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# SEMINOLE INDIANS

## SURVEY OF THE SEMINOLE INDIANS OF FLORIDA

PRESENTED BY MR. FLETCHER

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**SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 482**

SUBMITTED BY MR. FLETCHER

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
*February 17 (calendar day, February 28), 1931.*

*Resolved*, That the manuscript entitled "Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida," by Roy Nash, be printed with illustrations, as a Senate document.

Attest:

EDWIN P. THAYER, *Secretary.*

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SURVEY AND REPORT MADE IN 1930

BY

ROY NASH

# PART I

# THE FLORIDA SEMINOLE AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

# SEMINOLE SURVEY OF 1930

By Roy Nash

## CHAPTER I

### A TYPICAL CAMP OF 1930

The starting point in time of this 1930 survey is the year 1880. Just half a century ago Clay MacCauley, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, sojourned in the camps of the Florida Seminoles; in the fifth annual report of that bureau appears the record of the first study of these Indians made without political bias. Two points 50 years apart may indicate the trend of a slowly moving body with some accuracy.

The starting point in space is Miami. From the gold coasts of pleasure the Tamiami Trail runs west across the Everglades. Within 30 miles of the city hall one encounters an astounding anachronism: In the canal a dugout canoe; standing in the stern, a man with poised spear. He wears neither shoes nor hat. He wears nothing that is worn in the city 40 minutes away. His only garment is a knee-length shirt, belted at the waist. Like Joseph's coat, it is of many colors, bright, vivid, marking the wearer as a man apart from the metropolis of 110,000 which has sprung up like magic on the edge of his wilderness. A primitive hunter 30 miles from a center of industrial civilization where airplanes purr and ocean-going liners dock and a hundred thousand idlers bask in the sun—the Seminole.

At the junction with the north and south road from Everglades to La Belle we turn from the pavement to a gravel road that parallels the rails of the Atlantic Coast Line, and motor north through the Big Cypress Swamp to Immokalee. Two stores, a hotel, a filling station, a boarding house, two or three bootleggers, and an Indian camp out beyond the railroad station.

Guava Camp, our immediate destination, lies 35 miles southeast of Immokalee. No proper appreciation of the camp, however, can be had without mention of the 45 miles to be traversed after one leaves anything that might be called a road. We load an Indian bull cart with camp duffel and get it started by 3 in the afternoon. Young Ivey Byrd has come in from the Hendry County Reservation in a Ford truck, but as the month is August and hot he waits until evening to make a start in order to spare the litter of pigs which are to share the vehicle with us. In the wet season four-fifths of the trail from Immokalee to the Reservation is covered with from 2 to 6 inches of water. Byrd belongs to the school of marsh drivers that holds chains

and ropes worse than useless, because of the tendency of rear ends to bury themselves in the mud. Our normal mode of progression was for me to ride on the running board until the wheels began to spin, then jump off and push before the car lost momentum; sit down for 200 yards in high across a hammock; jump and push across half a mile of water and mud. Then stop for 15 minutes to let the engine cool. As luck would have it, we overtook the Indian just west of Okaloacoochee Slough, where the water runs 2 feet deep. So we transferred certain precious perishables to the bull cart while navigating the Ford across. Thus leisurely progressing through the mud and the moonlight, we arrived within half a mile of the reservation at 3 in the morning, when we bogged down completely, abandoned the Ford and the pigs, and waded to the reservation buildings which perch on half an acre of comparatively dry land.

Wading back at daylight, we pried up the Ford with poles, crammed palmetto and brush into the ruts, and brought the load home under power—a typical wet-weather trip, nine hours to cover 37 miles. At midnight of the second day the ox team arrived. Beyond the reservation buildings the water deepens and the ground softens so that even an empty Ford, at this season, could not traverse the last 8 miles. We footed it, the water being 8 to 10 inches deep a large part of the way. Three hours for an automobile to cover the 110 miles from Miami to Immokalee; three days for an ox team to negotiate the 45 miles from Immokalee to Guava Camp.

### Section 1. Guava Camp

Guava Camp lies precisely on the western margin of the Everglades, 50 miles northwest of Miami. With the camp fire as a center, a 50-foot radius would inscribe the dry land at the height of the wet season. No circle of equal size in Florida can yield more interesting facts.

### Section 2. Seminole Fire

I have made camp in Luzon and Negros, in Bahia and Matto Grosso, on the Lievre River in Ontario and beside the Salmon in Idaho—the Seminole makes the best camp fire I have ever seen. He takes 8 or 10 dry logs, of any length that a man can conveniently carry and any diameter he can conveniently cut, and arranges them as the spokes of a wheel. At the hub he kindles his fire. To brighten it, he pushes in a couple of logs; when it grows too hot he pulls them apart. Three points to support pan or kettle may be arranged by the merest touch. The elements of the fire themselves furnish a seat for whomever stirs the pot, let the wind blow whither it will. Dogs, chickens, pigs, lie between the logs at night sheltered from the wind and warmed by the embers.

Above this fireplace the Seminole erects a roof supported by four uprights say 10 feet apart, thatched with palmetto leaves. From the rafters the squaw hangs her pots and pans, her drying venison, her condiments and herbs, out of reach of the livestock. The whole arrangement is one of those perfect adaptations of means to end which characterize a competent people.

## Section 3. Seminole House

About the fireplace, here at Guava Camp, are grouped four dwellings, the nearest one 15 feet from the fire, the farthest extending to the very edge of the 50-foot circle of dry land. The largest is perhaps 12 by 20 feet. It is essentially a plaftorm 3 feet from the ground covered by an overhanging roof, the generous eaves of which, curved wide about each end, extend down to within 3 feet of the platform. The roof is supported by 10 or a dozen durable hardwood posts set in the ground, notched at the top to receive the girder. Upon a frame of light poles thus supported is thatched an exquisite roof of palmetto leaves, the thatch weighted by logs tied together and slung across the ridge. A separate set of short posts supports the platform, which is floored with hand-hewn planks leveled and smoothed to a degree worthy of honest workmanship. In this particular long house there are three sections to the platform, one for dining and two for sleeping, with narrow alleys between.

The suitability of this house for hot weather is manifest. Visibility is perfect. As a protection against a driving rain it is not so good; in very cold weather one would naturally quit it to sit by the fire. Its great merits are a floor that is out of the mud, that is high enough to sit upon and let the legs swing clear, a floor from which crumbs and dirt are easily swept; and an absolutely tight roof directly under which, upon the beams and suspended from the rafters, can be stored clothing, guns, food, buckskin, whatever it is desired to keep dry.

Two other houses are in nowise different except that they have undivided platforms and are somewhat smaller. But it should be noted that ridgepoles do not all run one way, so that if one building is flooded by a driving storm, there is likely another comparatively dry. The fourth is framed and floored, but not roofed; it is used for drying skins and cutting up meat; two days, work would convert it into a habitable dwelling.

Certain other structures deserve mention. There is a high table where dishes are washed and dried in the sun; a stockade around some banana plants; a movable pen 3 feet square for holding a pig or an alligator. The mortar and pestle, the former hollowed in the head of an 18-inch log, are highly important in the domestic economy, being used for hashing dried venison as well as for pounding corn.

The garden at this time of year is wet and full of weeds; inclosing it is a tight fence of palmetto stems and logs. The hole for drinking water is within 70 feet of the fireplace. Not much farther away in another direction is the depression where clothing is washed, with a post set in the ground surmounted by a broad board by way of a table. A high line of clean poles takes the place of a clothes line.

The construction of these houses is identical with the typical construction described by Clay MacCauley 50 years ago with one exception; nails are now so cheap and easily procured that they are used in fastening the thatch; formerly the framework was lashed together and the thatch tied on with any of half a dozen easily procurable fibers.

## Section 4. The Hunter

Those who occupied Guava camp in August of 1930 were eight. Whitney Cypress is the head of the family, a position carrying more duties than rights. Six feet tall, lean, muscular, upstanding, he carries

his 50 years unmarred by abdominal deformation or fallen arches and with a vigor which the average white man of 30 well might envy. It is his custom to roll out of bed shortly after dawn, pull over his shirt of many colors a pair of cheap cotton trousers tied with cord about the ankles, stow shotgun and shells in the bow of his cypress canoe, and start off on his daily hunt without eating a mouthful of breakfast. In the wet season one can push a dugout most anywhere through the Everglades. Where the water is shallow, he wades; when it deepens to 8 or 10 inches he steps in and poles. Shoving a canoe through water all day is something that any man in good condition can do; shoving all day through the mixture of grass and water which is the Everglades is something which only a Seminole can do.

He poles across these infinite marshes until bent grass, perhaps, arrests his attention, telling him not only which way the deer went but how long ago. Only a clever hunter like the Seminole can stalk deer in glades which afford no cover. If no fresh signs of deer are seen, or if the camp be stocked with meat, Whitney shoves on to an alligator hole in the edge of a hammock. Water 4 or 5 feet deep, perhaps. He pokes about with a pole to locate his prey. Failing to find him that way, the hunter holds his nose and imitates the grunt of the beast. To amuse me, Whitney one day called an 8-foot alligator to the surface four times in the course of half an hour. It seemed a bit indecent thus to play upon reptilian passion. In the operation of skinning, his movements were swift, sure, clever.

Generally this Indian returned to camp around noon, for the midday August heat was intense. One day he brought home a buck, another a turtle and some duck eggs, sometimes nothing at all. Curlew and turkeys were abundant, but the food problem was so easily settled that he preferred to put in his time hunting for things with a cash value—alligator hides, buckskin, coon skins. I have known him to stay out all day without eating.

At whatever hour he returned to camp, Whitney would pull off his wet trousers, eat, then stretch out for a siesta. It is the mark of a man that whatever he does, he does with a will. The Seminole, after four or five hours of vigorous exercise, can loaf for half a day with zest. But usually the necessity to fetch firewood, or some puttering job about camp or garden, kept this worker fairly busy.

## Section 5. The Squaw

Sally Cypress, the squaw, is a woman of 38, a tall woman 5 feet 9 or 10. Although she has given birth nine times, she still carries herself erect; generously fleshed, she yet moves with vigor and alertness.

Her costume consists of a skirt, a chemise with sleeves, and a cape. Neither shoes nor stockings nor hats are worn. The skirt sweeps the ground. The chemise slips over the head and hangs down just enough to cover the breasts. The cape covers the elbows and meets the waistband of the skirt. A costume dictated by a modesty veritably mid-Victorian. Its structure marks the Seminole as a human being altogether original and unique. In making a gown, or a shirt for her husband, the Seminole woman starts with cotton cloths of many colors, but for the most part solid colors, not patterns. These she tears into strips from a quarter of an inch to 3 inches wide. With

her Singer sewing machine she concocts a marvelous confection. The strips run horizontally; but within the strip may be diamonds, vertical elements, and rarely decorations in curves. I have before me a skirt in nowise unusual where 44 bands of color meet the eye between hem and waistband.

It sounds horrible; actually it is magnificent, a thing of barbaric splendor. His costume is the reaction of a strong man against monotony. Driven by force of superior arms and numbers to the dreariest of all North American environments, the Seminole has made himself as gay as the parrots in the Amazon jungle.

"Life shall be colorful, even in the Big Cypress Swamp," his soul has proclaimed, and deft fingers have executed the mandate.

There is yet another element of the squaw's costume as remarkable as her gown. I refer not to the fact of beads about her neck but to the quantity of beads. String after string after string, until a solid pyramid extends from shoulder blades to chin. Twenty-five pounds and a few ounces one set was found to weigh. She takes most of them off at night, but she would no more appear in camp without them in the morning than she would without her skirt.

Now a skirt that sweeps the ground and 25 pounds of decoration about the neck would seem but poor preparation for a hard day's work. Yet I have seen this Sally Cypress leave camp at 9 in the morning with an umbrella in one hand and 2 feet of quarter-inch rope in the other and be gone until 9 at night, long after dark. On inquiring where she had been, I learned that she had been catching her young pigs, marking and castrating. For the Seminole woman is absolute mistress of her own property, and is frequently wealthier in the matter of hogs than her husband.

Built of such stuff, it is not surprising to find that childbirth with this woman is no such ordeal of prolonged agony as with white women. As the day approaches, she builds a palmetto shelter wherever she can find a dry bit of land a hundred yards or two from camp, drives a stake in the ground to grasp with her hands, and if none of her women folk are about to assist, she goes off alone and has her child.

## Section 6. Children of the Cypress

Of the 9 children born to Whitney and Sally Cypress, 5 live and 4 have paid the penalty of being born to primitive parents crouched on the edge of the Big Cypress Swamp. The living are Suc-la-ti-kee, a daughter of 16; See-ho-kee, her sister, two years younger; Che-na-see, a girl of 9; a son and heir aged 11; and a lad of 7.

The competence of the two older girls is admirable. Whitney comes in from the hunt and throws down a great turtle. Suc-la-ti-kee turns off the phonograph, finds a knife, dresses the turtle, and has it roasting beside a slow fire within 10 minutes; no hurrying, no false moves. I wanted a cape to go with a certain skirt that I was buying. She sat down to a hand sewing machine and with deft fingers in two hours time cut, sewed, and finished a garment which in workmanship, in color combinations, in line was a delight. All the cooking is done by these girls with the same ease. Like all women by the stream in warm climates, they make of washing clothes a lark. And then they sit for hours on end and play the phonograph. They differ from white girls of the same age in that they prefer cigars to

cigarettes, and in their ability to hitch up a yoke of oxen and walk, unaccompanied by man, the 45 miles to Immokalee and back, camping by the way.

All these children are as we would like our own to be in their good nature, their playfulness, in the respect they show their elders, in their essential modesty and good breeding. As we sat about the campfire in the evening and I listened to their low voices or merry laugh, I saw the appropriateness of the remark of Perley Poore Sheehan, an Irish novelist who went into the Big Cypress with Brandon 12 years ago:

> And the Seminoles—say, they reminded me more than anything else of the peasants on the west coast of Ireland, gentle mystics, with a great sense of humor, believers in "the little people," in ghosts and signs, hearers of voices, seers of visions.

## Section 7. Billy Fewell

By far the most interesting member of Guava Camp remains to be mentioned, Billy Fewell, the father of Sally Cypress. Whether he is 83, as the census states, or 100 as some of his many friends aver, makes little difference. He is old. Old enough to remember that May 4 in 1858 when the *Grey Cloud*, bearing Billy Bowlegs and 163 of his kinsmen, sailed out of Fort Myers bearing the last of the Seminole emigrants into exile west of the Mississippi.

This grand old man was a famous character 50 years ago when Clay MacCauley was here, for he had earned the name of "Key West Billy" by paddling a dugout canoe from Miami to Key West, remaining a fortnight there among the whites.

I shall never forget the dignity, the courtesy with which he received me, a stranger, as a guest in his camp. I had no claim upon his hospitality, yet when Whitney hung up a carcass of venison the second day of my visit, Billy came over to my tent and bade me help myself. He speaks English fairly well and we had long talks together.

Of a morning Billy was usually the first one up and about. He would cut a handful of brush, tie it together, and with this improvised broom sweep the whole area between the buildings and about the fire. He always ate at my table, and he seemed partial to my comfortable camp chairs, for the Seminole camp lacks this convenience. I used to pass cigars after meals; old Billy's asthma was bothering him too much for him to smoke, but he always took one and hid it away in the thatch above his bed.

That cough. One night it rained in torrents. Old Billy stretched a muslin sheet about his bed, but I knew the rain was driving through upon him. And all night long above the tattoo upon my tight silk tent I heard that cough.

He was in this camp by right of tribal custom. He was the father of Sally Cypress. Yet I had the feeling that the burden of years, a mouth to be fed after a man's hunting days are done, takes from old age some of the kindness which from kin should be its due.

## Section 8. Inventory of Property

How does this family of eight live? What do they eat? Where do they sleep? In what does their wealth consist? To understand the life of Guava Camp is to understand nine-tenths of the Seminole camps in Florida.

An inventory of the property visible to the eye in this camp revealed the following:

Livestock: 12 chickens, 2 dogs and a pup, 5 hogs about camp (probably 50 on the range), 2 oxen.

Transportation: 1 four-wheeled wagon with top, 1 ox yoke, 1 dugout cypress canoe.

Firearms: 1 double-barreled 12-gage shotgun, 1 combination 0.38 rifle and 12-gage shotgun.

Tools: 1 ax, 1 hoe, 1 machete, 2 sheath knives for skinning.

Kitchen equipment: 1 mortar and pestle, 2 large iron kettles for sofskee and stew, 2 wooden sofskee spoons, 2 basket sieves, 1 Dutch oven, 2 water pails, 1 dish for bread, 2 fry pans, 2 coffee pots, 1 kettle, 6 cups, 1 brass-bound wooden bucket, 3 five-gallon tin cans with covers.

Household equipment: 6 mosquito nets, 6 blankets, 2 movable benches, 1 foot-pedal sewing machine, 1 hand sewing machine, 1 lantern, 1 umbrella, 1 phonograph (15 records), 1 long muslin sheet (used as windbreak), 1 pair scissors.

Toilet articles: 1 mirror, 2 combs, 1 bucket for washing.

Children's toys: 1 homemade toy wagon, 12 homemade dolls (2 inches long).

Clothing: 4 bundles in addition to clothes worn, 10 yards of calico in odd lengths.

Ornaments: 50 pounds of neck beads, 2 bead chains with silver coins, 1 bead chain with gold coin, 12 silver cape ornaments, 4 silver crescents (Billy Fewell), 6 beaded hair nets.

## Section 9. Clothing

I could make no detailed inventory of the quantity of clothing at Guava camp, but it was adequate. On wash day there would be as many as half a dozen complete sets of garments on the rail, dresses as brilliant as the spread of a peacock's tail, the only decorative washing I have over seen drying in the sun. When I expressed a desire to buy two or three costumes as souvenirs, the women brought out bundle after bundle of new garments to choose from.

A white hunter would consider some kind of waterproof outer garment desirable, but inasmuch as the rainy season is also the warm season in south Florida, this lack is not serious.

## Section 10. Food

Nor was there any shortage of food in this camp. In fact, it was a feast from morning to night, for the Seminole is superior to regular meal hours. On arising in the morning, one of the girls would kindle the fire, heat up a kettle of meat stew, a kettle of hominy grits, a pot of coffee, and bake a pan of biscuits. Dried venison was the staple meat that went into the pot; occasionally curlew, whooping crane, duck, chicken, pork, or wild turkey finds its way there. The grits are boiled as a very thin gruel, which the Indians call sofskee.

These dishes, when hot, were placed on the dining platform. At intervals all day long one or another (but rarely all at once) would sit beside the pots, reach into the kettle for a morsel of meat, drink from the great wooden sofskee ladle, dip a biscuit in the gravy, and wash it down with coffee. There was a noticeable absence of salt in their dishes, and their stock of sugar was nearly exhausted.

The only fruit available at the time I visited the family Cypress was the guavas after which the camp is named. In season, however, there is available to all these Indians sour oranges and limes, some bananas, quantities of blueberries, and wild plums.

Their table in August was noticeably void of fresh vegetables. That was from choice and not necessity, because there is always

available the tender bud of the cabbage palmetto, delicious either raw or cooked. In the dry season, however, their little garden yields corn, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, cowpeas, and a few shoots of sugarcane.

### Section 11. Sleeping

When night descended and the sand flies and mosquitoes became troublesome, mosquito bars made of a fine-meshed cotton cloth were stretched over each bed. The father and mother and two older daughters occupied one sleeping platform, rather a strange arrangement, inasmuch as nothing but the thickness of two mosquito bars separated the intimacies of married life from the daughters in the other bed. The grandfather and younger children under separate mosquito bars occupied another platform. A blanket or a buckskin between the sleeper and his hard bed was all they asked. In the cold weather of winter a blanket to roll up in suffices, although a white man would experience bitter discomfort with so little in freezing weather—I fancy an Indian could stand another blanket at times. If the night were rainy, a long muslin sheet was stretched around the house between the eaves and the sleeping platform to break the wind, although it did not always keep out the rain. The dogs and the chickens and the pigs found shelter under the platforms or near the fire.

Sleep was generally preceded by hours of low-voiced conversation interspersed with music from a phonograph. And so long as I was there to supply them, all—from the boy of 7 to his father, and particularly the girls and their mother—puffed with evident pleasure on cigars. The Seminole does not grow tobacco, and the camp seemed to have none on hand.

### Section 12. Cash Income

It is evident that many items listed as contributing to the comfort of this household on the edge of the Everglades imply dealings with the white world of commerce at Immokalee or Fort Myers. The cash income of this family is derived almost entirely from the sale of raccoon and alligator skins, buckskin, and an occasional otter. The women make a few dollars from the sale of Seminole dolls and a little very indifferent beadwork. Whitney is an unusually industrious hunter and probably takes in $300 a year from his pelts. In addition, he may get an opportunity to guide hunters for a couple of weeks each fall in the open season, at $6 a day for himself and oxcart, with a bonus of a ten dollar bill and a quart of liquor for killing the buck his employer could not hit.

Small as this cash income is, it would be ample if the bootleggers' portion could be converted into a fund to tide over the lean months of the year.

Whoever, in North America, earns his bread by hard manual effort in the lonely spots of the earth is prone to go on a spree when he hits town. This is true of lumberjacks, of miners, of cowboys, of trappers. It is painfully true of the Seminole. I never heard of Billy Fewell getting drunk, and the daughters are too young to have begun, but it is not uncommon for Whitney Cypress and his splendid squaw to come reeling into the Hendry County Reservation on their way home from Immokalee.

Immokalee. Not even a moving-picture show. Where the very pinnacle of excitement is attained by peeping in the door of the pool-room, or watching country gawks shuffle through the figures of a quadrille to the accompaniment of a mouth organ and a discordant fiddle, where "All Indians are pigs." What else is there to do except get drunk at Immokalee?

What goes for liquor does not go for food, and it sometimes happens that they completely run out of grits or coffee or sugar. In the closed season, which is also the season of high water, the family Cypress has been known to come into the Hendry County Reservation outward bound with empty bellies. In either case, drunk or hungry, good old Ivey Byrd, the caretaker, looks after them out of his munificent salary of $25 a month.

## Section 13. The Trend of 50 Years

How does Guava camp differ from the camps in the same locality described by Clay MacCauley 50 years ago?

In the matter of dress, the great Seminole turban formerly worn by the men has been discarded; buckskin leggins are never seen, mocassins rarely. The white man's breeches are an acquisition since MacCauley's time. In 1880 the women habitually wore only a skirt and the chemise; 4 or 5 inches of brown belly showed between the two garments, and he says they were forever "pulling down their vests." A half cape was occasionally worn even 50 years ago, but the full cape now worn by the women is a development in the direction of modesty achieved in the half century.

Styles in coiffures have changed for both men and women. In 1880—

> * * * the men cut all their hair close to the head, except a strip about an inch wide, running over the front of the scalp from temple to temple, and another strip of about the same width, perpendicularly to the former, crossing the crown of the head to the nape of the neck. At each temple a heavy tuft is allowed to hang to the bottom of the lobe of the ear. The long hair of the strip crossing to the neck is generally gathered and braided into two ornamental queues.

To-day men generally follow white fashions, although I did see Charlie Cypress in Fort Myers with his hair trimmed exactly in the old mode, except that the queue was lacking. Seminole women in 1880 wrought their hair into an elongated cone with bangs in front; to-day they pile it high on their heads, comb the front into a pompadour instead of bangs, slick it down with grease, and confine it under a net.

Sewing machines were great rarities in MacCauley's day; to-day every camp has them. The rifle and double-barreled shotgun have replaced the muzzle-loader. The second hand Ford is a modern curse of which MacCauley never dreamed.

In 1880 the Seminole's cash income came from hides and pelts plus the plumes of the egret, now banned by law. Game was more plentiful; markets not so good and farther away. Wages for guiding hunters and picking beans are new sources of revenue since the Smithsonian survey.

When MacCauley made his survey, the only Seminole he could find who spoke any English was Billy Fewell's brother, Ko-nip-ha-tco, who was staying in Fort Myers with Captain Hendry. To-day prac-

tically every male Indian speaks at least a few words of English, many can carry on a hesitant conversation. Eight or ten are in school.

In 1880 Billy Motlo came into Fort Myers and told captain Hendry the Indians were going to kill Ko-nip-ha-tco because he was adopting the white man's ways; in 1930 I met this same Billy Motlo, now an old, old man, come to Miami to receive treatment from the physician paid by his former arch enemy, the Government.

This last is the significant change. At Guava camp is the same type of house, the same campfire as of old; but the Indian who builds it knows at least that he is in Florida to stay.

With these facts about a typical camp in mind, we are in position to consider the distribution of camps, the deviations from type, and the collective life of the Florida Seminoles. Before proceeding with that interesting subject, however, a word about their habitat.

