

A Seminole Personal Document

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Local history relies for some of its detail and much of its atmosphere on the autobiographical reminiscences of elderly local natives and early settlers. Several years ago I had the good fortune to become acquainted with one of the oldest people born in the Miami region and a continuous inhabitant of it, and to record some of his family traditions and his personal reminiscences of life in this area. This old man differs from the ordinary native whose memories are collected for local history, in being an Indian.

In the summer of 1950 I was engaged in linguistic research among the Mikasuki Seminole on the Dania Reservation.¹ I had been working about three weeks with Joseph W. Jumper, a young Seminole high school student, when I suggested to him that he try to arrange for an elderly person to record some texts on my wire recorder. Joe had himself recorded a few texts, but I had nothing from anyone else. The most noticeable old man on the Dania Reservation was Sam Huff: he was the only one there who always wore the old-fashioned Seminole 'big shirt'—a garment with constricted waist, long skirt, long sleeves, and top buttoned down the front, decorated with inset strips of colored cloth and patchwork designs (see figure 2). I discovered later that he and Joe enjoyed an informal joking relationship, apparently on Sam Huff's initiative (although this never passed the bounds of propriety; in the Seminole view, one must be careful how one interacts with elderly people, nearly all of whom possess some magical powers). At this late date, I do not remember whether the original suggestion that Sam Huff be approached was mine or Joe's—but my notes do record the fact that I did not tell Joe what sort of text I wanted. In fact, I did not care, as my intention at that time was merely to collect a sample of speech for linguistic analysis. Joe told me later that he had not suggested any specific topics to the old man. So the subjects Sam Huff talked about, and their organization, were entirely his own choice.

Why did he agree to do it? Joe Jumper, who urged him to, was a particular friend of his and Sam Huff as well as many other older people thought him outstanding among the younger generation in his steadiness, quietness, and helpfulness. He also knew that he would be paid for the work.

About three weeks later he came to me on his own initiative to earn more money by recording—but this time he sang, rather than telling any story.

I did not carry out my intention of transcribing Sam Huff's remarks in a phonemic orthography and analyzing them grammatically. I must therefore rely here on Joe Jumper's translation into English. The wording of this is more natural and the translation more complete than is usually the case when recording equipment is not used, because the narrator was not interrupted, the translation being done from the recording, playing it for short stretches and repeating these whenever the interpreter was in doubt. By this stage of our work, Joe was aware of my desire for full and accurate translations, and had had some experience in providing these from wire recordings. My own knowledge of Mikasuki at the time was minimal, although I was able on occasion to question the interpreter about short phrases which seemed to me to have been omitted. I have slightly revised my record of the translation for publication, but the revision consists solely in putting Joe's words into grammatical and connected English sentences. I do not want to give the impression that Sam Huff speaks broken Mikasuki (of course he does not), or that his English is sufficient for such a recounting (it is not—he has but a few words of English, adequate only for the simplest conversation). On the other hand, there seems no point in preserving the rather sub-standard English of the interpreter, which has no bearing on the content of the texts. I have not rearranged the order of what Sam Huff said, or omitted anything. Additions of my own necessary for following the sense are put in square brackets.

In 1952, I interviewed Sam Huff again, going to him with Joe Jumper and asking him to expand on some points in his earlier remarks. The questions translated by Joe, and the answers in Mikasuki, were recorded on a wire recorder and later translated by another interpreter. This information and data from other Seminole collected in 1952 are the basis of my discussions preceding and following the text and in the footnotes—except where citations to published or manuscript literature are given.

Sam Huff is in most respects a perfectly ordinary Seminole. He has the respect due to age, but little more. His accomplishments and achievements have been few, and he has not gained renown among his fellow tribesmen for any special capabilities or knowledge, with the possible exception of a reputation for being a better than average singer—but his voice is now broken with age, and since he is Christian he no longer attends the religious cere-

monies at which his knowledge of songs would be an asset. He is outstanding only in his age, his dress, and his sib (matrilineal descent group) membership.

In 1952 Sam Huff replied to a question, with some hesitation, that he was 80 years old. Copies of 1917 and 1923 censuses in the files of the Seminole Agency at the Dania Reservation give his (estimated) birth date as 1883. Sam Huff's own estimate may be better, since in a photograph taken not later than 1897 (figure 1) he appears to be more nearly 25 than 14. He was born, then, about 1872, at Pine Island, an old Seminole settlement northwest of the present Dania Reservation, where he spent most of his boyhood years.

This place, known in Mikasuki as *coyisoká:cokô:lî:*,² 'pine island (or clump) place,' is well described in the published literature. It is between the North and South New River Canals, opposite the head of the South Fork of the New River and four or five miles within the Everglades. It is shown on various maps (e.g., Squires, 1925, and Torras and Charlton, 1925; the area is not yet covered by Geological Survey maps) as a crescentic hammock extending some one and a half miles north and south and one and an eighth miles east and west, in sections 17, 18, 19, and 20 of Township 50 S, Range 41 E—about three miles northwest of the center of the town of Davie, and about four and a half miles northwest of the Dania reservation.

