

# *Dr. Glenn Struggles* *for Seminole Improvement*

The 1935 Annual Report of the Seminole Agency, Dania, Florida

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## SECTION NO. I

### THE SEMINOLES

The Seminoles have maintained themselves as a separate tribe for less than two and a half centuries. Their forefathers were Creeks who lived in Georgia, spoke the Muskogee language, and adhered to the common forms of the social, political, and religious life of the Creek Nation.

According to Indian tradition, in these earlier years a family who lived on the western border of the Creek country fraternized with a Choctaw neighbor, and in time learned to speak a broken Choctaw. The new dialect was handed down through the descendants of the family and developed into what is known as the Miccasukee language.

In the migration to Florida an overwhelmingly large number of the emigrants spoke the common language of the Nation, but the most of the small band of Miccasukee-speaking Creeks accompanied them in the trek southward. Thus, although the Florida Indians came to be made up of two language groups, they are of one blood, and have a common social, political, and religious background.

During their great war with the white race about 4,000 of the major language group were expatriated and driven to Oklahoma. Perhaps not more than a dozen families of this group were left in Florida. Today they number about 150 Indians, and live north of Lake Okeechobee. For almost a decade their homeland has been depleted of game, and they are now rapidly changing from the status of a hunter to that of a day laborer, subsistence farmer, and stockman. They have made much progress in learning to speak the English language, and in gaining both confidence in and friendliness toward the white man. They are sociable, wholesome, energetic, and progressive.

The Miccasukee language group escaped largely from capture by the white

army during the Seminole War, and remained within the state. They comprise more than two-thirds of the Indians of Florida, and live largely in a region about thirty miles south of Lake Okeechobee. Until recent years their homeland has been stocked comparatively well with game, and they have found subsistence for themselves and their families in the life of a hunter.

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of the tribe as a whole has been its proud and violent antipathy toward the white man. Clay MacCauley in the year 1880 stated that its members "are antagonistic to the white man as a race, and the white man's culture . . . The feeling of the tribe is antagonistic to such primary education as reading, writing, and calculation."

He states that the brother of Billie Fewell refused to concur in such sentiment, and deserted his Indian camp life, and went to the white settlement to live in a white home. MacCauley says that he overheard members of the tribe threaten to kill this Indian, and a later story states that he was indicted before the Seminole court, convicted, and executed.

MacCauley adds: "They are decided in their enmity to any representative of the white man's government and to everything which bears upon it the government's mark . . . The wars of their ancestors, extending over nearly two centuries, did the most to make them the brave and proud people they are . . . They are now strong, fearless, haughty, and independent."

It also may be said that the tribe has devoted these two centuries of heroic struggle and sacrifice in an effort to escape the absorption and humiliation which have always been the consequence of becoming a ward of the white people. The Seminole is most deeply devoted to freedom and independence. He refuses to accept the status of a conquered man, or to enter into a relationship which ranks him socially as inferior to any so-

called predominant race. For more than two centuries he has been guided by the belief that he can find an escape from such a relationship by withdrawing from entangling contacts with the white man, and setting up a world of his own in which he and his are the predominant factors. It was this that led him to abandon his home in Georgia and to re-establish himself in a new and strange region in the northern part of Florida, and later to give over this section to the white emigrants and to settle again on new lands toward the center of the state, and finally to flee before the army of his enemy to the Everglades. Here he found a great natural barrier which has greatly aided him in his quest for his major objective.

Because of this subsequent hatred for the government, and because of the large measure of economic independence which his final homeland afforded him, and because of its inaccessibility, no effort was made to include him under the Indian Service until about four decades ago. However, even before there was a Florida Indian Service, he had not succeeded in escaping entangling white contacts. Among the first institutions to undertake his conversion to the things of the white race was the saloon. As early as a half century ago such an establishment was located in the heart of his homeland, and liquor for his consumption was freighted in an ox cart through roadless swamps over many weary miles. Other saloons were conveniently located at trading posts which he visited. MacCauley mentions the fact that the Seminoles were accustomed to engage in drinking "sprees" during their infrequent visits to white settlements.

Local tradition states that these saloon keepers were anxious enough to entice the visiting band of Indians into their establishments, and provide them with whiskey for the money which they had received for the sale of the products of their hunting and trapping, but when this money was exhausted and the Seminoles

were overcome with intoxication, they were thrust out at the back door of the saloon and left to any exposure which chance might bring them.

Other stories of this tradition claim that the education of the Seminole has been promoted again by smart young whites who found great pleasure in taking some aggressive young Indian into the saloon and getting him drunk, or, in more recent years, in introducing him into those social circles of prostitution which are found in some Florida cities. The success of such missionary endeavor is confirmed by Nash's statement that in 1930 one half of the earnings of the tribe was expended for whiskey, and that venereal infection had made a recent appearance in the tribe, and during the above year had spread to a little less than 4% of its total population.

It should not be forgotten that during the half century there have been a number of sturdy and genuine white citizens who have manifested a kindly and an unselfish interest in this rugged group. The first Indian Agent, Dr. J. E. Brecht, was such a character. He established a sawmill at the frontier village of Immokalee, and began a program which proposed a new economic independence for them.

He discovered that the land on which the Indian lived was coming rapidly into the possession of the white man. Through the devotion of much time and effort he succeeded in securing for the Seminoles about 10,000 acres of land. Already the white people had obtained all of the more valuable tracts, and it later developed that the greater portions of the area

secured for the Indians was of little value.

