

Florida Seminole and Miccosukee

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The Seminole originated as an ethnic group distinct from their relatives in the Creek Confederacy as a result of the First Seminole War of 1817–1818 (Mahon 1985:18–28; Covington 1993:28–49; see “Creek Confederacy before Removal,” this vol.). Florida Seminole oral tradition in the 1950s agreed with the written record that their origin was among the Creek to the north of Florida. During the Second Seminole War, 1835–1842, and the Third Seminole War, 1855–1858, most of the Seminole were deported from Florida—“removed” in the terminology of the period—to Indian Territory, where their descendants are the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma (see “Seminole in the West,” this vol.). In 1962 some Florida Seminoles formally adopted the name Miccosukee to apply to their own newly separate tribal organization; the majority remained known as Seminoles, some but not all of them formally organized in 1957 as the Seminole Tribe (fig. 1).

Language

Two Muskogean languages are spoken by the Florida Seminole: Mikasuki and Creek (also called Muskogee, and often called Florida Creek). These related languages are not mutually intelligible—Mikasuki is perhaps as different from Creek as the English language differs from the related German language.[†] However, there were many bilingual speakers, and at least until the late twentieth century, Creek had a higher prestige than Mikasuki in several contexts. For example, most Mikasuki adult men’s names were in Creek, and when curing songs contain words these are usually

Creek, not Mikasuki. Both Mikasuki and Creek speakers often used Creek in communicating with non-Seminole people (for an example from the 1880s, see Sturtevant in MacCauley 2000). An incipient jargon based on Creek and English was frequently used with outsiders in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by speakers of Mikasuki as well as Creek.

In 2000 there were about 200 speakers of Creek Seminole, the youngest born in 1960. There were perhaps 1,600 Mikasuki speakers, but most of their children did not speak the language (Jack B. Martin, personal communication 2003).

History and Culture Until 1950

The ancestors of the Florida Seminole and Miccosukee came from towns of the Creek Confederacy, who in the early eighteenth century moved south into northern Spanish Florida, an area that had been essentially depopulated. Nearly all the aboriginal inhabitants of the region, Timucua and Apalachee, had died in epidemics of European diseases or had been killed or enslaved by British-supported raids by Creek Indians and some Yamasees (see “Timucua,” “Apalachee and Neighboring Groups,” and “Yamasee,” this vol.). The immigration was encouraged by the Spanish authorities, who needed Indian labor for food and trade for their small population that by then was mostly centered around the town of Saint Augustine. The Spaniards were also seeking a buffer against the expanding British based in Charles Town (later called Charleston; founded in 1670), and in Savannah (founded in 1733).

The British colonies rapidly increased in size, and soon plantation slavery was introduced there. At first attempts were made to use Indian slaves acquired by direct capture by the British and especially by British purchase of captives from their Indian allies whose warfare with their Indian enemies was encouraged by the British. Soon African slaves were introduced, particularly with the development of rice agriculture, and Spanish Florida became a refuge area for runaway slaves, with consequent British raids attempting to recapture them. The British began intensive economic and military interaction with the Indian populations in the interior, trading and giving guns and

*The section on the late 20th century is by Cattellino; the rest is by Sturtevant.

[†]For the phonemes of Creek (Muskogee) see the footnote in “Creek Confederacy Before Removal,” this vol. The phonemes of Mikasuki are: (voiceless unaspirated stops and affricate) *p*, *t*, *k* (voiced, as [ɣ], in some positions), *c* [č]; (glottal stop) *ʔ*; (voiced stop) *b*; (voiceless spirants) *f* (formerly [ɸ], later [f]), *s* [š], *t*, *h*; (lateral) *l*; (nasals) *m*, *n*, *ŋ*; (semivowels) *w*, *y*; (short oral vowels) *i*, *a*, *o*, *e* (only in the diphthong *ey*); (long oral vowels) *iː*, *aː*, *oː*; (short nasalized vowels) *ĩ*, *ã*, *õ*; (long nasalized vowels) *iː̃*, *aː̃*, *oː̃*. Every *iː*, *aː*, *oː* syllable has a phonemic pitch: (mid pitch) unmarked; (low pitch) ˘; (high pitch) ˙; (falling pitch) ˘˙; (rising pitch) ˙˘. This phonemic orthography follows J.D. West 1962, except that he marks mid pitch with a macron.

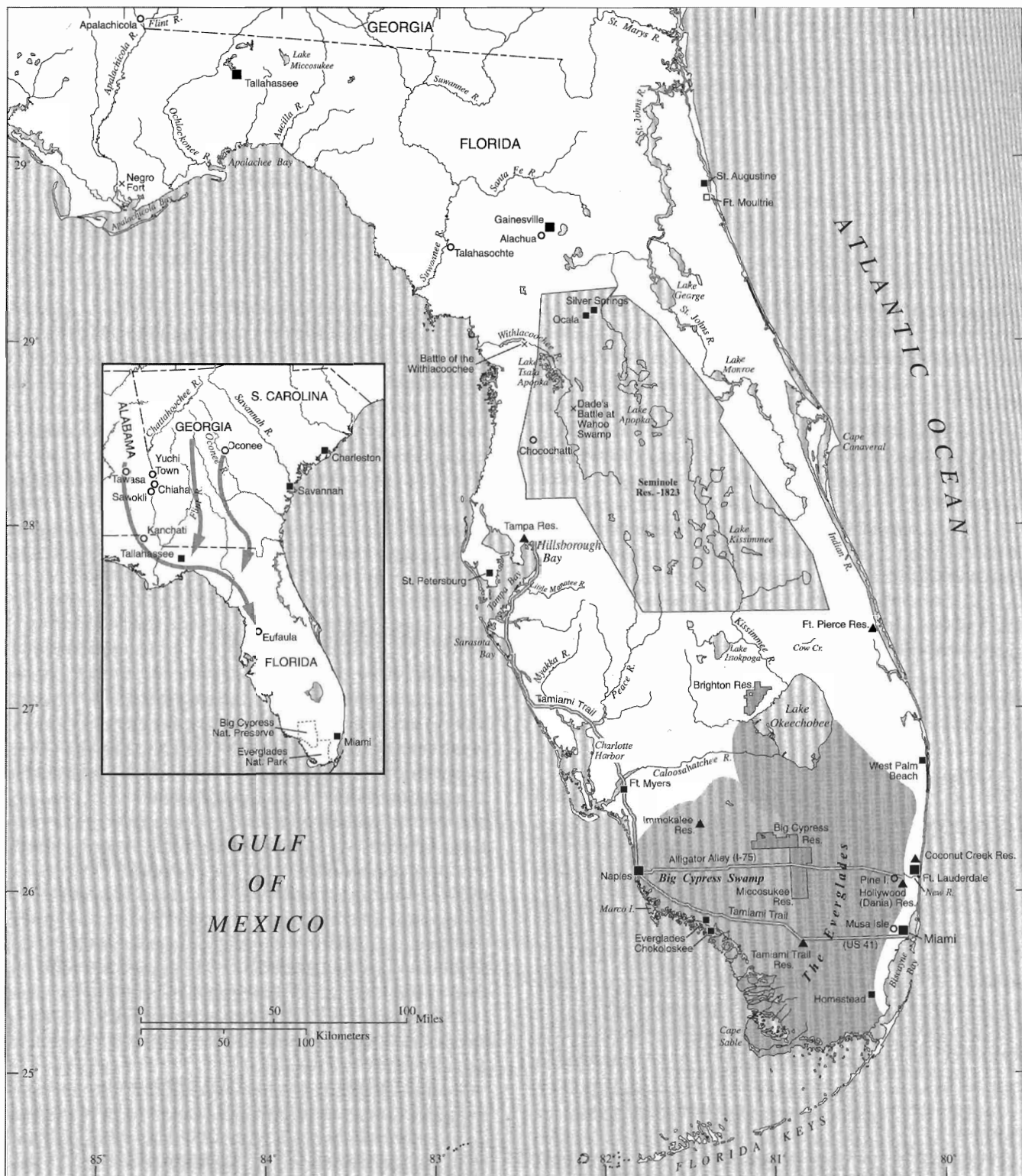


Fig. 1. Seminole and Miccosukee treaty areas, reservations, towns, and battles. inset, Historic migrations routes from Creek towns to sites in Florida.

ammunition to encourage slave raiding and especially to assist in commercial hunting for the important deerskin trade.

In 1708 the Spanish governor in Saint Augustine reported that he had pulled in all his outposts and that the only

surviving Florida aborigines were about 300 refugees at Saint Augustine; he claimed that 10,000 to 12,000 Florida Indians had been enslaved by the Creek, Yamasee, and White Carolinians (Fairbanks 1974:108).

In 1715 the so-called Yamasee War began. It was led by the Creek known as Brim or Emperor Brim, who developed a plan to drive out the British, French, and Spaniards. The first move was an attack on the South Carolina colony by the Yamasees, which almost succeeded as other Indian groups joined the attack. But the British managed to prevent the Cherokees, who were raiding their Creek neighbors to the south, from joining the attack by the Yamasees, and the move collapsed after a great many casualties among the English as well as the Yamasees. Many Yamasees then fled to the region around Saint Augustine, where they were later largely destroyed by Carolinian raids.

As a result of the Yamasee War, and also because of Indian dissatisfaction with the British trade and with the rather wild and uncontrolled British frontiersmen, there was a general withdrawal of Lower Creek towns away from the British frontier. Many moved into Spanish Florida, which they knew well from sending hunting parties and war parties to the south, as far as the northern edge of the Everglades and probably even farther.

At first the Creeks in Florida were hunters and temporary farmers, attracted by the abandoned Apalachee cattle herds and the good farming land in the former Apalachee and Timucua areas. Probably also the growing centralized authority of the Creek Confederacy encouraged some free spirits to move away. Soon there were permanent or semi-permanent settlements, evidently in the regular Creek form with separate matrilineal family compounds (hamlets) sometimes distributed at varying distances from a square ground where were held the annual *busk* and other ceremonies and probably also the intertown ball games.

Whole towns with well-established political connections to other towns did not move south. Rather, the new towns in Florida were made up of emigrants from various Creek sources, and these new towns developed their own internal organizations, following the established Creek organizational principles, and set up new political connections with other nearby towns.