J. A. Henshall spent two days in late February, 1882, visiting the Seminole village here, and wrote a pleasant account of his observations (Henshall, 1884: 152-166). Traveling about twenty miles up the South Fork of the New River in a Seminole dugout canoe with sail, he emerged into the Everglades and met Indians sailing between their village of 25 or 30 houses on Pine Island, and their fields on smaller islands nearby. He noticed the busk (Green Corn Dance) grounds with its ball pole at one side of the village.³ Among the inhabitants were Little Tiger, Little Tommie, Big Charley, and Tommy Doctor. "These Indians lead a quiet, peaceable, and semipastoral life, cultivating fields of corn, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, bananas, etc., in the rich hamaks on the adjacent islands, their villages being in the pines on the border of the mainland [of the big island]. They also make starch from the "komptie," or wild arrowroot,⁴ which grows abundantly in the pine woods, and in the winter they hunt deer and bears. Such a life is not without its charms, shut out, as they are, from all the world by impenetrable cypress swamps, the only avenues to civilization being by way of the streams which drain the Everglades, the currents of which are so swift during high water that few attempt to ascend them to the Everglades, and still fewer

succeed. In the spring and early summer the Everglades are comparatively dry; as Little Tiger said: "In two moons, all water gone—canoe no go more." During the autumn and winter the men go to the settlements, mostly to Miami on Biscayne Bay, by way of the Miami River, where they sell deerskins, buckskin, beeswax, komptie starch, vegetables, bird plumes, alligator teeth, etc., and buy cloth, calico, ammunition, tobacco, etc., and occasionally wy-ho-mee (whisky)" (Henshall, 1884: 159-160).

Duncan (1898:ccxi-ccxiii) summarized the situation in this region sixteen years later. He found two settlements on Pine Island, the family heads including Miami Jimmie, John Jumper, Jimmie Tustenugee, Doctor Tommie, Tommie Jumper, Old Charlie (Sam Huff's father), Charlie Willie, and Willie Billie. Tommy Doctor, met by Henshall at Pine Island, in 1898 was living on a smaller island about four miles southeast, with several other families in the same neighborhood.

In 1952 Sam Huff told me that all the inhabitants of Pine Island when he was young were Mikasuki, with two exceptions. The Miami Jimmie mentioned by Duncan—the Mikasuki form of his Indian name was yahaha:cî:, 'crazy wolf'—was a Cow Creek of the Tiger (i.e., Florida puma, *Felis concolor coryi*) sib. The wife of Old John Jumper (the John Jumper mentioned by Duncan) was also a Cow Creek Tiger. She was the mother of Annie Tommie (wife of Doctor Tommie), who is the mother of the six well-known Tommie brothers (Ben Frank, Frank, Brown, Jack, Sam, and Tony B.M.). Sam Huff remarked that although Old John Jumper's wife was Cow Creek, and the children learned Creek from her, the family ordinarily spoke Mikasuki. The band affiliation of the children and their children is today a point of discussion; there is room for doubt, since band affiliation does not follow matrilineal descent as strictly as does sib membership, but is influenced by residence and language.

I was told by a usually well-informed Seminole—who, however, sometimes is mistaken as to dates—that the Pine Island settlements dispersed about 1900. He remembers visiting the place in 1901 and finding it abandoned. He maintained that some of the people moved onto the New River nearer the present Fort Lauderdale—among these was Old John Jumper's wife—and some moved south, closer to Miami. I presume Annie Tommie and her sons went with her mother; Sam Huff may also have gone with them. The family of Tommie Jumper may have been among those moving south. At any rate, according to Nash (1931:21) "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," moved to the Dania Reservation in 1926, when the government began the program there (Nash, 1931:70-71).

Sam Huff is a member of the small sib called *oklihô:ta:Lî:*, 'big towns people,' in Mikasuki. This is one of the sibs present among the Mikasuki Seminole but absent among the Creek-speaking Cow Creek Seminole, who refer to it as *talwaLákko*, 'big town' (cf. Spoehr, 1941:15). Information on the history of his sib obtained from Sam Huff in 1952, taken together with corroborative and contradictory testimony from other Seminole, and with information in the literature, gives some new data on Seminole history. Sam Huff told me that his mother's mother had said that their sib was from 'white town,' which they were forced to leave by the army which chased them eventually to south Florida. At some point in their history, so their tradition runs, they found the Otter sib and in effect adopted it—the two sibs thenceforth not intermarrying and in other ways behaving as though they were one, while remembering that in origin they were different. At present, the Otter sib is much the larger and more prominent; as a result, members of Sam Huff's sib often casually refer to themselves as Otters, and are so referred to by others. Furthermore, some members of the sib consistently refer to themselves as *kôta:Lî:*, 'frog people,' perhaps in an effort to raise their status, for the Big Towns sib is considered by many nonmembers to have a somewhat subordinate position among the sibs, all the rest of which have totemic names. Actually, frogs do serve as "totem" animals for the Otter sib and also, by extension, for the Big Towns sib—in the sense that sib members must defend them against joking by members of other sibs (this is a common Mikasuki Seminole pattern; most sibs have several such animals, including the eponymous one, which they must defend). Other Seminole deny the right of Big Towns people to call themselves Frogs, and some insist that the sib was discovered and adopted by the Otters, rather than vice versa (cf. Greenlee, 1952:26; details he gives differ somewhat from fuller data I obtained from the same informant in 1952).