As a physician he doctored their sick, and taught them the prevention of disease. There is every possible reason to believe that his unselfish service and wise leadership would have been valuable to these Indians.

But wherever Indians and white men meet there seems to be an inevitable clash of interests. At this early period the Seminoles had become sufficiently entangled with white contacts to arouse such a collision. As men in the industrial world often establish a "corner" on some commercial product, and through unfair advantage, realize enormous profits, so have there been those who have established a "corner" on the emotional life of this or the other Indian group, and thereby realized selfish benefits in one form or another.

The Seminole's embittered past and his fear of white contacts made him an easy victim of this type of abuse. Selfish and unscrupulous white men were quick to seek to set up a domination over him. They gained his acquaintance, and led him to believe that they were protecting him from the craft, greed, and deceitfulness of his traditional enemy. He made no investigation of the charges he heard. They were free to invent whatever story that might best serve their purpose. As soon as a given ward boss set up his domination over a group of Indians he was able to use them for the promotion of his own selfish interest.

The Seminole's extreme bitterness toward the government has made it all but impossible for government officials

to extend to him the government's program of justice and equity. Dr. Brecht, because of his relation with the government, found it scarcely possible to combat the domination of selfish and unscrupulous white men.

In his day there were yellow and unprincipled publications which were ready to form a collusion with corrupted politicians, and the ward bosses of the Indian groups. Brecht was attacked by such a newspaper in Ft. Myers. Material for these attacks is readily obtainable. A gorge of whiskey will sweep away any independent judgment which the Indian may have formed of a given government representative, and will liberate his old tide of racial bitterness toward his traditional enemy.

Brecht's work in purchasing this land withdrew him from contact with the Indian population, which in turn afforded the ward bosses of his day a larger opportunity to impair his influence with the members of the tribe. Thus the government's first constructive endeavor in behalf of these people was rather effectively obstructed by ward bosses who were moved by the fear that their domination over the Indian might thereby be broken.

Because the Miccasukee language group has been sheltered by the inaccessibility of their homeland, and has had less contacts with the masses of the white citizenship, they have been more greatly victimized by this abuse than the Indians of the northern group. Their hatred of the white man and his government has been effectively promoted and propagated by those who seek to dominate them. This has been especially true in recent years among the Miami division of this group.

About two decades ago an aggressive young Indian who owned and operated a store in Ft. Lauderdale conceived of the plan of charging an admission to white tourists who visited his camp. He prospered, and later enlarged his trade by moving his business to Miami. He became so successful that white men robbed him of his establishment, and began the promotion of a business that has "boomed" the tourist trade of Miami and yielded its citizens many thousands of dollars annually.

The "ballahoo" of these show places featured the Indian as an unconquered, unrelenting, and implacable enemy of the ways of the white man, and especially of the white man's government. The management was represented as the great benefactor, and the government and its agent as the chief malefactors of the tribe.

The Seminole was flattered at being accorded the status of an unconquered man. His past wrongs inclined him to believe the charges against the government, and to confide in the management of these show places. Thus he came to yield to ward bossism.



Isolated Seminole camp on a southwest Florida hammock, photographed by James Glenn. Glenn remarked that mosquitoes were "severe" when he visited this camp.

The white tourist was amazed to see a people "who had conquered the American government," was disgusted with the insanitation of the Indian, and knew enough of the government's past treatment of the Seminole to accept the charges relative to the character of its present treatment.

It was not known by either the tourist or the Indian that the management in one case stated frankly that any solution of the Florida Indian problem would ruin his business. The injustice, distress, poverty, ignorance and disease of the tribe are the materials which boom such business. Day after day for more than a decade the Miami Indians have listened to a type of ballahoo which has had for its purpose the promotion and propagation of the Indian's bitterness toward the things of the government, and an effective blockade of the government's attempt to extend a program of justice and equity to their people.

## SECTION No. II

### THE LAND PROGRAM

As has been said above, the tribe has devoted two centuries of heroic struggle and sacrifice in an effort to escape the absorption and humiliation which have been the natural consequence of becoming wards of the white people. Because of the Seminole's devotion to freedom and independence he has refused to accept the status of a conquered man, or to enter into an inferior social relationship.

In all of these things he should have the most sincere sympathy and the highest admiration of every individual who cherishes those essential and fundamental principles of democracy which have been translated into the social, political, and religious life of the American people by men like Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. But his bitterness toward other races, and his submission to the domination of bossism are matters of regret.

It also has been stated that for two and a half centuries he has been guided by a belief that he can find an escape to a subordinate economic, political and social status by withdrawing from entangling white contacts, and by setting up a world of his own in which he and his are predominant factors. In this effort he has insisted on maintaining a squatter status toward the land on which he has set up his camp. The consequence is inevitable. The land becomes the legal property of members of the white race, and he is driven from his home.

His great objective, like all ideals, never will be realized completely. But they, who love democracy, hope he may have means through which he can enjoy it in part. His "dream world" cannot be

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James L. Glenn at the time he served as special commissioner to the Seminoles, 1931-1935.

set up until he holds the legal title to its real estate. But this is a concession to the white man's ways. For, according to the Indian social, political and religious order, land is a public possession, and its title cannot be conveyed by law.

