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Author

O'Brien, Greg

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Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier. By Andrew K. Frank. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005. 216 pages. \$49.95 cloth.

One of the most perplexing and important groups of people in Southern and Indian history were the families produced by the intermarriages of Euro-American men and American Indian women in the decades before Removal in the 1830s. Alternately embraced and shunned by their Indian and American neighbors, these Indian countrymen and their offspring played key roles in fostering intercultural relations. Scholars have tended to treat such mixed-heritage populations in one of two rather superficial ways. Historians of American history have usually overemphasized the culture-changing power of this unique population by focusing on the minority of them who interjected market values, Christianity, and other “civilizing” influences into Indian society. A newer group of ethnohistorians (including this reviewer) are more inclined to focus on Euro-American men who chose to live the remainder of their lives as Indian because their children were automatically part of their mother’s family under matrilineal social rules. There are examples to justify both interpretations, but neither is entirely satisfactory as an analysis of who these people were and what motivated them to act in the variety of ways that they did. Scholars such as Margaret Szasz, James Merrell, and Theda Perdue have started to take in-depth looks at mixed-heritage people and their legacies in early American history. There is still a need, however, for more academic studies of this unique population that take the diversity and nuance that characterized the reality of life for Indian countrymen and their families seriously. Andrew Frank, a historian at Florida Atlantic University, has taken us far along the road to understanding who these people were and what their world was like.

Frank’s study examines the intermarriage of Euro-American men, primarily British fur traders, with Creek Indian women and their progeny in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Frank prefers the term *bicultural* to describe the children of dual parentage, but his book is refreshingly free of jargon. What is immediately striking is the extent to which bicultural interaction occurred. Frank tells us that “countless” (at one point he cites figures of at least seven hundred) Euro-American men had Creek mates and that these “families usually lived within Creek villages, followed Creek customs, and rarely adhered to European American or Christian norms.” Moreover, “at least two dozen European American women had Creek husbands,” though Frank tells us little about them because the sources are apparently insufficient (27). Similarly, Frank does not analyze the offspring of Creeks and African Americans. The Euro-Americans who came to Creek villages did so to escape economic and social problems, to trade for furs, or, in rare cases, arrived as war captives. Frank takes the reader through fascinating descriptions of the ways that dress and physical appearance shaped the identity of bicultural individuals and the variety of ways that bicultural children were raised either by their Native mother’s family, the schools of their father’s world, or both. Gaining knowledge of both worlds enabled a minority of bicultural persons to parlay their unique language and cultural skills into positions of prominence

in both Creek and American societies as interpreters and business entrepreneurs. Frank provides case studies of several of these individuals, many of whom are well known in Creek studies, such as Coosaponakeesa (Mary Musgrove), Alexander McGillivray, Tustunnuggee Hutke (William McIntosh Jr.), and Lamochatee (William Weatherford).

Frank provides a wonderful chapter-length analysis of William McIntosh Jr. in order to expose and complicate the way that political authority worked among the Creeks and Americans in the early-nineteenth-century lower South. McIntosh was the son of a trader father and Creek mother who used political and commercial connections with US officials to build up political capital among the Creeks. Because he was undoubtedly Creek through his mother's family and he lived in Creek country among his Creek relatives, he needed to perform certain Creek-defined actions to gain political authority among them: namely, prowess as a war leader and generosity to his family and fellow villagers. McIntosh accomplished these feats by supporting US military actions against the Red Stick Creeks during the War of 1812 and against other Indian groups, and by assisting US Indian agents Benjamin Hawkins and David Mitchell (McIntosh's brother-in-law) who in turn funneled gifts through him to dole out to other Creeks. Thus, "McIntosh lived within two worlds simultaneously" (101). For decades this brought McIntosh unparalleled yet precarious status as a representative of both Creek and American perspectives and goals. However, when McIntosh signed the fraudulent second Treaty of Indian Springs in 1825 in an attempt to regain access to material goods after Mitchell had left his Creek post, other Creeks enforced the Creek National Council's decision to kill any Creek who sold Creek lands and they executed McIntosh. McIntosh had been a staunch supporter of that law when it was proposed, but he paid the price for relying too heavily on Americans to provide the means by which he could assert authority among the Creeks. Even though the "dual identity" employed by persons such as McIntosh could bring benefits, it came full of anxieties and the need for constant careful maintenance if it was to succeed in the long term.