Settlers from several Lower Creek towns, mostly in the Lower Chattahoochee River area (in present-day southwestern Georgia) moved south into the former Apalachee area. Among these towns were Tuskegee, Hitchiti, Chiaha, and Sawokli. Most of them were inhabited by speakers of Hitchiti, the Muskogean language that is known as Mikasuki when spoken by the modern Florida Seminole and Miccosukee people. To the east, near present-day Gainesville, the town of Alachua was settled by Hitchiti speakers from the Oconee, Chiaha, Apalachicola, and Sawokli towns. In 1767 migrants from the Creek-speaking town of Eufaula settled as the town of Chocachatti northeast of Tampa Bay. In addition to these settlers from Creek towns there were a few Apalachee and Yamasee survivors, as well as some from the non-Muskogean Yuchi town (among the Lower Creek) and from two Alabama towns (Kanchati and Tawasa). Whether there may have been a few survivors of the Calusa far to the southwest is questionable; most of the Calusa had been de-

stroyed by Creek raids, and the last few were said to have evacuated with the Spanish administrators, garrisons, and missionaries when the Spanish period in Florida ended in 1763 (“Calusa,” this vol.).

During the British period in Florida, 1763–1783, the divide-and-rule policy of the administration, advanced through treaty negotiations, diplomatic gifts, and the organization of the Indian trade, encouraged the gradual separation of the Florida settlers from their relatives to the north in the Creek Confederacy. They were still considered to be part of the Creek Confederacy, by themselves as well as by the Creek leaders to the north and by the British, Spaniards, and Americans. But the Creek leaders often complained that they were ignorant of the Florida towns and could not control them.

Evidence for the growing separateness of the Florida settlers is the distinct name that their relatives in the Creek Confederacy applied to them: *simaló·ni*, later *simanó·li*, which in Creek means literally ‘wild, non-domesticated (of plants and animals)’. As the name for the Creeks settled in Florida the word was borrowed into English, where “Seminole” is first documented in 1765 as the name for the Creek inhabitants of the Alachua area. It was soon extended to include the Creek frontier settlements to the west, in the Apalachee region. Until about 1860 English-language sources used the name Seminole in two senses: as a general name for all Florida Indians, and more specifically to refer to descendants of the Alachua settlers, whereas different names were applied to the descendants of several Creek towns elsewhere in Florida.

In the 1770s (Bartram in Waselkov and Braund 1995) there were nine Seminole towns and several smaller Seminole settlements in north Florida southwest of Saint Augustine on the Saint Johns River and west through Alachua to the Suwannee River. Each town consisted of 8–30 hamlets (households or compounds, later called “camps”) of two rectangular structures built of upright logs with cypress bark roofs. One of these, sometimes about 30 feet long, contained two or three rooms for cooking, eating, and sleeping, and the other at right angles some 25 feet away, of two storeys, was used to store food such as maize and potatoes, with one end open on three sides, the lower part for storing horse equipment and lumber, the upper part used by the head of the family and guests. The yard in which the houses were situated was surrounded by a low earth embankment. At the town of Talahasochte, in the west, there was also a larger council house. But the Seminole towns were smaller and less regular than the Creek towns, and usually lacked hot houses (*rotundas*), square grounds, and chunky yards.

Near each hamlet was a garden of maize, beans, watermelons, and tobacco. Large groves of wild sour orange trees were near the villages. At some distance from the town men cleared larger fields by burning, for planting with maize, sweet potatoes, beans, squash, pumpkins, melons, peaches, bananas, bottle gourds, tobacco, and sometimes rice, taro,

and papaya. Cultivation was by the women. Boys with bows and arrows watched during the day to chase away birds, while men watched at night for bears, raccoons, and deer. The swidden agriculture required new fields as the old ones lost fertility (ashes from the burnt trees being the only fertilizer), and the towns moved every few years to be closer to their new fields.

Cattle and horses were kept, sometimes herded by dogs. Boys fished with rod and line, and younger boys shot frogs with bows and arrows. There was much hunting. Hides of deer, bear, pumas (in Florida often called panther or tiger), and wolves, as well as honey, beeswax, watermelons, dried fish, and oranges were traded for cloth and clothing, equipment, guns and ammunition, domestic utensils, and beads and silver ornaments. Large canoes of cypress wood, with sails (fig. 2), were sometimes used to travel to the Bahamas and Cuba to trade for liquor, coffee, sugar, and tobacco (Bartram in Waselkov and Braund 1995). There is little or no information on social organization and religion at this period, although deductions can be made by comparisons with their Creek ancestors and later Seminole descendants; for example, there must have been matrilineal clans and matrilineal residence, and there were very few traces of Christian missionizing. The system of personal names must have resembled that shared by the Creek and later Seminole. Modern Seminole men's names often incorporate Creek titles, but without the meanings for these titles known to the modern Creek.

By the time Florida returned to Spanish control in 1783, there were Creek-Seminole settlements scattered from the Apalachicola River to the Saint Johns River, and from Georgia south to the Caloosahatchee River. Spanish colonial interests were not focused on Florida, which was minimally supported and colonized in this second Spanish period. Between the widely separated Creek towns were hunting territories under Creek control. The Creek Confederacy at this time was not firmly organized, and its political and military control was weaker the farther the settlements were from the Creek centers in Georgia and Alabama.

When the War of 1812 broke out, an American force invaded the Alachua area (in Spanish Florida) and attacked the Seminole settlements there, partly because of concern that the Seminole were sheltering runaway Black slaves from Georgia and the Carolinas. Two Seminole towns in the Alachua region were destroyed, and the Seminole leader there, known as Payne or King Payne, died soon after. His successor was Micanopy, who moved the Alachua settlement farther south, closer to a town of Blacks who were collaborators and advisors of Micanopy and other Seminoles.

Then in 1816 the Americans and their Lower Creek allies destroyed the so-called Negro Fort on the Apalachicola River, held by free Blacks and some anti-American Red Stick Creeks, with high casualties among the Indian and Black defenders. An attack by pro-American Creeks and Georgia and Tennessee volunteers led by Andrew Jackson defeated the Red Stick Creeks. Many of the losers moved

south into Florida, either joining the existing Seminole towns there or moving beyond them and founding new towns to the south and west, toward Tampa Bay.

In the Tampa Bay area were Seminole settlers, already quite prosperous, who were engaged in trade with the Spaniards in Cuba, some sailing their own canoes across the Florida Straits. For this reason these Seminoles were sometimes called the Spanish Indians. Modern Seminole oral tradition maintains that they were Mikasuki speakers, and documents in Cuban archives give the names of Spanish Indian visitors to Havana, many of them recognizable as Seminole men's names (Sturtevant 1953; J.B. Martin, personal communication 1997).

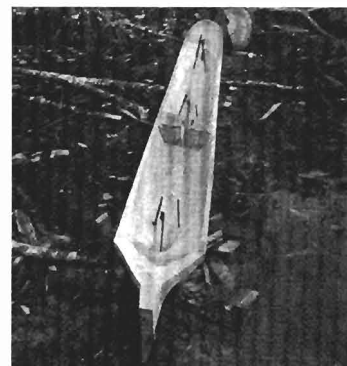
Most Red Stick refugees from the Creek War were from Muskogee-speaking towns, and they are the ancestors of the modern Creek-speaking Seminoles. Before they arrived, there were perhaps 4,000 Seminoles in Florida; the Red Stick refugees may have increased the Florida Indian population to a total of some 6,000 (Fairbanks 1974:225, 228).

Conflicts with the Georgians and their Creek allies continued. The Red Stick immigrants to Florida raided across the United States border, and the Creeks and White Georgians retaliated by stealing Seminole livestock and taking captives among the Black allies of the Seminoles in the western part of Florida. In 1818 Andrew Jackson invaded Spanish Florida with about 2,000 men, many of them Creeks, in the First Seminole War (Mahon 1998). Jackson's force laid waste to the Seminole towns in the old Apalachee region, around (modern) Tallahassee, and on the Suwannee River ("Seminole Maroons," fig. 2, this vol.). The Florida Indians whose towns and crops were destroyed moved east into the Alachua region where there were other Seminole towns, and farther south in the peninsula.

The already weak affiliation of the Seminole settlements with the authorities of the Creek Confederacy was definitively broken. Another result of the First Seminole War was the transfer of Florida from Spain to the United States, between 1819 and 1821. The balance of power situation in the region was ended, closing off opportunities for Seminole and Creek activities in international diplomacy and in shifting military alliances with the European and Euro-American powers.

Under continuing pressures and threats from the American government, Seminole economic conditions worsened, until in 1823 the Treaty of Moultrie Creek was signed by some Seminole leaders and the American representatives (Kappler 1904-1941, 2:203-207; Boyd 1958). The terms of the treaty set aside as a Seminole reservation a large area running from the north shore of Lake Okeechobee nearly as far north as modern Gainesville. The reservation was entirely inland with no access to the coasts, because the Americans feared the Seminole trade with Cuba. While there were a few Seminole towns already within this area, most of their settlements were well outside it, in territory the treaty ceded to the United States.

There were Seminole towns from the Apalachicola River eastward and southward to Tampa Bay, one town of Spanish



top and bottom right, William C. Sturtevant, Washington D.C.; Smithsonian, NAA: center left, 55,682; bottom left, 44,261-E; center right, Natl. Mus. of Amer. Ind.: P29149; bottom center, U. of Nev., Reno, Special Coll.: 3710/2331.

Fig. 2. Water transportation. Dugout canoes were made from single cypress logs using adzes and axes. top left, Charlie Cypress (d. 1963) using an ax in making a canoe. Photograph possibly by G.M. Bushman, Seminole Indian Village at Silver Springs, 1958–1960. top center, Canoe under construction. The uncut cypress trunk is visible at the stern and bow of the canoe. top right, Dr. John's unfinished dugout. The sticks inside the dugout were placed to show the holes drilled to gauge the appropriate thickness of the hull. top center and right, Photographs by William C. Sturtevant, Big Cypress Res., 1959. center left, Poling a dugout. A long pole with triangular blade was used to propel a canoe through the Everglades. Photograph by Claude C. Matlack, 1932. center right, Robert Osceola steering his dugout with a sail while going after a manatee on New River. Photograph by Charles B. Cory, 1885–1890. bottom left, Men in a dugout canoe. Photographed about 1890. bottom center, Man with hunting rifle standing in canoe in cypress swamp. A second canoe is behind him. Photograph by Lorenzo D. Creel, 1910–1911. bottom right, Airboat at Jimmie Tiger's camp, Tamiami Trail, Fla. Photograph by William C. Sturtevant, 1959.