The proposal of the government to buy the title to a homeland for the tribe must be treated also as a concession to the white man's claim to Florida. The Seminoles believe that they justly own the peninsula. In the sight of Justice and their Great Spirit they cannot sacrifice the heritage which God and His great Law has granted them.

Such sentiment is noble. But where are the white people who, because of it, will vacate their cities and farms to the red men? Naturally the white people feel that they, too, have a heritage that comes in somewhere in the order of things. It is therefore futile for the Indian Office to propose to grant the Seminole the full measure of his expectation. He must concede that title to real estate is conveyed by law, and that it is now in the possession of the legal owners, and that, at least, expediency requires that he shall come to re-own it through purchase. It may be restated that the welfare and the progress of the Seminoles, the efficiency and thoroughness of the Florida Indian Service, and it may be added, the only possible first step toward a partial realization of the great dream of these people require the purchase of an adequate homeland for them.

Because of the consideration of these facts the Officer in Charge has regarded the Department's land buying program as the most essential feature of the year. A recital of the land which, for a number of years, has been owned by the government for these Indians is impressive. There are 99,000 acres in Monroe county, 23,061 acres in Hendry county, 2,166 acres in Martin county, 960 acres in Collier county, and 480 acres in Broward county. Because the acreage is so large, the Indian has been condemned again and again for not using the property which has been purchased for his use. Mr. Nash, in his report, says that these Indians have no land problem until they use the land they now have. However, with reference to the most of this acreage it may be said that if the white man had known of any use he could have made of it, the Indian never would have gotten it. If the white man is unable to find any use for such property, how many years may be expected to elapse before the Indian finds a use for it? Until either the Indian or the white man can find a use for it the tribesmen are justified in not using it. In the meantime he needs no more of this kind of land.

As has been said in a rehabilitation proposal, the new purchase area must contain the essential and fundamental physical values which will make possible a program of growth and development that will effect the permanent rehabilitation of the tribe. By reason of its

location and the character of its resources it must be potentially fitted for handling all phases of the social and economic life of the group. If the tribe's own major objective is to be given consideration, it must not be broken up into small and widely scattered tracts. A scattered people are easily conquered and absorbed. They are helpless in their attempt to resist these social forces which compel them to occupy a subordinate social status. They are socially crushed, and cannot retain for themselves the possession of pride, strength, fearlessness, nor independence — elements of character which have been cherished so strongly by the Seminoles.

Ultimately the prime quest of life is neither the possession of wealth, nor power, nor even knowledge, but "character." Man's large concern is so to conduct himself that, through the varied events of his life, he shall reveal no weakness, foolishness nor wickedness. Rehabilitation programs should provide their clients with some wealth, some power, and some knowledge, but above all they should provide them with the essential conditions which create and maintain character. A plan which proposes a scattered Florida Indian population does not meet the most important specification of all rehabilitation programs. It would divest the Seminole of his ruggedness and individualism, and would defeat him in his major aims and purposes.

Mr. Nash did not wholly neglect the land needs of the tribe. He proposed that the 99,000 acres in Monroe county should be exchanged for an equal acreage in the area north of the Everglades National Park. This section is one of the better hunting grounds of the state, is the present home of many Indians, and will afford the Seminoles an opportunity to derive some of the benefits which the Park will bring Florida. The proposal is sound and has the support of the Officer in Charge, but the laws which make possible such an exchange were not obtained until the spring of 1935.

About a year before this, the local administrative officer was authorized to begin work on a land purchasing program which was to extend through a number of years. Options were obtained on four sections in Collier county near Miles City, and four sections in Glades county near Brighton. The program was submitted to Dr. W. A. Hartman, Regional Director of the Resettlement Administration, for his examination and approval. But his authority provided for the purchase of submarginal land. It was thought that the 125,000 acres mentioned above was enough of this type of land. The two tracts proposed for purchase had been chosen because they contained land which the Indians, themselves, prized, and which seem to meet rehabilitation requirements. The timber on the Collier

county tract indicated that it was not submarginal in character. However it was broken with swamps and out-crops of rock. Dr. Hartman was not satisfied with it. He was anxious to aid the Florida Indians and approved the purchase of both of the tracts. His Washington Office, however, did not sustain his approval, and the whole project was rejected.

The Officer in Charge was then instructed to divide the proposal and submit each tract as a separate project. This was done and the Glades county project was accepted and its purchase authorized.

A number of objections had risen against the other tract. The Officer in Charge believed that some of these might be removed if he should secure the services of a competent and disinterested timber cruiser and appraiser through the State Forester. This state department appointed a member of its staff who cruised the timber, appraised the land and prepared the report on this tract. The Resettlement Administration of Washington again rejected the proposal. Dr. Hartman then furnished a member of his staff who prepared a third report, but it was rejected.

It had required a year to carry through these negotiations. During the latter part of the spring of 1935 the title to the Glades county land was accepted and its purchase was completed. It contains a number of valuable and beautiful hammocks, and is prized greatly by the Indians, themselves. Dr. Hartman expressed the opinion that there is not a tract of land that is now owned by any Indians within the United States that is better adapted to the rehabilitation requirements of these people.

