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A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy: The Autobiography of Chief G. W. Grayson. Edited by W. David Baird. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. 181 pages. \$16.95 Cloth.

A Creek Warrior for the Confederacy is much more than the title suggests. The autobiography of George Washington Grayson, this memoir of an elite mixed-blood Creek tells an important part of the story of the Creek Nation from its removal to Indian Territory to the appointment of the Dawes Commission. While Grayson's wartime experiences form the heart of the book, there is much more to savor and enjoy. My only complaint is that it is too short. Grayson passed over too much.

Grayson was born in a cabin near the Canadian River in 1843. His mother a Coweta and his father a Hillabee, both of whom descended from Creek women and Scottish trader fathers, Grayson grew up near North Fork Town and Eufaula in a strongly bicultural family. As a child he attended a day school in North Fork Town, living in a cabin with his sisters under the care of one of his grandmother's slaves, and then the Asbury Manual Labor School, a Methodist boarding school located a few miles north of North Fork Town. In 1859 Grayson was chosen to receive one of the two college scholarships offered annually by the Creek Nation for young men of special promise. For the next two years he attended Arkansas College at Fayetteville. Though apparently a good student, Grayson enjoyed neither schooling or long absences from home. Because of his father's ill health, he dropped out after his second year to clerk in a store at North Fork Town and help support the family. It was at this time that he got caught up in the U.S. Civil War.

Preoccupied by the needs of his family (his father died shortly after Grayson returned from college) he delayed enlisting until "occasional innuendos derogatory to my personal courage . . . determined me to enter the field and show my critics . . . the stuff I was made of." (59) Joining his home town unit, Company K of the Second Creek Regiment, Grayson's "superior education and fitness and ability" soon won him promotion from private to captain. Though not yet 21, Grayson ("a mere boy") served as captain of his company until the end of the war.

We still do not know all the reasons why some Creeks became Confederates and others Yankees. Clearly, part of the explanation lies in the factionalism that emerged in the early 19th century

during the removal crisis and coalesced around William McIntosh and Opothle Yaholo, but there remains the haunting suspicion that there was more to the Creek civil conflict of 1861 than that. Unfortunately, Grayson is no help on the question. He does not discuss his reasons for being a Confederate. A superficial explanation can be constructed, however. Grayson's mother was a kinswoman of Moty Kennard, Principal Chief of the Lower Creeks and a signer of the treaty with the Confederacy. Moreover, a Kennard signed William McIntosh's 1825 Treaty of Indian Springs that crystalized the factional conflict over removal. The Kennards thus appear to have been firm members of the McIntosh faction. Two McIntoshes, Chilly and Daniel N., signed the 1861 treaty along with Moty Kennard and both became Colonels in the Confederate Army—Daniel N. took command of the First Creek Regiment, Chilly the Second, which Grayson joined. Also, the McIntoshes and Grayson were Cowetas. This pattern, coupled to the fact that the Kennard family owned slaves, makes Grayson's decision to become a Confederate seem to fit the traditional interpretation. It is also consistent with what we know about the ways factionalism worked within the matrilineal structure of Creek society and the town based focus of Creek politics.

Students of the military history of the Civil War in Indian Territory will find Grayson's accounts of his activities interesting, even if they learn little that is new. They may be surprised by his description of a battle fought in September 1864 against a force of Union Kansans which included a detachment of the First Kansas Colored Infantry. The Yankees were guarding a hay camp and when the Confederates opened fire with grapeshot, the defenders scattered into the weeds. It then became a matter of "hunting them out much as sportsmen do quails." If Grayson's men flushed out a white soldier they captured him, but the blacks they "shot down without mercy. . . . Where I was no negro was captured." Though sickened by the slaughter, Grayson says he "was powerless to stop . . . this unnecessary butchery." (96) But Grayson's main preoccupation during the war was with the safety of his mother and siblings, their survival as refugees and their problems in finding food and shelter. Here we see the other side of the Civil War where noncombatants were uprooted and their well-being a constant worry for their relatives in uniform. Though not wounded in battle, Grayson nearly lost his life to smallpox. This is the only account I know of by an Indian stricken

by this notorious killer of Native people, and it is a sickeningly vivid description. Teachers looking for a graphic paragraph to read to their students on the ravages of smallpox need look no further than page 113.