Spoehr (1941:15) has noted the uniqueness of the nontotemic Mikasuki Big Towns sib, and suggested that it may represent a disrupted town which subsequently acquired sib status. This seems a likely explanation and some further evidence may be cited. The tradition that the Big Towns sib was "found" by the Otters points in this direction. The Cow Creek term for the sib, *talwaLákko*, is also interesting (note that the Mikasuki name is equivalent, except that the adjective is plural and I have quoted the name

with the ordinary plural suffix used with sib names, -a:Lî:, here translated 'people'). This is one Creek name for the originally Hitchiti-speaking town of Apalachicola (Swanton, 1922:129-130; Haas, 1945:72-73). Furthermore, Apalachicola was referred to by Bartram in 1777 as the chief town of the "peace" dual division of the towns of the Creek confederacy, and he also stated that when it broke up, some of its inhabitants joined the Seminole (Swanton, 1922:132-133). The towns of the peace division were commonly referred to as "white," as opposed to the "red" or war towns—although the modern Creek apparently do not use these terms (Swanton, 1928:249; Haas, 1940b: 479), and the distinction is not known among modern Florida Seminole. Yet the association of white with peace, and of certain towns with peace, is an old one among the Creek (Swanton, 1928:249-259; for the dual division of towns, cf. Haas, 1940b). Hence Sam Huff's tradition of his sib's origin from 'white town' makes sense with the early position of Apalachicola. The tradition is known to other Seminole: another informant remarked that members of the sib often boast, "I'm big white city."

Hitchiti and Mikasuki are dialects of the same language; the Big Towns sib comes from 'white town'; Apalachicola, a Hitchiti town, was once the leading town of the peace or "white" division of the Creek. I suggest that the Mikasuki Big Towns sib derives from the refugees from Apalachicola who joined the Seminole in the eighteenth century.

As will be seen, Sam Huff omitted many facts about his life in the account he recorded for me. His father was Old Charlie. One of his mother's sisters married Robert Osceola, by whom she had at least five sons and two daughters; four of these sons (members, of course, of the Big Towns sib) are now leading men among the Tamiami Trail Seminole. Of Sam Huff's siblings, my genealogies show only two brothers and one sister, all deceased. In order of age, these are: Charlie Tommie, the eldest, father of Katy Smith (wife of Morgan Smith); a sister, *koyihcî:*, the wife of Willie Billie (mentioned by Duncan) and the mother of (at least) two living sons and three living daughters, who, with the numerous children of the daughters, are all Big Towns sib members; and Frank Charlie. Sam Huff is the youngest sibling.

I do not know Sam Huff's boyhood name. His adult name is *hacikocok-niha:cî:*, 'crazy short tail' (for brief comments on Seminole names, see Sturtevant, 1953:67). An indication of the isolation of Seminole busk groups about 1890 or somewhat before, is the fact that Whitney Cypress, a man about Sam Huff's age who died in 1951, had the same adult name. The old men say that two living people should not have the same name, but it



(USNM neg. 13187)

FIG. 1. Group at Pine Island about 1897. Back row, left to right: Charley Tiger (with gun), Sam Huff, Jackson Charlie (with gun), John Osceola, Ben Frank Tommie. Front row seated, left to right: kiLóhyi; ayóhçi; koyihçi: (without coin necklace), lithohki: (the first two were sisters of Willie Tiger, the third of Sam Huff, the fourth of Doctor Wilson; identifications of the women are less certain than those of the men behind).



(Photo by Art Cohen)

FIG. 2. Sam Huff at the Dania Reservation in 1956.

occasionally happens that busk groups are not in sufficiently close communication to prevent duplicate names being given—and once given, a name cannot be changed. Sam Huff was named at an east coast busk, perhaps at Pine Island, whereas Whitney Cypress was named by Old Doctor at a busk in the Big Cypress area.⁵

The name "Sam Huff" was presumably borrowed from a local white man. Note that Sam Huff's brothers had different surnames. In the earlier records (e.g., Spencer, 1917) the name is spelled Hough; more recently and today the spelling I use is the ordinary one. I remember having seen a mention of a Fort Myers sheriff named Sam Hough; if my memory is not playing me false (unfortunately I cannot now locate the reference), this must be the source of the name. Today, the full English name is always used by the Indians: "Sam Huff," never "Sam," and never his Indian name. I have followed this usage here.

Before 1909, Sam Huff married a woman known as Jenny Tiger or (more commonly) Rosalie, a member of the Tiger sib who is apparently a granddaughter of Old John Jumper who lived at Pine Island—and thus either Cow Creek or Mikasuki, depending on the relative weight given descent and residence. Sam and Rosalie Huff had one son and three daughters, all of whom are still alive. The eldest, Pocahontas, was born about 1909 (Spencer, 1923) and in 1950 was living at the Dania Reservation with her children and her present husband, Josie Jumper. Lena, born about 1912 (Spencer, 1923), in 1950 was also living at Dania with her children and present husband, Jack Billie. Frank Huff, born about 1914 (Spencer, 1923) in 1950 was living on the Brighton Reservation with Mary, his Cow Creek wife, and their children. Alice, born about 1918 (Spencer, 1923), was living at Dania with her children and her present husband, Charley Billy Boy.

About 1920, Sam Huff was apparently living in the Dania-Fort Lauderdale region (perhaps on the hammock mentioned by Nash, referred to above), for the Chicago Natural History Museum has two photographs (negatives 45522 and 45547) received in 1921, the captions of which refer to him as living in Broward county. In one, he is shown with an alligator skin (he told me that he used to sell alligator skins at Brown's Store at Boat Landing on the present Big Cypress Reservation—this must have been before this time); in the other, he is "eating breakfast" with a group of Mikasuki in a temporary camp.