As the President's administrative plan developed, a much larger land program seemed possible for the Seminoles. For many months [the] Officer in Charge met members of the tribe and discussed such a program with them. They pressed anew their claim to the whole of the peninsula. Some objected that the proposal contemplated the purchase of their own land from a people who did not own it. Some recalled that in the last treaty, which the government made with them, they were to have all of the territory south of Pease Creek. Although this included such cities as the Palm Beaches, Miami, Key West and Ft. Myers, they thought that they should demand this or they should accept nothing. Others thought it was wise to support as large a program as the government would undertake.

Among the Indians of the northern group many families wanted to buy the small, irregular and scattered fields on which they lived. The following case is typical. One family lives in an isolated white settlement composed, at least in part, of bootleggers. No other Indians live near. The father died of intoxication.

The boys are often drunk and are often in jail. Four of the girls have half-white children. These people want to remain in this environment, and want the government to buy the land on which they live.

This and other local problems have led the Officer in Charge to believe that sound leadership requires that all of the Indians in the northern section shall be grouped in a single community. Twenty-five or fifty years will demonstrate the soundness of such leadership. If the group is to continue to be scattered among the white population, and if some of its families are to continue to live under their present environment they largely will be crushed before another two and a half decades.

The Indians of this section, however, finally agreed that they wanted Indian Prairie in Glades county, Blue Field and Cow Creek in St. Lucie county, and Ft. Drum swamp in Okeechobee county.

The members of the southern group had encountered little or no trouble in living on their land under the status of a squatter. They saw no immediate need of purchasing its title. They were strongly convinced of their ownership of the whole peninsula. Some took the position that the legal title to Florida land was valid only by reason of the white man's laws, and the white man's ways, and that their people were bound by neither, but conducted their affairs wholly and exclusively according to the Indian social, political, and economic order. The Indians, therefore, should ignore the legal title to all Florida real estate. Others thought they should obtain as much land as the government was willing to secure for them. They requested the tract within Collier county that lies north of the Tamiami Trail and west of the Immokalee road.

During the development of these negotiations certain officials of West Palm Beach met the Officer in Charge and proposed that their city should act as host to the Secretary of Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. They stated that in a telephone conversation the Secretary had spoken with favor to their proposal. They expressed an interest in the rehabilitation of the Seminoles, and believed that such plans would be promoted by the visit of these administrative officers. They expressed a desire to learn just what program the Indian people wanted. The Officer in Charge told them of the several tracts of land which had been requested by the different Seminole groups. They thought that the Indians should have an additional benefit of an annuity of ten or fifteen dollars per month per family.

A proposal, containing these two items, was prepared and submitted to the Washington officials. It was represented as the probable thing that the Seminoles would expect of them. After it had been examined, the invitation was accepted.

Since the Florida Indians may gain no possible advantage through the propagation of their bitterness toward government representatives, the Officer in Charge, for a number of years, has striven to liberate them from this old hatred, and he, together with other interested citizens, used every effort to prepare them for a cordial and beneficial conference with their guests. The event was the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Seminole War, and was the first time in their history that they had been honored by a visit from the Commissioner or the Secretary. The visit indicated a new interest in their welfare, and promised an unprecedented opportunity to enlarge and strengthen that interest.

But certain self-appointed "guardians" of the tribe became greatly excited lest the "poor Indian" was about to be tricked. Municipal rivalry projected itself into the occasion, and made a show of child-like conduct. Predatory interests were aroused. The management of one of the commercial Indian villages expressed the opinion that the proposed conference was a foolish move on the part of the people of Florida. For, if the Indian in this conference manifested a friendship for the government, and if the press of the nation published this fact, the tourist would lose interest in seeing him, and the trade which had grown out of this interest would be lost. All of these agencies conspired to embitter the Indians toward the conference, and frighten them away from it, and thereby to lead them to retain their reputation as the unrelenting enemies of the American government.

Fortunately for the Seminoles, the old tradition is more and more coming to be a myth. As has been indicated above, there were those among them who had met the Officer in Charge and had joined with him in planning the proposed land program. And there were those who could not be frightened away from the opportunity to meet the Washington officials and request the purchase of these lands.

The Commissioner wanted to visit a camp that had been untouched by white influence, and to meet a group of Indians who were engaged in their native occupations rather than in the show life of Miami or the Tamiami Trail. Since the party was large and the time was limited it was thought that Johnny Buster's camp at Deep Lake in Collier county was the best location for such a conference. A number of Indians, including one of the medicine men, were present, but the group did not claim to represent the tribe in an official way, and made no requests, but stated that they would be satisfied with the plans which should be agreed upon at the conference on the following day at West Palm Beach.

A much larger band had already gathered at the East Coast city. It was

hoped that all of the leaders of the tribe might join in this final conference. But unfortunately the Seminole's faith in the American government is easily crushed. Osceola, himself, had been captured under a flag of truce, and the tribe on other occasions had experienced a kindred treatment from its enemy. Some of the leaders thought it was a wiser plan to remain at their camps, plant their corn, and forget the white man.

When the Officer in Charge saw that the full representation of the tribe would not be present at the final conference he advised those present to submit their request in the form of a petition. Since the right of petition belongs to the humblest citizen [members of] this group were at liberty to petition their guests without doing wrong to other leaders who refused to join in the conference.