Indians near present Fort Myers, and two towns on the east coast near modern Palm Beach. There seem to have been no permanent Seminole settlements in the Everglades, although the Indians did hunt and probably fish there. But the terms of the 1823 treaty were not carried out. Many of the Seminoles did not consider themselves to have been committed by the signers, as there was no overall Seminole political authority, and local American settlers opposed the treaty because they wanted some of the lands that were set aside for the Seminole and they considered the Blacks associated with the Seminole to be runaway slaves while the Seminoles treated them as allies. The American government was not able to demarcate the reservation and was unable to move all the Seminoles within it while protecting them against the Euro-American settlers.

However, by the summer of 1826 most of the Seminoles were living within the new "reservation," although they continued to search for food outside its boundaries, especially because of a drought in 1825 that led to raids for cattle and other food (C. Brown 1995). Under increasing pressure from White settlers and the territorial and federal governments, some Seminole leaders signed a treaty in 1832 (ratified in 1833) and two more treaties in 1833 (both ratified in 1834), agreeing to be moved to Indian Territory (Kappler 1904–1941, 2:352, 394–395, 398–400). Most Seminoles refused to leave. The American army and the Florida militia increasingly displayed force to persuade the Indians to emigrate.

In December 1835 the Second Seminole War began (vol. 4:161), with a Seminole attack on a militia baggage train, the killing of the agent who was organizing removal, the ambush of United States troops in the "Dade Massacre," and the Battle of the Withlacoochee, following clashes between some Seminoles who agreed to leave Florida and others who refused (Boyd 1951a; Mahon 1967). By February 1836 the Seminole had forced non-Indian abandonment of most of Florida south of Saint Augustine, and by the summer of that year nearly all the Seminoles had left the reservation areas in the interior. The army built forts, and engaged in raids, sometimes in association with a regiment of Creek and other Indian auxiliaries (Thurman 1977). An officer of this regiment was Maj. David Moniac, a Creek and the first Indian graduate of West Point, who was killed by the Seminoles in an engagement in Wahoo Swamp on November 21, 1836. Nearly throughout the war the fighting was interspersed with negotiations for "Removal," with promises of payment to those who agreed, and sometimes successful army threats to kill captured Seminole leaders unless they persuaded their followers to surrender.

In March 1837 a new agreement allowed the associated Blacks to go west with their Seminole allies. Many Seminoles and Blacks were detained at Tampa awaiting removal. A force under the Seminole leaders Osceola (Boyd 1955; Wickman 1991) and Sam Jones attacked the Tampa holding area and released many. The Indian names of these two leaders were, for Osceola (vol. 4:160), *asi'nyahóla*

or perhaps *assi-yahó'la*, and for Sam Jones in Creek *á'payá'ka* or *á'paya'khá'čo*, in Mikasuki *á'bayakhá'cî*, misspelled as Arpeika, Abayaca, Apiaca, and Abiaka. Jones's ordinary name in Mikasuki was *tastanakata'fî*; he was a member of the Panther clan.

By June 1837 it was estimated that less than 200 Seminoles remained north of Lake Monroe. Fighting continued in what was essentially a guerrilla war. The Seminole developed effective tactics to avoid the army's application of the techniques of European warfare, such as mass charges and the use of artillery. The Seminoles sometimes laid siege to army fortifications and employed night attacks. The American forces repeatedly destroyed Indian settlements and supplies, even after all the inhabitants had fled. The fighting had severe effects on Seminole economy and social and political organization, even when few or none were killed, and this surely encouraged surrenders for Removal. The Seminoles had to abandon their settlements and split up into smaller groups that survived mainly by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants, with very little agriculture and few cattle, pigs, and horses.

In May 1842 the federal administration told the army to end the war in Florida, allowing the Seminole to remain "temporarily" south of the Peace River. No treaty was held with those who remained in Florida, hence the claim of the modern Seminole that they had never signed a treaty with the government. The Seminole were not unified; no leader or set of several leaders had the authority to surrender all, despite the assumptions of the United States government.

An estimated 4,420 Seminoles and associated Blacks were sent west because of the Second Seminole War, while 500–600 remained in Florida. About 800 Seminole men had fought 5,000 or more regular and militia soldiers (Covington 1993; Sturtevant 1971).

The Seminoles in Florida in 1842 were in the south, in the Everglades and Big Cypress Swamp, regions of little interest to the American settlers and very difficult for operations by the army and militia. Before drainage canals were dug in the early twentieth century, the Everglades was a huge swamp of sawgrass (a large sedge, not a true grass) with nearly level water slowly draining to the south ("Environment," fig. 7, this vol.). Occasional slightly higher spots, called hammocks, had small clumps of trees and shrubs (fig. 3). The Big Cypress Swamp to the west was less open, with quite dense areas of cypress trees (a taxodium, not a true cypress) growing out of the water. In this southern region of Florida non-Indian settlements, located especially on the coasts, date almost entirely from the twentieth century. The Seminole lived on the hammocks, where they had small fields for growing many different plants. Besides those grown in the 1770s, there were guava, manioc, mango, pineapples, tomatoes, perhaps coontie (*Zamia pumila*), peanuts (not grown in the twentieth century), and, beginning in the late nineteenth century, sugarcane. Often near the houses was a small patch of corn, beans, and squash, and some protected wild sour



top left, center right, bottom: William C. Sturtevant, Washington, D.C.; Smithsonian, NAA: top right, 45,837-A; center left, 45,786-A.

Fig. 3. Structures. top left, Chickees with roofs of palmetto thatch. A notched log ladder leads from the ground to raised floor. Photograph by Charles B. Cory, probably in Big Cypress Swamp, about 1885–1890. top right, Hamlet at Fort Lauderdale. Photograph by Franklin A. Robinson, about 1917. center left, “exhibition village” at the Collier County Fair, Everglades, Fla. Behind are the jail and the county courthouse. Photograph by F.W. Hunt, 1938. center right, Mrs. Smallpox Tommie’s camp near Tamiami Trail, Fla. Women owned camps, not their husbands. Built on a hammock or meadow island in the sawgrass swamp, the dock for canoes and airboats can be seen on the upper left. Aerial photograph by William C. Sturtevant, Everglades, Fla., 1959. bottom left, Garden patch at back of Jimmie Tiger’s chickee, including elephant’s ear (*Xanthosoma*), sweet potato, and maize. Photograph by William C. Sturtevant, Tamiami Trail, Fla., 1967. bottom right, Shingled-roofed chickee at Frank Willie’s place. Photograph by William C. Sturtevant, north of Tamiami Trail, Fla., 1952.

orange trees. Cattle raising was not possible, although hogs and chickens were kept. There was much dependence on fishing and some hunting. Canoes were poled along trails made by repeated travel through the sawgrass.

In 1849 more attempts were made to persuade the Seminoles to agree to Removal. Most of them lived in hamlets scattered within a federal reserve established in 1849, in the Big Cypress Swamp and south of the Caloosahatchee River. They went to Tampa to trade for needed supplies. In July 1849 there were two attacks on traders; three Whites were killed (Covington 1961a). Two companies of volunteers were called up. Billy Bowlegs (the second of three Seminoles with that English name) (fig. 4), of the Wind clan, whose name was *holahtamí'kko* in Creek and *holahtimiki'* in Mikasuki, arranged for the capture or killing of four of the five Seminoles who had attacked the traders.

In February 1850, 74 Seminoles agreed to take pay to leave for the west; two more who had not agreed were also sent. About 40 more were sent in 1852. In July of that year a group including Billy Bowlegs was sent to Washington and the Northeast, to persuade them to be removed. Four of them signed an agreement to do so, which they repudiated when they returned to Florida. A "removal expert" hired by the federal government in 1851 brought a delegation from Indian Territory, and about 16 Seminoles agreed to emigrate for payments, or were captured, and were sent west. Another trip by Billy Bowlegs to Washington and New York failed to persuade more to emigrate. In August 1854 Secretary of War Jefferson Davis decided to force Removal, by instituting an embargo on trade and by selling land in south Florida. New military posts were established, and troops began patrols into Big Cypress and the Everglades.

The Third Seminole War began in 1855 when a military surveying party destroyed the field and crops of Billy Bowlegs, who returned with allies and attacked the surveying party, wounding some (Gifford 1925; Covington 1981). Federal troops and Florida militia were sent in. Over the following three years about 41 Seminoles were captured and some were killed. A Seminole delegation brought from Indian Territory persuaded about 123 Seminoles to surrender and go west. About 300 remained in the Everglades in 1858 (Fairbanks 1973:29; Covington 1993).

Although knowledge of the details of the Seminole Wars depends almost entirely on documents by non-Seminoles, the difficulties of the period were part of vivid Florida Seminole traditions well into the twentieth century. Children were often named for wartime incidents remembered by their elderly name-givers. Traditions about the wars included not only the losses through deaths, captures, and surrenders, but also the hardships due to constant movement and concealment to avoid the American troops, and to shortages of food. Fears and suspicions of further American attempts at Removal were certainly important factors in Seminoles' continuing mistrust of non-Indians.

There is little detailed information on the Florida Seminole for some 20 years after 1858. They avoided the en-

croaching White settlements and remained hidden in small, scattered hamlets. The largest Seminole settlement was at Pine Island, on the eastern edge of the Everglades southwest of Fort Lauderdale. There lived 8–10 families in about 25 chickees with agricultural fields and grounds for the annual Green Corn Dance. Increasing non-Indian occupation of the Fort Lauderdale region led to the abandonment of Pine Island by about 1910, as the occupants moved south and west, forming several hamlets in the Everglades, where small hamlets already existed on other hammocks.

