	native names for.....	115
WILDCAT DISEASE, mention of.....	644	of the Cherokee.....	118
WILDERNESS ROAD.....	793-800	origin of.....	113
laid out by Boone.....	782	story concerning.....	110
old road called.....	803	WOLF DANCE—	
WILDERNESS TRAIL, distinct from Wilderness Road.....	793	described.....	556
WILDING, ANTHONY W., work of.....	19	mention of.....	534
WILEY, THOMAS, raid on home of.....	771	WOLF DISEASE, symptoms and treatment....	642
WILKINSON, GENERAL, mention of.....	813	WOLF HILLS, now Abingdon.....	759
WILLOW—		WOLVES, RIVER OF THE, name for the Neshoba.....	46
medicinal use of.....	659	WOMEN—	
red, medicinal use of.....	655, 668	activities of.....	700
WINCHESTER, VA., trail through.....	761	as chiefs.....	696, 700
WIND—		attitude of men toward.....	386
Creek conception of.....	487	husk names of.....	614
sickness caused by.....	651	cabin allowed to.....	191
WIND CLAN—		dances exclusively for.....	528
associations of.....	145, 155	dress of.....	682-683
native names for.....	115	duty of, at general assembly.....	312
of the Natchez.....	115	employed as doctors.....	614
privileges of.....	169-170	facial painting of.....	686
story concerning.....	110, 111, 112	feather garments of.....	682
WINFIELD, TENN., trail at.....	843	game played by.....	468
WINFIELD, W. VA., remains below.....	755	hair dressing of.....	684
WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., trail near.....	777	labor of.....	384-388, 691
WINTER COUNCIL HOUSE. See TCOKOFA.		old, employed as midwives.....	615
WIOGUFKI—		owners of houses.....	179, 170, 171
allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204	part taken by, in ceremony.....	422
arrangement of square ground of.....	213, 227, 228	place for, at Luteapoga.....	210
clan councils of.....	124	place of, at ceremonials.....	197
clans of, furnishing chiefs and henihah.....	192, 194	place of, in square ground.....	188
		property of.....	337

	Page		Page
WOMEN—Continued.		YAMASEE—	
regulations imposed upon.....	358-362	destroyed or scattered.....	324
reward of, for bravery.....	421	of Muskogean stock.....	678
separated from men.....	384-385	sabia obtained from.....	499
sterile, attitude toward.....	361	traditional destruction of.....	61
terms of relationship used by.....	83	YANASÁLGI, affiliations of.....	122
torture of prisoners by.....	417	YANONALIT, chief of Burton Mound village..	8
<i>See</i> WIDOWS.		YARROW, medicinal use of.....	663
WOMEN'S DANCE—		YATIKA. <i>See</i> INTERPRETER.	
at Eufaula husk.....	581	YAZAU COUNTRY, Muskogee established in....	44
described.....	571, 671	YAZAU RIVER, settlement of Chickasaw on..	46
discussion of.....	609	<i>See</i> YAZOO RIVER.	
mention of.....	578	YAZOO, dwellings of.....	687, 688
performance of.....	560-561, 574, 604	YAZOO COUNTRY. <i>See</i> YAZAU COUNTRY.	
preparations for.....	559-560	YAZOO RIVER, Muskogean stock on.....	678
songs accompanying.....	597-598	<i>See</i> YAZAU RIVER.	
WOOD, MAJOR GENERAL, expedition sent		YEAR, divisions of.....	400-403, 551
out by.....	761	YOPON. <i>See</i> CASSINE; BLACK DRINK.	
WOOD, utensils of.....	689	YORK, PA., trail near.....	760
WOODBINE, medicinal use of.....	662	YOUNG LIEUTENANT, Coweta chief.....	322
WOODPECKER, RED-HEADED—		YOUNGER BROTHER. <i>See</i> BROTHER, YOUNG-	
a prophetic bird.....	496	ER.	
used as a charm.....	502	YOUNGS CANYON, collection from.....	19
WOOD-TICK DANCE. <i>See</i> TICK DANCE.		YOUTHS' BED, position of, in various towns.	197-200
WOODWARD, THOS. S., information from....	262	YUCHI—	
WORLD, beliefs concerning end of.....	78	allocation of clans in beds at.....	201-204
WORMS, disease common to Creek children..	636	arrangement of square ground of... 227-228, 273	
WORMSEED, medicinal use of.....	608, 657, 668	clan councils of.....	126
WOUNDS—		clans of, furnishing chiefs and benihas....	193
instruction in treatment of.....	617	clans, phratries and moieties of.....	160
treatment of.....	625-626	cultural distinctions of.....	712
WRIGHT, GEORGE J., acknowledgment to....	14	customs of, adopted at Tuskegee.....	585
WUPATEI NATIONAL MONUMENT, ruins in-		descent among.....	695
cluded in.....	4	given refuge by the Creeks.....	46
WYANDOT OLD TOWN, trail passing.....	757	Lower Creek White town.....	126, 254
WYNDALE, VA., trail near.....	759	position of beds at.....	198
YADEIN RIVER—		property claims of.....	337-338
Keyauwee Indians on.....	683	relation to Creeks.....	33
trail along.....	777	religious beliefs of.....	709
trail from, to Boonesborough.....	801-802	war with.....	57
YAHOLA—		ZAMIA INTEGRIFOLIA, meal made of.....	692
a male deity.....	485	ZANTHOXYLUM AMERICANUM, medicinal use	
appealed to in sickness.....	485	of.....	663
cry of.....	485, 537, 544	ZAVALA COUNTY, TEX., road through.....	833
YAHOLA, NAPOLEON, myth known to.....	65	ZIONVILLE, N. C., trail passing.....	772
YAKINHA MIKO, successor to Moty Ken-		ZIVELY, MAJ. V. N., report of, on Camino	
nard.....	330	Real.....	830
YAMACRAW—			
burial by, in England.....	397		
settlement of, on site of Savannah.....	38		

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