# CHAPTER II

## THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

### Section 1. Natural Regions

Seminoles in Florida range from the headwaters of the St. Johns to Cape Sable, 180 miles from north to south.

#### THE EVERGLADES

The core of this region is the Everglades, a marsh about the size of Connecticut, 40 miles wide by 140 long, extending in majestic sweep from the head of Lake Okeechobee to the Bay of Florida and the Ten Thousand Islands. The boundaries of this region are not everywhere definite, but as mapped by the Florida Geological Survey it embraces approximately 3,000,000 acres.

The northern end of this region is a shallow saucer 35 miles across occupied by the second largest lake in the United States, Okeechobee. Five canals now connect Okeechobee with the Atlantic on the east; the Caloosahatchee River connects it with the Gulf.

In spite of this tremendous diversion of water which formerly spilled over the brim of the saucer in the wet season, there is an outpouring at the southern end of the Everglades—through streams emptying into the Bay of Florida as well as through the Shark, the Harney, Rodgers, and Lostmans Rivers above Cape Sable—altogether too large to be accounted for by precipitation. The whole region is underlaid by limestone, and much of the water of the Everglades must be attributed to subterranean sources.

There is no configuration to the surface of the Everglades; it is as flat as the surface of the ocean on a calm day. An ascent of 18 feet from sea level will bring one to Okeechobee.

In the older, northern, part of this great plain, the Pliocene shell marl and limestone are overlaid by six or eight feet of peaty muck. This depth of muck is the basis for local settlers distinguishing the "Upper Glades" from the "Lower Glades," for in the southern portion a layer of Pleistocene limestone crops out at the surface or is covered by a very shallow deposition of muck.

The most characteristic vegetation of the Everglades is saw grass, a sedge with leaves 6 or 7 feet long, edged with teeth capable of tearing a man and his clothing to tatters. In the Upper Glades, say, for half the distance between Okeechobee and the Bay of Florida, this plant occupies such extensive areas that the Seminoles rarely attempt to cross. The Lower Glades are dotted with hammocks capable of cultivation in the dry season and affording sites for a few permanent camps. And the margins of the Everglades are fringed with plant associations as various as pinelands, prairies, and hammocks where cypress, maple, ash, and elm can (or could) be found.

The incredible fertility of the deep muck led to schemes for its utilization. It is too early to say clearly what the outcome is to be. Sugar is grown around the south shore of Lake Okeechobee from Canal Point on the east to Moore Haven on the west, and quantities of garden truck. Garden truck and some citrus cultivation has penetrated the eastern margin of the Everglades.

Roland M. Harper, of the Florida Geological Survey, says:

> Possibly 2 per cent of the Everglades area, and other saw-grass marshes, has been cultivated in recent years. But in wet seasons it is difficult to get rid of the water and in dry seasons the drained peat sometimes catches on fire and the soil then goes up in smoke.

Dr. John K. Small, of the New York Botanical Garden, who has studied and written about south Florida constantly for the last 26 years, looks upon the drainage advocates as a herd of wild asses in the wilderness. In the Scientific Monthly of January, 1929, he writes:

> Various minds have conceived various schemes for the development of the Everglades, or "devilopment" as interpreted by some. Among these ideas "drainage" and "farming" have been prominent excuses for tampering with the Everglades, ravishing directly the "glades" and indirectly the whole of the southern part of the Florida Peninsula.
>
> Since the beginning of this century five water highways, preliminary to the dredging of drainage canals, have been added to the natural outlets for the enormous amount of water of this spring. The sudden upsetting of nature's routine of ages did not better matters, to say the least. Droughts and "freezes" are said to be now more frequent than formerly. Large areas of land between the Everglades and the ocean are said on good authority to have been rendered worthless for farming by seriously lowering the water table and eliminating the capillary water supply necessary for the existence of vegetation, particularly cultivated crops. Thousands of acres of humus, deprived of the moisture naturally covering the rocky or sandy foundation of the Everglades, have completely disappeared in smoke, gases, and scant ashes, thus turning the Everglades back to a desert just as it was when it was first elevated from the sea.
>
> The Everglades were made for plants and animals to inhabit and delight in; not for man to occupy. This fact should have been evident to a mere tyro.
>
> Aside from any indirect devastation caused by drainage, fire has destroyed the humus on many thousand acres. When once started in the dry humus, fire eats in and down, and burns until it reaches water or sand. Fires aerial and subterranean have eaten away many thousands of acres of pure humus in the Everglades during the past decade and the fires are still burning. The Everglades can safely be termed the "Land of Ten Thousand Smokes." Would it not have been a better plan to have closed this land to "devilopment" and had it appear on the maps of Florida as "Lake Okeechobee-Everglades National Park"?

### THE TEN THOUSAND ISLANDS

Where the Everglades emerge from the sea down in Monroe County a labyrinth of channels breaks the land into the Ten Thousand Islands. The delta of the Everglades, as it were; mangrove bordered areas which are neither land nor water, in the process of becoming terra firma, now merely a sportman's paradise.

Zane Grey once felt the quality of these appalling solitudes.

> I had come to the Ten Thousand Islands and the Everglades to fish and to photograph. And I was finding myself slowly awakening to a profound realization of the tremendousness of this last and wildest region of America * * * The Everglade region was great through its aloofness. It could not be possessed. It would continue to provide sanctuary to the fugutive from justice, the outlaw, the egret hunter. Assuredly the Seminole had been absorbed by it, as proven by his lonely, secretive, self-sufficient existence.

### THE BIG CYPRESS SWAMP

West of the Everglades in Collier County lies the Big Cypress Swamp. No geographer, so far as I know, has attempted to indicate the precise limits of this region. It is the very essence of dreariness. Along the Tamiami Trail and beside the road which runs north from the town of Everglades is a fringe of truck gardens. Some cattle are grazed in its northern portion. Otherwise the Big Cypress is waste and water. A wilderness where cypress heads, clumps of slash pine, and occasional high hammocks vary the monotony of open prairies. The saw palmetto is abundant; soil is not. Limestone outcrops over much of the region.

Most of the Big Cypress is so flooded in the wet season as to be impenetrable except to a man on foot or by ox team. The Indians shove their canoes along the eastern margin when the water is high. In the driest part of the dry season the Cypress can be traversed in a Ford.

That is, if one knows his crossings. For Okaloacoochee Slough traverses the Cypress from north to south, and Okaloacoochee is treacherous always. A bog 60 miles long. If the Big Cypress is desolation, Okaloacoochee is the depth of despair. Between Okaloacoochee and the Everglades the bulk of the Seminoles have their homes.

### FLATWOODS

The flatwoods consist of open forests of long-leaf or slash pine, with a rather dense undergrowth in which saw palmetto predominates. The soil is usually a fine grayish sand. Not more than 5 per cent of the flatwoods have been cultivated.

### PRAIRIES

North and northwest of the Everglades are comparatively dry prairies. The soil appears to be the same gray sand as in the flatwoods, the only readily apparent difference being the comparative absence of trees. Shrubs and herbs make up the bulk of the vegetation, with an occasional cabbage palmetto or slash pine. The prairies bordering the Kissimmee River pasture large numbers of cattle.

It was to a cracker running cattle on the Kissimmee Prairie that a Chicago packing house recently wired for a carload of 3-year-olds averaging 900. The reply went back, "Don't raise any 3-year-olds averaging 900, but can deliver a thousand head of 9-year-olds averaging 300."

Not 1 per cent of prairie acreage is cultivated.

### INDIAN PRAIRIE

Indian Prairie, to the south of the Kissimmee River prairies, is wetter. Islands of pine and high hammock vegetation are more frequent than in the northern prairies, but the outstanding feature is extensive areas of almost pure cabbage palmetto. Some cattle are grazed on Indian prairie; it is not cultivated by the white man except for a bit around Brighton.

## Section 2. Climate

### TEMPERATURE

No part of the Seminole's habitat is free from occasional frosts. The lowest temperatures on record are Arcadia 21, Fort Myers 24, Marco 30, Flamingo 29, Miami 27, Fort Pierce 24, and Ritta (on Lake Okeechobee) 29. Absolute maxima rarely reach 100 anywhere in south Florida.

### RAINFALL

The rainfall at Arcadia, Fort Myers, and Fort Pierce amounts to a trifle over 50 inches a year; Miami gets 65. The four months from June to September will account for half that amount; not less than 70 per cent of the year's rain, considering the region as a whole, falls during the six months from May to October. It is a seasonal rain. There is a distinct wet season and dry season. This seasonal character of the precipitation accounts for the fact that the Everglades, the Big Cypress, and the Cow Creek country northeast of Okeechobee are all but impassable morasses for five months of the year.

### RELATIVE HUMIDITY

The relative humidity is about 80 per cent over most of south Florida, and does not vary much with the seasons, heavier summer precipitation tending to balance the heat of the sun.

### WIND

The habitat of the Seminole lies squarely in the track of the great West Indian hurricanes. Every few years they crack him somewhere. All he can be reasonably sure of is that they will strike during August, September, or October; and that after the visitation, many of his chattels will have departed along with the roofs of his shacks.

Although he is far from the main tornado belt of the United States, a tornado did strike Hialeah (just outside Miami) on April 5, 1925, and small ones struck farther up the east coast in the spring of 1926. So there is some chance of wind in the spring as well as in the fall.

## Section 3. Fauna

A scientist is concerned with everything; an Indian is concerned with anything he can make use of. I shall discuss the Floridian fauna only from the Indian's viewpoint: Things he can eat, things he can wear, things he can sell, and things that menace him or his property.

### MAMMALS

Of the mammals which furnish the Seminole pelts which can be converted into cash, the raccoon is the most important. One otter is worth many coon skins, but otter are getting scarce. Mink in the extreme south are fairly common but do not figure in the exchequer. Buckskin brings him in some money; deer, however, are worth more

for their meat than for their hides. Skunks he does not bother with. The red and gray fox, wolf, wildcat, bobcat, and panther he kills too infrequently to count as assets. Black bear are fairly common in the Big Cypress and there are some north of Okeechobee, but they are not worth much.

Venison is the Seminole's chief article of meat diet derived from the wilds. Deer are still fairly plentiful in the Everglades, the Big Cypress, and north of Okeechobee. If he were approaching the limit of his food supply, the Seminole easily could add great quantities of rabbits which to-day he does not consider worth expending ammunition upon.

Opossum, moles, shrews, bats, weasels, squirrels, mice, and rats exist but do not enter into the Indian's domestic economy.

### BIRDS

The avifauna is the glory and the grace of these dismal swamps where dwell the Seminoles. Herons, bitterns, coots, ducks, the cormorant, the Everglade kite brighten the monotony of these dreary wastes, gay things like autumn leaves sailing down the wind. Gone, however, are the brightest of the lot, the flamingo, the scarlet ibis, the roseate spoonbill—too bright to be tolerated by the master of the signboards, the motor car, and moonshine.

So far as sustaining life goes, the Seminole could supply himself abundantly with most delicate meat if the deer were exterminated; wild turkeys, curlew, the whooping cranes, quail, duck, and other luxurious morsels would still suffice.

The egret, once a considerable source of Seminole revenue, no longer can legally be killed for its plumage; the number is increasing, and this bird is no longer in danger of extinction.

### REPTILES

The reptile fauna of south Florida includes the crocodile, alligator, 9 lizards, 30 snakes, and 14 turtles. Alligators furnish the Seminole with the one source of cash income which can legally be hunted the year round; they are, however, no longer abundant. Large turtles furnish a delicate item of diet. The water moccasin and rattlesnake occasionally, but not often, ring down the final curtain upon his nomadic career.

### FISHES

One fine thing which has resulted from the drainage canals in south Florida is the concentration of the finny tribes in waters where they can readily be caught. The Tamiami is always lined with fishermen. Fresh-water species include large and small-mouth black bass, pike, perch, jack, bream, shell cracker, redbreast, stump-knocker. Harper, of the Geological Survey, says a million dollars' worth of catfish are shipped annually from Okeechobee alone. In the commercial side of fishing, however, the Seminole takes no part; nor are fish much of an item in his diet for the reason that his camps are far from the canals and lakes for the most part. He is permitted plenty of water—but not water that anybody else wants.

### INSECTS

When the tourist lets his brain dwell upon the dangers that lurk in the melancholy reaches through which he speeds on the Tamiami Trail at 60 miles an hour, he is apt to fix upon the rattlesnake as the black beast of the picture. The rattlesnake is a house pet compared with sand flies, horseflies, or mosquitoes. Let me turn over the pen for two paragraphs to Zane Grey:

> On the afternoon of April 12 we anchored off the mouth of Chatam River * * * Before dusk had really shadowed the sea, mosquitoes arrived in force from the mangroves. They arrived 10,000,000 strong. It was impossible to keep them out of the saloon, and we were soon driven to our staterooms. * * * They darkened the outside of the window screens and kept up a loud whine. * * * Ordinarily mosquitoes never interfered with my activity, if they did sometimes hamper my enjoyment. But in the Everglades mosquitoes must be reckoned with. At times they were terrible. On a windless night like this, if a man were caught out unprotected, they would kill him.
>
> All the way down (Lostmans River) the hot breeze blew on my face, with its tidings of inscrutable things. And as I pondered I watched the huge horseflies that swarmed like bumblebees round our speeding boat. They flew like a humming bird. They had the speed of a bullet, the irregular flight of a bat. They were of many sizes and colors, and some were truly wonderful. I saw one fully 2 inches long. It alighted on my knee. It had a purple head, amber wings, and a body that beggared description. It was veritably the king of all flies, beautiful, yet somehow hideous. I shuddered as I saw it feeling for a place to bite through my clothes. Finally I hit it with my hat—knocked it down hard in the boat; yet it buzzed up and streaked away, high in the air. The Everglades bred that fly; and there seemed something significant in the fact.

## Section 4. The Changes of 50 Years

### RAILROADS

When Clay MacCauley made his Seminole survey in 1880, the southern end of railroad construction was Orlando. Since then the Florida East Coast has pushed rails to Key West, and down along the eastern shore of Lake Okeechobee. The Seaboard Air Line has crossed his habitat with a line through Seabring, Okeechobee City, Palm Beach, and thence down the east coast; and with another line down the west coast that runs through Arcadia and Fort Myers to Naples. The Atlantic Coast Line has driven one line down the west coast to Marco, and another south through the Big Cypress Swamp to Everglades, with a branch which sweeps around the southwest shore of Lake Okeechobee and taps the sugar country.

### ROADS

A hard-surface road now cuts the Indian country from Fort Pierce through Okeechobee City to Arcadia and the west coast; the Tamiami Trail cuts square across the southern end of the Everglades; and a third transverse hard-surface road, already completed from the east coast to Clewiston, will within a few years afford a swift crossing from Palm Beach to Fort Myers. Hard-surface roads run north and south along both coasts. A hard-surface road runs north from Okeechobee 20 miles to Fort Drum. The Connors Highway connects Okeechobee City with Palm Beach. A hard-surface road runs out from Stuart to Indian Town. And it seems only a question of time until the hard-surface road along the Miami Canal, already

built to the Dade County line, will be continued north to Lake Okeechobee through the heart of the Everglades, becoming immediately a main north and south thoroughfare.

A good gravel road now runs from Everglades through Immokalee to La Belle; and a very wretched road continues north from Fort Drum to connect with the Tampa-Melbourne hard-surface road. Numerous trails which are all but impassable in the wet season, but which afford ready entrance to the Indian country in the hunting season, cut the Seminole's habitat in all directions.

### CITIES

Within this half century, too, have sprung up on the maritime fringe of the Seminole's habitat the most popular winter resorts in eastern United States; Fort Myers, Miami, Fort Lauderdale, Palm Beach, and a score of lesser names.

Miami had the largest numerical increase of any city in Florida during the period from 1920 to 1930, with 81,000 additional citizens on her roster for the last census. Miami now has 110,637 residents.

The population of the entire State of Florida is now 1,468,211, a gain of 51.6 per cent in 10 years.

### AGRICULTURAL AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Northwest of the Kissimmee Prairies has developed in the last half century what is the very heart and core of the Florida citrus industry. Sugar and truck gardens have ringed nearly three-fourths of Lake Okeechobee. The best of the land between the Atlantic Ocean and the Everglades has been occupied by truck farms and citrus orchards. All the good grazing lands have been stocked with the white man's cattle.

### WHAT REMAINS TO THE SEMINOLE?

Having set down these facts, one unacquainted with the region might imagine that nothing remains for a primitive hunter. Yet the final fact—most important of all to him—is that there remains in the year 1930 in South Florida an area as large as the State of Connecticut, not less than 5,000 square miles, where the Seminole's only competitors are white trappers living the same mode of life as himself. More than half of this wilderness is so forbidding, so difficult, that the Seminole is the only man in Florida who can wrest a living from it. To his camps in the Big Cypress, the Everglades, Indian Prairie, and along Cow Creek we shall now turn.

## CHAPTER III

### THE FLORIDA SEMINOLES

#### Section 1. Retreat

For well over a hundred years now the Seminole has heard, and perforce heeded, the command, "Move on, you dirty dogs!"

When Bartram traveled among them in 1774, Indians not only had free range of the whole peninsula but in cypress canoes large enough to hold 20 or 30 men they regularly crossed to Cuba and the Bahamas. Before the Seminole War about 200 were in the habit of trading at Indian Key, off lower Matacumbe. Now, no Seminole bathes in the sea or navigates salt water, except one or two who occasionally drift down into the Ten Thousand Islands.

When MacCauley traveled among them in 1880, 22 years after Billy Bowlegs surrendered and went West, the camps of the Seminoles were located in five main groups: (1) In the Devil's Garden southeast of La Belle; (2) on Fisheating Creek, which flows into Lake Okeechobee from the west; (3) on Catfish Lake, which lies between Lakes Pierce and Rosalie just east of the city of Lake Wales; (4) on the Miami River; and (5) on Cow Creek, 10 or 15 miles northeast of Okeechobee City.

"The moving lines of the white population are closing in upon the land of the Seminoles," wrote MacCauley. "There is no farther retreat to which they can go."

He was wrong.

The Devil's Garden, Fisheating Creek, Catfish Lake, the Miami River, Cow Creek—that white men would ever want such remote places did seem incredible. Yet the Seminoles in four of those five regions have heard the word again, "Move on, you dirty dogs!" Cattlemen from Fort Myers and hunters from La Belle crowded them out of the Devil's Garden and compelled their retreat into the Big Cypress Swamp. The Atlantic Coast Line, a hard-surface road, and the sugar plantations around Moore Haven have crowded the Indians off Fisheating Creek. The Bok Tower looks down upon the old Catfish Lake settlement, from which Tallahaskee and his band were driven in 1885, retreating across the Kissimmee prairies to Cow Creek. The greatest city in Florida has grown up about the camps on the Miami River, metamorphosing one of them into a catchpenny for tourists where once upstanding men can now be viewed as exhibits coordinate with rattlesnakes and alligators. Only the Cow Creeks occupied swamps so little desirable that they have been suffered to remain there 50 years.

#### Section 2. Seminole Camps of 1930

The location of present Seminole habitations is shown on my map of "Permanent Seminole Camps." By permanent camps I mean habitations which can not be packed up and moved; many of them

are occupied only a part of the year. In the nature of things, such a map can lay claim neither to precision nor completeness; it does indicate the extent of Seminole dispersal. Mr. Earl Anderson, Indian enumerator for the 1930 census, says that in Monroe County there are Indians on Rock Creek and Shark River, with Chokoloskee as their trading point. I found none as far south as Shark River. Ingram Billy has his camp on Lostmans River, Charlie Jumper (Chief Charlie) has his permanent camp beside the road at Monte Carlo Casino, and Jim Tiger camps down there somewhere. In Collier County there is Charlie Tigertail's camp on Turner River and a score or more in the Big Cypress and on the edge of the Everglades, all of them east of the Everglades-Immokalee Road. From this group a band of 30 or 40 under Josie Billy migrated to St. Petersburg last winter to exhibit themselves in an amusement park.

The few camps in Hendry County are all south of the Devil's Garden; white hunters and trappers have preempted the territory between there and La Belle. The Indians from both Collier and Hendry Counties trade at Everglades, Immokalee, and Fort Myers. The Indians of Glades County live in three or four camps in the "Cabbage Woods" south of Brighton, using Brighton and Okeechobee as their trading points. I know of no permanent camps in Highlands County, although the Indians hunt as far north as Lake Istokpoga. The Cow Creek camps are 8 or 10 miles northeast of Okeechobee City, chiefly in St. Lucie County. Indians come into Kenansville, in Osceola County, but so far as I can learn they camp on the Brevard County side of the line, on Ten Mile Creek and the Blue Cypress. This is right at the headwaters of the St. Johns River, 180 miles from the camps in Monroe County. There are no Indians in Florida north of the headwaters of the St. Johns.

Coming south along the east coast, the venerable Billy Smith, medicine man for all these Okeechobee Indians, has his camp in the swamp 6 miles northeast of Fort Drum, in the southwest corner of Indian River County. In western St. Lucie County there are a few camps both north and south of the Fort Pierce-Okeechobee Road; these Indians trade in both county seats. In Martin County there is but one Indian family, living between Indian Town and the lake. In Palm Beach County there is one camp. And in Broward County there are the sick and indigent on the reservation at Dania, as well as the Osceolas and Tommies who were crowded from their Fort Lauderdale hammock in the days of the boom and the Jumpers crowded from the coast a few miles south. In Dade County there are the Indians on exhibition at Musa Isle and in Coppinger's Tropical Gardens in the city of Miami; also one camp 15 miles west of Homestead, and perhaps two or three camps on islands in the Everglades north of the Tamiami Trail.

Inasmuch as all Indian habitations on the east coast between the head of Lake Okeechobee and Miami are the white man's creations, this region can not be considered Indian country at all in the sense that Cow Creek and the Big Cypress are Indian country. Number 6 of the Okeechobee camps represents a band of 8 or 10 Indians who live in an old house on the farm of a friendly white man, Mr. Clarence Summerlin; they come and go, working for him when he has work for them, hunting and berrying as the mood strikes them, distinctly a transition type. In No. 11 of the Okeechobee camps, Dan Parker

houses his family in an old barn and makes a precarious living as a casual laborer. Number 12 of the Okeechobee camps represents an experiment in interracial friendship which is only 2 months old; Mrs. Ella Montgomery, a sister of former Chief Justice White, by the gift of a Ford car persuaded the family of Charlie Cypress to abandon his home in the Big Cypress and build a camp adjoining Mrs. Montgomery's home at Loxahatchee Farms, 10 miles west of Palm Beach.

The larger Seminole camps are simply multiples of the typical camp described in Chapter I. The largest group in the Cypress camping at one place numbers between 40 and 50, and at the camp of Billie Stewart and Charlie Snow south of Brighton there were about 25 living when I was last there.

### HOUSES AND TEMPORARY CAMPS

Except for the Indians at Summerlin's, Dan Parker in his old barn, those in Government mansions at the Seminole Agency, and one possible additional exception to be mentioned below, all the Seminoles in Florida live in open, palm-thatched shelters like those at Guava Camp.

This is the more interesting inasmuch as MacCauley noted a tendency to break away from the open house in 1880:

> There are, I understand, five inclosed houses, which were built and owned by Florida Indians. Four of these are covered with split cypress planks or slabs; one is constructed of logs. Progressive "Key West Billy" (Billy Fewell) has gone further than anyone, excepting perhaps Me-le, in the white man's ways of house building. He has erected for his family, which consists of one wife and three children, a cypress board house, and furnished it with doors and windows, partitions, floors, and ceiling. In the house are one upper and one or two lower rooms. Outside he has a stairway to the upper floor, and from the upper room a balcony.

Sam Thompson of Immokalee says there is one such house still standing in the Everglades, built, he believes, by Charlie Tigertail.

It should not be assumed that the stranger can go to these "permanent camps" and find Indians there at all seasons. They move about a good deal; they come in to Everglades or Immokalee or Fort Myers and visit for weeks at a time. After a death they sometimes abandon a camp entirely and build afresh. But they keep within the same broad areas defined above.

Almost all Seminoles spend some part of the year in temporary camps, where their shelter is a tent fly, and that not usually of waterproof material. Camps of this sort can almost always be seen beside the Tamiami Trail, noticeably so at the beginning of the hunting season when there is expectation of obtaining employment as guides.

## Section 3. Population

Clay MacCauley's census of 1880 showed 208 Seminoles. In view of the impossibility of achieving an accurate census to-day, I doubt that an accurate count—considering the difficulties of transportation to be overcome—could have been achieved in three months of the year 1880. If MacCauley found 208, almost certainly there were more than that in Florida.

The census upon which the Rev. Mr. Lucien Spencer, Seminole agent from 1913 to 1930, was engaged at the time of his death last spring shows 578. Mr. Earl Anderson's enumeration for the 1930

census was considerably less; Mr. Stanley Hanson, of Fort Myers, in a recent report to Senator Frazier, says the Indians themselves claim only 520. All agree that the number is between five and six hundred.

