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supported many academic and independent scholars of diverse backgrounds and political orientations. *Contributions to Ojibwe Studies*, which is but a small part of the ongoing effort to historicize, provides a welcome opportunity to read or read anew Hallowell's powerful and lovely essays, and in the process to reflect upon the ever-changing—and ever-political—contexts for the study of the Aboriginal people of North America.

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Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South. By Angela Pulley Hudson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 272 pages. \$65.00 cloth; \$24.95 paper.

Angela Pulley Hudson is at the forefront of an emerging historical focus on networks and communication in early America. As Hudson demonstrates, such studies have much to tell us about sovereignty, power, resistance, and cultural exchange. Hudson's lens centers on the construction of roads through the Creek Nation in an effort to explore relations between the Creeks and their neighbors from the late eighteenth century through the 1830s. Addressing several bodies of scholarship, she exposes the central role that roads through Creek country played in debates over states' rights, imperialism, and Indian Removal.

Native people had been travelers for centuries. As Malinda Maynor Lowery argued recently in *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South* (2010), "geographic movement (rather than attachment to one specific place) and expansive attitudes about adoption and cultural exchange . . . more accurately describe Indian groups historically" (xii). As Hudson points out, the Creek Nation had its roots in a diverse range of ethnic groups that came together to form a new nation during the colonial period. Movement is central to Creek history and plays a major role in their creation story. Hudson's greatest strength in this book is her exploration of indigenous notions of geography and borders. Perhaps because of the great success of William Cronon's *Changes in the Land* (1983), we often conceive of Native and Anglo notions of land as fundamentally different, but Hudson upsets that notion, arguing, "Borders were not a foreign concept, nor were they simply imposed on the Creeks by outside forces" (18). Instead, "Creeks and their Indian neighbors defined territory in several distinct ways—including use rights, rights of way, and discrete types of lands, such as hunting lands and communally cultivated fields" (19). Grounded in their own epistemologies and informed by their experiences with

colonists and their Indian neighbors, Native ideas about land were complicated and dynamic; spirituality, gender, clan, and *talwa* (or town) affiliation also figured into use rights. Hudson also makes the very interesting observation that Creeks may have been “reluctant to delineate their boundaries with neighboring Indian nations because if they agreed to distinct borders, it would facilitate the cession of previously shared or ambiguously defined lands” (49–50). Although Hudson failed to push and underline the significance of this line of inquiry, it is clear that Native land-use thought and practice is far more complex than current historiography suggests.

As early as 1739, the Creek Nation sought to clarify its boundary with the neighboring colony of Georgia. That need took on increased urgency in the aftermath of the American Revolution, as thousands of American settlers, squatters, traders, and thieves poured into Creek country and the adjoining Mississippi Territory. Americans knew that the construction of roads was essential to the growth of their nation, especially in the Deep South, which was then dominated by large and populous Indian nations. Dozens of roads—“official” and illegal—were constructed within southern Indian territories from the 1790s through the 1830s. The most important of these was the Federal Road. Originally conceived of as a mail-carrying route, the Federal Road connected the eastern United States with the all-important port city of New Orleans and passed through the Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw nations. Between 1801 and 1805, the United States made treaties with each of these nations. Although federal officials pitched the potential for Indian entrepreneurs to capitalize on the road traffic, only elites could afford to build taverns and ferries. Others sold produce, served as guides, smuggled goods, or charged tolls at bridges, but few Creeks realized any profit—financially or otherwise—from the roads.

Hudson explains that “the opening of the Federal Road” marked “a serious fracture in Creek national politics” (64). Moving beyond factionalism or blood politics, she asserts that “the situation on the ground was far more complicated than any binary description can convey” (86). Debates over the road, Hudson argues, were a major factor contributing to the Red Stick War. During an 1811 meeting of the Creek National Council at Tuckabatchee (located in the present-day state of Alabama), shortly after Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins urged the expansion of the Federal Road, Tecumseh took the stage, arguing for pan-Indian unity and resistance to American imperialism. Moreover, Creek attacks on travelers in the Ohio country and on the Federal Road precipitated the war, and Red Sticks continued to target livestock, slaves, and travelers on and near the roads. Although Red Sticks sought to regain control over access to their nation, the disastrous Treaty of Jackson that concluded the war in

1814 gave the United States an even greater ability to establish military posts, trading houses, taverns, and roads.

Hudson's book is also notable for its exploration of how Indian dispossession led to the development of the Old South. Emboldened by the defeat of the Red Sticks, Georgians stepped up their demand that the federal government fulfill the Compact of 1802, in which Georgia gave up its claim to what is now Alabama and Mississippi in exchange for a promise that all Indians residing within its borders would be relocated. As Hudson correctly points out, the debates over states' rights originated not with tariffs or slavery but with Indian policy. Pro-Removal advocates argued that Indian dispossession was essential to economic development, national unity, communication, and the resolution of territorial disputes between southern states. Such a frenzy ensued that even professional surveyors who carved up Creek country had to wonder, as Richard A. Blount did, "How or whence did we get a right to extend the charter'd limits of Georgia far to the West over their [the Creeks'] territory?" (155).

As Hudson demonstrates, roads are particularly rich sites to investigate how nations attempted to exercise sovereignty: How was access granted? To whom? By whom? Who controlled resources (for example, timber) along the road? How were those resources regulated? Were goods taxed? Tolls charged? What official and illicit purposes did roads serve? Creeks wrestled with all these issues as they negotiated the development of roads amid the increasing power of the United States during this period. Hudson raises very significant questions here, but needs to make a bolder and more concrete argument about what Creek paths and federal roads tell us about Indian sovereignty and American empire. The final three paragraphs of the book gesture toward this, but more analysis is needed. This book would also benefit from more evidence from that other empire to the south of the Creek Nation, the Spanish. Hudson's discussion of the War of 1812 and the Red Stick War, in particular, suffers from the lack of Spanish and Seminole perspectives and would have benefitted from James Cusick's insights in *The Other War of 1812* (2003). Despite these shortcomings, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads* remains an important contribution to our field, for it elucidates the connections between Southern and Native American history and points the way for other scholars interested in networks, land rights, and sovereignty.

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