Contacts with non-Indians were few, and entirely peaceful. Active trade persisted. As White settlements expanded on the coasts, White traders established posts specializing in the Seminole trade. Most were near the coasts but one was at the future site of Immokalee and one was at Boat Landing within the future Big Cypress Reservation. Feathers, especially of egrets, for decorating women's hats, were an important item of the trade until plumes of migratory birds were declared illegal in 1900 and 1910. Some continued to trade plumes until plumed hats went out of style in the 1920s. Other things traded included deer, mink, and alligator hides, and various plant foods. In exchange the Seminole acquired tools and equipment for farming, hunting, and fishing; ammunition; liquor; sugar, salt, and coffee; and especially calico and other cotton cloth, beads, and silver for clothing and personal ornaments (fig. 4). Seminole-made pottery for cooking ceased around 1870, having been gradually replaced by metal containers gotten in trading (Goggin 1964a). In addition to traders, a few sports hunters hired Seminole guides in the Everglades.

The situation for the Seminole changed once more in the early twentieth century. The lower east coast of Florida, beyond the ridge at the edge of the Everglades, was opened to rapidly increasing non-Indian settlement when the railroad reached West Palm Beach in 1894 and Miami in 1896. The 1900 census recorded the non-Indian population of West Palm Beach as 564, of Fort Lauderdale as 91, and Miami as 1,681. These numbers were already much above those for 1890, and they increased rapidly along with movements into the eastern edge of the Everglades as the water levels of the eastern and northern Everglades were greatly lowered by drainage canals excavated from 1906 to 1917. The non-Indian population of the region grew markedly with the Florida real-estate boom of the 1920s.

In the early twentieth century, "exhibition villages" were established by White entrepreneurs in the Miami region and later at Saint Petersburg and Silver Springs (fig. 3). Admission was charged, so tourists could observe the Seminole families who lived there. The Seminoles made and sold souvenirs while occupying quite traditional Seminole structures. Alligator wrestling (usually by Seminole men living elsewhere) was another attraction. In 1930 a family was paid \$6 a week and provided with food. Most stayed for only a short period.

The Tamiami Trail highway (fig. 1) running west from Miami across the Everglades was opened in 1928. Several



top left, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, Germany: IV B 247; top right and bottom left, William C. Sturtevant; top center, Matthew Isenburg, Hadlyme, Conn.; center left, Smithsonian, Natl. Mus. of Amer. Art: 1985.66.307; center right, Smithsonian, NAA: 45,217-A.

Fig. 4. Clothing. top left, Man's calico coat, back and front, one of the oldest known Seminole garments, said to have belonged to Osceola (d. 1838), although this connection is unlikely (Sturtevant 1956). Collected before 1845 by Friedrich Köhler. Length 110 cm. top center, Billy Bowlegs wearing a shirt, leggings, scarf and turban of cloth; a beaded sash, a finger-woven belt decorated with beads, and fingerwoven garters. He also wears a peace medal and holds a model 1840 light artillery saber. Daguerreotype 1852. top right, Charlie Tigertail, in formal dress of about 1900. Studio portrait, Chokoloskee, Fla. center left, Woman wearing cloth dress and shawl, multiple bead necklaces, and German silver bracelets and disks attached to her blouse in the earliest known accurate depiction of a Seminole woman. Oil painting by George Catlin, Ft. Moultrie, 1838. center right, Baby show of Cow Creek Seminole including Sally Osceola with Jesse, Annie Pierce Bowers with Martha, and Lottie Shore with Eddie. Photograph by William D. Boehmer, Brighton Res., Fla. about 1943. bottom left, John and Camilla Poole photographed on the Tamiami Trail probably in the mid-1950s. bottom right, Billy L. Cypress (b. 1942, d. 2004), photographing Chairman James E. Billie of the Seminole Tribe of Florida, at a Fla. legislature reception. Joan Bragginton of the Fla. Humanities Council and Stephen Bowers look on. Photograph by Lynn Ivory, 1991.

Seminole families moved to the Trail, from isolated hammocks north and south of the highway. These “camps” (hamlets) helped the Seminole trade with the coastal towns, and they also became centers for tourist visitors, largely replacing the earlier White-owned “exhibition villages.” Admission was charged, and the Seminole occupants sold patchwork skirts, shirts, and aprons, and also dolls, grass baskets, and pin cushions made by the women and small wood carvings made by the men.

Beginning in the 1890s the federal government acquired scattered small areas of land for Seminole reservations (A.J. Duncan 1898). The Seminoles essentially ignored these areas, even when they were consolidated in the 1930s into three reservations, called Brighton (mostly occupied by Creek Seminoles; Covington 1976), Big Cypress (mostly Mikasuki speaking; Garbarino 1972), and Dania (later called Hollywood, occupied by both Creek Seminoles and Mikasuki speakers; Covington 1976a). In 1917 the state of Florida set aside an area in Monroe County for the Seminoles; some of this was put into the Everglades National Park in 1935, exchanged for areas in Broward and Palm Beach counties. This, too, was irrelevant for the Seminoles for another 20 years or so. The first families moved onto the Dania Reservation in 1926, into 10 government-built “double-cottages.” An Indian school on this reservation had an enrollment of 50 in 1934 but was closed in 1936. Very few Seminoles attended schools elsewhere for many years; not until 1957 did a Seminole graduate from a public high school.

All the Seminoles, except for a few families at Dania, lived in traditional chickees (fig. 3). This word was borrowed into English from Mikasuki *cikî*, to refer to the unique structures with roofs of palmetto thatch, open sides, and most with seating (and sleeping) platforms raised about three feet off the ground. Each hamlet housed a matrilineal family, often in several chickees for sleeping and a chickee for cooking without a platform over the fire. Hand-operated sewing machines were introduced in the 1880s, and women worked with them on the chickee platforms (fig. 5). Patchwork bands on clothing, rare about 1910, in about 1920 began to be replaced by patchwork bands made in a complex machine-sewn technique with quite rapidly changing designs. Much was sold, but the patchwork also decorated Seminole clothing for both women and men, becoming an important symbol of separate Seminole identity.

Seminole women’s clothing, well documented from the late nineteenth century on (especially in photographs), consisted of a long skirt with appliqué and later patchwork bands, a long-sleeved blouse (separated from the skirt for several inches by a bare midriff) with a ruffled cape with a point in the back, at first attached to the blouse at the neck but later separate, longer, and of thinner material; many strands of beads around the neck, weighing several pounds, often with silver ornaments suspended from them or pinned to the cape (fig. 4). The hair was worn loose only in mourning; otherwise it was drawn up on top of the head with a

ridge over the forehead. During the 1940s the hair was spread under a net over a large piece of cardboard covered in black cloth, projecting several inches above the forehead and with a point well to one side (fig. 6). Men’s clothing changed more often than women’s. There were four kinds of shirt: the plain shirt (*foksikpayáhkî*) straight and reaching below the knees, with a small collar and an opening part way down the front; the long shirt (*foksikbáckî*), fully open down the front with a collar with a long point at the back; the big shirt (*foksikcóbî*), long and open down the front as far as a band sewn at the waist; and the modern shirt (*foksikî* or *nakní·foksikî* ‘man’s shirt’) open in front and reaching only to the waist and worn with trousers that began to be used about 1920 (some men did not wear trousers well into the 1950s). The shirts were variously decorated with appliqué and later patchwork bands (fig. 4). If trousers were not worn, there was a narrow traditional breechclout under the shirt. For special occasions leather moccasins were worn and leather leggings (with finger-woven garters in the late nineteenth century), together with a bead-decorated pouch suspended on a finger-woven strap over one shoulder. A turban was worn, in shapes that changed quite markedly from the 1830s to the 1950s (“History of the Old South Since Removal,” fig. 5, this vol.). A silver band was often worn around the turban, and sometimes large feathers were inserted on top. In the late nineteenth century several large silver gorgets were sometimes worn (Sturtevant 1967; Blackard 1990; Cory 1896; illustrations in P. West 1998 and MacCauley 2000).

The Seminole were organized in three types of socio-political units: matrilineal extended families, exogamous matrilineal clans, and the group associated with each medicine bundle at the core of the busk or Green Corn Dance. Each hamlet (“camp”) was occupied by a matrilineal family: women, their children and unmarried men all belonging to a single clan, plus the married-in husbands from other clans. Married men could return to hamlets of their own clan for food, and they could be called there to work (Spoehr 1941b, 1944; Sturtevant 1950–2001). At the Green Corn Dance in the early summer and the Hunting Dance in the fall attendees from a single clan lived together for a few days in one or two large camps (husbands and wives separated into the clans of each). The largest political unit was the busk group, people associated with the medicine bundle whose holder (the “medicine man”) supervised his busk.

The medicine bundle was a collection of sacred, magical objects. The bundles were hidden away from the holders’ residences, brought out only at the Green Corn Dance. There were nine bundles until a fire destroyed two soon after 1890, while another was lost in a fire about 1910. One of the remaining bundles has been held by a Creek-speaking Seminole medicine man who ran a separate busk, while the other bundles have been held by Mikasuki-speaking medicine men, one or several together supporting the two to four busks held for Mikasuki speakers. Individuals were subject to the political and legal control of the holder of the medi-



top left 2d from left, bottom right: William C. Sturtevant, Washington D.C.; top right, Smithsonian, Natl. Mus. of the Amer. Ind.: NO 2961. Smithsonian, NAA: center left: 2003-29,393; center right, 2000-9,457; bottom center: 45,534-F; bottom left, U. of Nev., Reno, Special Coll.: 2710/2337.

Fig. 5. Women's activities. top left and 2d from left, Annie Mae Tommie grating coontie (*Zamia pumila*), a cycad with a large underground stem from which starch is extracted, and then adding water for first washing out of starch. Photographs by William C. Sturtevant, Dania Res., Fla., 1959. top, 3d from left, Burt Billie digging up edible tubers of elephant's ear. Photograph by William C. Sturtevant, Big Cypress Res., Fla., 1959. top right, Mammy (Mrs. John) Jumper pounding corn with mortar and pestle. Baskets to sift the corn meal are nearby. Photograph by Mark R. Harrington, 1908. center left, Alice Micco making beadwork strip for sale; Emma Micco; and Leona Micco Smith holding Fred Smith. Photograph by Dwight R. Gardin, Brighton Res., Fla., 1941. center right, Ruby Billie Clay using a sewing machine while her daughter-in-law Ruby (Judy) Tiger Clay watches. Photograph by Joseph C. Farber, at Palm Hammock on Tamiami Trail, near Marco I., before 1975. bottom left, Cooking. The thatched roof on this chickee had burned off. Photograph by Lorenzo D. Creel, 1910-1911. bottom center, Woman working at outdoor platform. Photograph by Florence Stiles Randle or Phyllis Sheffield, Musa Isle, Fla., about 1942. bottom right, Women sewing inside a chickee while baby James Hall sleeps in a hammock; another child sleeps on the mattress at right. Photograph by William C. Sturtevant, Johnny Cypress's camp, Big Cypress Res., 1959.