The Okeechobee camps count about 125; at most 150.

The Seminole Agency at Dania accounts for 40.

Wherefore, the Everglades-Big Cypress group is close to 400 strong, if the Rev. Mr. Spencer's enumeration be correct. Of this number, however, from 10 to 75, depending on the time of year, will be found in the amusement camps in Miami and St. Petersburg. But it is pertinent to point out that the great bulk of the Seminoles live a hundred and twenty miles by road from the Seminole Agency.

*Census recapitulation sheet, 1930*

| Age group | Mixed blood, total | Full blood | | | Total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
| Under 1 year | ------- | 9 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 to 3 years | ------- | 31 | 18 | 13 | 31 | 18 | 13 |
| 4 to 9 years | 3 | 72 | 35 | 37 | 75 | 37 | 38 |
| 10 to 19 years | ------- | 149 | 62 | 87 | 149 | 62 | 87 |
| 20 to 29 years | 5 | 96 | 46 | 50 | 101 | 50 | 51 |
| 30 to 39 years | ------- | 100 | 50 | 50 | 100 | 50 | 50 |
| 40 to 49 years | ------- | 44 | 25 | 19 | 44 | 25 | 19 |
| 50 to 59 years | 1 | 34 | 21 | 13 | 35 | 22 | 13 |
| 60 to 69 years | 1 | 19 | 14 | 5 | 20 | 14 | 6 |
| 70 to 79 years | ------- | 6 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 5 |
| 80 to 89 years | ------- | 7 | 7 | 0 | 7 | 7 | 0 |
| 90 and over | ------- | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 10 | 568 | 283 | 285 | 578 | 290 | 288 |

Certain facts indicated by this census deserve comment. The first is the almost exact balance of the sexes. I mention this because MacCauley in 1880 reported 112 males to only 96 females, and Creel in 1911 speaks of a great excess of males over females.

Another error which the figures definitely refute is Mr. Creel's supposition that "as long as no intermarriages with outsiders is possible, the natural inference would be that the Seminoles of Florida will rapidly decrease and that ultimate extinction is not many generations distant."

An increase from anything approximating 200 in 1880 to 500 (or 578) in 1930 is not race suicide.

## THE MIXED BLOODS

The Rev. Mr. Spencer enumerates 10 mixed bloods. Charlie Dixie in the Big Cypress is the son of a negress by an Indian father; Jim-sling, his wife, is a full-blood Indian, so their 4 children have only one-fourth negro blood. At Dania there are 2 illegitimate children whose fathers are known white men; and there is at least 1 other child who shows every evidence of a white father.

In MacCauley's day there were still 3 negro women living as Seminole wives, relics of slavery days, and 7 mixed bloods, all Indian-Negro crosses. At one time the Seminoles possessed a considerable number of slaves, and all the negro blood in the tribe traces

back to that fact. The males of a superior economic order never have difficulty in finding mates among the females of an inferior economic group; the Indian-Negro crosses were invariably Indian men who mated with negro women, never vice versa. No Indian woman, so far as I can learn, ever accepted a negro male as the father of her children. Under present conditions the negro blood will shortly be eliminated as a recognizable quantity.

Not so with the white blood that is creeping in.

In 1880 MacCauley says "the white half-breed does not exist among the Florida Seminoles * * * Nowhere could I learn that the Seminole woman is other than virtuous and modest. The birth of a white half-breed would be followed by the death of the Indian mother at the hands of her own people." And Creel in his 1911 report repeats that no infusion of white blood is tolerated.

In 1930 we have the best of evidence in the persons of the three children mentioned, the oldest 9 years, that white half breeds have come to be taken almost as a matter of course. In 1925 one Florida Indian was married to a white girl with a strain of Seneca blood; thus far this is the only case of intermarriage in recent years. A third arrow that indicates which way the wind is blowing is the fact that two Seminole women last winter set up camp beside the Tamiami Trail and discreetly offered their services as prostitutes.

There is nothing startling in this change of attitude. It could have been predicted with mathematical certainty by one possessing the slightest knowledge of history. Men of a dominant economic group always have been able to possess the women of the decidedly inferior economic group. Brown-skinned Moors had no difficulty in winning the white, Christian women of Spain and Portugal when the star of Islam was in the ascendant over the Iberian Peninsula. And now that Florida has 500 primitive hunters surrounded by a civilization possessing wealth, luxury, and bootleg liquor, an increase of sexual intimacy between white men and Seminole women is as inevitable as the sequence of day and night. The painful part is that the process should start with bastardy and prostitution.

## ETHNIC COMPOSITION

While on the subject of blood, it may clarify thinking to point out that the purest blooded Seminole in Florida is apt to be the bearer of many strains. The Spaniards were in Florida before the Seminoles split off from the Lower Creeks. If the Spaniard did not mate with Seminole women his history in Florida belies the experience of the whole continent lying to the south. Osceola's mother, after her famous son was grown, married a Scotchman named Powell, and I fancy it was not an isolated case.

Indians were in Florida before the Seminoles split off from the Lower Creeks, and the Seminole most certainly took to wife the women of the Indians he conquered in battle, Yamasee and Yuchi remnants.

The only practical consequence of his historical origin is that two languages have persisted among the Florida Indians down to the present day. Spencer says:

> At least two-thirds of the Florida Indians are unable to speak the Seminole language. The southern tribe (i. e., Cypress-Everglades camps) speak a mongrel tongue called Miccosukee.

I see no reason to call Miccosukee a mongrel tongue. Both languages are Muskhogean. Clark Wissler puts Miccosukee in the southern division with Hitchiti, Apalachee, Yamasi, the Alabama group, and the Choctaw group. Seminole he places in the northern division with Muskogee proper, or Creek; Upper Creek; and Lower Creek.

Neither Seminole nor Mikasuki is written. While many words are the same, yet there is sufficient difference so that an Okeechobee Indian sometimes has difficulty in understanding a Cypress Indian.

In this report I use the word Seminole as it is used generally to-day to designate all Florida Indians. But be it not forgot that the Okeechobee Indians and the Indians at Dania speak a language quite different from that of the Big Cypress band.

### FAMILY NAMES

Before quitting this section on population, a word about the confusion of family names. All Seminoles have Indian names, but inasmuch as only two or three white men can pronounce them, each Indian gets an English name, too—at least all the men do. In many cases not a thing about relationship may be inferred therefrom. Billy Bowlegs is the son of Billy Fewell. For this situation, white men with a perverted sense of humor are of course to blame.

## Section 4. Tribal Organization

The unifying effect of war and a common danger brought forward leaders strong enough to exercise authority in both northern and southern camps, men who could properly be termed Seminole chiefs; since Bowlegs surrendered and went west in 1858 it is doubtful if any man deserves the title. Certainly no man in the last 50 years has exercised authority over both the Okeechobee and the Cypress groups. Nothing more absurd in Seminole history than the habit of Miami newspapers of conferring the title in these days of the twentieth century on Tony Tommie.

### THE GREEN CORN DANCE

The green corn dances held each year in June are to-day, as in MacCauley's day, the annual business meetings. The Okeechobee Indians hold their green corn dance and the Cypress Indians hold a separate green corn dance; the smaller group may send delegates to the Cypress, but the Cypress does not seem to bother to reciprocate.

As a legislative device the green corn dance seems to be a democratic body in which not only the men but all women over eighteen have a voice, according to Spencer. Judicial functions are in the hands of a council: for the Cypress this is at present composed of old Billy Motlo, Cuffney Tiger, Ingram Billy, and Jose Billy, according to Stanley Hanson. For the Okeechobee group, Billy Smith, the medicine man, is the only one I can name. This tribal council decrees penalties for infractions of their code, and in years past undoubtedly has inflicted the death penalty. Spencer say it takes cognizance of marriage and divorce, although certainly much marriage and divorce takes no cognizance of it.

Like all things Seminole, the green corn dance is in process of decay through contact with the white man. Once attendance was mandatory; now fewer and fewer attend. From the Dania Reservation where the white man's influence is most in evidence, the Indians sent a man and his squaw to represent them at the green corn dance in 1927; in 1928, no one went from Dania.

Of the feasting, drinking, scarification, purging, dancing, and punishment which go on at this festival, it is not necessary to go into detail; nothing objectionable has ever been reported. It is no longer unusual for whites having the Indians' confidence to be invited, and some crowd in without invitation.

### THE HUNTING DANCE

The only other regular tribal gathering is a hunting dance which occurs in the fall of the year at 4-year intervals, according to Mrs. Minnie Moore-Willson, who once attended as an honored guest and who describes it in detail in her book on the Seminoles.

### MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

That a man and woman desire to live together is not quite enough; the parents must be satisfied, and the tribal council may take a hand in the matter. Some years ago an Indian-Negro half breed ran amuck and killed several Indians before he was shot down; Brother Dunklin of Okeechobee told me that the council got together and decreed no more Indian wives for the Indian-Negro half breeds, and it sounds plausible. But that all marriages come before the council I seriously doubt.

Be that as it may, if there are no objections to a marriage the rest is simple. The women folk on the groom's side supply the meagre trappings of a Seminole bed; some one on the bride's side of the bargain sews him a gay new shirt; then he takes up residence with his bride and her family.

He may stay in the camp of his wife's people many years if the hunting is good, or, as the new family increases, he may find himself an unoccupied hammock in the same general region and build himself a new camp.

There is some intermarriage between the Okeechobee and Cypress groups; just how much I do not know.

Most of these marriages endure. In 1915 Spencer said there was only one divorced couple among all the Seminoles. He thinks that the tribal council would have the final word in divorce as in marriage. There is no ceremony to separation—the husband gets out, the wife and children remain with her own people.

I have a feeling that the generalizations in the Rev. Mr. Spencer's annual reports should be qualified by the story of Rosalie Huff. Rosalie married Sam Huff and bore him four children; the family came to live at the Seminole Agency. Frank Jim came along and Rosalie moved into a house next door and lived with him, Sam apparently not objecting. Chief Charlie next appeared upon the scene, took Rosalie away from Frank Jim, moved into a third house in the Government group, and all three husbands lived in the same camp amicably. I doubt if the tribal council gets together often enough to keep abreast of her movements.

The State recognizes the Seminole unions as common-law marriages. No record of them is anywhere kept.

In 1926 and again in 1928 one couple was married by the civil authorities.

Duogamy, not uncommon in 1880, no longer exists.

## Section 5. Health

The first health and sanitary survey of the Florida Seminoles was made by Dr. O. S. Phillips, special physician in the Indian Service, in 1919. The Reverend Mr. Spencer, in his report for 1920, quotes Doctor Phillips as follows:

> The Seminole Indians suffer less from the ravages of disease and probably enjoy better health than any tribe of Indians I have ever visited.
>
> The only disease of any consequence found among them is hookworm.
>
> The excellent health enjoyed by these people I believe to be due to the fact that they live in the open air all of the time, day and night, making their living by hunting, which requires a maximum amount of physical exercise, and that all of them are more or less isolated.
>
> * * * As a rule the Seminole Indians are fully as healthy as the white people living in the same localities. The per cent dying of flu was no greater than among white people.

Dr. Robert E. L. Newberne, chief medical supervisor of the Indian Service, wrote a report on the Seminoles in 1921 which apparently represents no original work. All he has to say on health conditions is this:

> The Seminoles of Florida is the most healthy tribe in the United States.
>
> It is said that the Florida Seminoles are free from tuberculosis. I hope they are, but the assertion is too good to accept without question. It is also said that venereal disease is unknown among them. I can accept that as a fact.

Since the time of these two reports a large body of data has accumulated through the record of cases treated by local physicians in Miami, Everglades, Fort Myers, Okeechobee, and Hollywood, services paid for by the Indian Service on a case basis. In 1920 an Indian woman for the first time accepted the services of a physician at the time of confinement. From then on the break from the tribal medicine men is manifest.

*Cases treated*

| In fiscal year— | |
|---|---|
| 1921 | 37 |
| 1922 | 64 |
| 1923 | 156 |
| 1924 | 250 |
| 1925 | 259 |
| 1926 | 244 |
| 1927 | 126 |
| 1928 | 245 |
| 1929 | 218 |
| 1930 | 187 |
| Total for 10-year period | 1,786 |

In the nature of things an arrangement whereby the Indian can go to the nearest local doctor and receive free medical service results in the doctors doing everything in their power to cultivate the Indian's confidence and habituate him to bringing all his physical ailments to them. I am not sure that in some cases Indians have not been

encouraged to bring in wholly imaginary ills. In any case, the tabulation which follows constitutes a more inclusive picture of the ills afflicting this population group than has been obtained for any other group of 500 in the rural population of Florida.

*Cases treated during decade 1921–1930 (fiscal years)*

| | |
|---|---|
| More than 10 per year: | |
| Malaria | 279 |
| Hookworm | 209 |
| La grippe | 138 |
| Rheumatism | 136 |
| Anemia | 113 |
| 5 to 10 per year: | |
| Influenza | 77 |
| Dysentery | 62 |
| Gastritis | 55 |
| Auto intoxication | 53 |
| Accidents, wounds, lacerations | 50 |
| 1 to 4 per year: | |
| Acute indigestion | 40 |
| Bronchitis | 36 |
| Diarrhea | 32 |
| Pneumonia | 29 |
| Gonorrhea | 25 |
| Confinements | 24 |
| Infected feet | 24 |
| Heart disease | 23 |
| Under general term | 10 |
| Mitral stenosis | 11 |
| Mitral regurgitation | 2 |
| Abscess | 18 |
| Cold | 17 |
| Neuralgia | 17 |
| Biliousness | 16 |
| Surgical | 14 |
| Pregnancy | 14 |
| Eczema | 11 |
| Less than 1 per year: | |
| Coryza | 9 |
| Worms | 8 |
| Urethritis | 8 |
| Stomatitis | 8 |
| Chronic indigestion | 7 |
| St. Vitus dance | 6 |
| Miscarriage | 6 |
| Ulcer | 6 |
| Chicken pox | 6 |
| Ulcerated ear | 6 |
| Sore eyes | 6 |
| Aortic stenosis | 5 |
| Infected finger | 5 |
| Hernia | 5 |
| Ptomaine poisoning | 5 |
| Colitis | 5 |
| Menopause | 5 |
| Dengue fever | 4 |
| Cancer | 4 |
| Endometritis | 4 |
| Constipation | 4 |
| General debility | 4 |
| Marasmus | 4 |
| Burns | 4 |
| Neuritis | 4 |
| Tonsilitis | 3 |
| Tuberculosis | 3 |

Less than 1 per year—Continued.

| | |
|---|---|
| Kidney trouble | 3 |
| Inguinal adenitis | 3 |
| Conjunctivitis | 3 |
| Cystitis | 3 |
| Marasmus dentition | 3 |
| Paralysis | 3 |
| Ringworm | 3 |
| Colic | 3 |
| Ground itch | 3 |
| Lumbago | 3 |
| Syphilis | 3 |
| Alopecia | 3 |
| Enlarged gland | 3 |
| Uterine hemorrahage | 3 |
| Croup | 3 |
| Hemorrhage | 3 |
| Psoriasis | 3 |
| Alligator bite | 3 |
| Metrigia | 2 |
| Headache | 2 |
| Monorgegia | 2 |
| Vaginitis | 2 |
| Uterine | 2 |
| Optical | 2 |
| Malnutrition | 2 |
| Ovaritis | 2 |
| Polyarticular arthritis | 2 |
| Salpinigitis | 2 |
| Hepetitis | 2 |
| Bad teeth | 2 |
| Bowel trouble | 2 |
| Streptococcus infection | 2 |
| Arthritis | 2 |
| Skin disease | 1 |
| Dropsy | 2 |
| Infected mouth | 1 |
| Metrosagia | 1 |
| Nephritis | 1 |
| Sterile | 1 |
| Albumenuria | 1 |
| Gastro enteritis | 1 |
| Hyperchloridia | 1 |
| Hydrocephalus | 1 |
| Stomolitis pyorrhea | 1 |
| Suppurating sinus | 1 |
| Adenoids | 1 |
| Aortic insufficiency | 1 |
| Appendicitis | 1 |
| Diphtheria | 1 |
| Encephalitis | 1 |
| Measles | 1 |
| Metrorrhagia | 1 |
| Placenta removal | 1 |
| Typhoid | 1 |
| Defective spine | 1 |
| Erethynial | 1 |
| Eye cataract | 1 |
| Menorhogis | 1 |
| Vaginitism | 1 |
| Vertigo | 1 |
| Excessive menses | 1 |
| Acidosis | 1 |
| Mephristis | 1 |
| Skin eruption | 1 |
| Smallpox | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 1 per year—Continued. | |
| Stricture | 1 |
| Otitis media | 1 |
| Peritonitis | 1 |
| Sand spur in throat | 1 |
| Urticarea | 1 |
| Blindness | 1 |
| Fits | 1 |
| Muscular atrophy | 1 |
| Throat trouble | 1 |
| Toxic poisoning | 1 |
| Pellagra | 1 |
| Snake bite | [1] 1 |

In addition to the above evidence, we have an excellent report on conditions observed among the Seminole Indians of South Florida during an inspection trip to some of the camps in August, 1930, by Dr. W. A. Claxton, of the Florida State Board of Health. So we can speak of health conditions with fair knowledge.

### TUBERCULOSIS

Exclusive of the Five Civilized Tribes, 1 Indian in 10 on the western reservations has tuberculosis; in Arizona the death rate from this cause alone is 15 per thousand. It at once will be evident that this, the greatest scourge of the western Indians, is no problem in Florida. Three cases in 10 years!

From Dr. Du Puis and Mrs. Frank Stranahan I learn that Frank Osceola, Sally (or Nancy) Osceola, and another brother whose name has been forgotten, died of tuberculosis within a couple of years some time about 1902 or 1903.

Tuberculosis made its appearance for the first time in the records when Edna Tommie died in February, 1928, at one of the Miami amusement camps. Her husband, Tony Tommie, contracted the disease and was sent west to the Shawnee Sanitarium in the fall of 1928; he returned to Florida the next year with the progress of the disease apparently arrested.

Coffee Gopher, from a camp on Indian Prairie, died of tuberculosis in Jackson Memorial Hospital, Miami, early in 1930. These are the three cases that appear in the tabulation.

### TRACHOMA

The second great Indian scourge, trachoma, has never made its appearance among the Seminoles; the first case has yet to be reported. Doctor Claxton says:

> Granular conjunctivitis was common in most camps among the children. This will arouse in some minds the question of trachoma, but examination of the eyes of young adults did not show any conjunctival lesions and there are no blind Indians in Florida (there is one), so, since it cures itself spontaneously it can not be trachoma.

### VENEREAL

The first case of venereal disease on record is a case of syphilis in 1923. Two other cases of syphilis appear in the reports for 1925 and 1926.

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[1] Obviously some of the 24 infected feet must be due to snake bite, because there is certainly more than 1 such accident in 10 years.

Gonorrhea made its appearance a year later. There were 2 cases in 1924, 2 in 1925, 4 in 1926, 2 in 1927, 1 in 1929, and 14 in 1930, a total of 25. The epidemic of this year (fiscal, 1931) started with one of the women in a Miami amusement park. She passed it on to a married man who in turn infected his wife and baby. One boy had a case complicated by arthritis in the ankle. There were 19 or 20 under treatment at one time this summer, a situation which indicates a serious breakdown in the old standards of sexual morality.

### TYPHOID

The only case of typhoid ever reported was in 1925, which seems proof enough that the water in the ditches and holes of these south Florida swamps is potable.

### DYSENTERY

Sixty-two cases of dysentery in 10 years offers no particular problem.

### INFECTIONS AND CONTAGIONS

There was an epidemic of Spanish influenza from October to December of 1918, with 66 cases and 10 deaths reported. In 1925 there were 21 cases; in 1927, 18; and in December of 1928 an epidemic broke out among the Big Cypress Indians with 34 cases reported, only one of which resulted in death.

One Indian came down with smallpox in 1928, the only case recorded. The Seminoles have never been vaccinated.

A single case of measles, half a dozen of chicken pox, one of diphtheria—isolation in the swamps has its advantages.

Mumps, scarlet fever, cerebrospinal meningitis, whooping cough have never made their appearance.

### GOITER

No case of goiter has ever been seen among the Seminoles.

### CANCER

Only four cases of cancer have appeared.

### MALARIA

The Seminole's chief afflictions, as evidenced by the cases treated, are exactly what would be expected in a group of bare-footed, ignorant people living in swamps. Malaria heads the list, with 279 cases in 10 years treated by the doctors; undoubtedly a great many suffer from malaria who never bring their troubles to town. This in spite of the fact that it has been the custom of Seminoles to sleep under nets certainly for the last 50 years. Doctor Claxton points out that malaria exists at Okeechobee and Keenansville, and that wherever there is a sawmill employing colored hands there is almost certain to be a focus of infection.

### HOOKWORM

The State board of health treated 154 Indians for hookworm in 1913.

In the decade 1921–1930 we have 209 cases treated.

Doctor Claxton reports that when he made his examinations this year he found many children so heavily infested that their hearts showed valvular leaks. Undoubtedly the Indian who is free from hookworm is the exception and not the rule.

The Seminole is going to go barefooted so long as he lives in the swamps; shoes are impossible for a man who walks from 10 to 20 miles a day through water which in the summer becomes insufferably hot—heat, water, and sand take the hide right off. A barefooted population in Florida is going to harbor hookworms until it can be made to appreciate the necessity of latrines, and that is an idea at present beyond the Seminole. The International Health Board has demonstrated all over the Tropics how whole populations of the illiterate can temporarily be freed from hookworm; to prevent reinfection is another matter.

In Doctor Claxton's opinion—

> It is impracticable to order hookworm treatment in the camps because the children could not be trusted to refrain from foods during the necessary period.

### ANEMIA

The 113 cases of anemia treated result inevitably from the malaria and hookworm.

### TEETH

All observers agree that the Seminoles' teeth are shockingly bad. Ten years ago Doctor Phillips wrote:

> In as many cases as possible I made oral examinations, and the number found with decayed teeth was large. The upper incisors appeared to be the ones most frequently attacked, but although I made a careful inspection, I found no typical "Hutchison's teeth."

Doctor Claxton found conditions worse this summer:

> Everyone has pyorrhea, even children around 8 years of age. The women after 20 years of age begin to loose their teeth; in fact, beginning decay was marked at 10 and 12 years. These teeth gradually rot off and the roots are eventually pulled out. Toothache is common. The fact that these people never drink milk or eat green vegetables would account for the early tooth decay. Toothbrushes are entirely unknown.

It should be mentioned that the great wooden sofskee spoon, which in all camps perpetually passes from mouth to mouth, is one of the most perfect vehicles ever invented for the transfer of oral infections.

### GENERAL FACTORS AFFECTING HEALTH

Turning from the question of disease to such matters as food, drink, clothing, and sanitary habits, which condition the health of all, the picture is much brighter. The adult Seminole is personally cleanly. He bathes frequently enough so that body odors are not usually noticeable. Clothing is laundered and aired in the sun at proper intervals. Children, naturally, are not very careful about their persons; many are dirty. Both children and women commonly harbor head lice.

The clothing is loose and sufficient most of the year; in the occasional cold snaps the Seminole, as well as the winter visitor in unheated dwellings, shivers a bit. The only objectionable feature of costume is the enormous weight of beads worn by the women.

There is no crowding in Seminole camps and sunlight has full access. The exceptions to this statement are the houses erected by the Government at the Seminole Agency; these are 1-room affairs about 10 by 10 feet, with a screened porch of equal size—the interiors commonly are both dirty and crowded. That camps are lightly abandoned at the time of a death, or for other reason, is an additional sanitary safeguard.

The water supply derived from any old hole in the swamp could easily be bettered by the use of a pump with a sand point driven 10 or 12 feet, and made cooler in summer time by the device of porous earthenware used so commonly in the Tropics.

Although proper disposal of body waste remains a great problem, garbage takes care of itself—there is always a dog or a pig handy to dispose of whatever is thrown over the shoulder. Wherefore flies are not in evidence.

The sleeping arrangements high off the ground could hardly be bettered. Beds and mattresses would certainly bring with them vermin.

### FOOD

That the present diet of the Seminole is a bit overloaded with meat and starch would be the opinion of most dietitians. No milk, no butter is consumed, and fresh vegetables but sparingly. Undoubtedly a great part of his dental trouble derives from the very soft nature of the bulk of his food, stews and water-thin grits, nothing to bite on.