The band at West Palm Beach gathered



Commercial Indian village along the Tamiami Trail. Glenn felt that tourist attractions such as this degraded the Seminoles, and he criticized their unsanitary conditions.

on the previous day and discussed the proposal which they wanted to present. They withdrew themselves from every white individual. It so happened that the Officer in Charge was engaged with the group on the West Coast during this day. They formulated their plans and marked off on a map the areas which each group desired. The following is the petition which they submitted:

"We a group of the Seminole Indians of Florida, assembled in conference on the one hundredth anniversary of the Seminole War, beg you to hear us:

"The Seminole Indians have not been at war with the United States for one hundred years. The Seminole Indians live in peace and happiness in the Everglades, and have pleasant relations with the United States government. The Seminole Indians want a better understanding with the United States government and want to hear no more about war.

"We have learned from our fore-

fathers of the losses of our people in the Seminole War, and during recent years have witnessed the coming of the white man into the last remnant of our homeland.

"We have seen them drain our lakes and waterways, cultivate our fields, harvest our forests, kill our game, and take possession of our hunting grounds and homes. We have found that it now grows more and more difficult to provide food and clothing for our wives and children.

"We request and petition you to use your influence with the Congress and the President of the United States to obtain for us the following lands and benefits:

"I. All of the lands in the state of Florida as marked on the map attached hereto, including:

"(a) Lands in Collier, Hendry, Broward, and Dade counties known as the Big Cypress.

"(b) Lands in Glades county known as Indian Prairie.

"(c) Lands in Martin and St. Lucie counties known as the Cow Creek country and the Blue Field section.

"(d) Lands in Indian River and Okeechobee counties known as the Ft. Drum swamp.

"II. For the loss of our other lands and our property an annuity of \$15 per capita per month.

"III. The full time nursing services of Indian nurses."

It should be noticed that the band represent themselves as simply a "group of the Seminole Indians." They "petition" for the benefits. That local government officials have been able to win the good faith of many of the Seminoles is attested by the second paragraph of the petition. Many of them have had genuine, wholesome, and cordial relations with the Officer in Charge. The friendship has been mutual.

The Indians, who joined in presenting the above petition, were respectful and courteous. In manifestation of this they removed their shoes, and came into the presence of their guests unshod. The officials from Washington complimented them on their past heroism, and pledged them a larger land program. The Secretary thought that it would be possible to obtain as much as 200,000 acres. The conference promoted that goodwill and friendship that ought to exist between the Seminoles and their government.

A few weeks later the Assistant to the Commissioner met the Officer in Charge in Tallahassee, and in conference with the Governor, explained that the Federal government proposed to buy about six townships of land for the Seminoles which would be located in Collier county north of the Everglades National Park. The state legislature was requested to enact a law authorizing the Governor to exchange the 99,000 acre tract in Monroe county for an equal acreage adjoining the proposed Federal purchase. This was agreed upon, and the proposed law was enacted.

On May 10, 1935, the Officer in Charge was instructed to begin negotiations for the purchase of the several tracts of land that were requested by the Seminoles. As before, the program was to be submitted to the Regional Director of the Resettlement Administration for his examination and approval. The whole purchase was to be made by his department.

Ten days later the Officer in Charge obtained an appointment with Dr. W. A. Hartman, and discussed with him these plans. Of the five tracts which the Indians wanted, he thought that Indian Prairie alone met the rehabilitation specifications and requirements of his department. He raised the further objection that the work required by the Resettlement Administration for the justification of the purchase of 200,000 acres of land was more than one man could accomplish in the allotted time. He thought that all of the time would be consumed in mere preliminaries, and that when the time had expired, none of the land would be in final condition for purchase. He recommended that, if the entire program were presented, the several tracts should be prepared consecutively, rather than simultaneously.

According to the instructions of the Indian Office, Dr. Hartman was in charge of the land program. His department controlled the funds through which such a purchase was possible. On the other hand the Indian Office urged that the program should be based on the Indian's own judgment of his needs. It was difficult to reconcile these two requirements.

The Resettlement Administration was composed of men who were trained in the science of land utilization. These men had set up certain necessary standards

and specifications which every tract of land was required to meet before it could be bought for rehabilitation purposes.

The Indians knew nothing of such standards, and it was difficult, in some cases, to defend the tract of land which they chose from the charge that it did not meet these specifications. For example, it would require much argument to convince land utilization scientists that the Ft. Drum Swamp was potentially fitted for handling all phases of the social and economic life of these Indians. Dr. Hartman, as a scientist himself, did not want to make such claims before his department for several of the Indians' selections. From the standpoint of his department it would jeopardize the whole project to include within it those tracts of land which were obviously unsuited to the requirements of rehabilitation.

But the Officer in Charge and the Indian Office wanted the land for other purposes. Their aims were not those of the Resettlement Administration. The Officer in Charge was very much interested in the rehabilitation of the tribe, and wanted lands that were fitted to meet these needs. But he also wanted all of the property he might be able to get for the Indians, and he wanted to fulfill the expectation of the Indians, which had grown out of the conference at West Palm Beach. He saw the difficulty in the attempt to reconcile these aims. As a preliminary step he and Dr. Hartman agreed that all of the several tracts should be included in a first proposal, and that the tracts should be prepared in a consecutive order for approval and final purchase. Dr. Hartman gave his immediate approval of the Indian Prairie tract. According to the instructions from the Indian Office the Officer in Charge was authorized to appraise only those tracts that had been approved by Dr. Hartman. He was therefore authorized to appraise the Glades county lands of Indian Prairie, but must await until Hartman approved the other tracts before they could be appraised.