Smithsonian, NAA: 45,215-H; 45,215-J; 45,215-K; 45,215-L.

Fig. 6. Lucy John Billie preparing her hair in the style common in the 1930s and 1940s. left, Combing the hair from the back over the forehead and tying it into a bunch with a cord close to the scalp. 2d from left, Spreading hair over a thin board covered with black cloth (Patsy West, communication to editors 2004); 3d from left, Placing a net over the hair on the hair board; right, Finished style, showing commercial hair pins probably made of celluloid. Photographs by Dwight R. Gardin, probably at Silver Springs tourist center near Ocala, Fla., 1930s.

cine bundle with which they were associated, although they could attend other busks as visitors. Each medicine bundle contained a varied assortment from about 50 to several hundred different objects. These included small bits of special stones, powders, feather down, snake teeth, small pieces of bones of animals, bits of horn said to be from exotic non-Florida animals, a small rattle, and other things. All had magical powers, especially for curing (and causing) sickness. The bundles originated as combinations of smaller medicine bundles held by individual fighters during the Seminole wars, for offensive and defensive magic and to cure serious battle wounds. Some were hunting charms. Most were wrapped in deerskin.

The bundles were opened by the owner or caretaker for display during the court or fasting day, the most important day at the Green Corn Dance, in order to preserve the life and effectiveness of the contents. On this day there was the annual court or council meeting, to determine the punishment for serious crimes of the past year and to discuss political problems. The meetings were run by special officers: the headman, *yatwítihkî* or *yatcónóstâ·mî* or perhaps *imila·hópî*, of the Panther, Wildcat, or Wind clan (who could be the medicine man); the moderator or peace maker, *holahú·*, of the Bird clan; the councilman or enforcer of the Panther or Wind clan; and two men helpers of the same clans.

The court determined by consensus punishment for crimes such as murder, personal injury, clan endogamy, adultery (by both men and women), incest, theft, breaking someone else's property, gossiping, and, before recent times, learning to speak English and talking English in the presence of other Seminoles, associating with White people, and even owning paper and pencil. Examples of punishment include killing a murderer (there was a case in 1938, known to the non-Indian authorities who did not interfere or punish the enforcer); for clan incest resulting in a birth the father was killed while the mother was scratched, her hair was cut

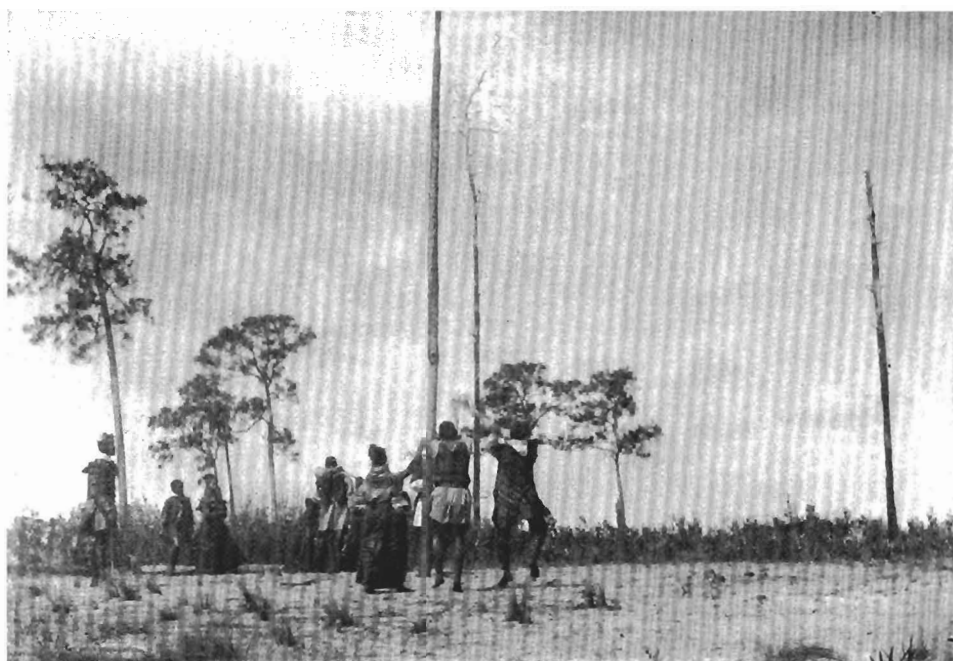
short, the tip of her nose was cut off, and she was whipped; for adultery the perpetrator's own clan whipped and scratched the person, and cut off the tips of his or her ears; for wounding, a fine in silver, money, cows, or horses was enforced. At least in cases of murder, the clan of the one killed took the initiative in the punishment, so a murderer in the same clan as that of the one killed had a better chance of survival (Capron 1953; Sturtevant 1954a, 1950–2001).

On Court Day the men drank special black drinks, in particular one made from many different plants, after which the men regurgitated. The black drink was a general tonic to make one healthy, to prevent gossiping and to keep people friendly during the year. At night fasting continued and dances were held, while no one slept. At midnight young men received their adult names.

At dawn the following day the men received ritual scratching with needles in a frame, to purify their blood and ensure their health. Then younger men joined in a sweat bath to prevent antisocial behavior. At about eight the next morning, on the last day, a feast was held, especially with corn from the new crop, which men could then eat for the first time. The busk ended that afternoon.

Before the Court Day there were two to five days devoted to dances (more than 30 different ones could be performed) and to the ball game. A single goal post was erected on the busk grounds, and young men and boys each with a pair of rackets played against young women and girls who used their hands without rackets (fig. 7).

The busks were held for five to seven days at a time from late April to mid July, when new corn first ripened. The busk allowed men to eat the new green corn, as well as preserving the medicine bundles and assuring the general health of the participants. The ceremonies were held at special busk grounds (fig. 8), with a thatch-roofed shelter (the 'big house') for the leading men on one side of the dance grounds, near which were the ball pole and the sweatlodge.



left, Smithsonian, NAA: 1178-m.5a; right, Smithsonian, Natl. Mus. of the Amer. Ind.: PO1358.

Fig. 7. Ball game. left, Single-pole game in progress at Pine I. Seminole Settlement, west of Ft. Lauderdale, with both women and men participating. Photograph by Harry A. Ernst, Fla., June 1897. right, Ingraham Charlie demonstrating carved wooden ball sticks. Photograph by Julian A. Dimock at Mrs. Jack Tigertail's camp on Long Key near Homestead, Fla., 1910.

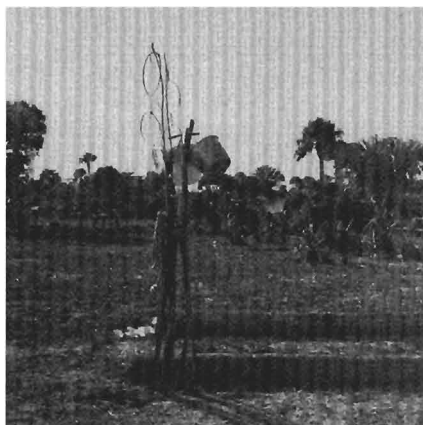
About 1900 there were usually five busks, one for the Creek-speaking Seminole north of Lake Okeechobee (called Cow Creek Seminoles), and the others for Mikasuki speakers, at Pine Island (near Davie), one near the northern edge of the later Big Cypress Reservation, and one southwest of this reservation. After Pine Island was abandoned, this busk grounds was moved west, near the Tamiami Trail (Capron 1953; Sturtevant 1954a, 1971, 1950–2001; Spoehr 1939).

The other principal ceremony was called (in Mikasuki) *fa'yiktalilwî* 'hunting dance' (fig. 8) or *cinttalilwî* 'snake dance'. This took place at a full moon between August and October, at a busk grounds or elsewhere away from settlements. The clans camped together, as at the busk. During the first four days in the mornings the men and boys hunted and the women and girls collected wild food plants. In each afternoon a single-pole ball game was played, and during the evening dancing was held around a fire, concluding at midnight with a snake dance in a complex twisting pattern around four stakes set in a square 25 or more feet apart, with a fire in the center. The dancers were in a long line, impersonating a snake, alternating men and women holding hands. Each pair of dancers was of different clan moieties, although they could not be spouses. The men sang, while the women dancers wore leg rattles of box-turtle carapaces (later of punctured condensed milk tins), as they did also at the Green Corn dances. On the fifth day the adult men went hunting for two to seven days, and the women continued to collect wild foods and also baked many small loaves of corn bread. After the men returned, a snake dance was again held, but at

midnight the dancers sat down in place. Each man then passed meat to the woman behind him, who passed him corn bread in exchange. These were then eaten in the camps. The ceremony was mainly for recreation, although sometimes it was said to promote good hunting and to protect against snake bites. The last Hunting Dance was evidently held in 1968 (Sturtevant 1954:416–419, 1950–2001; Capron 1956a; Skafté 1969:appendix A).

There was another Seminole ceremony, obsolete since at least 1900. This was called *naknô stalilwî* 'old-man dance' or *naknô sâ btalilwî* 'old-man replica dance'. The second name refers to the masks, probably made of bark and painted, worn by the dancers (Sturtevant 1954:416–419).

In many ways the matrilineal clan system was the most prominent feature of Seminole sociopolitical organization. It was quite complex, and understandings (and explanations) varied with the age and especially the clan of an individual. One complicating factor is the marked variation in the sizes of the clans, combined with the extinction of many of the smaller clans. Thus although it is sometimes said that originally there were 47 different clans, by about 1920 there survived only nine or ten. Nearly half the Seminoles were in the Panther clan, next in size were Otter and Wind, while Wildcat, Bird, and Wolf were quite small, and Snake, Deer, Bear, and Big Towns each amounted to only about 1 percent or less of the Seminole population. There were a few differences in the occurrence of clans as between Mikasuki-speaking and Creek Seminole-speaking areas. Some clans with the same names were said to be different between the



William C. Sturtevant, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 8. Ceremonial activities. top left, Crazy Dance on last night of the Green Corn Dance. Young men hold palm leaf fans as they walk. Photograph by Charles C. Ebbets, Deep Lake area, 1938. top right, Green Corn Dance grounds. The dance fire site in center of the dance ground, ball pole, sweathouse frame (left), and medicine bundle pole (right) are in the foreground; a camp is in the background. Photograph by William C. Sturtevant, former Big Cypress grounds, 1952. bottom, Last day of the Cow Creek Hunting Dance. bottom left, left to right: Bob Snow and Howard Micco carrying poles back to their seats; bottom center, Ceremonial objects including dance poles and water pails tied to permanent post near the men's seat; bottom right, Butchering table at Tiger's camp. Meat cooked during the men's absence is hanging from the post in the cloth. Photographs by William C. Sturtevant, Brighton Res., Nov. 1952.

two groups. However, women occasionally moved to live in the area of the other language group, and their children grew up speaking that language as their first one, so in a couple of generations their matrilineal descendants' clan was considered to belong to the language group they belonged to.