### HEREDITY

Inbreeding by a small population group simply tends to intensify whatever hereditary characteristics there may be to pass on. If the stock be sound to start with, inbreeding makes it stockier; a race of idiots by close inbreeding will rapidly fill an asylum. Physically, I see no evidence of deterioration, because Seminoles have been forced heretofore to choose their mates from a rather limited group, unless it be in this matter of wretched teeth. What will result from the hybridism of Seminole girls with the bootleggers, knaves, and swindlers who are likely to become the fathers of the first generation of Indian-white halfbreeds is not so hopeful.

### ALCOHOL AND DRUG HABITS

The Seminole is not addicted to any of the habit-forming drugs.

He is inordinately fond of alcohol. He always has been. Just now he is getting the worst liquor guzzled in a hundred years, a woeful fact from the standpoint of health.

### OBSTETRICS

There have been only 24 confinements attended by physicians in 10 years, a misfortune incident to topography and isolation. While it is picturesque to think of a woman able to go off in the brush by

herself and tear or bite her own umbilical connection, "it is also true," as Doctor Claxton points out, "that gynecological examinations would reveal many prolapsed uteri and other abnormalities due to improper exercise directly after childbirth."

### HEALTH WORK

The health work carried on by the Government thus far has been purely curative. Although the day of the medicine man is done, the work of white doctors is greatly handicapped by the barrier of language and by transportation difficulties which practically limit medical aid to those who come in to the towns. Educational and preventive aspects lie entirely in the future.

### HOSPITALS

Seminole Indians requiring hospitalization are taken either to the small hospital in Everglades, to Lee Memorial in Fort Myers, or to the Jackson Memorial in Miami.

### VITAL STATISTICS

I end this statement of health conditions where normally it should begin, with a discussion of vital statistics. The record of births and deaths I do not consider worth tabulating. Deaths of adults are easy to ascertain, the news passes by word of mouth. But no one during the past 10 years has been sufficiently in touch with many outlying Seminole camps to give an accurate picture of births and infant deaths. No less than 68 individuals are taken up on the 1930 census rolls because of omission from the roll of 1929.

A high birth rate, high death rate, with excessive infant mortality, giving as a net result a vigorously increasing population is the proper picture, one that would be blurred by publication of the vital statistics available.

## SECTION 6. INTELLECTUAL ABILITY AND EDUCATION

The record of Seminole education is a short horse soon curried. Writing in 1915, the Reverend Mr. Spencer says:

> Tony B. M. Tommie completed the work of two grades in the public school at Fort Lauderdale during the past year. The fact that we have one boy in school by tribal permission is an advance. * * * The time is not far distant when the tribal law forbidding education and providing that all persons learning to read and write shall have their ears cropped will be repealed.

The law must have been repealed, for in 1920 we read that—

> The Fort Lauderdale camp for several years has had representation in the public schools; the county school at Indian Town has also enrolled several Indian children.

And then on February 1 of 1927, the little school at the Seminole Agency near Dania was opened:

> On the Sunday preceding Tony Tommie, a self-styled chief of all the Seminoles, and certain white friends professing great friendship for and interest in these Indians, visited the camp in my absence and impressed upon the Indians that the children would all have to submit to vaccination as the first step when the school opened. Thereupon all the Indians fled from the camp except one family and the school opened with but three pupils.

The Dania School goes on in 1930 with seven or eight pupils. The net result of all this education, formal and informal, is perhaps four Seminoles who can carry on a conversation in fairly fluent English; three who can write an understandable though ungrammatical letter and keep simple accounts.

If the Seminole as an educated man must be rated at zero, it is altogether otherwise if we attempt to place him from the quite different and altogether more important standpoint of native intellectual ability. Seminoles impress me as alert and active mentally, as close observers with retentive memories. They are not inventive, not noticeably curious, downright stupid only when drugged with alcohol. They will stand comparison with the average illiterate white man in the same environment.

Mr. Lorenzo D. Creel, one of the ablest men the Indian Service ever sent down here, said, "I think in comparision with other Indians the Seminoles easily stand in the first class."

## Section 7. Economic Facts

Have you food?

Are you supplied with clothing?

Have you a shelter against the storm?

These are the fundamental questions. Answered in the affirmative, life goes on. If the answer be "Enough and to spare," we have the economic prerequisite to cultural advance.

Let it be said at once that the Seminole stands on his own feet. Six very old Indians receive rations to the value of $10 a month, and two widows with children receive $15 monthly; all receive free medical service. But unlike many western Indians, the Seminole is the recipient of no unearned income; he gets nothing from tribal funds; he receives nothing from the sale or rental of individually or collectively owned property. How, then, with no education, the merest smattering of English, business experience limited to buying over a counter and bargaining with fur dealers and bootleggers, does he make a living?

### SHELTER

The third question can be answered with a word, yes. A Seminole family can erect a shelter in three days that will last him 30 years with an occasional renewal of thatch. There are sentimentalists infesting Florida who pity the poor Indian because he lives in an open house. Fresh air and an occasional wetting never killed anybody. The Seminole lives in an open house because he likes an open house. If a man can thatch a roof exquisitely, can he not also thatch a wall? Compare the clean, airy quarters at Guava Camp with the dog kennels provided for Indians at the Seminole Agency, and say which way is best.

### HUNTING AND TRAPPING

Hunting and trapping are still the principal occupations of the Cypress and Everglades Indians. While all run hogs, their pork is not yet a necessity; every Indian in the southwestern group is competent with his gun to supply his table abundantly with meat at all times of the year. His only possible complaint would resemble the

wail of the cracker on the coast, "Nothing to eat but pompano and quail."

Which reminds me of a letter written to the Seminoles, then on the Withlacoochee Reservation north of Tampa, by a President of the United States in 1835:

> My Children: * * * The white people are settling around you. The game has disappeared from your country. Your people are poor and hungry. * * * Your friend,
>
> A. JACKSON.

A hundred years later white people are still settling around him. He is still poor. But he is seldom hungry. And south Florida is still a sportsman's paradise. A hundred years hence, with intelligent conservation, there should be more game in south Florida than to-day.

### FUR BUYERS AND PRICES

While death in recent years has erased the names of many men who made their fortunes in the Florida fur trade—Girtman Bros., of Miami; Frank Stranahan, of Fort Lauderdale; Judge Storter, of Everglades; Brown, of Immokalee—a new generation of fur buyers has taken their places. A. A. Harrington, of Arcadia, and his associate, J. E. Carter, of Canal Point; William Poole, of La Belle; John J. Fohl, of Fort Myers; R. L. Pierce, Calvin Drawdy, and Nate Zelmenovitz, of Okeechobee; Evan Kenzie, of Dania; Bert Lasher and Kiser, of Miami. Some of these men trade directly with the Indians; Harrington and Fohl deal more through local men such as Sam Thompson, at Immokalee, and Billy House, on the Trail, who in turn buy from the Indian.

The Indian is a minority factor in the Florida fur trade. Fohl says he gets 65 per cent of his skins from the whites, only 35 per cent from Indians. His total business, he says, amounts annually to about 5,000 raccoon skins, 400 otter, 8,000 to 10,000 alligator skins. The opossum and skunk he regards as valueless, and he complains that the Indians stretch their raccoon skins too much.

Mr. Harrington, of Arcadia, tells me that he and Carter together do a business of $6,000 to $7,000 a year with the Indians. He complains, rightly, against the taking of fur in summer. Mr. Harrington is my authority for saying that white men have preempted entirely the territory between La Belle and the Devils Garden; but that from the Big Cypress south of the Garden the Indians bring in two-thirds of the fur and hides.

These buyers pay for raccoon skins from 35 cents to $2.50. Alligator skins vary in price from 25 cents for a 3-foot hide to $3 for one 7 feet long. Otter are worth $12 to $15. Tanned buckskin sells by the pound at $1.50 to $2. Live alligators, caught very young, bring the Indian from 15 to 30 cents apiece. The live-alligator trade is very limited, however.

Ivey Byrd, jr., a white trapper, says he gets better prices than do the Indians by mailing his fur direct to Sears, Roebuck & Co., in Philadelphia; and that he receives $3.50 to $4 for a 7-foot alligator. The Seminole in the fall of 1930 for the first time shipped direct to Sears, Roebuck & Co.

It should be noted that present prices are much better than 20 years ago. Creel in his 1911 report quotes the following prices then received by the Seminoles:

| | |
|---|---|
| Otter | $7.00–$9.00 |
| Raccoon | .35– .50 |
| Alligator | .35– .75 |

Diminishing supplies in a measure are compensated by rising prices.

### INCOME FROM FUR AND SKINS

An attempt to calculate how much the Seminoles receive from this, their principal source of cash income, is fraught with many chances for error. Nevertheless it is worth attempting. We can arrive at the approximate value of Fohl's trade, for example, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 5,000 raccoon skins, at an average of $1.50 | $7,500 |
| 400 otter skins, at an average of $12 | 4,800 |
| 10,000 alligator skins, at an average of $1 | 10,000 |
| | 22,300 |

Of this total, the Indian trade is 35 per cent, or $7,805. By such rough approximations and after discussing the matter with several local people whose opinion is considerably better than a guess, I compute the total value of fur and skins taken by Seminoles thus:

*Annual value of Indian trade*

| | |
|---|---|
| John Fohl, Fort Myers | $8,000 |
| Harrington & Carter, Arcadia | 6,000 |
| Bert Lasher, Miami | 5,000 |
| Kiser, Miami | 5,000 |
| Other Miami buyers | 4,000 |
| Three Okeechobee buyers | 3,000 |
| Evan Kenzie, Dania | 1,000 |
| 2 La Belle buyers | 2,000 |
| Total | 34,000 |

The Indian does not receive all of this $34,000, however. As pointed out above, there frequently is a middleman between the Indian and these dealers. Dire necessity or desire for whisky frequently induces the Indian to sell far below the market. The Seminole receives at the outside not more than 75 per cent of this total, or in round numbers $25,000.

Another source of income based on the hunt is derived from the illegal sale of venison, in season and out. The Indian can get 50 cents a pound for it, more or less. If hard up, he is likely to go to a storekeeper and exchange a whole carcass for a five dollar bill—the storekeeper then sends the bootlegger around to complete the transaction and keep the money in circulation.

Or a car speeds along the Tamiami Trail and pulls up beside an Indian.

"John, I go Fort Myers, come back 4 o'clock. Pennawáw, $2?"

On his way back to Miami, the white man receives a wild turkey and the Indian his $2. Also an illegal transaction.

Although hunting is the Seminole's chief industry, he is regularly beaten at his own game by white men. Zane Grey tells of meeting an Indian on Broad River who had killed 11 alligators the night before, using a torch. Alphonso Lopez, of Everglades, who piloted me up all the large rivers in Monroe County, said that he and his brother in a lake at Cape Sable killed 103 in two nights, using a powerful reflector. It is the difference between a dugout canoe and a

gasoline launch. Lopez also told me that he and his brother will average 500 skins each, mostly raccoon, in two months' trapping on the Monroe County Reservation. White men buy better traps and they take more pains in handling their pelts.

### STOCK RAISING

If hunting is the Seminole's foremost industry, stock raising is his second. With the Okeechobee Indians probably three-fourths of their meat is pork and not more than one-quarter game.

*Cattle.*—In Bartram's day, just before the American Revolution, the Seminoles had big herds of cattle. In the days when Andrew Jackson was an Indian baiter and a cattle rustler, he stole as many as a thousand head from the Mikasukis near Tallahassee. Creel, writing in 1911, says:

> There are about 50 head of stock cattle and 12 yoke of oxen in the Cow Creek country. Also a large number of hogs. The Big Cypress Indians have 29 head of stock cattle and 10 yoke of oxen. All have a few hogs, but panthers and bear are plentiful and prevent their increase. The group at Fort Lauderdale had no domestic animals except chickens, the raising of which is a leading industry among the Seminoles.

Even this pitifully small number of cattle was destined to disappear. On open range white cattlemen stole on all occasions and the Indians had no redress. A few years ago Ada Tiger kept 30 or 40 head on the Martin County Reservation, but with the 1926 boom came the end of the open range up there and she was forced to sell out. I can not learn of a single beef or cow owned by the Seminoles in 1930. There are about the same number of oxen in the Big Cypress as in Creel's day; north of Okeechobee they have been abandoned.

*Horses.*—Perhaps 20 saddle ponies are owned by the Okeechobee Indians.

*Hogs.*—Hogs are the backbone of the Indian's livestock industry. They have free run of the open range and get almost no attention beyond castration and marking until ready to be butchered, when they are shot down like any other wild thing. Razorbacks predominate. Hog raising, like the cattle industry, shows the effect of the white man's withering touch. In 1915 Mr. Spencer reported that the Indians were supplying Stuart with pork. In 1917—

> Considerable money was made at one time from pork, but so many hogs have been stolen since war prices have prevailed that the Indians have reduced the size of their herds to a number that can be kept near the camp.

In 1930 I find hogs kept about all the Indian camps to supply themselves with food; practically none are sold. White men shoot the Indians' hogs with no more concern for property rights than if they were deer; this breed of vermin has been known to shoot an Indian hog, cut off a ham, and leave the rest for the buzzards. Nature raises enough to cover this marginal loss, but all the bacon in the world would not poultice the outraged feelings.

### WAGES EARNED

In the winter and early spring when garden truck is to be harvested, the Seminoles make fair wages for perhaps 45 days a year. They receive $2 a day for picking tomatoes and eggplant; picking beans

at 20 to 30 cents a bushel pays them $4 to $5 a day. Children generally help their parents and receive no individual wage. A man or woman thus employed makes approximately—

| | |
|---|---|
| 30 days picking eggplant and tomatoes, at $2 | $60.00 |
| 15 days picking beans, at $4.50 | 67.50 |
| | 127.50 |
| 50 individuals each making $127.50 | 6,375.00 |

When the hunting season opens in November, a few Indians guide at $4 per day; a guide with an ox team gets $6 and food. Whitney Cypress, Wilson Cypress, Cuffney Tiger, and Bird Fraser, of the Cypress Indians, guide and furnish teams; Billy Bowlegs of the Okeechobee Indians is in demand; and from 10 to 15 guides along the Tamiami Trail get in a couple of trips a season. Ten days a year is a fair average for these guides.

| | |
|---|---|
| 4 men working 10 days, guide and oxen, at $6 | $240 |
| 15 men working 10 days, at $4 | 600 |
| Total from guiding | 840 |

Indians at the Seminole Agency are given three days of work per week at $2.50 a day; this totaled for the last fiscal year $530.

Joe Bowers and Jim Gopher have steady work tending orange groves; Joe gets $10 a week, Jim $13.75; their combined annual income is $1,200.

### SEMINOLE CRAFTS

Of handicrafts with much cash value the Seminole is innocent. He weaves no rugs or blankets, fashions no pottery; the silver he beats into ornaments is for his own use only; the beadwork of the women runs mostly to watch fobs without means of attachment, a few belts, an occasional necklace. They do make a good many dolls, some purely decorative, others intended for doorstops. Cash sales from dolls, beadwork, moccasins, and Seminole dresses totals around $1,500.

### THE SHOW BUSINESS

In the two amusement parks in Miami and one in St. Petersburg, certain Indians make a pitiful living by exhibiting themselves to curious tourists. The Indians come and go from these places; sometimes there will be 50 in a camp, sometimes a single family. In the summer time the Miami camps are almost deserted, St. Petersburg closed entirely. Five months is a fair average. Seven families are hired for about this period by Musa Isle at about $6 per week per family plus food, according to the acting Seminole agent; Coppinger's Tropical Gardens employ about 4 families and St. Petersburg 4 or 5.

| | |
|---|---|
| 15 families 20 weeks, at $6 per week | $1,800 |

Mr. John Marshall, the acting agent, considers that this is too high, that $1,000 is nearer the proper figure for cash received. Food, of course, is the big item to the Indian.

### PETTY CASH

Indigent Indians receive rations to the value of $1,200 a year from the United States Government.

Huckleberries at from 12½ to 35 cents a quart may yield $500.

Along the Tamiami Trail some who have learned to ask half a dollar for permitting themselves to be photographed, who have taught their children to approach with outstretched hands, and if the dole be a copper, throw it into the canal, may pick up another $200.

### THE TRIBAL BUDGET

Annual cash income for the 578 Seminoles would then total something like this:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sale of furs and skins | | $25,000 |
| Wages— | | |
| Of casual laborers | $6,375 | |
| Of laborers at agency | 530 | |
| Of Bowers and Gopher | 1,200 | |
| Of guides | 840 | |
| | | 8,945 |
| Sale of dolls, dresses, moccasins, beads | | 1,500 |
| Cash income from the show business | | 1,500 |
| Illegal sale of venison and turkey | | 500 |
| Sale of huckleberries | | 500 |
| Gifts to Tamiami beggars | | 200 |
| Total cash income | | 38,145 |
| 50 per cent tribute to bootleggers | | 19,073 |
| Total cash income available for Seminole use | | 19,072 |

The population of 578 represents, say, 115 families of five members each. The average annual cash income available for use would then be $166 per family of five, or $33.20 per capita.

Some will question the statement that half of the Seminoles' cash income goes for whisky. Mrs. Lucien Spencer, who was associated with her husband in the work of Seminole administration for 17 years, regards 50 per cent as low. Mr. John Marshall, the acting superintendent, says 60 per cent for the adult Indians and 75 per cent for young men and boys without family responsibilities would be nearer correct.

Where does this $166 per family go?

Cotton for clothing, guns and ammunition, Singer sewing machines, phonographs and records, second-hand Fords and gasoline, beads, coffee, grits, salt, sugar, tobacco.

Two of our three fundamental questions are now answered—shelter and clothing. There remains to discuss food.

### THE BOUNTY OF THE WILDERNESS

The meat supply is at the moment abundant. The two sources of flour which the Seminole inherited from the aborigines who preceded him, coontie and the chinabrier (Smilax), are failing; at least Dania seems to be the only place where much coontie flour is still consumed.

Both the saw palmetto and cabbage tree yield delicious edible buds which are fully as good as the domestic cabbage. Huckleberries, the coco-plum, seagrape, pigeon plum, gopher apple, prickly pears, and sour oranges in season are to be had for the picking.

### AGRICULTURE

The balance of his food the Seminole derives from his planted crops. His gardening is of the simplest. Either near his camp or on some rich hammock in the vicinity, he clears a half acre or an acre at most, using no tools but the ax and hoe, fences it to keep out hogs, and grows his corn, sweet potatoes, squash, melons, and some cowpeas.

In addition to garden truck, the Seminole formerly planted a good deal of sugarcane. In 1915 Mr. Spencer wrote:

> Billie Johns made 150 gallons of cane sirup which on my advice he put in tin cans. He sold the same at $1.10 the gallon. Naha Tiger made 50 gallons and found a ready sale for it. Lewis Tucker also canned a few gallons and sold it.

The patches of cane have diminished much since then. Charlie Tigertail, on Turner River, has an acre in cane and some is grown in the Big Cypress camps, but the total acreage is insignificant. Why is it that even his gardens shrivel?

## SECTION 8. A HALF CENTURY OF DISINTEGRATION

"Human progress marches only when children excel their parents," said President Hoover in his speech opening the White House conference on child welfare. What progress have Seminoles made in half a century?

They have been driven into the most inhospitable swamps in Florida.

They have been robbed of all security of possessions.

They have been forced to abandon their cattle.

They have been driven from groves and fields to which their only title was that of creator.

With diminishing game, their economic position has become increasingly insecure.

Tribal organization and authority have suffered a progressive decay.

Long and rightly regarded as one of the most moral groups in the world, there is observable a definite drift toward promiscuity.

Education has made no mark upon their minds.

Syphilis and gonorrhea have made their appearance.

The children of warriors have become drunkards and beggars.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

### SECTION 1. LEGAL STATUS OF THE SEMINOLE

The State of Florida recognized the Seminole in the Constitution of 1868, Article XVI:

SEC. 7. The tribe of Indians located in the southern portion of the State, and known as the Seminole Indians, shall be entitled to one member in each house of the legislature. Such member shall have all the rights, privileges, and remuneration as other members of the legislature. Such members shall be elected by the members of their tribes in the manner prescribed for all elections by this constitution. The tribe shall be represented only by a member of the same and in no case by a white man: *Provided*, That the representative of the Seminole Indians shall not be a bar to the representation of any county by citizens thereof.

SEC. 8. The legislature may at any time impose such tax on the Indians as it may deem proper and such imposition of tax shall constitute the Indians citizens and they shall thence forward be entitled to all the privileges of other citizens and thereafter be barred of special representation.

In the constitution adopted by the convention of 1885 the Seminole is not mentioned. The Indian of those days was as likely to exercise his right of special representation at Tallahassee as he would be to lie down with a rattlesnake. In an effort to determine the status of the Indian in Florida law at the present time, I asked the attorney general for an authoritative statement. He replied under date of September 15, 1930, as follows:

IN RE STATUS OF INDIANS UNDER CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF FLORIDA

Under section 1994 of the Compiled General Laws, certain lands in Monroe County were set aside and given to the Seminole Indians as a reservation. Further than this, Indians are not mentioned in our statutes. The State of Florida has no court decision or statute that I am aware of which deals with the status of Indians as citizens of Florida, but I might state that the Seminole Indians have never been regarded in law as citizens of this State, although there are no court decisions to that effect. The Indians when off the reservation set aside for them by the State have generally been held liable for the ordinary tax required by the State, such as automobile license, whether regarded as citizens or not.

FRED H. DAVIS, *Attorney General.*

In a letter dated November 27, 1930, I put the following question to the attorney general:

Congress, by the act of June 2, 1924, conferred citizenship on all Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States. (43 Stat. L., 253.)

Making the Indians citizens of the United States automatically by virtue of the fourteenth amendment makes them citizens of the State wherein they reside. (See Piper *v.* Big Pine School District, 226 Pac. 926, Cal. 9124.)

Every male person of the age of 21 years and upwards that shall, at the time of registration, be a citizen of the United States, and that shall have resided and had his habitation, domicile, home, and place of permanent abode in Florida for one year and in the county for six months, shall in such county be deemed a qualified elector at all elections under this constitution. (Art. VI, sec. 1, Constitution of Florida, 1885.)

Why are not Florida Seminole Indians citizens of Florida and qualified to register and vote?

To this question the attorney general replied on November 29, 1930:

IN RE STATUS OF INDIANS AS CITIZENS

This is in acknowledgement of your letter of November 27 regarding the above matter.

I might be inclined to agree with your contention that the Federal statute of June 2, 1924, has the effect of making Indians citizens of Florida as well as citizens of the United States. At the same time, no one having jurisdiction in the premises has raised such a question for my decision and therefore anything that I might say about it would be wholly unofficial at this time.

I might state, however, that the United States Supreme Court has definitely held that Congress has no authority to pass laws prescribing the qualification of electors in the several States.

FRED H. DAVIS, *Attorney General.*

On August 30, 1930, I wrote the State game commissioner as follows:

Whatever the law, it seems that Seminole Indians are permitted to take any species of game at any time of the year. Is that attitude on the part of your department likely to continue indefinitely?

I imagine you will be likely to shut down on the Indian's selling game out of season long before you bother him about killing for his own consumption. Is that correct?

In asking these questions, I am not trying to put you on record, but merely to ascertain if the Indian's source of livelihood, in so far as he lives by hunting, is likely to change in the next 20 years, say, through any radical tightening of the game laws as applied to him.

To this the commissioner replied on September 2, 1930:

Indians have been allowed to hunt at will in the past, but in recent years they have been debauched by a certain white element and have been hunting a great deal out of season and selling the game. This we are going to use every effort to stop. We feel that the Indians should be placed in a reservation and be required to stay there and allowed to hunt in this reservation for their own use, but not for the market.

The sentiment of our people is growing toward the curbing of their activities in the woods on account of their recent depredations. We have never charged the Indians hunting licenses, although Mr. Fred H. Davis, our attorney general, has ruled that they are citizens and should be treated just as other citizens of Florida. We are going to endeavor to stop them from hunting and selling game, and hope some method can be devised by which they can live without making infractions of our game law.

C. C. WOODWARD,
*State Game Commissioner.*

In response to a request for copy of the attorney general's ruling mentioned in the preceding letter, I received the following, dated September 19, 1930:

Answering your letter of September 17, I am inclosing herewith copy of Attor ney General Davis's opinion, written March 31, 1929.

The department of game and fresh-water fish has no desire to make it hard for the Indians, but we are going to insist that they quit killing and selling game. They are not to blame for this condition nearly as much as certain depraved white men who are using them for this purpose.

C. C. WOODWARD,
*State Game Commissioner.*

The ruling of the attorney general mentioned follows:

MARCH 31, 1929.

Hon. C. C. WOODWARD,
*Game and Fresh-Water Fish Commissioner,*
*Tallahassee, Fla.*

DEAR SIR: Sections 1994 and 1995, Compiled Laws of 1927, provide for the setting apart of certain lands in Monroe County as a Seminole Indian Reservation. The description of the lands will be found in section 1994.