In 1939, Sam Huff was living in a camp by himself on the Brighton Reservation, where Rosalie was also living with two of their daughters and

their children. Sam Huff and Rosalie had then "long been divorced," although they remained friendly (Spoehr, 1944:143-144).

Translations of the two texts recorded in 1950 follow. Both were narrated at the same sitting; between the two, the only interval was the time necessary to play back the first for the narrator's benefit (and amusement).

Right over there [Pine Island, northwest of the Dania Reservation] there used to be a big Indian camp, I mean it was big, and plenty of medicine-men lived there. There were four camps right there—I mean there were five camps—and they lived in them. There were plenty of medicine-men living in those five camps. They had Green Corn Dances there, too. They lived there and had [ceremonial] gatherings [this term is used for both busks and Hunting or Snake Dances]. They stayed in those camps, and that's where I began to know. Four camps had gone away then, but one was still there, and the people were there in it.

There were no white people, except by the ocean where there was a house called "station" with one white man living in it.⁶ There were just a few white people around, and they were from far away. When they [the Indians] first saw them coming, two people went down and told them to get out of this place and keep on going. If they wanted to spend the night, they would let them go to sleep, but they mustn't say anything. So they brought them back [to the Indian camps] and they spent the night and went away again.

[Then] everybody was going to different places, scattering out to make many little camps. The white people were moving closer, and they built a town at Palm Beach.⁷ They were gradually moving down.

We didn't have any automobiles like we have today. They had what's called 'wagons tied up with horses.' Mr. Stranahan was living in Ft. Lauderdale, but it wasn't a town then; he was living sort of in the woods.⁸ Miami was beginning to be a town, but Lemon City was already a town.⁹

They took letters and papers in a big wagon with a top on it and seats, four seats, and people rode in it, although it was carrying the mail. They changed the letters in Ft. Lauderdale, and another one took them to a place called Lantana, on this side of Palm Beach, and they changed there in Lantana to a big boat. From there the ship took the mail to a little village, and a little train came from the north and took the letters to the north. Farther north there was a big train which came and took those letters back, and

scattered them all over. That's what they did for a long time, until Miami was a big town, and then the trains went all the way to Miami.¹⁰ There were no automobiles, only wagons fastened to horses to take the mail to the train station.

They used wagons to go to town for a while, and the town was gradually getting bigger. They started making wagons without horses, and finally they built houses for those cars, and the cars kept increasing. Things kept going along, and gradually a big city grew up.

Steam shovels began to make canals in the Everglades. Steam shovels came out of Ft. Lauderdale, and others came out of Deerfield, heading for [Lake] Okeechobee.¹¹ "Just as soon as they hit the lake, the water is going to dry up in those Everglades, and as soon as the water dries up, they're going to start plantations"—that's what the white people said to the Indians. Another steam shovel went out from Dania, and another one from Miami.¹² Just as soon as they hit Okeechobee, the water was going to dry up. But I didn't believe it, until they hit Okeechobee. Then the water dried up, and even in Okeechobee it was dry too.¹³ The Everglades became small, and the trees grew very fast.

There was nothing at the little ocean in front of Miami [i.e., Biscayne Bay] except a few fishermen riding around. There were mangroves along both sides. The mangroves went as far as a place called Little River, and ended there. I saw that the place was all cleaned up, the last time I was there.

On the other side of Miami, where the little white ocean [Biscayne Bay] leads, there is a little island called Coconut Grove, but the Indians call it 'Peace Treaty.'¹⁴ In between Miami and Coconut Grove they had a war, with soldiers coming from the ocean. At that time my grandmother was coming this way [from the north], coming on and on until she had some children, and she just kept on coming until she got here, and stayed here.

Governor Hendry was captain of the soldiers, but he was helping the Indians. He had plenty of cows, and a house. He was helping the Indians, but they made him captain of the soldiers. The soldiers wanted to fight the Indians some more, but Governor Hendry said not to fight any more with the Indians.¹⁵ Near Coconut Grove there was a big soldiers' boat, a *big* boat. It was right where the deep water comes close to shore. It was a big boat, and there were some soldiers in it ready to fight. Governor Hendry was captain, and there was another captain named Jesup who was a captain of soldiers.¹⁶ Governor Hendry and Captain Jesup talked and talked, and Governor Hendry said, "I think we'll just quit fighting the Indians, because

if we killed all the Indians it would be too bad. Let's make friends; right now we'll make a peace treaty with the Indians." And they said, "If you Indians want to do that way, it's all right with us." There was an Indian man named Alec, from the Wind sib,¹⁷ who talked to the white people and said, "That's all right with us." In those days we didn't have any man who could talk English. They just used their fingers, trying to talk with them—that's the way they talked.

Alec came back and said to them, "The Indians will kill a lot of white people, and the white people will kill a lot of Indians, and so on until they will kill all the Indians, then it's going to be too bad, so we'd better quit right now and have a peace treaty. Let's quit and make friends and shake hands. If a white man gets angry with an Indian, and the Indian gets angry with a white man, and they kill each other, let it go, because they two caused it themselves." The Indians said, "That's the way the law is going to be, that's all right with us." That's the way they wanted it, so we went over to the big boat where the soldiers were and shook hands with them and the white people gave them something. A guard of soldiers was sent over here, and some people thought that it was a trap, but some Indians went with them, and when they got to the boat there was a ladder that went from the boat to the ground, and they went in. They visited them, and shook hands with them, and the white men gave the Indians gifts, and the soldiers said, "If you want to give us something, you can give us chickens." After they got through, they came back to their camps.