Table 1 indicates the ordinary names of the clans, with the synonyms and subclans of some of them. Note that the suffixes *-a'ki* in Mikasuki and *-álki* in Creek indicate a group of people (here, a clan).

The original ancestors of most of the clans were said to have emerged from a hole in a mountain (to the north, in present Georgia or Alabama). The Panther tried to come out first, but its head was blocked by a root across the hole.

Wind then came out, spinning to enlarge the hole. Panther followed, and then in this order Wildcat, Bear, Wolf, Deer, and Bird. After this Otter was found elsewhere, perhaps by Wind, and later Snake, perhaps by Panther. Big Towns joined later. The named subclans were sometimes considered to have once been distinct clans with different traditional origins.

There were two moieties, one consisting of clans with four-legged totems (Panther, Otter, Wildcat, Wolf, Bear, Deer, Big Towns), and the other moiety being clans with totems with two or no legs (Bird, Wind, Snake). Clan members shared characteristics with their clan totems. For example, Panther, Bear, Otter, and Wind clan members were supposedly quiet,

Table 1. Clans

Clan	Mikasuki name	Creek name	Synonym		Subclan (in Mikasuki)
			Mikasuki	Creek	
Panther	<i>ko'wa'tî</i>	<i>ka'ččâlki</i>	<i>yokca'tî</i> 'turtle'		<i>okô'na'tî</i> 'Oconee' (place-name)
			<i>ko'waco'ba'tî</i> 'big panther'		<i>yofa'la'tî</i> 'Eufaula' (place-name)
					<i>opaka'tî</i> 'maypop'
Otter	<i>osq'na'tî</i>	<i>osanâlki</i>	<i>coko'ta'tî</i> (a personal name ?)	<i>čokó'ta</i> (a personal name ?)	
Wildcat	<i>ko'wô'sa'tî</i>	<i>kowa'kkočâlki</i>			<i>hicíta'tî</i> (town name)
					<i>yawóhlî</i> (town name)
Wolf	<i>obq'hosa'tî</i>	<i>yaha'âlki</i> or <i>yahâlki</i>			
Bear	<i>nokosa'tî</i>	<i>nokosâlki</i>			
Deer	<i>i'ca'tî</i>	<i>'čo'alki</i> or <i>'coâlki</i>			
Big Towns	<i>oklihô'ta'tî</i>	<i>'talo'ftakkâlki</i> or <i>talo'fâlki</i>			<i>ko'ta'tî</i> 'frog' <i>saníkca'tî</i> 'toad' <i>ta'ko'sa'tî</i> 'intelligent' or from Creek <i>tákosi</i> 'better'
Bird	<i>fq'sa'tî</i>	<i>foswâlki</i>	<i>tama'tî</i> 'flying'	(i) <i>tamâlki</i> 'flying'	<i>lq'ca'tî</i> 'crow' <i>fayta'tî</i> 'turkey' <i>ko'snihâ'ca'tî</i> '(small bird)'
Wind	<i>fablihca'tî</i>	<i>hotalkâlki</i>			
Snake	<i>cinta'tî</i>	<i>čiktâlki</i>			

did not talk or laugh much, whereas Bird clan members were talkative, argumentative, and laughed a lot. Some had other characteristics: Bird clan members when butchering a bird must carefully cut each joint apart, and Otter clan members must be especially careful in skinning an otter.

Clan membership was involved in joking relations. One joked about one's father's clan and other clans, and defended one's own clan. If someone said Wind has no sense and tears up people's things, the Wind clan member replied that it clears away trash. When Panther is said to steal and eat hogs, the defense is that it eats fresh meat. Otter is said to eat rotten wood and mud, and is defended as eating clean fish. Snake is said to have no feet, while Deer eats only grass.

The moieties once were exogamous, but the only exogamous linkage surviving well into the twentieth century was the prohibition of marriage between Panther and Wildcat clan members. The moieties also had other functions, such as members cleaning the Green Corn Dance grounds after a death in the opposite moiety, and participating during the Green Corn Dance in providing adult names to young men of the opposite moiety (Spoehr 1941; Sturtevant 1950–2001).

History and Culture Since 1950

Tribal Reorganization

Seminole and Miccosukee political life changed dramatically during the 1950s. In 1953 the United States Congress authorized the "termination" of federal relations with designated American Indian tribes; to the surprise of most observers, Seminoles were slated for termination. A small segment of Florida Indians, mostly reservation Christians, organized to successfully oppose termination. Out of this effort grew increased Seminole interest in seeking federal recognition under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which in 1935 a small number of Seminoles had voted to accept. After consulting with federal officials, Seminoles voted in 1957 by a margin of 241 to 5 to approve a constitution and bylaws reorganizing as the Seminole Tribe of Florida. A corporate charter founding the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Inc., passed by a vote of 225 to 5 (Kersey 1996: 76–77). The constitution stipulated that tribal membership required one-fourth blood quantum, and in 1958 there were 1,025 Seminoles enrolled at the Seminole Agency (Kersey

1996: 86). Federal recognition conferred an array of legal protections and benefits upon the tribe, even as it drew Seminoles into closer involvement with federal officials (Garbarino 1972).

Reorganization drove a political wedge between the mostly reservation Indians who enrolled in the Seminole Tribe of Florida and several Indian communities living near the Tamiami Trail who did not. A key point of dispute had been the 1950 filing of a petition with the Indian Claims Commission by a group of reservation Indians. Many "Trail Indians" refused to join the petition because settlement would require the petitioners to forego all further land claims. The land claim was settled in 1990, when monies were divided among Seminoles in Oklahoma and Seminoles and Miccosukees in Florida; a group of "Independent Seminoles" refused to participate in the settlement, and the Miccosukee Tribe's funds remained undistributed in 2004. Reorganization and the land claim highlighted the divergence of views among Florida Indians about how best to structure relations with the United States (Covington 1993; R.T. King 1978). Interpersonal tensions and differences in religious and cultural world view also contributed to the growing rift, and some of the Trail groups, organizing separately as Miccosukees, sought and achieved their own state and federal recognition. A third group, known as the Independent Seminoles, refused federal recognition.

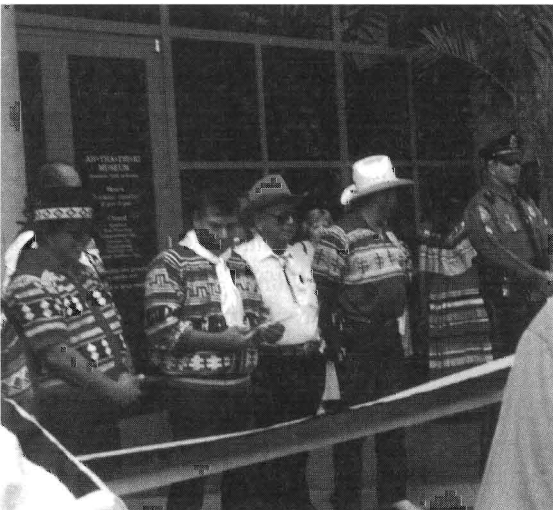
The Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida achieved federal recognition in 1962, after a protracted effort to secure federal trust lands and a diplomatic trip to Cuba. Forty-one out of an estimated 140 eligible Miccosukee voters ratified the constitution and bylaws. At the first meeting of the Miccosukee general council, composed of all tribal members over the age of eighteen, Buffalo Tiger (Bird clan) was elected chairman, a position he held for 23 years (B. Tiger and H.A. Kersey 2002). The constitution stipulated a one-half blood quantum threshold for automatic membership; by 1969 the tribe had enrolled 262 members (Kersey 1996:191). Subsequently, the constitution was amended to require all tribal citizens to carry a matrilineal clan. In 1971, Miccosukees became the first American Indian tribe to contract all government services from the federal government, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs Miccosukee Agency was disbanded (Kersey 1996:193). By 2000, the tribe operated a comprehensive youth and adult education system, a health clinic, and other social services; Miccosukees administered justice through a police department and a tribal court system.

The Seminole Tribe of Florida is governed by a tribal council, which in 2004 included as voting members one elected representative from each of the three major reservations (Hollywood, Big Cypress, and Brighton), who served two-year terms; a tribal chairman elected every four years by the tribal citizenry; and the elected president of the board of directors of the Seminole Tribe of Florida Inc., who served ex officio a four-year term. Additionally, by the late 1990s

the chairman began to appoint non-voting liaisons to represent smaller Seminole populations, for example Immokalee, Tampa, Fort Pierce, Naples, non-reservation Broward County, and the Tamiami Trail. The Seminole Tribe of Florida Inc., the corporate wing, was structured identically, with a president, ex officio vice president (the tribal chairman), elected board members, and liaisons. The tribal headquarters (fig. 9), a four-story building built in 1995 on the Hollywood Reservation, housed an array of tribal departments, including the legal department, communications, and personnel. In 2001, the tribal government employed approximately 1,300 people to run its extensive governmental programs, whereas the Seminole Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs had shrunk to a handful of employees with limited administrative duties. Betty Mae Jumper (Snake clan) was elected tribal chairman in 1967, the only woman to hold that post (Jumper and West 2001); although only a few women were elected to office, women continued to exert influence in informal political spheres (Kersey and Bannan 1995). James E. Billie (Bird clan) served as tribal chairman from 1979 to 2001.