Chapter 11838, acts of 1927, is a general law providing for the regulation of hunting and fishing in the State of Florida and no exceptions are contained therein exempting Indians from the operations thereof, and I am, therefore, of the opinion that Indians are as much subject to the provisions of said chapter 11838, acts of 1927, as are any other persons in the State of Florida. It is probable that the act would not be construed as covering the territory comprising the Seminole Indian Reservation above referred to, but I express no opinion on this subject at this time, in view of the fact that recent laws of the United States have made Indians citizens of the United States the same as all other persons, and it is likely that the special privileges and immunities which formerly attended Indians as such have now been abrogated.

FRED H. DAVIS,
*Attorney General.*

JURISDICTION OVER COMMERCIAL VILLAGES

The question of the legal status of the Seminole came up again regarding jurisdiction over the amusement parks. On September 11, 1930, I addressed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

For years there have been Seminole Indian villages in amusement parks within the city limits of Miami and St. Petersburg. Undesirable from every point of view, they are particularly so as foci of venereal infection.

Has the United States any jurisdiction?

It seems to me wholly a question for the local police power and State health authorities.

The assistant commissioner concurred, September 23, 1930:

As you say, this is a question for the local and State health authorities to handle, because the United States has no jurisdiction unless some Federal law is violated. However, it would be entirely proper to take up the matter with the local authorities with the view of having them do what is practicable to remedy the undesirable conditions which exist.

J. HENRY SCATTERGOOD,
*Assistant Commissioner.*

On November 1, 1930, after a preliminary conference with Mr. Reeder, in order to get the matter before the Miami City Commissioners I stated the case as follows:

HOLLYWOOD, FLA., *November 1, 1930.*

C. H. REEDER, Esq.,
*Mayor of Miami, Miami, Fla.*

MY DEAR MAYOR REEDER: In my survey of the Seminole Indians for the United States Indian Service, I have encountered a serious situation which directly concerns the city of Miami.

All testimony agrees that up to the year 1930 the Seminole Indians have been practically free of venereal disease. Within the past 10 months Dr. J. G. Du Puis, of Lemon City, has treated 4 Seminole women and 6 men for gonorrhea; Dr. George S. Stone, of Fort Myers, has treated 3 men and 2 women, a total of 15 cases.

Both doctors name the two camps maintained in the city of Miami for show purposes, namely, Musa Isle and Coppinger's Tropical Gardens, as the source of infection. I inclose statements from the two doctors.

With a people as ignorant of elementary sanitation as are the Seminoles, with individuals constantly passing from these villages back to the camps in the Big Cypress, a source of venereal infection such as this constitutes a health menace the seriousness of which is difficult to exaggerate. The infection must be stopped at the source, or the tribe will become rotted through and through.

The United States Government has no jurisdiction.

It would be a splendid thing if the city of Miami would prohibit Indian Villages for show purposes within her borders.

Very respectfully,

ROY NASH,
*Special Commissioner to Negotiate with Indians.*

The medical affidavits supporting my charge belong in the record:

FORT MYERS, FLA., *October 30, 1930.*

MY DEAR MR. NASH: Answering your inquiry of this date as to the possible source of gonorrhea infection of the Seminole Indians of Florida. Those that I have treated in the past 6 months give a history that traces back to a camp in the city of Miami, Fla., as the source of infection. Number treated, 3 males, 2 females.

GEO. S. STONE, M. D.

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LEMON CITY, FLA., *October 31, 1930.*

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR,
*Division of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: Having practiced medicine and surgery for the past 30 years for the Seminole Indians, the tribe has remained practically free of venereal diseases until the past 12 months, it is with regret that I have observed many cases of gonorrhea in both males and females of the Seminoles.

Their recent custom of harboring in miscellaneously operated camps close in to our cities give opportunity to the immoral class of white people to take advantage of these confiding innocent people and plant vice and disease amongst them.

Very respectfully,

J. D. DU PUIS, M. D.

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[Miami Herald, November 11, 1930]

COMMISSION TO VIEW SEMINOLE VILLAGES—MUSA ISLE OPERATOR AND INDIAN PROTEST STATEMENT ALLEGING SPREAD OF DISEASE

City commissioners will inspect Musa Isle and other Seminole Indian villages in Miami this week, it was decided yesterday when Mrs. Bert Lasher, operator of Musa Isle and Corey Osceola, Seminole, from her village, appeared before the commission to protest against a statement made recently by Ray Nash, special commissioner of the Indian Field Service.

Nash in a communication to the city last week charged that by reason of living in commercial villages several of the Indians had contracted diseases and that the camps were insanitary. He suggested that all Indian camps within the city limits be abolished.

Mrs. Lasher said that a number of Indians had contracted diseases, but they were Indians which never had come to the camp before. She appealed to the commission to instruct the police department to prohibit the Indians from visiting the negro section, where, she said, they were sold bootleg liquor which made them irresponsible.

Dr. John W. Shisler, welfare director, reported that on instruction from Frank H. Wharton, city manager, he had visited the Indian camps and found them to be sanitary.

Commissioners were of the opinion that the camps were assets to the city and beneficial to the Indians because they provided them with trading posts for the furs and skins they obtained in the Everglades. Commissioner E. G. Sewell praised the Musa Isle Camp as historical as well as an attraction for winter visitors. No official action was taken pending the visit to the camps.

Mayor Reeder placed my letter before the city commissioners. Their attitude is sufficiently indicated in the foregoing clipping from the Miami Herald. At a later hearing before the commission, Mrs. Hicks Allen, president of the Miami Women's Club, headed a delegation of women who added their protest against these places. The camps go on as before.

## Section 2. The Race Question

In a society which draws the color line, it is highly interesting to note the position of the Indian, who, so far as epidermal pigmentation goes, is frequently darker than many classified as negroes. The Seminole is a "white man." He can travel on the railroad in coaches reserved for whites. He enters hotels and eats at the same table with whites. He is admitted to white wards in local hospitals. Although no Seminole children at the present moment are in white schools, in years past they have been admitted to white schools both at Fort Lauderdale and Indian Town.

While the laws of Florida specify that only white children may attend the white schools, the intent was clearly to separate white and negro children; there was no intent to discriminate against the Indian, he was entirely overlooked. Captain Spencer writes on this point:

> This law technically places the Indian children in the colored schools, which can not be done as the Indian draws the color line more strictly than do the whites.

## Section 3. White Contacts

Since the written word is unable to make its impress upon the mind of illiteracy, the Seminole must gather his entire impression of the civilization to which he must adjust himself from what he can see and through the white men he knows. He sees the stills of moonshiners hidden in the depths of his own wilderness. He sees an endless stream of motor cars whizzing madly across the Tamiami Trail, a people to whom motion has become an occupation. He sees Miami, where lying in the sunshine is an occupation, where the horse race and the dog race are the most important concerns of the human race.

The habitat of the bulk of the Seminoles in Florida is one of the most lawless regions in the United States. So it happens that the Seminole is being ushered into the presence of the great American mysteries by a curious and Catholic group: Crackers; crooks who shoot his hogs; murderers and missionaries; game wardens and sheriffs; storekeepers in Immokalee, fur buyers, trappers, hunters; rich women whose hearts yearn to remove the barbs from the saw grass; census enumerators, Indian agents, congressional committees, investigators.

Making more impress upon the Seminole than all of these combined, the recipient of one-half his cash income, agent provacateur of all his crimes, stands that liaison officer between the dismal swamp and the realm of delerious forgetting, the bootlegger.

## Section 4. Liquor

"Bootlegger" is the twentieth century name for a breed of vermin that has been systematically debauching the Indian since 1492. Viewing the plight to which the Seminole has been reduced through its abuse, I find something infinitely pathetic in the evidence that originally his forefathers recognized liquor as their arch enemy. The Travels of William Bartram is the best description extant of

Florida just previous to the American Revolution. It contains this significant passage:

The Muscogulges, with their confederates, the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and perhaps the Cherokees, eminently deserve the encomium of all nations, for their wisdom and virtue in resisting and even repelling the greatest, and even the common enemy of mankind, at least of most of the European nations, I mean spirituous liquors.

The first and most cogent article in all their treaties with the white people, is, that there shall not be any kind of spirituous liquors sold or brought into their towns; and the traders are allowed but two kegs (5 gallons each) which is supposed to be sufficient for a company, to serve them on the road; and if any of this remains on their approaching the towns, they must spill it on the ground or secrete it on the road, for it must not come into the town.

On my journey from Mobile to the nation, just after we had passed the junction of the Pensacola Road with our path, two young traders overtook us on their way to the nation. We inquired what news? They informed us that they were running about 40 kegs of Jamaica spirits (which by dashing would have made at least 80 kegs) to the nation; and after having left the town three or four days, they were surprised on the road in the evening, just after they had come to camp, by a party of Creeks, who discovering their species of merchandise, they forthwith struck their tomahawks into every keg, giving the liquor to the thirsty sand, not tasting a drop of it themselves; and they had enough to do to keep the tomahawks from their own skulls.

Woodbourne, in Causes of the Florida War, narrates the next chapter in this contemptible American history:

The appointment of Gen. Wiley Thompson as agent for the Seminole Indians, was made in November, 1833, in place of Major Phagan, who was dismissed in consequence of his numerous frauds upon the Indians. Several fatal rencontres had taken place about this period and in the early part of 1834, all of which were clearly traced to the effects of intemperance. Two negroes belonging to General Clinch were forcibly seized by the intoxicated Indians, and while endeavoring to effect their escape, they received such severe injuries as to cause their death almost immediately. General Thompson writes to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

"My personal safety has been more than once endangered by the intoxication of Indians, and I consider myself no more safe from the proprietors of the numerous dirty little whisky doggeries located around the Indian borders, on whom I have been as severe as I have power to be. I have been so provoked, as to be almost tempted to order the chiefs to demolish the little log huts and rude shanties bovering upon the Indian border, in which the Indian's bane is kept for sale."

In his report to the commissioner for 1895, Dr. J. E. Brecht says:

Our opposers—whisky men, etc.—had a clearer field during 1895. They watched my movements and, waiting their chance, would rush to the Indian camps as soon as they learned I was not there, and as matters were I could not spend much time in visiting among these Indians during the fiscal year 1895. The whisky sold among the Indians was of such a poor quality that several of them came near dying from the effects of the stuff.

Twenty years later the liquor problem looks very bright, at least in Captain Spencer's 1915 report:

At present, owing to the fact that the Indians have very little money, there is no regular traffic in intoxicants. No liquor whatever is taken on Indian lands.

There is only one place where the sale of liquor becomes a problem and that is at Miami. A decoction made from red pepper, a little whisky, and a drop or two of cocaine to the quart, is sometimes made in the negro quarters of the town and sold to the Indians. Also, the steamers from Nassau smuggle in a certain amount of Holland gin, and certain negroes sell this to the Indians.

There are no licensed saloons in any of the counties in which Indians are living at present.

Certain of the Indians resent the fact that the Government discriminates against them in the matter of intoxicants.

Billie Buster has forbidden the use of intoxicants in his camp. Willie Jumper the same. He said:

"Thinkso whyoma make Injun big d——n fool. Last year I catch $350 worth of otter and drink it all."

But in 1922 a new note of sadness creeps into his narrative of what is going on south of the Devil's Garden:

Considerable illicit liquor is made in Lee County, and while the Indian lands are kept clear, the surrounding country undoubtedly has many stills. Certain moonshiners unquestionably supply Indians in this work. It is proposed to ask for the services of a special officer as soon as the summer rains cease. By getting a man that is unknown in this locality and posing as a tourist hunter these stills can be located. The trouble now is that in this vast unsettled country the sheriff and his deputies as well as the members of the Indian Service are all well known to all the inhabitants. * * * It is impossible effectively to police a territory of 2,579,840 acres which contains a population of less than 7,000.

From that date onward the music of this comic opera sweeps onward in a great crescendo to the fortissimo of 1930. In 1924:

Florida is an ideal landing place for liquor smugglers. Its inaccessible swamps contain many moonshine stills. Drunkenness is on the increase and this applies to the Indians as wells as whites.

Captain Spencer reports in 1927:

There has been practically no disorder on the reservation. Drunkenness is rife but a semblance of order has been maintained.

At this reservation (Seminole Agency at Dania) liquor conditions are the worst that could be imagined. Liquor is procured from many sources adjacent to the reservation and apparently no attempt is made by State nor National officers to enforce the liquor laws. During the past year the sheriff of this county, several of his deputies, and several policemen were arrested by Federal agents for being directly implicated in bootlegging operations. The evidence was said to establish the fact, but United States Commissioner Spitler at Miami refused to hold them and they were accordingly set free without trial.

Liquor conditions place me in a very embarrassing position. We are inducing these Indians to settle on these lands and are thereby making an advance for the first time in the history of this work. It would be suicidal to the work to begin to arrest and punish them for drunkenness as soon as they settle on these Indian lands. The bootlegging operations should be curbed by the civil and Federal authorities. I have reported to both locations of these places where liquor is easily obtainable but, to date, nothing has been done.

Liquor (1928) can be purchased in close proximity to the reservation (Seminole Agency) and such minor disorder as is experienced is due to Indians entering the reservation in an intoxicated condition. No remedy can be suggested as long as the Civil and Federal authorities make no effort to curb the liquor traffic among either the whites or Indians.

The quality of illicit liquor (1929) procured is such that it drives the Indian crazy which has resulted in three deaths during the past year, two murders and one drowning.

On December 15, 1928, a band of drunken Indians were on the Tamiami Trail engaged in a fight in which Nuff-kee, Mrs. Billie Roberts, was fatally stabbed.

On February 20, 1929, two Indians, Charlie Lee and Philip Billie, procured a gallon of liquor in La Belle and started for the Hendry County Reservation. While intoxicated, they engaged in a scuffle with hunting knives, resulting in Charlie Lee being disemboweled.

On May 14, 1929, Carney Billie found a still and quantity of liquor on the bank of the Miami Canal. He stole a quantity of the liquor, resulting in his falling from the canoe and being drowned.

In the year of Our Lord 1930 three more drunken Seminoles went to their death.

In 1930, whether it be the dark of the moon or bright moonlight, shallow-draft boats bring Bimini liquor up Turner River and load onto trucks on the Tamiami Trail. The stills of moonshiners are spotted all through the Indian country.

In 1930 the Indian buys liquor in Immokalee, Fort Myers, La Belle, Okeechobee, Davie, Dania, Miami.

In 1930 the Seminole buys liquor whenever he has 25 cents.

In 1930 it is a weekly occurrence for Seminole Indians to receive a check for $7.50 from the United States Government for casual labor, buy $3 worth of groceries and $4 worth of the most terrific rotgut a man may pour down his throat, come home drunk, and go to bed in quarters erected for him by the United States Government within a hundred yards of the Seminole Agency.

But although seemingly doomed to progressive alcoholic degeneration by the vicious civilization which encompasses him with the slimy embrace of an octopus, there is a bright side to the picture which reveals what a fine fellow at bottom the Seminole is. Thirty years ago it was an annual event for 20 or 25 canoes loaded with Seminoles, their pigs, chickens, children, and the pelts from a year's hunting, to glide down the North New River and tie up to the trading post of Frank Stranahan in Fort Lauderdale. They did their trading, then they went on a spree. Two were delegated to keep sober. Guns and knives were piled up in Stranahan's store; ropes were made ready to tie the obstreperous. They got drunk like gentlemen.

In this year of our Lord 1930 watchers of the weak are still appointed, and the drunken Seminole is seldom a menace to anyone but himself.

# PART II

## MINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATION

## CHAPTER V

### MISSIONARIES AND FRIEND

#### Section 1. The Reverend Mr. Frost

For at least 60 years the waves of organized Christianity have been lapping on Seminole shores. At the end as in the beginning, the Seminole stands like the Rock of Gibraltar unshaken in pagan pride. A Reverend Mr. Frost endeavored to establish a school among the Seminoles as far back as 1870; the project was soon abandoned as futile.

#### Section 2. The Immokalee Mission

Beginning in 1888, the missionary committee of the Women's National Indian Association, and particularly the association's president, Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton, began investigating the Florida Seminoles. In March of 1891 she, with two other ladies, accompanied by Capt. Francis A. Hendry, visited camps on the western edge of the Everglades. Before returning to civilization, Mrs. Quinton bought 400 acres for the association, just west of the present village of Immokalee (sec. 4, T. 47 S., R. 29 E.); and in June of the same year Dr. and Mrs. J. E. Brecht, of St. Louis, came on to establish the Immokalee Mission.

Inasmuch as Doctor Brecht was shortly appointed Seminole agent for the Indian Service, his work will be discussed under Federal administration.

After two and a half years, the mission was turned over as a gift to the Missionary Board of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the work of which in South Florida was directed by Bishop William Crane Gray. In the summer of 1895 a Rev. Mr. Gibbs with his wife took up residence at Immokalee. He and others working under Bishop Gray carried on at the Immokalee Mission for some 20 years, right up to the time of the appointment of Mr. Spencer as Seminole agent in 1913.

#### Section 3. The Mission at Glade Cross

The Episcopal Church also bought the 640 acres in section 8, township 48 south, range 34 east, and established a mission out on the edge of the Everglades which they called Glade Cross. It being rumored that the store at the boat landing in section 15 was a source of liquor for the Indians, the bishop also bought the storekeeper out. The Glade Cross Mission was built in 1898 or 1899, and was at first manned for a part of each year by the missionaries from Immokalee. They built a dwelling, a store, a small hospital, with outhouses and sheds; dug drainage ditches and fenced some fields; grew corn, cane, potatoes, bananas, and citrus fruits on some of the islands and

hammocks. For many long and lonely years, Glade Cross or the boat landing was the home of an English missionary, "Dr." W. J. Godden, a pharmacist. He died out there quite alone on October 1, 1914. This plant was abandoned at the death of Doctor Godden, and, like the Immokalee Mission, has quite gone to decay.

### Section 4. Indian Missionaries

In the fall of 1910 a delegation of 11 headed by the Rev. Mr. A. J. Brown was sent on by seven native Baptist churches of the Seminole Nation in Oklahoma to look over the Florida evangelical field. Although they had no reason to be encouraged by their canvass, these western Seminoles sent on a full blood and his wife to open missionary work at Bower's store, the site of the present Indian town. As they saw only five or six Indians in three months, this venture was likewise abandoned. But again and again these western Indians returned to the Florida field. They were here in 1929.

This is but a partial list of missionary activities. "The Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians have had the field in turn, and all have abandoned it except the latter," Creel wrote in 1911. The Presbyterians are still in the field, although more as friends than as missionaries.

### Section 5. Result of Missionary Activities

The Reverend Mr. Spencer, Seminole agent from 1913 until his death in 1930, was dean of the Episcopal Cathedral in Orlando before he entered the Indian Service, so he hardly can be accused of prejudice against the church. His opinion of missionary activities was not high:

> During the entire 24 years of my association with the Florida Seminoles I have never known of the case of a missionary working among them whose influence was not decidedly harmful. The Indian is naturally a very religious person and the detrimental effect of the missionary comes from the fact that they do not try to build up and enlarge the Indian's belief but proceed to destroy what religion he has and then leave the field without giving him anything in return. It is an indisputable fact that in every instance the Indian shows a lower standard of honesty and morality after coming in contact with the missionary.

### Section 6. Friends of the Seminole

If genuine, the quality of friendship makes itself felt even through barriers of race and language. It is difficult to overestimate what the friendship of people like the Stranahans of Fort Lauderdale, the Hendrys and Hansons of Fort Myers, and the Willsons of Kissimmee meant to the Seminoles during the years when they distrusted the Government and hated the missionary. They had one of the dominant race to whom they could turn for disinterested advice. Where could a Seminole stay in a town like Fort Myers were it not for the hospitable Hendry or Hanson back yard? Many of his neighbors wondered why Frank Stranahan kept a horse long after the automobile had relegated most stables to the past. Few knew of his trips in the dead of night with that old horse to bury some Indian baby or friend who had died in the camps on the edge of the town. The Seminole can still count to-day as a heavy asset the interest of many stanch friends.

## CHAPTER VI

### STATE AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

Florida sheriffs and courts have dealings with the Seminole occasionally, game wardens and health officers rarely, tax collectors only in the matter of automobile licenses. The Florida Legislature has concerned itself with the Indian only to the extent of setting aside a reservation for his use.

#### Section 1. Crime and Punishment

Inasmuch as no court of Indian offenses is maintained, any infraction of law in Florida is tried in the civil courts. These have invariably shown the utmost leniency toward the Seminole who has transgressed the law.

##### CRIMES COMMITTED BY INDIANS

On February 14, 1915, while raiding the home of a bootlegger, the sheriff of Dade County undertook to hold up John Tiger on a public road, and the Indian, not knowing the sheriff, fired. He was arrested, but after I (Captain Spencer) explained the circumstances, the charge was not pressed and he was released.

On December 15, 1928, a band of drunken Indians engaged in a fight in which Nuff-kee, Mrs. Billie Roberts, was fatally stabbed by Josie Billie. On February 20, 1929, Philip Billie disemboweled Charlie Lee in a drunken brawl. The civil authorities did not bring either murderer to trial.

The attitude of the courts toward drunken Indians is well illustrated by the following from Mr. Spencer's 1928 report:

I hold a commission as deputy special officer but am placed in an embarrassing condition due to the fact that I am inducing these Indians to move onto reservation lands and can hardly arrest them on their arrival because they have been furnished liquor by some bootlegger outside the reservation. If an intoxicated Indian becomes boisterous, I arrest him and place him in the county jail. The judge tries him and sentences him to 60 days on the county roads but paroles him to me until such time as he is found intoxicated again, when the sentence is to be enforced. In this way we are able to hold a semblance of order. I usually leave the Indian in jail for two or three days before bringing him to trial and the lesson is sufficient.

Local judges recognize the fact that Seminoles in general are orderly and that infractions of the law are usually due to ignorance. Case after case could be cited where the judge explained the law to the Indian offender, told him to spread the word among his people, and dismissed the case.

##### CRIMES AGAINST INDIANS

In the days before national prohibition, people thought twice before selling liquor to Indians. Mr. Spencer's 1915 report narrates three instances:

The State authorities are at present lending every possible assistance to the suppression of the liquor traffic. On November 27, 1914, Rosa Portier was arrested for selling gin to Indians. She was convicted and paid a fine of $1,000.

On November 27, 1914, G. Johnson was arrested charged with giving liquor to Indians. He plead guilty and served seven months on the county roads.

On February 14, 1915, William Miles was arrested for selling whisky to Indians. He was convicted and is now serving a sentence of one year at hard labor.

Contrast the above with this paragraph from Mr. Spencer's 1928 report:

It would be hard to conceive worse conditions than exist here regarding liquor conditions. Liquor is procured from many sources adjacent to the reservation (Dania) and small effort is made to enforce the liquor laws. The county sheriff, several deputy sheriffs, several policemen, etc., are at present under indictment for being implicated in bootlegging operations.

Various white men charged with murdering Indians have been brought to trial and the cases pressed with quite as much energy as if the victim were white. When Jack Tigertail was murdered near Coppinger's Tropical Gardens in 1922, the people of Miami not only raised a considerable sum, which was placed in trust for his wife and children, but they hired additional counsel to assist the prosecuting attorney. Vebber was convicted of the murder, but the verdict was set aside on a technicality.

On January 8, 1923, three white men were brought to trial for the rape of two Indian girls. Mr. Spencer says they were acquitted only because the death penalty is mandatory.

In July of 1893 a gentleman named Alderman who had just returned from the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta got Josie Billie drunk and relieved him of $110. Alderman was given two years in the State penitentiary, and a taxi driver implicated in the robbery got $100 and costs.

We can say, then, that in prosecuting those who commit crimes against the Indian Florida authorities are as diligent as in prosecuting crimes against white citizens; while the Indian criminal is treated with a leniency altogether too great for his own good.

## Section 2. Enforcement of Game Laws

If the Indian in Florida is treated with the utmost leniency as regards ordinary crimes and misdemeanors, he has thus far enjoyed an altogether privileged status in respect to the game laws. In another connection I pointed out that the Seminole kills for his own use at all seasons of the year, he traps fur in the summer time, he sells a small amount of venison and turkey in and out of season.

A couple of Indians have been tried in Collier County, I believe, for the last offense. Otherwise the only infraction of game laws for which the Seminole ever has been arrested, so far as I can learn, has been for selling aigrette plumes. On March 20, 1915, Wilson Cypress and Henry Clay, when coming in to West Palm Beach to attend the trial of John Ashley, were arrested and charged with having plumes in their possession. Mr. Spencer entered a plea of guilty; the Indians were released and fines and costs remitted.

In the spring of 1920 Willie Willie, the Beau Brummel of the tribe, and Lake Wilson, of the Okeechobee Indians, were brought to trial in the United States district court charged with having plumes of migratory birds in their possession. Willie was fined $5 and Wilson $10.