On his return from this conference he was joined by a representative from the Indian land office, and they examined the lands under consideration, and began the negotiations for obtaining options on them. This work was completed toward the latter part of May, and the Officer in Charge began immediate work on securing all of the material in preparing and submitting the preliminary proposal.

This proposal covered a total of 230,000 acres, and included sixteen sections in Blue Field, thirty-two sections in the Cow Creek country, a large area in Indian Prairie, and more than six townships in Collier county. It was completed on June 12th and forwarded to Dr. Hartman's office. Since one and only one tract had had the approval of Hartman, it and it alone was ordered appraised by the Officer in Charge. As stated above, he was required to await the action of Dr.

Hartman before he had authority to proceed with the appraisal of the other tracts.

Dr. Hartman's office informed the Officer in Charge that his preliminary report had been received, and that the Resettlement Administration was being reorganized, and that the Regional Director was in Washington, and that action on the proposal must await until he returned.

The appraisal report on 45,000 acres of the Indian Prairie land was completed on July 22nd. Since the Officer in Charge had had no further word from Dr. Hartman's office, he left immediately with the report for the Regional Office at Gainesville, Florida. The conference was not encouraging. Dr. Hartman was more thoroughly absorbed with the aims of his department. He was more completely convinced that he could not approve of the whole of the proposal. He felt that such approval would compromise his office and his profession.

The Officer in Charge was disturbed over these facts. He felt that the Indian Office was not in a position to abandon the proposed purchase of the large tract north of the Everglades National Park. He recognized that from a rehabilitation standpoint it would be difficult to justify the cost of the project. The area was large, inaccessible, and did not admit of intensive utilization. Since the options had been obtained it became possible to so reblock the tract to eliminate considerable high priced land and to include an equal acreage of land costing less than sixty-five cents per acre. On August 4th he proposed to the Indian Office a re-arrangement of this land which now included townships 48, 49, 50, and 51 of ranges 33 and 34. The state owned townships of the above numbers in range 35. The entire tract is 18 miles wide and 23 miles long, included the Hendry county reservation, provides a splendid hunting ground, and affords the Florida Indians the opportunity to share the benefits growing out of the Everglades National Park.

Dr. Hartman was provided with a copy of this proposal, but it did not receive his approval. For he believed that even these changes had not brought the proposal within the aims and standards of the Resettlement Administration. The Indian Office made no reply to the proposal, and, apparently, recognized no difficulty in reconciling the aims of the two departments. It merely grew more and more impatient over the delay in the completion of the Florida land buying program, but it neither provided the funds for the purchase, nor the authority to "go over the head" of Dr. Hartman.

In the former purchase it had suggested that the project should be divided into two parts, and each part should be permitted to stand on its own merits. From the standpoint of the field this

seemed the only means of getting any one part of the land purchased. This would place the Indian Prairie project in line for final approval and purchase, and would permit other, and less favorable, tracts to be proposed separately.

The Officer in Charge met Dr. Hartman on August 23rd in Gainesville and this plan was agreed upon, and the proposal on the Indian Prairie project was prepared in his office in conjunction with members of his staff, and received his approval and was forwarded to his Washington office for its approval. His Washington office informed him that the proposal was not supported by the Indian Office, and it must be dropped. Apparently, difficulty in reconciling the aims of the two departments had projected itself into the relationship of the administrative officials of Washington.

In the meantime Congress had made a new appropriation of four billion dollars for relief, and planning boards had been set up in each state, and a Federal Coordinator had been appointed. Among the proposed projects of the state was a levee on the northwest shore of Lake Okeechobee which was to cost between three and four million dollars, and was to protect less than four hundred people from the flood water of the Lake at the time of a hurricane. These people live on the Lake shore. Such hurricanes are not likely to visit any one community more than once in ten years.

The Indian Prairie reservation is located on this Lake shore. The Indians have their homes on the high hammocks that are found several miles from the water's edge. They need no levee to protect them from these flood waters. The whole Lake shore could be bought for a small percent of the cost of the levee. It seemed logical, therefore, for the government to buy this lake shore, convert it into a game preserve and hunting ground and cattle range for the Indians, and give it to them.

Such a project was prepared by the Officer in Charge, was approved by the State Planning Board, some of the leading engineers of the state, and some of the members of Congress. But the Indian Office did not support it.

One of the responsibilities which came to the Officer in Charge, during the early part of the year, was the task of conducting an election among the Seminoles on their possible adoption of the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act. Among other things, this act provided for Indian participation in the affairs of the tribe, and for buying them additional lands. At their conference at West Palm Beach they had asked for both of these things. The election was called for March 30th. At first even the Miami Indians were favorable toward it. But they were subjected to the usual agitation and propagation of fear and suspicion. On the day of the election one of their leaders had been so aroused that he thought the Officer in

Charge might find himself dead if he persisted in the election plans. He was informed that there was no occasion for this emotional excitement, and that the Indians would be treated justly. His brother was asked to assist in conducting the election.

The majority of the Indians were fair minded in their attitude, but stated that they knew nothing of elections, and less of the issues of this one. Again they wanted to go back to their camps, plant their corn, and forget the white man.

There were those who had taken part in the conference at West Palm Beach. Their confidence in the justice and equity of the government and its representatives had been strengthened. They wanted land, and they wanted Indian participation in their affairs, and believed the support of this Act would bring them these benefits. They voted for the measure.