"When two people, Indians or white people, get angry with each other and kill each other, that's the way it's going to be [i.e., no retaliation]," they said. The soldiers in that boat came out and visited them, because we didn't have any fighting any more.¹⁸ The Indians called it Peace Treaty for a long time, but the white people began to build houses and then it began to be Coconut Grove. They started making houses, and they call it Coconut Grove now.¹⁹

That's the way I heard it [that is to say, the above is tradition].

II. When I was a baby, first—I mean, when my mother and father held me—When children are born, they drink milk, but I wasn't that way. I wasn't born a healthy baby, I was born sick.

There were some white people living at Miami by the little ocean [Biscayne Bay]. Just a little over on the other side of Lemon City there was a

small island, and some poor white people were living on that island making coontie.²⁰ They made it and sold it, or just sent it off and sold it. Those white people said, "Why don't you bring that baby to us? We might make him well for you." My parents said, "Well, let's take him over, and find out what they can do for him." My parents were living at Snake River.²¹ I wasn't well enough to stand up, so I was staying in bed.

When I was a very little boy, I couldn't walk, or talk, or sit up. All the Indian doctors were doctoring me, but I couldn't get well. "Let's take him over to the white people. They don't have any medicine to use on him, they're poor people and they don't know where they're going to get that medicine, but we'll take him over and find out what they can do for him." A baby grows with milk, but I wouldn't drink any milk and I didn't get anything to eat, but just lay there on the bed. They took me over to them—but they were *poor people*. They were making coontie, eating it and selling it. "We took you over, and they made the medicine themselves, and they used it on you. You were lying there on the bed, and we went over very often to see you." It was a long time, I think I lay there about three months, but I didn't know anything [yet]. He went over to tell them that I was feeling better, and eating food. They didn't have any cow's milk or any kind of milk, so I didn't drink any—that's the way I grew up.

When children grow up with their mothers, they drink human milk, but I wasn't that way when I was growing up. I was born with a sickness, I wasn't like the other children born without sickness. I was lying there and the white people said, "You can have him [back] if you want to." They took me back. That's when I was beginning to understand.

I had some brothers. I had one older brother who was drinking liquor in Fort Lauderdale. That was not very long ago. He was drinking all kinds of liquor, and one night he didn't come home. Morning came, and I went to find out what had happened to him. First I went straight to the liquor store. It had rained all night long, but I started off that morning. I went straight to where they bought whiskey—I mean I didn't go all the way: there were some trees, and under the trees he was lying. He had a little sheet covering his face. It was raining and raining on him, while he was lying there on his back. I went over. "That's all," I thought, "his insides are getting rotten." He couldn't talk, he just looked at me. The whiskey was sitting there, and I moved it. I was standing watching him. He was looking at me, he couldn't talk. He was lying down. I came back, and told his daughter what had happened. Morgan Smith's wife, that's his daughter—

I told her. "Let's go see," she said, and we all went over. The police brought him back. They brought him back and he lay there not very long, and died.

My sisters were the same way. They were older than me, because I didn't know it at the time. My brother and I were still growing up when they died. My sisters, they died and died.

Only *kascfilotkî*'s father²² was left. He's my cousin. He got wrecked with a car just a little ways from here. Three people were in it, and they all died. They took them out of the water, and there were three of them, lying beside the road. That's why I don't have any brothers.

They all died except two sisters—but one of them died not very long ago, and the other also died a short time ago. Only I am left. Only I am left, that's why I'm here today.

In Brighton there were some people I'd heard about, but I stayed here. They went to Brighton, and I went with them—I mean, I went after them, and got over there. They cut the ground for the Indians [marked out the Brighton reservation],²³ and after they finished it, then they all moved to that place. I went over there and stayed, and then they turned back to come over here, and I started back again and came over here. The Christian people around here were going over to Brighton, but I didn't know what they were doing, that's the reason I didn't go [at first]. My thinking was different, I didn't know what they were doing. I didn't want to join them.²⁴

I got sick. I was drinking and I got sick. They put me in the hospital. I was lying down and I didn't know anything. I woke up, but my ideas were bad. I thought people were killing each other right in the house. I lay there until I felt better. There was a paper lying on my bed, about the size of this [pointing to an 8" x 11" pad]. It was Christ's picture. I thought someone was telling me, "This is Christ's picture, you can look at it while you lie there." One person went in there and handed me that picture and went out. I thought it was those people in the hospital, but it wasn't. I lay there, and when the time came that I felt better, "You don't have any sickness," they said.

While I lay there I changed my mind. It wasn't my fault, I thought. "Somebody thought it and put a picture on my bed too, and that's all. Drinking liquor. As soon as I get out of this place," I thought, "I'll go straight to where the Christian people are." That's all. They went over and brought me back to Brighton. I was lying there [in the hospital] in Sebring, and they brought me back. I stayed there [at Brighton] for a while, then I started off and came over here [to Dania], and I joined the Christians.

I thought I was going to sit there in my house without doing anything. They told me to sweep the church. "Work on the church, clean the inside," they told me. I was working there with Stanley [Smith], and they built another church,²⁵ but I was still working in the same place, and I'm working there now, and I stay here now.