### Section 3. State Board of Health

Besides local police and game wardens, the only Florida officials who have dealings with the Indians are the officers of the State board of health. This, I believe, has been limited to some work at hookworm eradication many years ago, and the survey made by Doctor Claxton in the summer of 1930.

### Section 4. Taxation

The Indian is required to pay his automobile tax and license fee. He does not pay for the hunting licenses required of all other citizens, nor does he pay any other form of taxation.

### Section 5. The Monroe County Reservation

Agitation for the reservation of State lands for the Seminoles began in 1891. At the end of a quarter of a century the agitation bore fruit. In 1917 Mr. J. W. Willson in conference with Mr. Matthew K. Sniffen, secretary of the Indian Rights Association, drew a bill setting aside 99,200 acres in Monroe County as a Seminole Indian reservation. The law provides that

> The trustees of the internal improvement fund are hereby directed to convey to the board of commissioners of State institutions the title to said described lands, in trust, however, for the perpetual use and benefit of the Indians aforesaid, and as a reservation for them.

This large tract of land lies north of Shark River where the Everglades break up into the Ten Thousand Islands. Its average elevation above sea level is 13 inches, and in the evening there are 13 mosquitoes to the cubic inch of atmosphere. In the wet season it is very wet, and in years like 1930 the dry season is also very wet. Men who know South Florida better than I say that in average years much of the Monroe County Reservation would grow fine truck. Having witnessed $2,000,000 worth of tomatoes washed out yesterday afternoon in Collier County, I confess to some pessimism on this score.

As a game preserve the State reservation has undoubted value. These lands are cut by the finest fishing streams in Florida. If the Everglades National Park becomes a reality, as now seems certain, and game is protected therein, the Monroe County Reservation should become a famous hunting ground. The nature of the country, however, makes it probable that poachers will reap more benefit from this fact than Indians.

On my inspection of this reservation I was accompanied by the venerable Charles Torrey Simpson, author of In Lower Florida Wilds and Out of Doors in Florida, easily the foremost naturalist in the State and an internationally famous conchologist; and by Dr. John C. Gifford, president of the Morris Plan Bank of Miami, a German-trained forester, one-time professor of forestry in Cornell, a south Floridian for the past quarter of a century. They speak for themselves:

Little River, Fla., *November 26, 1930.*

My Dear Mr. Nash: In accordance with your request for my opinion regarding the lower southwest coast and the reservation in that region for the Seminole Indians I submit the following: In company with yourself and Dr. John Gifford, expert forester, I recently cruised along the southwest coast of Florida, entering

Lostmans, Rodgers, Harney, and Shark Rivers; and we ran as far up them as was possible with our shallow-draft boat. The first three of these streams run through the Seminole Indian Reservation and the last along its south border.

Everywhere along the sea and for some distance inland there is a dense and lofty growth of mangrove forest which continues for several miles up the streams, gradually giving way to lower and more open growth with finally patches of prairie. Lower Shark River is an archipelago of small islands and winding channels; Lostmans River has numerous lagoons, while Harney and Rodgers are comparatively free from islands.

Here and there were hammocks with cabbage palmetto and other dry-land trees, and some of the prairies appeared to be dry. Everywhere a short distance in from the sea the water was perfectly fresh and fine for drinking.

Mr. Alphonso Lopez, captain of our boat and well acquainted with the region, told us that bears and raccoons were abundant and that there were deer, mink, and otter throughout the reservation. We found the streams everywhere full of the choicest fish and were told that they were abundant in the sea. In many places there were countless birds which flew up and onward as we cruised along.

In my judgment this reservation is a good place for a home of the Seminoles, as everything they need from the wild is here abundant, and from all that I learn they are rapidly being contaminated here near Miami by contact with the white man.

CHARLES TORREY SIMPSON.

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COCONUT GROVE, MIAMI, FLA.,
*December 6, 1930.*

DEAR MR. NASH: In compliance with your request, the following is my impression of the Seminole Indian Reservation in Monroe County on the west coast:

I consider it ideal as an Indian hunting and fishing reservation; although game is not as abundant as formerly, I know of no place in Florida where it is more plentiful. If white hunters could be excluded from this reservation there would probably always be sufficient game to support all the Seminole hunters. The reservation contains a hundred thousand acres and is bordered on the north by a large hiatus of unsurveyed land. The area per person is large. On the Gulf coast there is an abundance of shellfish, especially clams, which are now being dug by dredges and canned for shipment north. There is an abundance of fish of many kinds. These rivers connect with many lakes and creeks with good fresh water for drinking and protected in case of storm. The white natives seek shelter up these rivers in hurricane times. In fact the whole reservation is a veritable labyrinth of wide and narrow waterways with countless islands of characteristic salt-water, brackish water, and fresh-water flora.

This reservation is flooded in very wet seasons, but, like many thousands of acres of glade land in south Florida, is dry in winter and can be used successfully in the production of several kinds of vegetables. The mosquitoes are bad on the Gulf coast in summer, but inland on the glades are not troublesome. Good permanent camping places are scarce but the Indian is peripatetic by nature and probably never would stay long in any place. This reservation is adapted to the old Indian canoe life, and, of course, not fitted for the automobile which he is trying to conquer, much to his misfortune. This region was once the home of the only settlement of Arawaks or West Indians in the United States, and some of the higher points of land were formed from the cast off shells of many years of feasting on clams, oysters, and conchs.

Although apparently remote, the headwaters of these rivers run close to the Tamiami Trail and a short canal from the Tamiami Canal to the headwaters of Harneys River would connect it for all seasons of the year for boats of considerable size with the east coast and Lake Okeechobee section. From Harneys River across the glades was the main Indian canoe route to the east coast before the construction of the Tamiami Canal and Trail.

It is useless to provide the Indian with agricultural land because he is no farmer and probably never will be. It is useless to give him religious instruction. Many years of missionary work along these lines have accomplished nothing. Many would be benefited, no doubt, by instruction in the English language. He is, however, quite self-sufficient and an adept in doing whatever he wants to do. All he needs is a place to hunt and fish to suit his needs regardless of game laws. No oil leases should be allowed on this reservation and white hunters and fishermen should be excluded. Indians are not allowed to hunt on posted land belong-

ing to white men and there is no reason why this rule should not apply to the Indian's reservation. This should be a wholehearted, simon-pure Indian reservation or nothing.

There are no mountains and no deserts in Florida, but there are many miles of green glades and prairies dotted with glistening lakes and traversed by broad water courses. This is home to the Seminole and he is really homesick when he leaves it. There are countless islands of verdure in this region and many forms of wild animal life everywhere, but the picture will lose a vital part when the Seminole with his little family in his dugout canoe quits it. The Royal Palm, the mahogany, the flamingo, the parakeet, the ibis, and countless other choice products of nature have gone or are going and the Seminole will go, too, soon after he is removed from his natural setting.

The only way to preserve him as such is to give him an exclusive hunting ground, and the one already assigned to him is ideal in this respect. If it becomes surrounded by a national park, let him become a part of it like the other unusual things which belong there. In time he would become very useful as a guide, and guides in that section will be needed for years to come. I know of no place on earth where it is easier to get hopelessly lost. Your only company for days might be little Florida deer grazing on freshly burned areas, little black bear climbing the palmettoes to eat the cabbage, alligators splashing into the water, rattlesnakes swimming from bank to bank, clouds of wild water fowl and tarpon rolling, pompano and mullet and many other fishes too numerous to mention. It is one of our last frontiers where the relics of an old sugar plantation and mangrove bark mill attest the failure of the white man to conquer it. If these Indians are left alone to paddle their own canoes over their own exclusive domain they will probably remain good Indians and a picturesque part of the landscape or waterscape, but if taught the white man's ways they will develop ultimately into very mediocre half-breeds and hover around the outskirts of our towns and mingle with the negroes. The only way to preserve him as he is, if this is the better plan, is to provide him with a good exclusive hunting ground, and for this purpose I know of no better place than this reservation in Monroe County. If not this, then let him fight his own battle and finally completely merge with white and black until he is no more.

JOHN C. GIFFORD.

## CHAPTER VII

### FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

There is, of course, a long history of Federal administration of Seminole affairs previous to the removal west of the Mississippi with which this survey has no concern.

#### Section 1. Federal Action Previous to 1891

In the year 1872 rumors of an impending outbreak induced the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to send an agent to Florida. He found that the Seminoles "were peaceable and lived together by themselves."

In 1875 the commissioner urged that public lands be set aside for the Seminoles while there were still good lands to be had, "to save them from the fate of the Mission Indians of California." Nothing was done.

In 1879 Capt. H. R. Pratt, a noted Indian educator, was detailed to investigate "with a view to the institution of such measures as might lead to the civilization of the Florida Seminole." Capt. F. A. Hendry, of La Belle, took him among the camps and introduced him to the head men in the Cypress. The Indians declined all offers, and Pratt reported that nothing could be accomplished.

The publication of the MacCauley report in 1884 reawakened an interest in the Seminoles and perhaps caused a twinge or two of conscience. Congress that same year appropriated $6,000 to "enable the Seminoles in Florida to obtain homesteads upon the public lands of Florida, and to establish themselves thereon," but when an agent was sent to help the Indians take advantage of the act it was found that the hammocks they were cultivating were owned either by the State or by improvement companies.

In 1886 another Federal agent was sent to look up suitable public lands; he could find none. In that same year, on the suggestion of the governor, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended that the Federal Government should purchase lands from the State.

In 1888 Miss Lily Pierpont, of Winter Haven, Fla., was appointed Seminole agent. Unable to accomplish anything, she resigned the next year. Nor could her successor in office make any headway. The commissioner now reported that he could do nothing unless authorized to purchase lands from the State. Year after year Congress appropriated $6,000 for the Seminoles; year after year the appropriation reverted to the Treasury, unused.

#### Section 2. The Administration of Doctor Brecht

With the initiation of the Immokalee experiment by Mrs. Quinton in 1891, the modern period in Seminole administration may be said to have begun. Of the 400 acres selected by the Women's National

Indian Association, 80 were sold to the United States, and Dr. J. E. Brecht was appointed Seminole agent.

In those days Fort Myers was the last outpost of civilization. Immokalee lay 40 miles to the southeast over as bad a trail as the world tolerates. The site was chosen because of its great elevation—in a region of swamps so flat that water is often in doubt which way to run, Immokalee stands full 20 feet higher than the mission at Glade Cross, and 20 feet in Florida makes a mountain. Note well that the nearest permanent Indian camps were from 20 to 40 miles from this location.

*Elevations above sea level*

[Bench marks established by Department of Agriculture]

| Bench mark No. | Location and description | Elevation |
|---|---|---|
| | | *Feet* |
| 1 | Fort Myers, corner of Heitman's grocery | 7.68 |
| 4 | Travers House, 300 feet north of pens | 25.43 |
| 5 | Immokalee Road, east of Kennedy Carson house | 24.90 |
| 6 | Immokalee, 100 feet northwest of schoolhouse | 38.07 |
| 7 | Glade Cross Road, one-half mile west of Leaning Oak | 26.54 |
| 8 | Rocky Lake, west side | 24.65 |
| 9 | Glade Cross Mission, south side of hammock | 17.86 |
| 10 | Brown's store, edge of boat trail | 17.25 |

The Indian Service is not often served by a finer type of man than Doctor Brecht. He was a physician. He was a humanitarian. He was helped by a wife whose heart was in the work 100 per cent. These two devoted souls knew not the meaning of race prejudice; when Indians came to Immokalee they sat at Doctor Brecht's table as honored guests. When he went among them in their camps, he treated the sick and furnished medicines gratis and usually out of his own pocket. The Government started him out in truly handsome style with a sawmill, farming implements, 10 mules and a wagon, 10 oxen and a cart, 2 logging carts. When the millhouse, planing mill, and a large quantity of shingles went up in smoke in October, 1892, the loss was made good immediately. The mission alongside this governmental establishment kept a small store to supply the Indians at cost, buying their skins and venison to prevent the Seminoles from being cheated by traders.

Here was a set-up with every promise in the world of success. What were the results?

Curiosity overcame fear to the extent that a few Indians sawed a board at the mill or pulled the whistle cord. Then they went back to the swamps. As Creel put it 10 years after the end of the experiment:

> Commodious and comfortable buildings were erected, a sawmill including woodworking machinery was installed, and an agent and a corps of employees sent to the field. The Indians steadily refused to accept any of the freely offered benefits of the school and other material aid, even so far as refusing to accept a board from the mill or a handful of nails from the warehouse.

There is a deal to read between the lines in Doctor Brecht's reports. I dislike asking the reader to pause over ancient history when we have live Indians to deal with. Nevertheless, when many of the best

friends of the Seminole are eager to-day to repeat the Immokalee experiment it is worth while looking into this matter a bit. In 1895 Doctor Brecht wrote:

I am sorry to say progress is much slower than one could wish, but they are not standing still. * * * More of the younger men are putting on citizen's dress. * * * The older Indians are holding back the young men and girls. Many, especially the boys, seem anxious to learn to read, but have not the courage to break away from the influences brought to bear upon them. * * * A young Indian told me lately, "Indian boys work, old Indians kill us," meaning, of course, regular white men's employment.

The plan and expectation was to draw the Indians from their swampy and scattered camps to this better location where they might be grouped more closely and thus more successfully drawn into industrial work, with school facilities, and the making of better homes. For this reason, the first work done by the Government was the furnishing of a sawmill, with the necessary accompaniments and a crew of six employees, for the purpose of erecting the buildings required for the establishment of an Indian industrial school and the attracting of the Indians to this locality by the prospect of remunerative work and the securing of lumber for their homes.

The hope that in this way the Indians might be drawn permanently to this locality was not realized.

It seemed to hurt the good doctor that he was dealing with hunters and not farmers. In 1898 he laments:

No organized school work has been carried on at the station * * * owing chiefly to the fact that there was a greater demand for the products of their hunting, the Indians keeping closely to their hunting grounds and securing ample supplies from the traders.

I am sorry that, owing to their almost entire devotion to hunting, their fields have, to a great extent, been neglected. This, in my opinion, is a backward step on their part. * * * They are discouraged in their field work, not knowing at what time they may be driven away by some white squatter. This is also the case with their raising of hogs, the latter being stolen from them

There is ample evidence that Doctor Brecht was personally liked by the Seminoles. He attended one green-corn dance as an honored guest and was invited to another; there could be no stronger evidence of their regard for him. As this good man in 1899 prepared to quit his uphill fight and abandon Immokalee he set down his faith in the Seminole.

In conclusion, I would say that, although the efforts of the earlier years of this service to win the Indians to organized school work were not successful, the evidence of the good result of the camp work was sufficient to make us feel that persistent and continued effort in that line would accomplish the desired result, and I have such faith in these Indians as to believe that by a constant mingling among them of earnest workers they would be brought out of their aversion and stolid indifference to education and progress. The very traits of character which make them so independent, self-supporting, and clinging in their devotion to the older Indians help to make them superior to many other tribes, and they are so considered by all who have had any chance of comparing them. And now that the important work of securing for their use the land to which they are entitled is about to be accomplished, I trust renewed effort may be made by the Government for work among them in their camps by a sufficient force of helpers, so that whoever may be in charge may not be hampered in the effort of civilizing and educating them.

### Section 3. Federal Reservations

Doctor Brecht's remark about lands referred to a belated awakening on the part of Congress. Beginning with 1894 it was stipulated that one-half of the annual appropriation of $6,000 should be used for the purchase of land. Up to the close of fiscal year 1897, Doctor Brecht had located and secured nearly 10,000 acres in what is now

Hendry County. In the fall of 1896 the Secretary of the Interior declared the Everglades to be swamp land, which might be patented to Florida under the swamp acts of 1848–1850. Doctor Brecht at once appealed to the Indian Office to reserve the lands on which the Seminoles were living. The legal advisers of the department decided (in January, 1898) that the only right the Seminoles had was that of occupancy, but that inasmuch as part of the lands could not be classed as "swamp," the department had a right to revise the list of lands granted.

In an effort to save something for the Seminoles, an inspector in the Indian Service, Col. A. J. Duncan, brother-in-law of President McKinley, was sent down in 1898 to look into the whole land question. Through purchases over a long period of years and by President Taft's Executive order of June 28, 1911, some 26,781 acres were ultimately set aside for the Florida Indians. (See Appendix A.)

| County | Acres | How obtained |
|---|---|---|
| Hendry | 23,061.72 | Government purchases. |
| Collier | 80 | Government purchases (Immokalee). |
| Do | 960 | Executive order of 1911. |
| Martin | 2,200 | Do. |
| Broward | 480 | Do. |
| Total | 26,781.72 | |

The 80 acres at Immokalee were sold in 1904 pursuant to the act of March 3, 1903 (32 Sta. L., 1024); also a railroad right of way cut 34 acres from the Martin County lands, leaving the present Federal holdings 26,667.72 acres.

## Section 4. Report of F. C. Churchill, 1909

Mr. Frank C. Churchill, inspector in the Indian Service, spent three months in Florida in the spring of 1909. Mr. Stranahan, of Fort Lauderdale, took him to some of the camps.

It was considered best that the Indians should not know that I was in any way connected with the Government, but by patience and the assistance of their friends I met and talked with at least 25 individuals, and the interviews were all in the hope of securing from them some intimation that they would be willing to settle down, have schools, etc. They listened patiently but when it came to a final answer to the direct question: "Don't you think this would be best for the Indians?" the reply was invariably the same, "Me don't know," and the best friends of the Indians that I could find told me that that was about as far as they had been able to induce the Indians to agree in regard to a new life.

It is not claimed that the prevailing sentiment in Florida has ever been friendly to the Seminoles and, beyond a mere handful of persons, they have few friends who would sacrifice the profits they hope to make on their otter skins and other output in carrying out any of their professed friendly relations.

### CONCLUSION

It must be admitted from a humanitarian standpoint the Seminoles need looking after to the extent that they be induced to settle down before they become a set of roving vagabonds, as they surely will in a few years if developments in Florida continue.

Having considered the question from all sides, I have come to the conclusions—

First. That it would be a waste of time and money to attempt to establish a school for the Seminoles at present, as I believe it would be impossible to induce them to attend any school in which the Government is known to be interested.

Second. I am satisfied that the purchase of land by the Government was the wisest thing that has been done, and under no circumstances should any part of this land be sold or leased except for the benefit of the Indians, as I am confident that some day they will not only need the land, but that they will be very glad of the privilege of occupying it unmolested.

Third. I see no way of reaching the Indians with civilizing influences except through Bishop Gray's mission, and his progress is quite likely to be slow and at times discouraging.

Fourth. Judging from the past and from all that I can hear of the prevailing sentiment, I see no reason to hope that the State of Florida will undertake to do anything for the relief of the Seminoles.

## Section 5. Report of L. D. Creel, 1911

**In 1911 the Office of Indian Affairs sent down a man with an unusually penetrating mind to look over the whole Seminole situation. No reconsideration of policy in 1930 can afford to disregard the findings of able Special Agent Lorenzo D. Creel:**

Whether such reservation should consist of 4 townships, which was once recommended by the bishop, or 40, as urged by Mr. A. W. Dimmock, in an article upon this subject which appeared in the Outlook for February, 1911, the situation remains the same so long as either collecting and keeping the Indians thereon or securing title to enough land to cover the different camps is impossible. Even were it advisable, it would be impossible to collect the Indians and place them on such reservation, except by military force. * * * The physical nature of the region and the character of the Indians renders it impossible to control or exercise any authority over them or to protect them from outside interference. The Indians are now living in their aboriginal way in small groups which are scattered at wide intervals from the northern end of Lake Okeechobee to Cape Sable, on the Gulf of Mexico, and have unrestricted range over an area equal in extent to the States of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Delaware combined. The physical character of the region as effectively prevents the exercise of official authority and supervision as it embarrassed the military movements in the Seminole wars, and, furthermore, officials would be hampered and powerless to restrain or assist their wards or to protect them from evil influences.

Therefore, a reservation for the purpose of controlling or protecting all, or even a part of, the Seminole Indians in Florida is, and always will be, an impossibility, no matter how desirable it might be thought by their warmest and sincerest friends.

In the case of the Florida Seminole, as I see it, the Government can only offer him the opportunity to accept what goes with our civilization, as has been frequently done in the past and has also been done in the present case. This can not be forced upon him. He is not a menace to anyone, either in a physical, a business, or a moral way. Nature has set a limit to a great extent beyond which white settlement can invade the region in which he now lives.

No one would for an instant entertain the thought of attempting to collect the Seminoles from their widely scattered palmetto-covered homes and placing them within the boundaries of a reservation, which would change them from a self-supporting, happy, virtuous, and contented people to everything decidedly the opposite in the attempt to force them to adopt our civilization. The Seminole is not now the uncivilized being which the literature of the present day and his unique and picturesque costume would lead the reader and tourist to believe. I believe that nowhere in the State of Florida could a like number of people be selected at random whose general character would rank higher or be freer from the faults and vices of our civilization.

In this region no sudden and radical change is possible, and in the future, as he has in the past, he will gradually adjust his life to such slight changes as may come, and, although ultimately destined to disappear as a race, yet his disappearance will come from natural causes from which no outside aid will be able to shield him.

Instead of being hostile to the Government on account of past wrongs, he simply resents all attempts from any outside force to interfere with his freedom to follow his Indian life, and will submit to no restrictions and limitations except those which nature puts upon him or such as he has been accustomed to from tradition and ancient tribal law or those which he voluntarily assumes.

If the Everglades are successfully drained, the opportunity to secure employment upon the reclaimed lands will much more than offset the loss of hunting privilege to the Indians and, by affording them a chance to enter regular employment, should have a civilizing and beneficial effect upon them. * * * If the plan is a failure, the situation of the Seminole will be but little affected thereby and, in any event, none will lose their homes by reason of this reclamation work, as is so often stated in newspaper articles touching them and their life.

SOME OF CREEL'S CONCLUSIONS

That no distress caused by reason of insufficient food now exists in any camp, nor is there any reason to think that such will be the case as long as present conditions prevail, which bid fair to continue indefinitely.

That the so-called fear of and hostility to the white man is a myth.

That the Indians are self-supporting, capable, and self-reliant.

That they are satisfied, happy, and contented with their mode of life and are unanimously in favor of continuing therein.

That they are at peace with such of the white race as they come in contact with, and their white neighbors have no complaints to make.

That the Government has in later years offered them schools and other advantages which have been steadfastly refused. Therefore, the Government is relieved from responsibility.

That, owing to their attitude and the insurmountable obstacles of nature, any attempt to establish an agency for their supervision, or to introduce schools or other civilizing agencies will be not only useless and impracticable at this time but an absolute waste of public money.

CREEL'S RECOMMENDATIONS

I, therefore, most respectfully recommend:

1. That the lands already purchased for their use and any others which the President may hereafter set aside for their benefit * * * be held for them until the time shall come when such changes in present conditions will have occurred that they may not only be willing but glad to avail themselves of the good offices of the Government and express a desire to be allotted these lands in severalty.

2. That the department do not entirely abandon the field but send an occasional representative there to ascertain whether conditions are materially changing.

3. That the work for the Seminoles in Florida be closed up as soon as possible and the position of special agent abolished.

## Section 6. First Administration of Capt. L. A. Spencer

The Office of Indian Affairs did not accept Mr. Creel's recommendation to close up work for the Seminoles in Florida. On March 1, 1913, the Rev. Lucien A. Spencer entered upon his duties as special commissioner, duties which, with the exception of service during the war, were to be his life work from that date until his death out in the Big Cypress in April of the present year.

Here was another man bringing to the administration of Seminole affairs the same idealism, the same devotion which Doctor Brecht had brought to Immokalee 22 years before. Mr. Spencer's interest in Indians was of long standing; he had been a missionary among the Chippewas on the Whisky Bay Reservation in Michigan back in 1897. To accept the Seminole post he relinquished the post of dean of the Episcopal Cathedral in Orlando, Fla., so that his appointment not only grew out of but in a sense carried on the 20 years of work by Bishop Gray.

Mr. Spencer established his headquarters in Miami, from which point he annually visited as many camps as he could reach. Transportation difficulties were terrific. To approach the camps in the Big Cypress it was necessary to take a launch up one of the canals into

Lake Okeechobee, cross the lake, descend the Caloosahatchee to Fort Myers, and then make the long journey inland by ox cart. There was little that could be done beyond proffering the hand of friendship. The Seminoles at first would not even accept medical aid from the Government.

Gradually, however, his persistent and genuine friendliness began to break down their distrust. On the rare occasions when an Indian ran afowl the law, Mr. Spencer was on hand to take the Seminole's part. And within three years he had persuaded several pupils to follow Tony Tommie into the Fort Lauderdale Public School.

If the fall of 1916 Mr. Spencer left for the Mexican border as a chaplain in the Florida National Guard. Until his return in March of 1917 his place was temporarily filled by Inspector W. S. Coleman.