In his final three chapters Grayson tells of the post war decades of recovery and self-government. Still a young man in 1864, this is the period when Grayson married Georgeanna Stidham, began a family, and established himself as a successful Eufaula merchant. This was also the period of his involvement in the political affairs of the Creek Nation. Despite the Union victory, "the intelligence and the little wealth that remained . . . was in the Southern Creeks, and this intelligence could not brook the idea of being dominated and governed by the ignorance of the northern Indians supplemented by that of their late negro slaves." (124) Thus does Grayson summarize the post-war politics of the Creek Nation—what scholars have called a conflict between "Progressives" and "Traditionals," "Mixed-Bloods" and "Full-Bloods." His active participation included service as clerk of the National Council, National Treasurer, member of the House of Warriors, Creek delegate to various international Indian councils, and on at least seventeen occasions he traveled to Washington on official business for the National Council. Always the reluctant candidate, Grayson looked upon all this public service as the price he must pay for the "extra school advantages" accorded him before the war. "The Chiefs and headmen of the nation seemed to feel as if they had some sort of right to my services." (126)

Grayson says that "most of my work has been that of begging Congress not to violate the terms of its treaties and agreements with our poeple and pass a territorial form of government over them." (162) On one occasion, however, he was instructed to appeal to the Interior Department to intervene on the side of the constitutional government and settle the contested election of 1883. Grayson followed his instructions, but reluctantly, believing that it made the Creeks look incompetent and "might in the future be taken advantage of as a precedent that gave license for the United States to interfere in other of our national questions and render decisions whether agreeable or not, thus in effect abrogating our cherished right self-government." (162)

Grayson must have seen the creation of the Dawes Commission in 1893 as the fulfillment of his fears. "Here was a proposal which paralyzed the Indians for a time with its bold effrontery."

(163) Congress now demanded "that we must give up all ideas of local government, change our system of land holding to that which we confidently believed had pauperized thousands of white people." And why? Not because of anything the Creeks had done, "but simply because . . . the ruthless and restless white people demanded it. . . . Because white men hoped and expected to obtain for a song, lands from ignorant Indians as others had done in other older states." (164)

Although Grayson remained active in Creek affairs, serving as a delegate to the 1905 Sequoyah Convention, and was the appointed Principal Chief from 1917 to his death in 1920, the above remarks on allotment and the Dawes Commission are the last lines of his memoir. For him the Creek Nation was dead and he had nothing more to say.

Herein lies the significance of Grayson's story. An embarrassingly light complexioned mixed blood with a college education who became a wealthy capitalist, he was nevertheless a Creek. Though he took sides in the factional conflicts that rocked Creek politics during the late 19th century and could be easily described a "Progressive," Grayson was fundamentally a Creek nationalist.

Since the 1941 publication of Angie Debo's *Road to Disappearance*, little has been written on the late 19th century history of the Creeks. Grayson's memoir is thus more than welcome. An informative, interesting story, scholars and lay readers will be turning to it for years to come. As a valuable primary source, its usefulness has been greatly enhanced by David Baird's superlative editing. This is a book that should find its way onto the shelves of everyone interested in Native American history as well as onto the reading lists of every course on the subject.

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Native American Basketry: An Annotated Bibliography. Compiled by Frank W. Porter III. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc. 1988. 256 pages. \$39.95 Cloth.

The study of Native American basketweaving has tended to be highly specialized, concentrated among a few passionate aficionados and avoided by the rest, who are put off by the unfamiliar