In the late summer of 1935 the Indian Office allotted \$25,000 of the Indian Reorganization Act appropriation for the purchase of land for the Seminoles. It was of the opinion that this money should be used for the purchase of land for the southern group of Indians.

The Officer in Charge felt that if the program must be reduced to such a small purchase, the aims back of its selection must be rehabilitation. The land must admit of intensive utilization. The investment of the money must secure a maximum production for the support of the members of the tribe. Even with this the Indian families would suffer enough poverty. He believed that the greatest opportunity to carry out these aims was found in the Indian Prairie country. Here were found range for cattle, and hammocks for subsistence farming.

The Indian Office proposed to take the final program out of his hands and entrust it to another. A representative

of the Indian land office was sent to Florida. Much time was given in making a study of all of the tracts of land which the Indians had wanted both in the northern and southern Indian country. The representative was convinced that the Indian Prairie section afforded the greatest opportunities, and he and the Officer in Charge planned a final land program for the Seminoles. It was recognized that two types of land were needed. The Indians should have grazing land and hammocks for subsistence farming. The appraisal report on the 45,000 acre project gave them the opportunity to block out within that area the best of each type of this land. The final program called for 4,522.11 acres of the higher hammock land, and 3,417.59 acres of the lower grazing land. The board of appraisers had fixed the estimated value of this tract at about \$8 per acre. The owners had agreed to accept an average of a little less than \$4 per acre.

The proposal was submitted to Dr. Hartman's office on November 20th, and was approved and forwarded to the Indian Office. The Indian Office rejected it, and took the supervision of this program away from the Officer in Charge.

During the whole of this work the Officer in Charge has traveled between fifty and sixty thousand miles. He has traversed almost impassable swamps in meeting the Indians and discussing with them their land needs. He has given no end of thought to land conditions in South Florida, and to the requirements of the Seminoles. At times he has worked through the whole of the night in rushing proposals and preparing maps and other data for these programs. A large program has been set up and a great deal of information has been gained on it, but only 2,600 acres of land has been purchased.



During his tenure as special commissioner, Glenn instituted a number of work programs to help improve economic conditions for the Seminoles. Here, Indians ride to work in the south Florida vegetable fields.

It is still largely true that the welfare and progress of the Seminoles and the efficiency and thoroughness of the Florida Indian Service require the purchase of an adequate homeland for the tribe. It is also true that the land which has been optioned for four dollars per acre will be selling for three or four times that amount within the next decade. The area north of the Everglades National Park, and the Indian Prairie tract are best suited for the uses of the Florida Seminoles, and ultimately they should be set aside for that purpose.

### SECTION No. III THE INDUSTRIAL PROGRAM

One of the important features of any sound land program is the opportunity it offers the Indians to improve and make secure their own economic independence. The Seminole industrial program has been a large element in the aims and plans of the year.

Toward the latter part of January the Indian Office furnished the Seminoles with seventy-two head of thoroughbred Angus cattle. These stock have been located at Dania and have done well.

In November the Officer in Charge was authorized to prepare a rehabilitation program for the tribe, and submit it to Dr. Philip Weltner, Regional Director of the Resettlement Administration, for his examination and approval. Dr. Weltner was of the opinion that the money for such a project could be obtained only on the basis of a loan. He directed members of his staff to assist in the preparation of a second proposal. A diligent and sincere effort was made to so plan the program that it would fit the needs and conditions of the Indians, and at the same time meet the requirements of [the] Resettlement Administration. The final proposal provided for the expenditure of approximately thirty thousand dollars, and planned to resettle forty Indian families on the hammocks of the Indian Prairie lands. The Officer in Charge did not feel justified in accepting the money on the basis of a loan, and the Washington Office of the Resettlement Administration did not want to furnish the money as a grant. The proposal was dropped.

However, Dr. Weltner stated that he had 2,000 head of cattle he would give the Seminoles. Five hundred forty-seven were shipped immediately, and arrangements were completed for the shipment of another five hundred head. In the meantime the Indian Office had rejected the final land program, and many of the cattle already received were starving to death because the lower grazing lands had not been purchased. The second shipment was abandoned.

In conjunction with the cattle and land program the Indian Office has supplied the local unit with funds for the support of the largest labor program the



Members of the Seminole Cattlemen's Association brand their calves. The introduction of cattle raising to the south Florida reservations was perhaps Glenn's most significant contribution to Seminole economic development.

Seminoles have ever experienced. The following table shows the number of Indians employed, and the amount of money paid directly to the Indians for each month of the year:

Month	No. Indians Employed	No. Man-days Worked	Total Indian Pay Roll
July	34	287	\$ 399.85
August	54	526	1163.62
Sept.	49	782	1156.60
Oct.	49	767	1114.22
Nov.	44	577	608.40
Dec.	20	348	931.78
Jan.	20	272	43.50
Feb.	15	185	643.80
March	15	172	246.95
April	17	173	279.60
May	14	219	272.10
June	15	147	75.00

(During some of the above months payment was delayed to the following month.)

It will be seen that, during part of the year, a crew of fifty Indians were employed in this program. The total encampment numbered about one hundred fifty men, women, and children. They came from all sections of the Indian country, and worked with as much industry as any crew of any other type of

men. They were engaged in clearing their reservation and sodding it for a stock range.