It is legitimate to ask how representative these texts are. One is struck by the lack of material requiring a knowledge of Seminole culture for understanding, by the large gaps in the chronology of the narrator's life, by the small amount of anything really personal. In fact, much of what Sam Huff said deals with his own or other Indians' relations with whites, or with changes in South Florida in which the Seminole participated only very indirectly.

One suspects that his choice of topics was determined by what he thought a white man would be interested in and would understand. I had, after all, only been working about three weeks among the Seminole, quietly and largely with one informant, and a young one at that. Sam Huff did not know then that I was interested in Seminole culture, and if it occurred to him he must have realized that I knew little about it. When I returned to question him in 1952, I had been in evidence much longer, it was well known whom I had talked with and in general what my interests were, and on this occasion Sam Huff did give me some data which required more knowledge to understand. However, this was in response to direct questions about the history and membership of his sib. I did not ask him to tell me what he intended by his earlier narrative, or to expand on his life-history as such, to fill in the gaps in the chronology, to talk about his family and relatives, or to give any information which might be used for psychological interpretations.

I do not have any comparable texts from other Seminole, although I do know something about the normal Seminole life cycle and attitudes. It is striking to me that Sam Huff did not mention any of the turning points of his life except for his conversion. I would have expected (on the basis of my present knowledge) at least a passing reference to his receiving an adult name, to ceremonial participation, to his marriage, to his children, and perhaps to his divorce. His attitude towards whites—if it was fairly shown by his remarks—is markedly lacking in affect. He accepts what has happened, here and elsewhere, without complaint. Many non-Christian Seminole and some Christians in a similar context would surely remark more explicitly on the effects and perhaps the injustices of white pressures.

These reminiscences present little or no new historical detail (except for the indirect evidence about Apalachicola). It cannot even be said with certainty that they are a fair sample of the point of view of an element of South Florida's population which has been little investigated before. Sam Huff himself might reminisce differently to a Seminole audience, or to an outsider whom he knew to be well acquainted with and sympathetic to Seminole history and culture (a status I had not yet reached).

Yet I find these two texts very interesting, and I hope others will also. As an anthropologist, they interest me as a rare type of document: an American Indian's nondirected, spontaneous life-history (cf. Kluckhohn, 1945); but they are disappointing in the little information they contain on Seminole culture or on the personality of the narrator. From the historian's point of view, these reminiscences are unique for Florida, whether or not they are representative; again, they are disappointing in the amount of new data they contain. My own view may be biased, for I cannot help but remember how poignant the story seemed to me when I first heard it translated, listening with the interpreter to the cracked voice of the old man droning calmly on, sometimes dropping so low as to be scarcely audible, and remembering the sad, unassuming, gently humorous old man seated before the recording machine, telling in some sense the story of his life for a strange foreigner and their mutual friend of a new and very different Seminole generation.

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- ¹ My linguistic and ethnographic field work was supported by grants from the Department of Anthropology and the Peabody Museum of Yale University, as part of their Caribbean Anthropological Program aided by funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc. Part of the subsequent work on the material collected has been done at the Bureau of American Ethnology, and the present paper is published with the permission of the Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.
- ² For a description of the orthography used here for Mikasuki words, see Sturtevant, 1953:66. I write Creek (the language of the Cow Creek Seminole) in the system developed by M. R. Haas (see Haas, 1940a:149-150), substituting L for her barred l.
- ³ The U. S. National Museum and the Bureau of American Ethnology have two photographs of a ball game at this place, as well as one giving a general view of a camp at Pine Island. All three were taken by H. A. Ernst of Youngstown, Ohio, and received by the museum from him in 1897. One of the ball game ones is reproduced in Sturtevant, 1954:2, while the photograph of a camp is in Hough, 1932:8. Figure one reproduced here is part of another photograph in the same collection. The whole photograph is reproduced in Hough, 1932:7.

