

FS248  
AM9  
A615  
1924-1925  
no. 42

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

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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-

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 Itcha obanga or "daylight dance."<sup>84a</sup> 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.<sup>84b</sup>

## 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-kvcekv em vruecicit omvvenken  
and caused broken days to go about among the men.
  4. Tvsekvv, cuku-lice elkv-vhuske emvhunkvtkv hvyomvteket  
and the men, and those interned in the house, so great a number  
left of death
  5. "Upunvkvn okvtetisos" vn kuhmit  
"He meant talk" they thought of me
  6. Tak fettv tate vn cukulahken hecvyofv,  
My dooryard they two have come in when I see
  7. "Muntos komit es vm ahlvptke estvmahet os," maket omes ce.  
So it is, I think, and am greatly satisfied, so he says:
  8. Momen hvyomate?  
And now.
  9. Pun cuku-pericvlke fullvranet omes.  
Our visitors will go about among us.
  10. Momen ometo estomis.  
Even if that shall be.

<sup>84a</sup> See p. 609.<sup>84b</sup> This system has the following peculiarities: v=á (a obscure); r=l (surd l); e=i; l=af; c=tc.

11. Mvnnetvlke afvckety 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 hulwakusat 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 vseket.  
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. Vmvculke sehokof.  
My old people when they two stood.
32. Heyvt em afvckety omvtetis.  
Although this was their amusement.
33. Vntatehkvn es cvhuse ome hakvtet unt omis.  
And although I have about forgotten it.

34. Hvyomat vhuckapkuse tayate.  
Now that which will at least resemble it.
35. Afvckety hayit.  
Amusement I shall make.
36. Hvyomate tak kakin.  
And I too shall sit.
37. Vm estomvranet omes komis maket osce.  
Until it shall happen as it may, is my purpose, so he says.
38. Momen cuku-lice tate afvckety 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 yculvke tate em afvckety 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 vsehoket umvres maket omesce.  
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 Tcukole'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 Tciloki bringing about a separation. The Raccoon clan at Tukabahchee also called themselves Isti mikāgi doiyāt ("chiefs that we are") or isti tcilokogi doiyāt ("Tcilokis 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 Okchai called themselves by that name and the almost as common term Łatogālga. 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 semiofficial positions and became priests.

Both men and women could be doctors. Swan, in fact, states that women were employed more frequently than men.<sup>85</sup> 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,

<sup>85</sup> Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 270.