For the whole of the year the selfish and predatory interests had continued to fight the land program. As usual they were aroused by the success of this enterprise. Their attempts to intimidate the Indian population proved quite ineffective. Their next recourse is to institute a lobby against any official who successfully opposes them and either dislodge him or discredit his work. They enlisted the services of yellow journalism and paraded the officer as a miscreant before the public. They represented the project as worthless and a sheer waste of funds. But their conduct reveals the bitterness of their own defeat. For one time the Florida Indians joined extensively with the government in a program of setting up a social and an economic world of their own in which they and theirs are predominant.

### SECTION No. IV

#### HEALTH

During the past year disease has brought more than its usual burden of trouble to the Seminoles. There have been a total of eighteen deaths. The following is an incomplete list of the cases



of illness that have been treated by the Indian Service doctors during the year:

Disease of the Throat and Respiratory System		
	No. of Cases	Total No. of Treatments
Tonsillitis	8	9
Bronchitis	21	35
Influenza	76	102
Pneumonia	3	6
Tuberculosis	4	16
Flurisy	3	12
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>180</b>
Disease of Digestive System		
Indigestion	26	37
Gastritis	18	28
Biliousness	19	20
Hookworm	46	91
Typhoid	1	33
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>209</b>
Disease of Excretory System		
Constipation	6	6
Diarrhoea	33	54
Dysentery	12	15
Pyelitis	7	15
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>90</b>
Circulatory Disease		
Heart Trouble	23	63
Anaemia	12	36
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>99</b>
Sensory Disease		
Conjunctivitis	7	7
Insomnia	1	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>
Diseases of Reproductive System		
Syphilis	2	2
Gonorrhoea	9	23
Soft Chancere	1	1
Endometritis	1	7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>33</b>
Disease of Joints		
Arthritis	23	60
Neuralgia	2	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>62</b>
Disease of Skin		
Abscess	12	28
Carbuncle	3	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>34</b>
Contagious Disease not Listed Above		
Measles	12	15
Whooping Cough	9	10
Malaria	13	29
Chicken Pox	3	3
Dengue	7	9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>FINAL TOTAL</b>	<b>432</b>	<b>782</b>

The Florida Indian Service has continued its vigilance in its effort to combat these ailments. The following table shows in part the extent of this work during the year.

#### 44 BROWARD LEGACY

Physician	Location	No. of Calls	Annual Cost
Holmes	Miami	266	\$1217.51
Roper	Hollywood	291	961.50
Pender	Everglades	238	485.70
Davis	Okeechobee	117	450.00
Boothe	Ft. Pierce	85	188.00
Spooner	Immokalee	45	97.32
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>1042</b>	<b>\$3400.03</b>

In addition there were several physicians who were employed on special cases, and Dr. Pender rendered some service gratis.

A total of 24 Indians were hospitalized through the year at a cost of \$1072.24. The Health Division of the Indian Service is to be commended for conducting a clinic among these Indians in the spring of 1935. It was assisted by the State Board of Health. The undertaking manifests a new interest in the Seminoles and should lead to new and larger benefits in this health program.

#### SECTION No. V

##### EDUCATION

It will be recalled that in 1880 MacCauley stated that he found the Seminoles embittered against such primary forms of education as reading, writing, and calculation. But the school is one of the greatest things the white man has to give to the Indian.

Because the labor program brought a large encampment of Seminoles to the Agency their day school has reached a wider group than during any previous year in their history. The enrollment, including night students, numbered fifty. Many of the young Indian men learned enough to be able to write post cards and short letters. The day students enjoy their school days as much as the children of any other race, and are energetic and quick to learn. Some of them are able to read and write satisfactorily.

Some of the Indians living north of Lake Okeechobee, and some living in Collier county are friendly toward schools, and will soon seek these benefits. The Miami group are still unfavorable toward the white man's system of conveying thought through writing. This, and opposition from commercialized interests, and limitations growing out of the illness of the teacher led the government to discontinue the Miami school. The Indian, unfortunately, suffers the major loss.

#### SECTION No. VI

##### RELIEF

The relief load during the year for the aged and indigent members of the tribe cost a total of \$1,637.96. This is the heaviest burden that has ever been borne by the unit in a single year for this group, and is indicative of the poverty and distress which is more and more oppressing the tribe. It is another reminder of the need of the purchase of a sound land program for the tribe.

#### FINAL SECTION

#### CONCLUSION

MacCauley's last paragraph written for the Bureau of Ethnology in 1880 is strangely modern.

"But soon a great and rapid change must take place. The large immigration of white population into Florida, and especially the attempts at present being made to drain Lake Okeechobee and the Everglades, make it certain, as I have said, that the Seminole is about to enter a future unlike any past he has known. But now that new factors are beginning to direct his career, and now that he can no longer retreat, now that he can no longer successfully contend, now that he is to be forced into close, unavoidable contact with men he has known only as enemies, what will he become? If we anger him, he still can do much harm before we can conquer him; but if we seek, by a proper policy, to do him justice, he may yet be made our friend and ally. Already, to the dislike of the old men of the tribe, some young braves show a willingness to break down the ancient barriers between them and our people, and I believe it possible that with encouragement, at a time not far distant, all these Indians may become our friends, forgetting their tragic past in a peaceful and prosperous future."

All photographs used with this article are from the James L. Glenn Collection, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society.