Frank makes frequent and perceptive references to the ways that the Creeks and Euro-Americans constructed differences along cultural rather than racial lines, easing the incorporation of non-Creeks into Creek society. By the Red Stick rebellion in 1813, such thinking among both Creeks and Americans had shifted to emphasize the immutability of racial differences. Frank shows that this hardening of racial boundaries made the lives of bicultural Creeks more precarious as they increasingly had to choose one of their biological ancestries to embrace. Pressures for Indian Removal increased this pressure still further to the point that "biculturalism no longer fostered dual identities" (127). Frank suggests that bicultural Creeks who chose to migrate with their brethren to the West also chose to adopt their Indian identity and downplay their Euro-American ancestry, but he does not follow this story into the post-Removal era or to Indian territory to see if that interpretation held true over time. Frank similarly indicates that the numerous bicultural Creeks who remained in the South and became "white" hid their Indian background, only to see it resurface in modern times, as southerners with deep roots in the region nearly universally

claim some sort of Indian ancestor. Frank has given us an intimate portrait of an important population at a critical moment in Creek and Southeastern Indian history. His work makes an important contribution to the burgeoning field of Southeastern Indian history that should be read by students of ethnohistory, Southern history, and early American history.

Greg O'Brien

University of Southern Mississippi

Feast of Souls: Indians and Spaniards in the Seventeenth-Century Missions of Florida and New Mexico. By Robert C. Galgano. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2005. 248 pages. \$32.50 cloth.

Among the oldest publications dealing with Native Americans are books and articles that focus on Catholic missions in the New World. As evidenced by *Feast of Souls* and the appearance of recent studies such as *Missions and the Frontiers of Spanish America* (2005) by Robert H. Jackson, the lure to study missions remains strong. Manned by individuals who were literate and convinced that good deeds needed publicity, Christian missionaries left a paper trail that entices, delights, and provokes scholars centuries later. Nevertheless, scholarship concerning missions follows fashions popular in academe. No longer are the missions and missionaries the center of attention. Instead, it is the newly converted Christians who garner the lion's share of ink.

Robert C. Galgano, adjunct professor of history at the University of Richmond, has turned his 2003 dissertation at the College of William and Mary into a serious and thought-provoking look at seventeenth-century missions in Florida and New Mexico. These two areas are linked by the modern mind because eventually both became part of the United States. These missions are also connected historically through the labor of the Order of Friars Minor, the Franciscans, who staffed both endeavors. Many other factors encourage comparative studies of the two areas. Spanish military *entradas* preceded the missions and subdued indigenous resistance to the new neighbors and residents. Moreover, the crown had few economic incentives to encourage its subjects to control these areas, leaving religious motives as the principal inspiration behind occupying such marginal and distant lands.

Galgano finds many other suggestive topics to pursue. The religious outsiders did not arrive alone nor were they isolated from a greater European world. Fellow Spaniards, usually soldiers and officials of the crown, took up residency nearby or in the same locations. These other Europeans often worked with missionaries, but just as often toiled in opposition. European society rarely worked in perfect harmony and the conflicts between the ecclesiastical and civilian worlds of Spain greatly affected indigenous Florida and New Mexico. Because this discord among Europeans was usually caused by disputes over how to use Native labor, it presented Native villages and leaders with an opportunity to exploit such cleavages for their own benefit. Galgano is at his best when demonstrating that shrewd politicians could be found in any mission group.