- 4 A cycad, *Zamia* sp., common in this region where both Indians and whites manufactured starch from its roots. See, among many other sources, Burkhardt, 1952; Cory, 1896:10-11; Gearhart, 1952; Small, 1921.
- 5 The following statement from Cory, 1896:16, may represent a changed condition, or the year mentioned above may have been exceptional: "The Indians visit each other a great deal. Many of those living on New River go to the Big Cypress every year, usually to attend the Green Corn Dance and visit their relatives."
- 6 U. S. Life-Saving Station No. 4, on the sea beach opposite and about two miles north of the site of old Fort Lauderdale. In 1879-1882 the keeper was Wash Jenkins, whose closest white neighbors were at Biscayne Bay and near Lake Worth (Henshall, 1884:150, 152-153). The "station" was also known as the Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge (Norton, 1891:226).
- 7 West Palm Beach first appears in the U. S. Census volumes in the census of 1900—Palm Beach is not listed—when it had 564 inhabitants. Fort Lauderdale then had a population of 91, and Dade county as a whole—which then included the present Broward, Palm Beach, and Martin counties—had 4,955. In the census of 1880, Dade county returned 257; in 1890, 861. All these figures exclude Indians, except the 1900 total for the county which includes 109 Seminole. In 1910, West Palm Beach had grown to 1,743.
- 8 Frank Stranahan (1864-1929) moved to Fort Lauderdale in 1893, perhaps as the first settler, and operated a store there for many years. Most of his early customers were Indians (Dovell, 1952:v. 3 p. 174; Douglas, 1947:298).
- 9 In the census of 1890, precinct three (which included Miami) returned a population of 364; in 1900, Miami had a population of 1,681. Lemon City is first listed in the 1910 census, with 1,214 inhabitants, when Miami had 5,471. Mrs. Douglas (1947:290) puts the spurt in Miami's population at about 1895. Lemon City was "settled by Key West people long before the railroad" (i.e., before 1896) (ibid., p. 297).
- 10 Before 1893, the railroad on the east coast reached no further than Daytona. At that time, the mail went via stage coach from Lemon City to Lantana, with a night layover at Fort Lauderdale, then from Lantana to Juno via boat on Lake Worth, from Juno to Jupiter on a short railroad, and from Jupiter to Daytona via boat. The railroad reached the Palm Beaches in 1894 and Miami in 1896 (Dovell, 1952: v. 2 pp. 612, 617).
- 11 Dredging of the North New River Canal from Fort Lauderdale began in 1906, and of the Hillsborough Canal from Deerfield about 1912 (U. S. Congress, 1911:16, facing p. 120; Florida Everglades Engineering Commission, 1914:7, 11).
- 12 The dredge on the South New River Canal starting between Dania and Fort Lauderdale, began operation in 1906, and the one on the Miami Canal began in 1909 (U. S. Congress, 1911:16-17, facing p. 120).
- 13 By February, 1913, the North New River Canal had been cut through and excavation was nearly finished; the Hillsborough Canal was six miles from connecting and about two-thirds excavated; the South New River Canal was open throughout and about half excavated; the Miami Canal was within 10 miles of tidewater and dredging was two-thirds finished (Internal Improvement Fund, 1915:66). Two months later the dredging of the Miami Canal was completed (Florida Everglades Engineering Commission, 1914:7,11); however, it was never completely excavated (Marjory Stoneman Douglas, personal communication, Nov. 2, 1956).
- 14 The Mikasuki word is *aponkhi:Lómi:kí*; literally 'to make good word(s).'
- 15 Sam Huff pronounced the name *káfnahínli*. In 1952 he said: "káfnahínli: raised cattle in the Big Cypress on Indian land. He was well acquainted with the Indians. Sometimes the Indians killed his cattle for meat, and he knew it but he didn't say anything to them. The government wanted to make him an army captain. When he was told, he said, 'If just one Indian gets into the swamps, he can kill a lot of people.' . . . His children are still living today, but I don't know them." Another informant called him "Captain Hendry," and said that he fought in the last battle with the Seminole,

in the Big Cypress. This was Francis Asbury Hendry (1833-1919), who came to Florida in 1851. He was a 2nd Lieutenant in the Florida militia during the Third Seminole War, and later a Confederate cavalry captain. In 1870 he became one of the earliest settlers of Fort Myers, and for a period owned more cattle than anyone else in the state. Hendry County was named after him (Rerick, 1902:v.2, pp. 557-558; Robertson, 1903:19,316; Gonzalez, 1932:28-29,64-65,76). He was for long a friend and helper of the Seminole (see Sturtevant, 1956:6,17; Douglas, 1947:297-298). As a member of the Florida Legislature in 1897, he introduced a bill to set aside a tract of land for the Indians, which passed the House but failed in the Senate (Coe, 1898:250-251). Although his contacts were closest with the Indians of the Big Cypress area, in 1881 he took Little Tommie from the Pine Island settlement, with his protégé Little Billie of the Big Cypress, to a state fair at Jacksonville (Henshall, 1884:165).

- 16 The name was pronounced *cisa:pkí:*; according to Mikasuki patterns of pronunciation of English words, this can represent only Jesup (or Jessup) among English names I can think of. Among the officers participating in the Seminole wars (Robertson, 1903; Heitman, 1903), I find only Brig. Gen. Thomas S. Jesup with a possible name. He commanded the troops in Florida from December 1836, to May, 1838 (Coe, 1898). In 1952 Sam Huff said: "*cisa:pkínaknô:sí:* ['old *cisa:pkí:*'] was the army captain, and he and *káfnahíni:* talked it over. When they talked it over, they made peace." Another informant recognized the name as that of an army leader who fought the Seminole in many places. He thought—apparently erroneously—that he had led a search for Indians in the Miami region.
- 17 This man, known to my informants only by his English name (pronounced *alíkí:* in Mikasuki), was a veteran of the Seminole Wars, born in north Florida or the Creek country, a contemporary of Sam Jones. He lived to a great age—120, according to one account—and spent his last years in the county country west of Miami, attending buses at Hanson Grove. He is said to have fought against *cisa:pkí:*. His home was presumably the "Aleck Town" shown (probably wrongly) at the head of Arch Creek on a map in Norton, 1891 (p. 20). In December, 1887, A. M. Wilson met "Old Alleck" at a settlement on the bank of Snake Creek (cf. footnote 21). He described him as "the oldest looking man I ever met. The old fellow is bent and shriveled with age (he told me he was one hundred years old, and I incline to believe he is older), his sight and hearing are both badly impaired. . . . I made known my business [efforts to persuade the Indians to take up homesteads, and to find lands available for the purpose] to old Alleck through my interpreter, who listened very courteously to all I had to day, and then gave vent to the most derisive and sarcastic laugh I have ever heard, after which he proceeded with a long harangue, not a word of which was intelligible to me because of his hoarse guttural style of utterance, but I was told by my Indian friend that he would not accede to any of my propositions. Seeing it was folly to waste time upon him, I proceeded about 2 miles" to another settlement (Wilson, 1888:6).
- 18 This story is a curious one. The name 'Peace Treaty,' also applied by other informants to Coconut Grove, is probably based on a historical incident. But the account as presented by Sam Huff I have not been able to identify positively with any recorded occurrence. Certainly Jesup and Hendry were not involved in any military activities at the same time, and I cannot find any mention of either one having been in the Miami region during the Seminole Wars. Nor can I locate a description of any conference with the Indians in this area. Perhaps the talk was a minor one, resulting from the instructions given Lt. John C. Henry of the Navy in July, 1842, in connection with the closing of hostilities at the end of the Second Seminole War. His headquarters were at Indian Key, and he was left with the schooners *Wave* (129 tons) and *Phoenix* (95 tons), and instructed to "keep one vessel on either side of the Peninsula. . . . Interpreters will be furnished you for the purpose of communicating with the Indians, and you will endeavor, by every means, to open an intercourse with them, when you will seek to impress upon them, that it is the president's wish, that hereafter the red and white man shall live in friendship in Florida, and cultivate together the arts of peace; that he desires to *give the red man* a portion