The population of the Seminole Tribe in 2003 was approximately 2,800, while the Miccosukee Tribe enrolled nearly 600 members in 2004. The Miccosukee Tribe had four reservations. The Tamiami Trail Reservation area, where most of the population lived and where the tribal administration and school were located, included four parcels: one under a use permit from the National Park Service, and the other three in federal trust. The tribe held a perpetual lease from the state of Florida for another 189,000 acres, used primarily for hunting, fishing, and subsistence agriculture. A large reservation along Alligator Alley (I-75) was dedicated mostly to pasture leasing and commercial development, and another two parcels along the Tamiami Trail just west of Miami were the locations of a high-stakes bingo hall and a smoke shop. In the late twentieth century, Seminoles established reservations in the agricultural community of Immokalee, in urban Tampa, and Fort Pierce. Trust land in the Fort Lauderdale northern suburb of Coconut Creek, acquired in exchange for land taken from the Hollywood Reservation to construct a road, became the site of a casino and smoke shop.

Natural resource management was a pressing issue for Seminole and Miccosukee governments by 2001. In 1987, as part of their land claim settlement, the Seminole Tribe agreed to the terms of a water rights compact negotiated with the state of Florida and the South Florida Water Management District. This represented the first time that federally protected water rights for Indians were recognized in an eastern riparian state (Shore and Straus 1990). Both tribes remained involved in Everglades restoration efforts, negotiating with regional, state, and federal governments to reverse environmental destruction wrought by early- and mid-twentieth-century swamp drainage. On these and other matters, Seminoles and Miccosukees participated in inter-tribal governing and advocacy organizations, such as the



Smithsonian, NAA: top left, 45,217-J; center left, Seminole Tribe of Fla., Communications Dept., Hollywood; top right, center right, and bottom, William C. Sturtevant, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 9. Tribal activities and structures. top left, Constitution and charter committee. left to right: Rex W. Quinn of Bureau of Indian Affairs, (Larry) Mike Osceola (Miccosukee), Frank Billie (Miccosukee), Jackie Willie (Miccosukee), Bill Osceola (Cow Creek), John Henry Gopher (Cow Creek), Billy Osceola (Cow Creek), and Jimmie O'Toole Osceola (Miccosukee). Photograph by William D. Boehmer, March, 1957. top right, Residence with chickee car port and mailbox in the shape of a chickee, Tamiami Trail, Miccosukee Res. center left, Seminole Tribal Council and staff. left to right: Moses Jumper, Hollywood Recreation Director; Roy Garza, Immokalee; David DeHass, Hollywood; Johnny Jones, Brighton; Paul Bowers, Big Cypress; Moses Osceola, President, Board of Directors; Max Osceola, Hollywood; Roger Smith, Brighton; David Cypress, Big Cypress; Mitchell Cypress, Chairman of the Seminole Tribe; Wanda Bowers, administrative assistant. Photograph by Elrod Bowers, June 2003. center right, Seminole tribal headquarters building, Hollywood Res. bottom left, Opening ceremony of the Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum, Big Cypress Res., Aug. 21, 1997. left to right, Billy L. Cypress, executive director of the museum; Tribal Chairman James E. Billie, Frank Billie, former pastor of New Testament Baptist Church, Big Cypress Res., and member of the tribe's constitutional committee; and Mitchell Cypress, vice chairman of the tribe (elected chairman in 2003). The museum includes a mile-long boardwalk featuring medicinal plant information and an exhibition village. bottom right, Seminole Casino, Hollywood, Fla. (cropped). In 2003 it employed over 770 people. top right, center right, bottom, Photographs by William C. Sturtevant,

United South and Eastern Tribes, which they jointly founded in 1968 with the Mississippi Band of Choctaws and the Eastern Band of Cherokees.

Although the two federally recognized tribes represent most south Florida Indians, in 2000 dozens of Independent Seminoles lived in clan settlements on private land near Naples.

Gaming and Economic Development

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, Seminoles' leadership in asserting and defending tribal sovereignty transformed the tribal economy and prompted sweeping economic and political changes in other Indian communities. In 1976, Seminoles began to operate tribally regulated tobacco sales operations, known as smoke shops. They negotiated an agreement by which the state of Florida affirmed the tribe's authority to license and operate smoke shops free of state taxation. Previously, Seminoles had pursued an array of economic development projects, many of them federally supported and directed, including a craft factory, cultural tourism villages, agricultural leasing, and cattle ranching. Not until smoke shops did Seminoles begin to realize significant profits, with tribal annual income jumping from \$600,000 in 1968 to \$4.5 million in 1977 (Kersey 1996:121). In the course of defending smoke shops Seminole tribal leaders and their attorneys formulated robust theories of tribal sovereignty and sophisticated political strategies that would make possible the remarkable success of their most important economic development project, tribal gaming. With smoke shops and gaming, the relationship between indigenous economy and culture shifted, as the fungibility of new revenues enabled Seminoles to disarticulate the sources of their tribal income from the cultural and political meanings attached to its use (Cattellino 2004a).

In 1979, the Seminole Tribe of Florida opened Hollywood Seminole Bingo, the first tribally operated high stakes bingo hall in Native North America. Facing efforts to close the bingo hall by Broward County Sheriff Bob Butterworth, the tribe successfully litigated *Seminole Tribe v. Butterworth* (658 F.2d 310 [5th Cir. 1981]), in which the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that tribal sovereignty protected the tribe from Florida state regulation of their high-stakes bingo operations. This legal victory opened the way for other tribes to pursue casinos, launching a gaming revolution that built American Indian tribes' political and economic power even as it exposed them to new scrutiny in American law, politics, and popular culture.

The state of Florida fought Seminole gaming (J.C. Straus 2000). As of 2004, the state refused to negotiate a gaming compact, as stipulated in the 1988 federal Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, and it contended that the tribe's electronic games were illegal. The Seminole Tribe sued the state to force them to negotiate a compact in good faith, but in 1996 the United States Supreme Court, in *Seminole Tribe v. Florida*, ruled that the state was pro-

tected from suit under the Eleventh Amendment of the United States Constitution (517 U.S. 44 [1996]). Even though this case marked a defeat for Seminoles it further solidified their standing among American Indian tribes as economic and political leaders.

By 2000, the Seminole Tribe operated five casinos: Hollywood, Brighton, Tampa, Immokalee, and Coconut Creek. According to the tribe, in 2002 the Gaming Department employed 1,962 individuals, only 20 of them tribal members. The casinos attracted an estimated two million visitors annually, contributing \$65 million to the local economy. In 2003 and 2004, Hard Rock resorts replaced the Tampa and Hollywood facilities, respectively, featuring hotels, convention centers, retail, and entertainment facilities.

The economic impact of casinos on Seminole reservations was staggering. In 2001 the tribe's budget exceeded \$200 million, with over 95 percent of funds coming from casino revenues. Seminole casinos funded comprehensive tribal social services, from health clinics to tribal law enforcement, from the K-12 Ahfachkee School to new housing. Seminoles devoted large sums to cultural projects, such as the Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum (fig. 9), language preservation programs, and cultural festivals. Casino profits also generated monthly dividends allocated to tribal members on a per capita basis. In 1999, after extensive internal debate, the Miccosukee Tribe opened Miccosukee Resort and Gaming, a bingo hall, hotel, and convention center on the Tamiami Trail. Miccosukee gaming revenues soon funded generous per capita dividends, a full complement of social services, and cultural projects. Both Florida tribes leveraged gaming success to achieve unprecedented political clout, retaining lobbyists and attorneys in Florida and Washington and exercising political influence through campaign contributions (Cattellino 2004).

Seminole and Miccosukee economic development extends beyond gaming, as the tribes have devoted gaming revenues to economic diversification. For example, during the late twentieth century Seminoles operated sugarcane and citrus ventures, a restaurant and ecotourism business at Big Cypress named Billie Swamp Safari, a shell mine, and, for several years, an airplane manufacturer. They also managed a variety of financial investments. Cattle ranching remained a socially and politically important, if not always financially successful, venture (Garbarino 1972). Tourism remained a central economic and cultural activity (P. West 1998), one that cannot be reduced to mere "marketing" for White tourists (cf. Mechling 1996). In 2003, Miccosukees operated a golf course in Miami, a hotel and convention center associated with their casino, an automobile service center along Alligator Alley, and the Miccosukee Indian Village and restaurant on the Tamiami Trail.

Social Organization

Eight major clans survived in 2004: Panther, Bird, Wind, Otter, Big Town, Snake, Bear, and Deer. Clan exogamy re-

mained the norm, with occasional intraclan relationships subject to ostracism and family intervention. Inter-marriage with non-Seminole resulted in growing numbers of Seminole tribal members who carry no clan. The social and cultural power of clans was reinforced through clan social gatherings, clan-based ceremonial activity, a diffuse sense of clan pride, and the regular identification of individuals by clan in tribal literature and at public events. Clan membership structured voting patterns, and one study has identified clan patterns in Seminole political leadership (R.T. King 1976). Several Miccosukee settlements along the Tamiami Trail were uxori-local and visually identified by clan totems; all Miccosukee tribal members carried clans by constitutional mandate. Although the role of maternal uncles had become less salient with the development of the nuclear family, clan-specific knowledge and discipline still passed from uncles to nephews and nieces, and women's roles as carriers of clans often were noted at tribal events and in conversation. There were many female-headed single-parent families, and numerous children were reared by maternal grandparents and other clan relatives.

Most Seminoles and Miccosukees continued to live on or near reservation lands in the early twenty-first century, with relatively few living beyond southern and central Florida. Some Miccosukees resided on Seminole reservations and vice versa, and intermarriage between the tribes was common. Distinct reservation identities persisted on the older Seminole reservations. Hollywood had become urban and included a mix of Mikasuki and Creek speakers and their descendants; tribal employees moved from the rural reservations to work at tribal headquarters. Brighton was the center of Creek language and identity, and cattle ranching, rodeo, and cowboy life dominated the built environment and the recreational calendar. Mikasuki speakers and their descendants were the majority at Big Cypress, which many Seminoles considered to be the most isolated and "traditional" reservation (see Garbarino 1972). Tribal members from across the dispersed reservations gathered frequently for events including the annual tribal fair, inaugurations of elected officials, Green Corn dances, and the Miss Seminole contest.