### Section 7. Hendry County Reservation

Inasmuch as Mr. Coleman's plan deals entirely with the Hendry County Reservation, a word about these lands is necessary. There are five separate parcels, the largest of which contains 27 sections, or 17,280 acres, lying partly within and partly on the western margin of the Everglades. The four smaller parcels lying to the west are a bit drier, a little better either for crops or for grazing, but inasmuch as they have never entered into Seminole administration to the slightest degree—no one in the Indian Service to-day can even point out their location—I shall speak only of the 17,000-acre tract and mean only that hereafter by the term "Hendry County Reservation."

That part of the reservation lying within the Everglades is typical saw-grass marsh. That bordering the Everglades is prairie broken by hammocks of dense hardwood growth, cypress heads, ponds, and a few islands of slash pine. Water stands from 4 to 6 inches deep over the prairie in the wet season. Nevertheless, this tract is considered good grazing land, capable of pasturing 2,000 head of cattle and a vast number of hogs. Plenty of the hammocks are capable of producing excellent crops of garden truck in the dry season. The hunting is so good that bears and panthers are still a constant menace to hogs.

### Section 8. Coleman's Plan for Benevolent Assimilation

Taking Frank Brown as guide, Mr. Coleman went through the Hendry County Reservation and visited the camp of Billie Ko-nip-ha-tco (he spells it Conepatchie), the same who helped MacCauley, in 1880.

Little Billie is a man 50 years of age, speaks English very well for an Indian, and is about the most progressive and intelligent member of the Big Cypress bands. After exhausting my resources at friendly advances, I talked over fully with him the matter of the Indians moving to the Government reservation for a permanent residence and letting the Government aid them in every way under its benevolent purposes. I told him of what the Government is doing for the Indian in the West, of how the red man there is accepting the supervision and benefactions of the Government, and what great improvement over their present condition the Seminole would derive under the plans for their segregation on the reservations under the protection and care of the Government. Already the Seminoles everywhere have heard of the five Indians at the Fort Lauderdale Public School, and this seems to have made a favorable impression on the minds of those in the jungles, the idea among them being that for the first time the Government is really beginning to do something for these people. (Evidently Mr. Coleman did not know of the Immokalee experiment?) The whites in the

towns are talking of this also, and they have unwittingly helped spread a feeling of pacification and have helped to open the way for the cultivation of these suspicious and resentful Indians.

The Seminoles have all the while feared that there was some scheme for their removal to Oklahoma or somewhere in the West. * * * Not until I fully assured and convinced Little Billie that the Government had no scheme of deportation in mind would he talk freely and discuss frankly the present condition of his people * * *.

Confirming my belief that I have made substantial headway with Conepatchie and that he is acting in good faith, * * * he accompanied me about 16 miles through water and the roughest kind of cypress glades and swamps to a temporary camp near the Everglades of his oldest brother, Billie Fewell, an Indian nearly 69 years old, who has heretofore borne the reputation of being among the most implacable and unapproachable of his tribe. It took an entire day, threading our way in water sometimes 16 inches deep. * * *

I made no effort the first night in camp to cultivate the Billie Fewell band, but left that task to our friendly Indian, Little Billie, who talked late into the night with his stern and stubborn brother, long after my driver and self had retired. I could see the solemn council between the brothers and noted on their faces the conflict of spirit in the quiet Indian way as Little Billie in his own way presented to his older brother the plan I had gone over with him for the friendly assimilation on the Government reservation of these most seclusive Big Cypress Indians. * * *

I did not derive any definite statement from Little Billie as to his older brother, Billie Fewell, but the mere fact that this old austere Seminole, who, according to my driver, would never even talk to Commissioner Spencer or communicate in any way with any former Government representative, supped with me and smoked cheroots around our campfire, * * * demonstrated his mellowed condition and his friendly disposition * * *.

I find that they would value very much the establishment of a trading point or Government store, their minds turning toward the Government reservation as its natural location, and if such a store were maintained by the Indian Office with a good honest man in charge, it would prove a great convenience and help. Nothing short of a trustworthy and just man should be put in charge * * *. So suspicious and curious are these Indians that an agent, once deceiving them, could never regain their confidence.

* * * * * * *

I, therefore, offer the following outline of a plan as the most practical scheme for their cultivation, education, and general advancement by the Indian Office:

COLEMAN'S PLAN FOR HENDRY COUNTY RESERVATION

1. Locate Government headquarters and build a store to buy at top prices and sell at cost to the Indian.
2. A Government farmer.
3. School and hospital, nurse, and doctor.
4. I do not know of a single milk cow employed by a single Indian for the support of their babies or older ones, although they are fond of milk. The only stock they own are hardy steers, which run wild * * *. However, they are fairly good hog raisers, capturing wild hogs and soon domesticating this ferocious animal when they bring him to camp. In fact, with some camps their largest money income in the fall of the year is from fattened hogs which thrive on tender roots, berries, cypress balls, frogs, snakes, snails, and countless worms near the surface. But neither stock or hog raising can ever prosper unless there is afforded some protection for these animals.
5. Fence a large part of the reservation, grazing lands, and best hammocks.
6. Ditching would be necessary.
7. Except for the dim roadway from Fort Myers, via Immokalee, to Brown's store and the Glade Cross, there is no semblance of roads or highways on the reservation, or south of it. Some crude roadways should be thrown up. This could be done with little cost, as the country is level and the sand could easily be thrown up with ordinary road machines on all prairie lands or areas covered by shallow water.
8. No radical change in home structures. * * * They need simple, honest, treatment and human sympathy more than anything else.
9. Only a few could be expected to come at first. For the first time in their history they have tolerated such a suggestion as their segregation on the Govern-

ment reservation; it would be unfortunate to delay. * * * Failure to act, or the postponement of what seems the inevitable solution of this Seminole problem—segregation and a general scheme of benevolent cultivation on the reservation, will be to them another evidence of neglect, or uncertain purpose, and of indifference on behalf of the Government. They will simply distrust any other representations made by successive representatives of the Indian Office.

In all work * * * the Indian should be employed on the same employment basis as the white man, thus affording him a means of support for himself and family, at the same time teaching him the lesson of industry and work as distinct from hunting, trapping, or fishing, wherein they spend much time with often very little results.

## Section 9. Administration of F. E. Brandon

Captain Spencer was home in Florida after his service on the Mexican border for but four or five months. When his regiment made ready to take its place in the American Expeditionary Forces, he considered the future in France so uncertain as to make it unfair that he retain his connection with the Indian Service. He resigned in August, 1917.

So that when Mr. Frank E. Brandon was placed in charge of Seminole affairs, his appointment was not regarded as merely temporary. Mr. Brandon arrived in Florida before Captain Spencer left.

If it was Mr. Coleman who first proposed the utilization of the Hendry County Reservation, it was Mr. Brandon who took the first steps toward making the idea effective. He moved the headquarters of the agency from Miami to Fort Myers. The idea of fencing the reservation and stocking it with cattle was approved by Washington, and to begin work Brandon was given the largest appropriation ever made for the Seminoles, some $20,000, I believe. Wire was purchased and lumber for buildings, and the work just well begun when Captain Spencer returned from the war.

Mr. Brandon generously insisted that Captain Spencer have back his old job.

## Section 10. Second Administration of Capt. L. A. Spencer

Captain Spencer resumed his duties as special commissioner in charge of the Seminoles in November, 1919. Before the close of the fiscal year 1920 a fence was completed inclosing 20 sections, 12,800 acres, as a cattle range—more than 20 miles of fence. The eastern boundary is out in the Everglades, but excludes the extreme easternmost tier of sections as altogether too wet. Two sections more, 1,280 acres, were fenced as a hog range. In the extreme northwest corner of the reservation a 4-room dwelling for the caretaker was erected, as well as a small office building, warehouse, garage, stable, and Indian council house. Frank Brown was appointed caretaker at $900 a year.

And there the matter has rested until this day.

The Government bought a few hogs; the panthers killed 40 in two nights. Not a cow or a steer was ever put on the place by the Indian Service.

Wire for 20 miles of fence hauled in over 80 miles of the worst road in the world. The labor of fencing 14,000 acres. Lumber for a complete set of ranch buildings hauled in over the same 80 miles. The labor of building to what purpose? To afford a home for a "caretaker."

There is nothing in Captain Spencer's reports to indicate that he was not at first whole-heartedly in favor of the plan to stock the range. In 1921 he wrote:

The policy being pursued is to establish an industrial center that will make the Florida Seminoles self-supporting. * * * As soon as the herd is well established, these cattle will be sold to the Indians on the reimbursable plan.

The Indians will be encouraged to raise cattle and hogs. Crops are to be planted on a scale sufficiently extensive to provide foodstuffs for home consumption. The industrial center is too remote to make the shipping of anything but livestock impracticable and unprofitable. It is proposed to employ Indian labor exclusively in making improvements at the industrial center in order to provide them with necessary living expenses until such time as their crops and herds will provide an income.

If proper appropriations are provided for this work, I believe it can be made self-supporting within five years.

In 1922 Mr. Spencer wrote:

The industrial station established for the Big Cypress Tribe has been at a standstill for the past year owing to lack of funds.

Many of these Indians are anxious to settle here, but owing to the fact that no funds were available for the purchase of cattle or Indian employment it has been necessary to keep them scattered on their old fields, which they are holding only as squatters.

Owing to the failure of all their crops, it has been necessary to meet famine conditions and we have been hard pressed finding places for them to labor among the whites in order to carry them to the next crop.

Year after year went by and nothing was done. Captain Spencer became opposed to the reimbursable plan; he thought that when a Seminole wanted meat he would shoot the first heifer in sight and would be constantly in trouble. In 1926 the project was definitely abandoned.

Since 1919 no appropriation has been made from which the herds could be purchased, and the necessary upkeep of fences and buildings has absorbed the major part of the meager appropriations, leaving very little for the use and benefit of the Indians.

In January, 1926, at a meeting of several influential members of the tribe, it was proposed to ask the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to abandon this reservation until such time as the Indians could acquire herds of their own. It was also requested that the money thus saved be used for the care of the sick and indigent Indians thereby freeing the young and able-bodied from the care of the sick and helpless so that they might leave the camps and enter the employment of the white farmers and cattlemen.

They maintained that the old Indians would never adopt white customs, but that the younger generation should be self-supporting and would advance more rapidly by living and working among white people than would be possible if they lived in Indian settlements.

At a conference in Washington late in January it was decided to adopt this suggestion of the Indians. The Hendry County Reservation was ordered closed on June 30, 1926.

As a farewell to high hopes, Captain Spencer wrote:

The Indian lands will ultimately be stocked and products of the range will be the leading industry of the Florida Indians. The Indians propose to utilize the ranges as soon as they can acquire a sufficient number of cattle to warrant moving there. They are opposed to going into debt and will not purchase on the reimbursable plan.

The 22,400 acres of grazing lands in Hendry County have been leased for grazing purposes until needed by the Florida Indians. (Acreage should be 23,061.—R. N.)

The lease, which I believe was a grazing permit only, was issued to Mr. C. W. Bartleson, a wholesale grocer in Fort Myers, who agreed to keep fences and buildings in repair, prevent hunting on

the lands, give the Indians all privileges previously enjoyed, and to surrender on demand. Ostensibly Mr. Bartleson wanted the reservation to run cattle; according to the present acting superintendent he never put on a head. At Mr. Bartleson's death early in 1929 the permit was canceled.

It is a pleasure to set down the last chapter in this sorry tale. On March 1 of this year, just before his death, Captain Spencer appointed William Ivey Byrd as caretaker at the munificent salary of $25 a month. Byrd is a "cracker" who used to be a woods rider for the cattle companies in the days when cattle rustlers were numerous on the Kissimmee prairies. He requested me to get a letter from Washington telling him he is supposed to keep hunters off the reservation at all times. Mr. Marshall, the acting superintendent, a former sergeant of marines, posted the boundaries, visited the reservation several times during the hunting season, and let it be known that there would be no hunting there by white men this fall.

When the newspapers carried the story of how near the deputy sheriff of Broward County came to having his brains blown out when he tried to browbeat his way in with a hunting party, old Sheriff Tippens, of Lee County, sent Byrd a 0.38 revolver and a box of shells as a prize.

Two saddle horses. Day and night. Patrolling 20 miles of fence. Sleeping with rattlesnakes in the palmettoes. Twenty-five dollars a month. William Ivey Byrd, box 31, Immokalee.

### BROWARD COUNTY RESERVATION

The year 1925 saw Florida in the midst of her real estate boom. Land everywhere was in demand, no land so poor but some speculator could be found to buy it. Even the hammocks on the outskirts of Fort Lauderdale where the east coast Indians camped were wanted by new owners, and once again Seminoles heard the command to move. Where should they go?

In Broward County, besides three scattered forties out in the Everglades, there remained to the Indians a tract of 360 acres lying 4 miles west of Dania. All these reserved parcels had once been Indian camps. The main body of land is a sandy stretch on the eastern margin of the Everglades, most of it high and dry since the canals have lowered the water table. Commercial truck gardens locate on the muck soil east or west of this sandy belt; nevertheless, it is fair for citrus cultivation. It lies at the intersection of two hard-surface roads. To this reservation Mrs. Frank Stranahan, of Fort Lauderdale, with Captain Spencer's approval, persuaded the homeless east coast Indians to migrate.

The same conference in Washington which closed the Hendry County Reservation decided to open Dania as "a camp for sick and indigent Indians." Ten 1-room cottages and a small administration building were erected in 1926, just in time to have them completely demolished in the hurricane of September 18. Within nine months thereafter there had been completed a large administration building containing offices and quarters for two families; an electric pumping plant sufficient for all camp needs; a 4-vehicle garage, ten 2-room Indian cottages, a school building, infirmary with bath, laundry, and toilets.

The 10 cottages were occupied immediately by the Tommies, the Osceolas, and the Jumpers. And in addition Indians occupied two buildings formerly belonging to squatters. From the day the first house was completed the Dania Reservation began to lose its intended character as a refuge for the sick and indigent of the whole tribe, and became to a large degree merely the home of the small east coast group. The sick and indigent of the Big Cypress rarely go near the place.

All activities of the Seminole Agency from 1926 to date have concentrated on the development of Dania. The land was divided into 5-acre tracts, which Indians are permitted to work under occupancy permits; three have availed themselves of the opportunity. Those who want to work are given employment three days a week at $2.50 for eight hours.

The infirmary is not often used for the sick.

The schoolhouse is equipped with 25 desks. Captain Spencer's daughter, Mrs. Marshall, has been the teacher since 1928. Two sessions are held daily, one in the morning for half a dozen children and two women; another in the evening for two men who are eager to learn to read but too old to make much progress. The school term is six months.

Mr. John Marshall, Captain Spencer's son-in-law, assisted in the construction of the buildings and was then appointed as farmer. He was raised on a farm in North Carolina and knows thoroughly the art of working the land. Thirty-five acres have been cleared and a good start made in planting citrus fruits. Most of Mr. Marshall's time is necessarily spent in emergency services which range all the way from assisting at confinements to burying dead Indians. Since Captain Spencer's death last spring, Mr. Marshall has ably shouldered the responsibilities of acting superintendent without receiving any additional remuneration.

### MARTIN COUNTY RESERVATION

For agriculture or for stock raising the 2,000 acres reserved in Martin County are far and away the best held for the Seminoles in Florida. The land lies outside the Everglades, just on the eastern margin. Originally it produced a good stand of slash pine. Mr. Henry Savage, of Indian Town, who guided me to this reservation, considers it the best land in that part of the county for general crops; he first learned that it was reserved when he tried to homestead a portion. Mr. L. A. Wall, of Palm City, chairman of the board of county commissioners, knows the land well and agrees that it is good. The Seaboard Air Line passes through the reservation, and a hard surface road extends out from Indian Town to within 4 miles; a dirt road continues on toward Okeechobee.

In 1929 a permit was granted to a lumber company to log this land. Captain Spencer wrote:

> The sale of certain dead timber is being negotiated on land held in trust for these Indians in Martin County.

However, all the live timber of any value went along with the dead.

Before Captain Spencer moved the agency to Dania, Jim Gopher and Ada Tiger, with her family, lived on the Martin County Reservation. Spencer desired to bring as many as possible under the civiliz-

ing influences of Dania, and tried to persuade these Indians to move down, but certain of the Cow Creek headmen were opposed to education. Captain Spencer wrote in 1927:

> The Indian Town camp which I was preparing to move here refused to come on account of the above interference, and I promptly cut off their ration supply. At the end of three weeks of starvation they moved here and placed their children in school.

Since then the Martin County Reservation has been deserted.

Last spring, while accompanying the Federal census enumerator to the Hendry County Reservation, Captain Spencer's car bogged down. Prying it out of the ruts was heavy work. Exhausted, the captain lay down and died. Seminole Indians lost a friend who had roamed these desolate marshes and worked for their welfare for 15 years.

# PART III

## WHICH WAY OUT OF THE WILDERNESS?

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSIONS

The Seminole survey thus far has been a statement of fact. Necessarily only an approximation to truth in certain details, it is yet sufficiently accurate so that few cognizant of actuality will quarrel with the picture. I have purposely refrained from comment on the facts. Honest men often start from the same premises and arrive at different conclusions. What to me looks like missionary futility, local apathy, and Federal incompetence, others may label by more charitable names.

It now, however, becomes necessary to state my interpretation of these facts and to point a way out of the wilderness. I shall have no quarrel with him who reasons differently, provided he accepts as his major premise that the foundation of fact which I have laid is a structure essentially sound.

### Section 1. The Ultimate Goal

Let us have definite objectives. What are we aiming at in this particular problem of Indian administration?

At the last we, the dominant element in American civilization, are not doing the aiming. Nature has decreed the ultimate goal. It is amalgamation. Five hundred Seminoles surrounded by the rapidly increasing white population of Florida are destined to be absorbed as inevitably as a lump of salt thrown into Lake Okeechobee is destined to be dissolved. A thousand years hence there will not be a drop of recognizable Indian blood in the State of Florida.

### Section 2. Fifty Years Hence

As to certain developments of the next half century we also can prophesy with considerable surety. Fifty years hence no one will question that Seminole Indians are full-fledged citizens of Florida. Adult Indian men and women will go to the polls on election day unchallenged; they will pay the taxes required of all citizens in similar economic circumstances; Seminole children will attend the public schools in the same classes with white children. All Indian citizens under the age of 50 will speak English; they will have acquired English from their increasing contacts with white Americans whether or not they attend school. The number of Indian white half-breeds, now counted on the fingers of one hand, will have markedly increased. Most vestiges of tribal organization, except the Green Corn Dance, will have vanished. Seminoles, each standing on his own feet, will have become Floridians. The original American, now a social outcast, will again be an American.

## Section 3. The Immediate Goal

Ought we, then, attempt to make a "white man" out of the Seminole as rapidly as possible, inasmuch as absorption is his ultimate fate?

Emphatically, no.

There is something infinitely precious, vastly worth cherishing in this remnant of primitive culture persisting into the 20th century surrounded by industrial civilization. The metamorphosis will come fast enough, do what we will. And the transition from a good Indian to a poor white man is going to be a thing painful to look upon—progress stumbling along by-paths of tribal disorganization, moral degeneration, and the disintegration of personality.

Why do we set aside national parks? To preserve rare bits of nature from development and devastation, that man of the machine age may on occasion look up to a snowcapped mountain. Why do we decree that egrets and flamingoes and the roseate spoonbill shall not be quite exterminated? That all grace along the Tamiami Trail shall not surrender to the signboard.

Now the Seminole and his culture are akin to the snowcapped mountain and the roseate spoonbill. Let him be an Indian so long as he may. What father wishes to see his son don long trousers and turn his back on the old home? The Seminole represents the childhood of the race.

Let us help the Seminole maintain his unique qualities and virtues; let us help him to stand on his own feet with dignity in the presence of the civilization in which he is destined to blend; and let us always keep open avenues by which the transition from a primitive hunter to a unit in a society based on private property and the wage system can be accomplished gradually and with ease.

But let us never, in pursuit of the desirable, lose sight of the actual.

## Section 4. Economic Actuality

Of present actualities, the most important with the Seminole as with most people, is the economic situation. With something like $330 of cash income annually for the average family of five, the Seminole is not at the moment badly off. What actual want is experienced results from two phases of the Indian's improvidence; the first is the 50 per cent of his income that goes for liquor; the second is the seasonal character of his income.

In my computation of Seminole income (see p. 40) I arrived at a grand total of $38,000. Of this, $25,000, or 66 per cent, derives from the sale of fur and alligator skins. Now be it noted that the open season for taking fur-bearing animals shall be from the 1st day of December to the 1st day of March, three months of the year only (in Collier County it is November 20 to February 15, until 1934). All the fur taken by the Indian between March and December is trapped illegally; the venison and turkey sold is in contravention of Florida law, and letters from the State game commissioner indicate that the Seminole can not hope to be permitted to break the law indefinitely. That leaves alligator skins as the one legal all-year-round source of income from his hunting, and alligators are getting scarcer and more scarce. The Seminole, therefore, is in a precarious position economically,

inasmuch as 25 per cent of his pitifully meager cash income is likely to be lost to him without notice—on the day the State game department shuts down on his illegal operations.

Can the Seminole reasonably expect to derive the major portion of his income from hunting and trapping for another 50 years? I have stated my belief that with proper conservation there should be more game in south Florida 50 years hence than there is to-day. The Science News Letter of December 20, 1930, states that—

> Canada, renowned for its fur trade, is now surpassed by Louisiana in the number of pelts produced.

The fur-bearing marshes of Florida are fully as extensive as those of Louisiana.

The Seminole's position as a primitive hunter could be secured to him indefinitely if the proposed Tropic Everglades National Park were extended to include that portion of the Big Cypress where most of his camps are located, and he be given preferential rights therein. What will undoubtedly happen, however, is that Indians as well as whites will be denied all hunting rights within the national park.

The position of those Seminole hunters now dwelling in the Big Cypress will remain fairly secure if the Monroe County Reservation, which the National Park Service insists must be included in the proposed national park, be exchanged for an equal acreage in Collier County north of the Tamiami Trail, the title vested in the United States, and this 100,000 acres kept for the exclusive use of the Indians. If the national park is established, depriving the Indian of all hunting rights south of the Tamiami Trail, this solution seems the only one fair to the Seminoles.

At best, however, dependence solely upon game is a poor gamble for a man as near the margin of subsistence as is the Indian.

Another element in the situation which makes the Seminole's economic position precarious is the fact that most Indians in Florida have no right to the land on which they now live. Thirty Indians make the agency at Dania their home and three or four families are camped on the Hendry County Reservation. The rest are squatters. They can be dispossessed at a moment's notice. Time after time they have been driven from their homes and clearings, their hogs shot down like wild animals. The Seminole to-day is a squatter making a considerable part of his living by the breaking of game laws.

## Section 5. Liquor Control

Before considering possible new sources of income, a word about the liquor situation. I stated that at least half of the cash income of the Seminoles goes to bootleggers—a storekeeper at Immokalee last week told me the figure should be 90 per cent. Is there any hope of winning in a knockdown and drag-out fight with the liquor interests?

I am pessimistic. Law enforcement has made here an unconditional surrender. The Seminoles are scattered all over South Florida and South Florida is sopping wet. I feel that if liquor consumption on the reservation at Dania, within a hundred yards of the agency headquarters, can not be ended, the buildings had better be burned down. Elsewhere, until the Indian prohibits himself from excessive drinking, the problem is likely to remain. The question then presents itself,

What is the use of increasing the Seminole's income if increased wealth is simply going to increase whisky consumption?

My answer is that there is a saturation point for bad liquor. Many a man with an income of half a million drinks more liquor in a year than does a Seminole Indian, but he does not drink up the half million. With an average income per family of $330, the Seminole drinks 50 per cent of it; if his annual income were increased to $1,000, he could double his liquor consumption and still consume only a third of his income. In my opinion, a society which has created this liquor situation is bound to help the Seminole better his economic position regardless of whether, or to what extent, the bootlegger profits.

How, then, can it be done?

## Section 6. New Sources of Income

### TILLING THE SOIL

In considering new sources of income for the Seminoles, let us not start out with the mistake of trying to make them over into dirt farmers. These Indians are not by nature primarily tillers of the soil. Agriculture in Florida is highly specialized—citrus, garden truck, tropical fruits, florists' supplies—industries which must pay dividends on from $500 to $3,000 per acre, industries requiring fertilizers and sprays and a complicated technique. Many a white man goes broke every year gambling on beans and tomatoes—this is a game wherein the Indian is doomed to defeat.

By all means encourage him to cultivate garden truck for home consumption; let him sell some if he can. But to make truck farming or citrus growing the goal of his economic ambition seems to me extra hazardous advice.