of the territory *to live in forever*, and to permit him to trade with the whites after his own manner, and for any thing he may require, whether it be for provisions, for powder, or for clothing; that Colonel Worth is empowered to make all these arrangements for them, and awaits their coming to him at Tampa Bay or Cedar Key, to have a talk with him, and determine together what portion of the territory shall be their home" (Sprague, 1848:491-492, 351). It is possible that the tradition has confused Lt. Henry of the Navy with Capt. (earlier Lt.) Hendry of the Army—both names could be *hínlí*: in Mikasuki. Sam Huff implied that *hínlí*: was in charge of the boat. The soldiers might then be the marines who garrisoned Fort Dallas on the Miami River in 1842 (Sprague, 1848:351). The reference to trade could have been transmuted into a ceremonial exchange of gifts, and Col. Worth at Tampa confused with the earlier and better known commander, Jesup. Difficulties in interpreting (mentioned by Sam Huff) and oral transmission of the tradition would account sufficiently for the garbling. Marjory Stoneman Douglas (personal communication, Nov. 2, 1956) has pointed out another possibility. The tradition may refer to Lt. Col. W. S. Harney, who was active against the Seminole in this region during the Second Seminole War (Sprague, 1848: passim; Sturtevant, 1953:50-54). His name would probably not be *hínlí*: in Mikasuki, but the similarity in names may have led to a later confusion with the better known F. A. Hendry. If this is the case, the "peace treaty" may then refer to Gen. Macomb's "arrangement" of 1839, made at Fort King with several Seminole, among them Chitto-Tustenuggee whom Harney brought from the Miami region (Sprague, 1848:228-229; Sturtevant, 1953:44-46).

- ¹⁹ A post office was established at Coconut Grove in 1873 (Douglas, 1947:280). The town is first mentioned in U. S. Censuses in 1900, when "Precinct 4, Coconut Grove, including part of Miami City" had 949 inhabitants. The same precinct, without a name, had 105 in 1890. In 1910, with a redistricting of precincts, "Precinct 10, Coconut Grove" had 929 inhabitants.
- ²⁰ See footnote 4 above. John M. Goggin (personal communication, Nov. 5, 1956) informs me: "At the mouth of Oleta River, across the inland waterway, is a hammock island in the marsh. It was a prehistoric Indian site ([Univ. of Fla. archeological site number] Da 25), but it once had an early modern Seminole or White occupation as citrus trees are scattered throughout the woods. This could have been the homestead of Sam Huff's white benefactors."
- ²¹ Mikasuki *cínthahcí*:, 'snake river,' described as somewhat north of Miami, is undoubtedly Oleta River, which runs into the head of Biscayne Bay north of Arch Creek and is labelled Snake Creek on maps before about 1924. Sam Huff's family may have been living at "Aleck Town" (cf. footnote 17).
- ²² The individual is unidentified, and I cannot vouch for the entire accuracy of the spelling of his daughter's name.
- ²³ This reservation in Glades county for the Cow Creek band was established about 1936 (Marmon, 1952:2,4).
- ²⁴ Reference is presumably to the small number of Baptist converts made in the 1930's by Oklahoma Creek missionaries, chiefly Rev. Willie King. In 1931, there were no Seminole attending church, no church buildings, and no missionaries (Glenn, 1931). In 1936, a church was opened on the Dania Reservation (Federal Writer's Project, 1939:320), where in 1938 there was reported to be a congregation of twenty, under Rev. King (George La Mere in Corse, n.d.). In 1943 Rev. Stanley W. Smith, another Oklahoma Creek, took over the church which at that time had eleven members, all women. His efforts were crowned with almost immediate success; in 1946, Smith baptized 97 Indians, and by May, 1949, there were "221 candidates for baptism," mostly Mikasuki (Anonymous, 1949; Miami Herald, n.d.).
- ²⁵ The Seminole Baptist church underwent a schism in the fall of 1949. Rev. Sam Tommie (a Florida Seminole) became the preacher in the church at Dania, while Smith established a separate "Mekusukey Independent Seminole Indian Mission" adjacent to the reservation.