Housing

More than any other element of the built environment, chickees have marked reservation spaces as distinctly Indian. Most Seminoles in 2004 lived in government housing, generally concrete block structure homes, but chickees dotted reservation landscapes and were used in a variety of ways, including for relaxation, decoration, ceremonial activity, storage, and picnic and vehicle cover (fig. 9). Miccosukee housing ranged from modified chickees to hybrid homes to government housing. Seminoles' twentieth-century transition from chickee clan camps to dense reservation housing developments had uneven but important consequences for social organization.

By 1966, approximately 42 percent of all Seminole families had abandoned their chickees for four walls, indoor plumbing, ovens, and other amenities offered by their government-built concrete homes; on the Hollywood Reservation, the figure was 64 percent (Cattellino 2004).

Clans previously had organized Seminole residential, social, economic, and political life, so housing transition did not simply affect individuals: it had broad implications for the Seminole public. The Bureau of Indian Affairs Seminole Agency created housing policies that privileged nuclear families, and houses were distributed without regard for clan settlement patterns. This scattering of clan families upset patterns of labor, childrearing, and cultural transmission, and it undermined overall clan solidarity. Nuclear family residence also disrupted gender patterns, regendering property ownership from women to men, shifting male authority from clan uncle to father, and creating a cash-based household economy that often forced women to enter the wage labor market.

Most Seminoles held on to some residential aspects of clan living after moving into federally built houses. For example, despite the designation of houses for nuclear families, some moved into them as matrilineal groups. Faced with prohibitions on building chickees in government housing developments, many families maintained their old chickees, using them as second homes. Some Florida Indians built hybrid structures, such as frame houses with thatched roofs.

By 1996 the tribe established the Housing Department. In 2000–2001 the Department's budget was 36 percent from the federal government and 64 percent from tribal funds. The tribal Housing Department supported housing initiatives that promoted "traditional" and hybrid dwelling practices. For example, the Department funded chickee building and maintenance, and in 2000 most tribal members' homesites, even on the urban Hollywood Reservation, included at least one chickee. The tribal council also supported the construction of hybrid chickee houses for Seminoles living along the Tamiami Trail.

Religious and Ceremonial Life

The relationship between Christianity and "traditional" Seminole religion shifted dramatically during the second half of the twentieth century. Southern Baptist influence peaked between the late 1940s and 1970s (Buswell 1972; Sturtevant 1971:118, 120). Some Christian pastors discouraged parishioners from participating in the Green Corn Dance, and Christian/non-Christian status marked a primary social and political division among Seminoles (Sturtevant 1954). Subsequently, participation in the Green Corn Dance expanded, and tensions between Christians and traditionalists decreased.

The First Seminole Indian Baptist Church was founded on the Hollywood (then Dania) Reservation in 1936. A 1949 schism between minister Stanley Smith and the Home Missions Board of the Southern Baptist Conven-

tion, with which the Seminole churches had been affiliated, led to the creation of rival churches affiliated with the Fundamental Baptist Independent Fellowship (Buswell 1972). In 2004 there were two Baptist churches on each of the three major Seminole reservations, one with each affiliation; most Seminole Christian churches were founded in the 1950s.

In 2001, Seminoles and Miccosukees held Green Corn dances each summer at four locations: two near the Tamiami Trail, one at a new site in the Big Cypress National Preserve, and one at Yeehaw Junction, north of Brighton. The Seminole tribal government supported the Corn Dance by authorizing “traditional leave” for employees and by covering some expenses, but by rule each dance ground was located outside reservation boundaries. As a form of renewal, many participants wore new and intricate patchwork clothing, rendering the Green Corn Dance a focal point of patchwork production and artistry (D. Downs 1995). In the early 2000s attendance at Green Corn dances reached levels unmatched for decades, and there were waiting lists for religious medicinal training. Green Corn Dance attendance remained restricted to Seminoles and Miccosukees and, occasionally, their invited guests. At least some dance ground leaders limited dancing to Indians who held clan affiliations.

Many but not all Seminoles who participated in the Green Corn Dance in the early 2000s were baptized Christians, although some Baptists had never attended. Most Seminoles, even Christians, partook of at least some aspects of “traditional” medicine and ceremony, such as funerary rites and herbal healing practices (cf. Sturtevant 1954). Religious leaders, sometimes called “medicine men,” were prominent within Indian communities, as were their senior students. The coexistence of Christian and traditional world views and religious practices was exemplified in a book about Seminole medicine and ethnobotany co-authored by Alice Micco Snow (Bird clan) (“Languages,” fig. 6, this vol.), who was active in the First Indian Baptist Church in Brighton as well as a medicine assistant (A.M. Snow and S.E. Stans 2001). Secular stickball games sponsored by the Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum afforded Christians opportunities to participate in a culturally meaningful activity that previously had been restricted to a ceremonial sphere.

Cultural Production

Seminoles and Miccosukees retained strong senses of cultural distinctiveness in the early 2000s, and each tribe was engaged in forms of cultural production, from language preservation efforts (“Languages,” fig. 8, this vol.) to youth cultural education. The Seminole Tribe operated a closed circuit television station with original programming and the *Seminole Tribune* newspaper.

Casino revenues rendered craft production peripheral to household economies, yet craftwork continued, including patchwork, sweetgrass basketry, palmetto dolls, beadwork, and some wood carving (“Resurgence and Recognition,”

fig. 8, this vol.). Innovation remained an aesthetic value and regular practice (Blackard 1990:48), and trends included the incorporation of clan totems into patchwork designs and the use in baskets of intricate patterns. The Seminole Tribe sponsored several clothing contests each year, often with over 100 contestants, and the Miccosukee Tribe held a fashion show at their annual winter festival. New interest had been sparked in historical craft forms, including bandolier bags, pre-patchwork clothing design, and split palmetto basketry. Several tribal members pursued artistic careers in new media, including photography, graphic arts, painting, and writing (M. Jumper 1991; B.M. Jumper and P.B. Gallagher 1994). In 1999, the year his *Alligator Tales* recording was released, Seminole Chairman James Billie won the “Living Legend” Native American Music Award.

Synonymy[‡]

The English name Seminole is from Creek *simanó·li* (spelled Semvnole in the Creek alphabet from Oklahoma). The word *simanó·li* in Oklahoma Creek, usually used for the tribe, is also used to distinguish wild varieties of plants and animals, and this is the usual meaning in Florida. In the latter use, some Oklahoma speakers say *simaló·ni* instead. Both forms are ultimately from Spanish *cimarron* ‘wild, untamed, fugitive’. In Oklahoma Creek, *isti-simanó·li* (este-Semvnole) means ‘a Seminole person,’ and *isti-simano·l-álki* (este-Semvnovlke) means ‘the Seminole.’ In Florida these terms are rarely used; *simanó·li* in both Florida Creek and Mikasuki means ‘wild, undomesticated’ of plants and animals, and is considered inappropriate for people.

In 1765 an English document applied the name Seminole to a Florida group near Alachua. The label was soon extended to include settlements in the Apalachee region. William Bartram in 1777 listed nine towns of “Siminoles or Lower Creeks” on the Flint river in Georgia (Bartram in Waselkov and Braund 1995:367). Benjamin Hawkins referred to the Sim-e-lo-le, Sim-e-no-le, or Simenolies in 1799 (Hawkins 1848:25). A list of the towns and bands appears in Hodge (1907–1910, 2:501).

The name Mikasuki was used in the 1790s for a settlement in northern Florida near present Lake Miccosukee. Benjamin Hawkins in 1799 referred to the Mic-co-sooc-e (Hawkins 1848:25), although it does not appear on William Bartram’s list from 1777 (Bartram in Waselkov and Braund 1995:367). Other spellings from the 1790s include Micasukee and Mackasookos.

After the Seminole Wars, the name Mekasukey (Creek *mikosokí*) reappears in Indian Territory as a band within the Seminole Nation, as a school for Seminole boys, and as a town (Shirk 1974:158; J. B. Martin and M. Mauldin 2000: 168). In Florida the name survived among the Big Cypress

[‡]This section was written by Jack B. Martin, with revisions by Sturtevant.

band, members of whom later established the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida. Gatschet (1884–1888, 1:76), Hodge (1907–1910, 1:860–861), and Swanton (1945:150) used the spelling Mikasuki. The name has no etymology in Creek or Mikasuki and is not much used in those languages. In Mikasuki the language is called *i'lapônki'*, and Mikasuki speakers are referred to as *i'laposni'ca'tî'*. They call the Florida Creek language *ci'sapô'nî'* or perhaps *ci'sapônki'*, and its speakers are *ci'saposni'cá'tî'*. In Florida Creek the Mikasuki language is called *čilo'kkitá* and its speakers are *isti-čiló'kki* or *čilo'kkalki* or *čilo'kho'kâlki*.

Sources

The most useful and important account of Seminole history through the early 1990s is Covington (1993), which is detailed, well documented, and the principal source used in the first part of this chapter. The basic source on the Second Seminole War is Mahon (1985). Useful for all three Seminole Wars, and their larger context, is Missall and Missall (2004). See also vol. 4:144–184 of the *Handbook*. Fairbanks (1974) provides a well-documented history of the Seminole up to 1823. For twentieth-century political history, Kersey's (1989, 1996) work is important, while an economic history

for 1870–1930 is Kersey (1975). Garbarino (1972) is an ethnography of the Big Cypress Reservation. Sturtevant (1954) covers curing, magic, sorcery, and other aspects of religion, as well as ethnobotany (listing about 250 plants with their Seminole names and uses). Buswell (1972) describes Seminole religion. For the Green Corn Dance and medicine bundles see Capron (1953) and Sturtevant (1954a). The Hunting Dance is described in Capron (1956). Social organization is well described by Spoehr (1941b, 1944). Men's clothing is described in Sturtevant (1967). On patchwork designs and their construction, see Blackard (1990) and Dudley (1980). Downs (1995) describes Seminole and Miccosukee art. For a history of Seminole tourism, see P. West (1998). Gaming is treated extensively by Cattelino (2004, 2004a). Seminole autobiographies of Buffalo Tiger (2002) and Betty Mae Jumper (2001) were co-authored with Kersey and P. West, respectively. Biographies of two Seminole men were published by Sturtevant (1956b, 1960a). Kersey (1987) provides a thorough bibliography of publications on the Seminole and Miccosukee, with an extensive critical essay. An earlier critical bibliography is by Sturtevant (1958). Many of the most important sources were reprinted in Sturtevant (1987a).