Where, then, lies his hope of economic security if hunting and trapping should fail? I have just three suggestions for bettering the economic position of those Indians who elect to remain in the swamps: (1) Cattle for the men, (2) handicrafts for the women, (3) better hogs for both.

### CATTLE

Two paragraphs in the problem of Indian administration (Institute for Government Research, 1928) are particularly pertinent to the Florida situation:

> Ample evidence demonstrates that stock raising is the most promising form of agriculture and, in fact, the most promising of all pursuits for a large number of Indians. Not only does the average Indian show considerable aptitude for this work, but enormous areas of Indian land are of little value except for grazing. By far the largest body of self-supporting Indians in the United States, the Navajo, are dependent almost entirely upon their flocks for a living. If it is possible for the Navajo to wring a living from their barren deserts by sheep raising, it would seem that any tribe with a considerable area of grazing land should be able to succeed with livestock, if only they could be induced to put into the business a fraction of the energy, skill, and perseverance exhibited by those desert dwellers of the Southwest.
>
> A vast acreage of Indian land in the United States is at present leased to white ranchmen or in some cases used very little, if at all, by anyone either Indian or white. * * * The Indian Service should work out at once a long-time program looking toward the eventual utilization of all these grazing resources by individually owned livestock of the Indians. Such a program will include among other features provision for instruction by competent livestock men, * * * the use of reimbursable funds, and the tribal flock or herd.

Captain Spencer's objections to the reimbursable plan are readily understandable. If cattle were turned into the Hendry County Reservation and the Indian told, "They are yours," he would probably say:

"All right, me kill 'em when want 'em."

Is that, then, the end of the matter? It seems to me that we, the representatives of the civilization which drove the Seminole out of the cattle business, have got to start at the very beginning and remake him into a cattleman. The Okeechobee Indians still ride horses, otherwise the Seminoles in Florida have forgotten every vestige of cattle technique. Mr. Byrd, the present caretaker on the Hendry County Reservation is an experienced cattleman, perfectly competent to handle the initiation of this development. Buy a few head of ordinary Florida range cattle, which can be had on occasion at less than $20 a head, buy a beef-type bull, and let him begin to build a Government herd. The Cypress Indians will probably look on the first year or two. Then some of the boys will learn to ride and use a rope. Take them into Government employ as the herd increases. In the course of years some will surely develop enough business sense so that cattle can safely be sold to them on terms they can meet.

I am aware that the Federal Government has for some years been opposed to this general proposition. If the Government is unwilling to take the risk, I believe private philanthropy will. There has recently been organized in Miami a group of women under the presidency of Mrs. Hicks Allen, president of the Miami Women's Club, who are eager to be of practical assistance to the Seminoles; here would be an excellent place to begin.

### HANDICRAFTS

Seminole women are deft and clever with their fingers. The winter tourists who flock to Florida constitute the finest market for artistic Indian handicraft in the world; any amount can be marketed if it be good in design, material, and workmanship. The economic possibilities of weaving, pottery, basketry, mats, beadwork, beaten silver in markets like Miami and Palm Beach are endless. To-day the Seminoles lack standards. Send down a woman expert in these lines to instruct them, then help develop a market at fair prices. Seminole women will work their hands off if shown the way.

### HOGS

It costs no more to raise a heavy lard-type hog than a razorback. Those Indians who will consent to take up residence either on the Hendry County Reservation or the Martin County Reservation, where they can be protected in their rights, should be assisted to buy boars of the better breeds.

## Section 7. The Gateway to Industrial Pursuits

With assistance in the livestock industry and handicrafts, the economic future of those who elect life in the swamps will be secure regardless of the future game supply.

In time there will be others, young men and girls, who may elect another course. For them education must open another gateway.

But make no mistake, the moment you educate the Seminole beyond elementary reading and writing you unfit him for the old life in the swamps. Do not expect him to go back. Prepare him for an entirely new life. Of this shift the Meriam Survey says:

> Fortunately the evidence tends to show that the Indians make good workers in industrial pursuits. This shift into industry can not be made hurriedly or as a wholesale movement if it is to be successful.
>
> The practicable plan would be to bring Indian young people directly from the reservation to the more promising occupations by means of thorough training in school, rather than by way of day labor and domestic service.

There is abundant evidence that the Seminole shows more aptitude for mechanics than for dirt farming.

### Section 8. Segregation by Force

How can education reach the Seminoles as now scattered? Obviously it can not, except through camp work. The difficulties of doing anything for them in an educational way are so manifest that a few sincere well-wishers advocate their segregation on an accessible reservation. The late Hon. Clement S. Ucker, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was one of these.

I am convinced this end could not be attained without employing force. The Okeechobee Indians would never consent to leave their northern prairies and join with the Miccosukees of the Cypress; the Miccosukees are thoroughly at home only in their Collier County swamps. Coercion is ruled out; public opinion has progressed beyond the ethical deformity of the Seminole wars. While present dispersal makes certain problems enormously difficult, I can see no sufficient virtues in compulsory education and social control to justify the alternative.

### Section 9. Concentration

Concentration of the Seminoles gradually in three or four places by appealing to their self interest is entirely justifiable. That is what cattle on the Hendry County Reservation, security of tenure on the Martin County lands, and the exclusion of white hunters from the Monroe County Reservation (or an equal acreage north of the Tamiami Trail) amounts to. Whether or not the effort will be successful remains to be seen. It will, at best, require many years.

### Section 10. The School at Dania

If physical barriers prevent the school from going to the Seminole until concentration becomes a fact, Seminole children desiring an education must be brought to the school. The Government now maintains an elementary school at Dania. Although the history of certain western boarding schools gives no occasion for optimism, I see nothing for it but the conversion of Dania into a small boarding school. I would not change its elementary character. As soon as pupils acquire some proficiency in English, they can be transferred to the public schools in Fort Lauderdale; after the eighth grade they are ready for the trade schools in Miami or elsewhere.

This is a problem of the future. Scarcely a Seminole to-day could be induced to let his children leave home; the matter should not be pressed.

## Section 11. The Indigent and Sick

The Dania plant originally was intended for the sick and indigent. It should be used primarily for that purpose, plus a boarding school when the need arises. One can not very well drive off the able-bodied who have already been encouraged to settle there, but in the future able-bodied Indians had better be directed to the economic opportunities on the Martin County and Hendry County lands.

For those who do not require hospitalization, Dania already has an infirmary. A woman died a couple of weeks ago in one of the Okeechobee camps. She had been at Dania, where, if a public health nurse were in charge, there would be every facility for looking after her. A competent physician comes to Dania from Hollywood for $5 a visit. The woman insisted on going back to her camp in the swamps. There she was visited regularly until her death by the physician from Okeechobee at $18 a visit. Very few are the cases which can not be moved and treated at Dania better than in camp. So long as the Indian Service pays the piper, it certainly should call the tune.

## Section 12. The Commercial Villages

To the commercial villages in Miami, St. Petersburg, and others which may spring up, I would grant no quarter. I am well aware that there are things to be said in their favor—where could a Seminole desiring to spend some time in Miami stay if Musa Isle and Coppinger's Tropical Gardens were abolished? He would be welcome in no hotel, he has not the money to go to a hotel if he were welcome. But these places point the road to stagnation and death. I am not so concerned with the venereal problem as with the fact that earning one's living in competition with rattlesnakes and alligators leads nowhere.

Having come to that decision, what steps are open to the Federal Government? At present the Indian Service pays all the medical bills for these as for all other Seminoles. This medical service I would cut off absolutely, forcing these camps to look after their own employees.

During the past summer Coppinger's village was deserted, except on the weekly occasion of the docking of a certain boat which brought sightseers. Regularly a truck was sent to the reservation at Dania to take a load of Indians down for the day. I consider that the end justifies cutting off the rations of all Indians who accept this demoralizing employment.

## Section 13. Lands

So long as the lands in Hendry and Martin Counties are unused, there is no land problem. What is needed is a feeling among the Indians that they will be defended in their rights to these lands. Many of them do not know that they have any rights; many of those who know about the Hendry County fiasco are frankly scornful of Government good faith. When I told Lewis Tucker of the Okeechobee band that Mr. Marshall was going to keep white hunters off the Hendry County Reservation this fall, he replied with a sneer:

"Guess hunting season come, same old thing."

## Section 14. When Shall the United States Withdraw?

A very simple program: Cattle, hogs, the development of handicrafts, all possible curtailment of liquor, and a gateway of education through which Seminole children shall be permitted, but not urged, to pass out into industrial pursuits. Who shall lead along these paths?

An illiterate, non-English-speaking squatter, without capital, set down in a liquor-drenched environment, is going to make slow progress along these lines without assistance. The United States Indian Service has been at this job now since 1891 and has barely taken the first step along any one of these paths. Wherein would the Seminoles in Florida be worse off to-day if the Government had taken Creel's advice in 1911, "That the work for the Seminoles in Florida be closed up as soon as possible and the position of special agent abolished"?

"We set aside lands, we built a fence, for 10 years we paid his doctor bills."

In that sentence you have the sum total of Federal achievement. If the United States Government wants to quit with that record, well and good. I shall have no quarrel if the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior decide that the interests of the Seminole will best be served by Federal withdrawal from Florida. My recommendations, however, are based on the contrary assumption that on the whole it is better to carry on for another quarter century.

# CHAPTER IX

## RECOMMENDATIONS

What is best for the Florida Seminoles? I recommend:

### CARRY ON

1. That the Indian Service carry on in Florida for another quarter century, but survey the whole question anew every 10 years.

### ALIENATE NO LAND

2. That the title to no land be alienated by allotments or otherwise.

### SEMINOLE AGENT

3. That the Seminole agent be a man of vigorous physique—none other can get about these swamps—a man who can cooperate effectively with State agencies and capitalize the large amount of latent good will which exists in Florida.

I should expect few tangible results from him within two years; it will require two years of almost constant sojourning in the Seminole camps to gain the confidence of these Indians. Everything hinges upon the establishment of this personal relationship. The Seminole can be led by one he trusts, but can not be driven.

### ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS FIRST

4. That, having gained their confidence, the agent devote himself chiefly to bettering the economic position of the Seminoles.

The first item would be throwing the Martin County lands open to the Okeechobee Indians and doing everything possible to persuade families to take up residence, where they can be guaranteed permanent occupancy rights.

The second item would be helping Indian men to find top markets for their furs and Indian women for the products of their handicrafts.

The third would be the supervision of the cattle development on the Hendry County Reservation, and later the encouragement of those competent to own individual herds.

### PUBLIC HEALTH NURSE

5. That the agent's principal assistant be a public health nurse, as suggested by Doctor Claxton of the State board of health.

I would place her in charge of the home for the sick and indigent at Dania, where she may occupy quarters in the administration building. During the dry season of the year, whenever the needs of the sick at Dania permit, she should visit the camps and do such public health work as the board of health maps out.

TEACHER

6. That the elementary school at Dania be continued. If, or when, the time comes that Indians become willing to have their children educated, this little school should be expanded to include boarding pupils. But I should keep it as an elementary school, transferring the pupils to the public schools as soon as they had acquired proficiency in English.

CARETAKER AT HENDRY COUNTY RESERVATION

7. That the remuneration for the caretaker at the Hendry County Reservation be increased from $25 to $75 a month. The isolation of this post is so great that very few reliable men can be found to accept it. Having found one such in Wm. Ivey Byrd, I should endeavor to keep him. A trading post there would save Indians weary trips to Immokalee and cut down liquor consumption.

FARMER-LABORER

8. That the position of farmer-laborer at Dania be abolished.

INSTRUCTOR IN HANDICRAFTS

9. That a woman competent to give instruction in the camps in weaving, basketry, pottery, and beadwork be sent for six months during the dry season to the end that handicrafts may be developed among Seminole women. This appointment would be purely temporary; whether one or two seasons would be necessary can only be determined by results.

MEDICAL

10. That the services of Government physicians in Fort Myers and Lemon City be dispensed with, retaining the services of physicians in Everglades, Okeechobee, near Dania, and in one Miami hospital.

11. That the Government discontinue paying the doctor's bills for Indians making their living in commercial amusement camps.

12. That some provision be made for a large amount of dental work, either by sending down temporarily a Government dentist or by contracting for the work here on the best terms obtainable.

HOSPITALIZATION

13. That except in emergency cases, all hospitalization be concentrated in one of the Miami hospitals.

Any Indian requiring hospitalization must be moved in an automobile. Unless at the point of death, he can just as easily be transported to the best. The largest Miami hospital is the only one which will accept an Indian venereal case.

COOPERATION WITH STATE BOARD OF HEALTH

14. That in all matters pertaining to medicine and hospitalization the agent advise with the officers of the State board of health.

COOPERATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES

15. That cooperation all along the line be made a leading policy.

Seminoles are in Florida to stay. The day must soon come when they assume all of the obligations and demand all of the rights of Florida citizenship. Cooperation with all State agencies and local governments is eminently desirable. I have no doubt but that the demonstration agents of the department of home economics at Tallahassee would willingly lend assistance. In all problems of agriculture and stock raising there are experts at the Gainesville Experiment Station ready to lend a hand.

LOCATION OF HEADQUARTERS

16. That inasmuch as the bulk of the Indians live in the Big Cypress, from which Dania is distant 130 miles—farther to most of the camps—the headquarters of the Seminole Agency be moved to Collier County.

Everglades, the county seat of Collier County, has telephone, telegraph, and rail service; there is an excellent hotel; civilized people make it their home. The agent must do a vast deal of traveling in any case, but the crux of the Seminole problem is where the bulk of Seminoles live, and that is in Collier County.

TRANSPORTATION

17. That automobiles be furnished the agent, the public health nurse, with a light truck for the Hendry County caretaker.

The Ford is the best car now built to get through the swamps.

If the agent did not use up one Ford car a year, I should suspect him of neglecting his work. I mean that the wear and tear on cars off the highways is unimaginably brutal.

CATTLE

18. That the Hendry County Reservation again be put into shape to pasture cattle. The fences, built in 1920, are in many places down.

As soon as the fence is repaired, a few range cattle should be purcashed, either by the Government or by private philanthropy, and the caretaker start building up an Indian herd. The whole proposition must be treated as one in education, to the end that after some years Indians may have acquired sufficient technique so that they can begin building up herds of their own on the Henry County lands.

LIQUOR

19. That an undercover man or two be sent down to put half a dozen of the more notorious bootleggers peddling liquor to the Indians behind the bars.

COMMERCIAL INDIAN VILLAGES

20. That, inasmuch as the obnoxious commercial villages have been organized in more than one Florida city, the Florida Legislature

be asked for a law "making it a misdemeanor to harbor these Indians for amusement purposes," as suggested by the late Hon. Clement S. Ucker.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

21. That Mr. Ucker's suggestion of an advisory council of six, three white citizens and three Indians, also be adopted.

Whatever will increase local interest and participation in Indian affairs is desirable; whatever will stimulate the Seminole to take a long view of his own problems is to be desired. Transportation would have to be furnished the Indian members of such a council.

TROPIC EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK

22. That upon establishing the Tropic Everglades National Park the Monroe County Reservation be exchanged for an equal acreage in one solid block in Collier County north of the Tamiami Trail, and title thereto be transferred from the State of Florida to the United States.

I have omitted reference to the cost of Seminole administration, which, in recent years, has amounted to about $12,000 annually. This appropriation must be somewhat increased if my suggestions be accepted. The problem goes deeper than dollars. The expenditure of a billion would not rectify the wrongs of the Seminole wars, nor pay the debts of a generation that is dead. The only proper approach to the problem is, what is best for the Florida Seminoles?

Respectfully submitted.

ROY NASH,
*Special Commissioner to Negotiate with Indians.*

Hon. CHARLES J. RHOADS,
*Commissioner of Indian Affairs.*

# APPENDIX A

## LIST OF RESERVED SEMINOLE LANDS

The lands in Collier, Martin, and Broward Counties were reserved in the following Executive order:

FLORIDA

SEMINOLE RESERVATION

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*June 28, 1911.*

It is hereby ordered that the following-described lands in the State of Florida be, and they are hereby, withdrawn from settlement, entry, sale, or other disposal and set aside as a reservation for the Seminole Indians in southern Florida, provided that this withdrawal is subject to any existing valid rights or claims of any persons:

COLLIER COUNTY

SW. ¼ of sec. 21, SE. ¼ of NE. ¼ of sec. 23, S. ½ of NW. ¼ of sec. 24, N. ½ of NW. ¼ of sec. 25, NE. ¼ of NE. ¼ of sec. 26, N. ½ of NW. ¼ of sec. 27, E. ½ of NE. ¼ and NW. ¼ of SE. ¼ of sec. 28, SW. ¼ of SE. ¼ and SW. ¼ of sec. 29, and SE. ¼ of sec. 30, township 51 south, range 32 east.

MARTIN COUNTY

All of sec. 1 except the W. ½ of lot 2 of NW. ¼, all of sec. 3, E. ½ of sec. 11, N. ½ of NW. ¼, SW. ¼ of NW. ¼, and E. ½ of SW. ¼ of sec. 11, NE. ¼, E. ½ of SE. ¼, NE. ¼ of NW. ¼, and SW. ¼ of sec. 12, township 39 south, range 37 east.

BROWARD COUNTY

SE. ¼ of SW. ¼ of sec. 23, and NW. ¼ of NE. ¼ of sec. 25, township 50 south, range 40 east.

NE. ¼ of SW. ¼ of sec. 20, township 50 south, range 41 east.

SW. ¼ of NE. ¼, NW. ¼ of SE. ¼, E. ½ of NW. ¼, SW. ¼ of NW. ¼, and N. ½ of SW. ¼ of sec. 1, and E. ½ of SE. ¼ of sec. 2, township 51 south, range 41 east, of the Tallahassee meridian.

WM. H. TAFT.

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The following-described areas were purchased for the Seminole Indians (see Annual Report for 1900 (p. 101) under the acts of:

August 15, 1894 (28 Stat. 303).
March 2, 1895 (28 Stat. 692).
June 10, 1896 (29 Stat. 337).
June 7, 1897 (30 Stat. 78).
March 1, 1899 (30 Stat. 938).
June 6, 1900 (31 Stat. 302).
April 4, 1910 (36 Stat. 274).

| From— | Section | Township | Range | Acres | Price |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The Plant Investment Co | 25 | 47 | 32 | 640 | |
| | 23 | 48 | 32 | 640 | |
| | 25 | 48 | 32 | 640 | |
| | 35 | 48 | 32 | 640 | |
| | | | | 2,560 | $1,600.00 |

| From– | Section | Township | Range | Acres | Price |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frank Q. Brown, trustee | 36 | 48 | 32 | | |
| | 12 | 48 | 33 | | |
| | 18 | 48 | 33 | | |
| | 24 | 48 | 33 | | |
| | 12 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 14 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 18 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 20 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 22 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 24 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 26 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 28 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 30 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 32 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 34 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 36 | 48 | 34 | 10,240 | $5,760.00 |
| The Disston Land Co | 7 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 13 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 15 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 17 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 19 | 49 | 34 | | |
| | 21 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 23 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 25 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 27 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 29 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 31 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 33 | 48 | 34 | | |
| | 35 | 48 | 34 | 8,341.72 | 4,267.52 |
| The Florida Commercial Co | 32 | 47 | 33 | 640 | 448.00 |
| The Florida Southern R. R. Co | 24 | 48 | 32 | | |
| | 26 | 48 | 32 | 1,280 | 1,280.00 |
| Total | | | | 23,061.72 | 13,355.52 |

The 80 acres purchased at Immokalee in 1891 was the south half of the northeast quarter of section 4, township 47 south of range 29 east.

## Monroe County Reservation

(Compiled General Laws of Florida, 1927 annotated)

### Chapter VIII

#### SEMINOLE INDIAN RESERVATION

1994 (1313). *Land set aside; description.*—The following described lands in the county of Monroe, State of Florida, are hereby set aside and given to the Seminole Indians of Florida as a reservation, to wit:

All of the lands now belonging to the State of Florida in township 56 south of range 32 east, being all of sections 7 to 15, inclusive, and 17 to 36, inclusive, containing 18,560 acres, more or less.

Also all of sections 1 to 4, inclusive; 10 to 15, inclusive; 22 to 24, inclusive; and sections 35 and 36, in township 57 south of range 32 east, containing 9,600 acres, more or less.

Also all of sections 1 to 3, inclusive; 10 to 14, inclusive; 24, 25, 35, and 36, of township 58 south of range 32 east, containing 7,680 acres, more or less.

Also all of sections 7 to 15, inclusive, and 17 to 36, inclusive, of township 56 south of range 33 east, containing 18,560 acres, more or less.

Also all of sections 1 to 15, inclusive, and 17 to 36, inclusive, of township 57 south of range 33 east, containing 22,400 acres, more or less.

Also all of sections 1 to 15, inclusive, and 17 to 36, inclusive, of township 58 south of range 33 east, containing 22,400 acres, more or less. (Ch. 7310, acts 1917, par. 1.)

1995 (1314). *Trustees to convey to board of commissioners of State institutions in trust for benefit of Indians.*—The trustees of the internal improvement fund are hereby directed to convey to the board of commissioners of State institutions the title to said described lands, in trust, however, for the perpetual use and benefit of the Indians aforesaid, and as a reservation for them. (Id. par. 2.)

O

# APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF PERMANENT SEMINOLE CAMPS 1930

0 5 10 =10 MILES

Roy Nash

ROAD SYMBOLS

First Class Roads — Hard Surface or Oiled
Second Class Roads — Gravel or Other All-weather Surface
Third Class Roads — Frequently Impassable

RESERVATIONS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 99,200 ACRES | A | MONROE COUNTY, | State Lands, Hunting and Fishing |
| 960 " | B | COLLIER COUNTY, | Scattered parcels, see below |
| 23,040 " | C | HENDRY COUNTY | Grazing and Hunting |
| 2,200 " | D | MARTIN COUNTY | Farming and Forest |
| 360 " | E | BROWARD COUNTY, | Seminole Agency |
| 40 " | F | " " | Pine Island, Boy Scout Camp |
| 80 " | G | " " | In ■, T. 50 S., R 40 E. |

T. 51 S., R. 32 E.
COLLIER COUNTY
B

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 18 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 13 |
| 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 |
| 30 | 29 | 28 | 27 | 26 | 25 |
| 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 |

## OKEECHOBEE CAMPS

1 BILLIE SMITH
2 SAM JONES
3 BILLIE BUSTER
4 NAHA TIGER
5 JOE BOWERS
6 SUMMERLIN
7 WILLIE JOHNS
8 CHARLIE MICCO
9 BILLY BOWLEGS
10 BILLIE STEWART
11 DAN PARKER
12 ELLA MONTGOMERY

T. 39 S., R. 37 E.
MARTIN COUNTY
D

R. 32 E. / R. 33 E.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | 25 | | |
| 35 | 36 | 31 | 30 |
| 2 | 1 | 6 | 5 |
| 11 | 12 | 7 | 8 |
| 14 | 13 | 18 | 17 |
| 23 | 24 | 19 | 20 |
| 26 | 25 | 30 | 29 |
| 35 | 36 | 31 | 32 |

T. 48 S.

HENDRY COUNTY

R. 33 E. / R. 34 E.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 12 | 7 | | + GLADE CROSS | | 11 | 12 |
| 13 | 18 | 17 | 16 | | | @ BOAT LANDING |
| 24 | 19 | 20 | FT. SHACKLEFORD | | | 24 |
| 25 | 30 | 29 | 28 | 27 | 26 | 25 |
| 36 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 |

T. 48 S.

HEADQUARTERS @ GUAVA CAMP

## EVERGLADES AND BIG CYPRESS CAMPS

1 IMMOKALEE
2 JOSE BILLY
3 ROCK ISLAND
4 JOHNNY BUSTER
5 EVERGLADES
6 CHARLIE DIXIE
7 CHARLIE JUMPER
8 BILLIE OSCEOLA
9 CHARLIE BUSTER
10 GEORGE OSCEOLA
11 GUAVA CAMP
12 CALIFORNEE
13 GIRTMAN BILLIE
14 CHARLIE TIGER
15 GROVER DOCTOR
16 CHARLEY BILLIE
17 CHARLEY CYPRESS
18 CHARLIE TOMMIE'S HOG CAMP
19 JIM TIGER
20 JOHN TIGER
21 MONTE CARLO CASINO: CHIEF CHARLIE
22 SAM WILLIE
23 INGRAM BILLY
24 BILLY MOTLO
25 CHARLIE TIGERTAIL

## EAST COAST CAMPS

1 WILLIE JIM
2 MIAMI AMUSEMENT CAMPS
3 SEMINOLE AGENCY, DANIA

SEMINOLE AGENCY
IN SEC. 1, T 51 S., R 41 E.
" " 2 E

43095—S. Doc. 314, 71–3. (Face p. 1.)