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Donald B. Smith has tracked down aspects of Copway's careening career—as American Army recruiter collecting bounties in Canada during the Civil War, as herbalist advertising healing arts in Detroit. Finally, he landed in an Algonquian-Iroquois mission, Lake of Two Mountains, northwest of Montreal, where he claimed to be a pagan and received Roman Catholic baptism shortly before his death in 1869.

A century and a half after the first publication of Copway's *Life*, it is good to have it back in print. The book deserves to be rescued from the demimonde of photocopies, not because of "a desperate need for Native-produced source materials" (Smith, p. 48)—there are plenty of Indian texts available—but because Copway lived a vivid variable of the American Indian experience of the nineteenth century. His story also deserves continued attention because Smith's research has amplified and modified the self-idealization of the original autobiography, making the contradictions of Copway's existence all the more challenging to future students.

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Now the Wolf Has Come: The Creek Nation in the Civil War. By Christine Schultz White and Benton R. White. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1996. 187 pages. \$29.95 cloth.

This is a brilliant and a problematic book. Although the authors' introduction warns away readers committed to "linear logic," they offer a generally linear narrative, with a few flashbacks, focusing on the Union Creek leader Opothleyahola's attempt to lead 9,000 inhabitants of Indian Territory to safety in Kansas during the first fall and winter of the Civil War. Most of them were Muskogees, but twenty tribes contributed bands to the march. Opposing the refugees were Confederate forces under the command of Colonel Douglas Cooper, former federal agent to the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Cooper's forces included Creek officer Daniel McIntosh's First Confederate Mounted Regiment, a battalion commanded by Daniel's brother, Chickasaw and Choctaw units, a small contingent of Seminoles, and boys in butternut from Texas and

Arkansas. While Opothleyahola's men fought off the Confederates at Round Hill, Bird Creek, and another stream called Chustenaleh, always maneuvering to keep the warriors between the Confederates and the women and children whose sole interest was exodus, an Indian delegation from Indian Territory traveled from Kansas to New York to Washington in a largely vain attempt to find a federal official who could deliver the military protection and supplies they thought the Great Father had promised them. Chapters relating the delegates' adventures are interspersed in a parallel narrative.

The narrative form is surely no problem. Nor is the authors' imaginative attempt to draw on interviews, WPA narratives, anthropological literature, published primary sources, and monographs to reconstruct the "Indian point of view," indeed, at least two "Indian" points of view, of the trials of the Muskogees. They have traveled the country their protagonists traveled in the appropriate season, and their ability to evoke details of terrain and weather, the visionary experiences of sign and portent that guided the migrants, their strategies and their battlefield experiences both with Confederates and snowstorms is impressive. The book should certainly appeal to the general readers the authors seek to entertain and enlighten. If the personal narratives of Opothleyahola and his antagonist Daniel McIntosh attribute to those men thoughts that cannot be documented specifically, they nonetheless offer a quite plausible as well as dramatic account of the evidence.

Convincingly, the authors argue that both leaders sought in the Civil War opportunities for clan revenge more significant to them—sometimes—than the issues of a white man's war. Probably, however, the revenge motif more fully exhausted their followers' motives than their own. Opothleyahola himself was clearly torn between the temptations of revenge and his desire to preserve the people by getting them to Kansas as expeditiously as possible. Like John Ross of the Cherokees, a reluctant Confederate in 1861, he might have preferred neutrality. Confederates did not offer him that option. One of the most compellingly dramatic passages in the book describes the torment of Daniel McIntosh, who ultimately abandoned a promising opportunity to avenge his father's murder because Confederates required reinforcements in another part of the field at Chustenaleh. Just barely did McIntosh's commitment to the white man's code and his own "white" identity win out.

More problematic is the ambiguous relationship between

the authors' reconstruction of various "Indian" points of view and what appear to be expressions of their own. In the introduction, they welcome the opportunity to use their personal experience "with peoples and in cultures that closely resemble the ones of which we write" (p. x). They assert that "Mostly, the story of Native American history has been told by a sheltered upper middle class that has done little but go to school and teach school. Not surprisingly, its views of Indians are largely a syrupy view of racial romanticism and well-intended but condescending 'noble savage' muck, usually mixed with a judicious portion of contemporary political dogma centered around an ecological theme" (p. xii). Yet much of what they write draws heavily on such scholarly ethnohistorians as Oklahoman Angie Debo (whose work they describe in a footnote as "awesome"); Michael Green; and Oklahoma-raised Ph.D. Carter Blue Clark (a historian of Creek descent to whom the authors consistently refer as "Blue Clark Carter"). None of these historians can be accused of either syrupy romanticism or preoccupation with ecological themes.

The authors' characterizations of white people and their society read like texts straight out of Leslie Marmon Silko's countercultural novels, footnoted with references to Carl Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*. Describing the Indian delegation's trip through middle America, New York, and Washington, they insist, "In New York, the financier was lord of the realm, in other cities and towns the industrialist; but in Washington the trickster and egoist were king" (p. 138). It may be Opothleyahola's followers who see the white men as without magic or spiritual depth, but it is the authors who refer to them most consistently as people with "empty eyes." They blame railroad men, ultimately, for the failure to supply the Union Indians in Kansas. If the Union Indians all died and the Confederates faced defeat, railroad men, with "evil, translucent eyes" (p. 155) could take over Indian territory. Unlike Paul W. Gates and H. Craig Miner, who have exposed the complex machinations of railroad men in Kansas and Indian territory, the authors offer no primary or secondary sources to back up their claims, and fail to note that railroad men often faced frustration in competition with other "interests." Surely the fate of Opothleyahola and his company was at least overdetermined.

The authors overlook what may have been the most important reason for the Union government's neglect of the Kansas refugees. Faced with overwhelming demands on their military

resources, the culprits in Washington probably put the needs of Indian Territory people low on their list of priorities. The author does not examine even secondary sources, let alone War Department or Indian Office records to determine systematically the assessment military strategists made of their priorities in Kansas, Missouri, and Indian Territory. In war, as in its surrogate, chess, focusing on protecting one's pawns is rarely a winning strategy. John Ross and Opothleyahola, both old men with a lifetime of experience in dealing with white military officers and other bureaucrats, understood their strategizing, and that is why they would have preferred neutrality to the sweetest opportunity for revenge.

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Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indian Views of How the West Was Lost. Edited by Colin G. Calloway. Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1996. 226 pages. \$39.95 cloth; \$7.50 paper.

Colin G. Calloway, editor of *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground*, offers multiple reasons to explain how the Plains Indians lost their homelands: diseases, warfare, near extermination of buffalo herds, white technological superiority, white desire for land and natural resources, and forced acculturation and assimilation. The editor adds the views of Indian tribes living in the Missouri Basin and Rocky Mountains to those of the Plains Indians.

Our Hearts Fell to the Ground contains four categories of documents, all either in print or reproduced. They are Indian speeches that have been translated and recorded by white observers, recollections of events told to whites; autobiographies written by Indians or based upon interviews conducted by whites; and winter counts, hide paintings, or ledger book art. The editor properly warns the reader that there are flaws in the translation of the Indians' language arising from a different understanding of concepts and "mutually exclusive ways of life" (p. 23). Flawed though these documents may be, they are the best sources for Indian perspectives about relations with whites or important events in the history of their tribes.

Diseases for which Indians possessed no immunity weakened the Plains tribes long before confrontation with United