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The Medicine Bundles of the Florida Seminole and the Green Corn Dance

By LOUIS CAPRON
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THE MEDICINE BUNDLES OF THE FLORIDA SEMINOLE AND THE GREEN CORN DANCE

By Louis Capron

INTRODUCTION

At the 1950 census the Seminole of Florida numbered 823, the progeny of some 150 left in the Everglades and other remote parts of the southern peninsula at the end of their war with the United States (1835-42). There they were isolated for the next hundred years—a lost world of culture—cut off from surrounding influences by an understandable hate, suspicion, and mistrust. To a great extent their subsequent contacts with the Whites have done little to change this attitude.

This "Iron Curtain" not only preserved their culture virtually unaltered, it made that culture extremely difficult for the ethnologist to study. This difficulty was amply demonstrated by Clay MacCauley, who in 1880 made as comprehensive a study as possible for the Bureau of American Ethnology, and it is well illustrated by the fact that, to date, no eye-witness account of the Green Corn Dance has ever been published, nor has it been known that they possessed Medicine Bundles, much less that their social, political, and religious organization centered around them.

With the simple physical aspects of Seminole culture so difficult to come by, it is easy to see how almost impossible it is to penetrate to their esoteric life. Two things, at least, are absolutely essential. The first is a friendship and confidence that can be built up only over a period of years, and, secondly, some knowledge of what to look for and what it means. Time to establish the first has been lacking to the ethnologist. Those whom long friendship has admitted to some phases of the secret beliefs have lacked the background to interpret and evaluate them.

This is particularly true of the Medicine Bundles. The Medicine in them is no longer used for its curative properties, though this was the original function of much of it. The Bundles are brought out only for the Green Corn Dance, and then they are in evidence only from the morning of Court Day to sunrise the following morning—24 hours
during which it is the almost invariable rule that no white man may be present.

Two other things are behind the Seminole secrecy regarding the Medicine. The first is the fear of harming it. There is no certainty as to just what an antagonistic presence might do to injure the Medicine—to draw its power or make it harmful instead of benign. So essential to their welfare do the Indians consider the Medicine that they take no chances. The final element is the fear of ridicule. The white man as a rule does not bother to hide his amusement and skepticism of rituals and beliefs that differ from his own.

These, then, are the reasons that the Medicine Bundles of the Florida Seminole have just come to light. They are also among the reasons why error may creep into a report on the Medicine, however careful one may be to keep it out. Add to this the fact that almost none of the older Seminole who know the lore talk good English or understand English well and combine this with the difficulty of expressing abstract ideas, and one has a further picture of the difficulty of obtaining esoteric data.

Basically, the facts here given are correct. The broad picture is authentic. On minor points there is often disagreement at the source, in some cases it may be from a misunderstanding of the question, in others there is an actual difference of opinion. There are naturally errors on the part of the transcriber. What this does pretend to be is a skeleton, articulated as carefully as possible, with flesh and skin added where practicable, but to be built up by future investigations into a completed whole. And this must be done soon. The younger generation cares little for ancestral lore and rituals, and soon the most authentic aboriginal ideologies still existing will have passed with the wise old men.

THE FLORIDA SEMINOLE

There are only 823 Seminole. They occupy the southern part of the Florida Peninsula, from a few miles north of Lake Okeechobee to a short distance south of the Tamiami Trail. They are naturally divided into two linguistic groups. From the beginning of the Seminole Nation, this division between Miccosuki and Creek has been recognized. The Cow Creeks speak a dialect of Creek; the Miccosuki, a Hitchiti dialect. How different they can be is shown by the two names for Florida’s great, central lake. O-kee (water) Cho-bee (big) is Miccosuki. Wee (water) thloc-ko (big) is Cow Creek. Both of these names are recognized by the War Department map of 1838—the first map to show the lake correctly. In spite of intermarriage between the groups, this difference in language still persists.
The Cow Creeks, or Muskohegan proper, live to the north and north-east of Lake Okeechobee and number roughly a third of the whole population. Their territory includes the large Government reservation south of Brighton, which was laid out to embrace the traditional home of several families. The others are scattered on private lands where, in many cases, their families have lived for generations. They are usually located on or near ranches where they can find work with stock raisers or vegetable growers. Most of those on the reservation are employed there by the Government in maintenance work or with the Indian cattle herd. Those off the reservation are self-supporting.

The Miccosuki live south of Lake Okeechobee. Several families live on or near the Government reservation at Dania, where some of them have established commercial camps for the sale of coconut-fiber dolls, beadwork, Seminole clothing, and other handiwork. Most of the men find work of various kinds nearby. There are several commercial camps in Miami where the Indians are maintained and exploited by Whites. There are about 10 commercial camps along the Tamiami Trail, owned and operated by Indians. And finally, there are numerous families in the State reservation, on hammocks in the marshlands north of the Tamiami Trail, and all through Big Cypress Swamp.

MODE OF LIVING

Almost without exception, the Seminole live as they have lived for a hundred years. Each group is a family, consisting of the old couple, the married daughters and their families, and the unmarried sons and daughters. In the center is the communal cooking shelter with a thatched roof over the star fire. Around this are grouped the individual houses with thatched, overhanging roofs and a wooden floor about 2 feet above the ground.

They do buy groceries from the Whites and make their bread of white flour instead of the traditional koonti root. But in the main the only concessions they make to the inventions of the last hundred years are the automobile, the phonograph, and the hand Singer sewing machine with which the women put together the intricate piece-work of their garments.

This resistance to change marks the rituals and recondite matters to an even greater degree. Changes do occur but they are natural changes, such as happen when there are no written records, or they are a normal development from year to year. None are concessions to the white society with which they are surrounded. Their ceremonies are in no way for show nor do they cater to an alien audience. In fact, they want no audience. The rituals are sincere and sacred and still serve their original purposes.
THE MEDICINE BUNDLES

The religious and political life of the Seminole centers around three Medicine Bundles (sook-cha, "bag"—mic-co, "chief"; or hil-leesh-wa, "medicine"—a-sook-cha, "bag" (Cow Creek); ai-yicks-chee, "medicine"—sa-bo-kee, "bag"; or ai-yicks-chee, "medicine"—chin-a-box-shee-kee, "morning" (Miccosuki)). Each is kept by a Medicine Man (hil-leesh-wa, "medicine"—puts-cha-shee, "looks after" (Cow Creek); ai-yicks, "medicine"—me-for-see, "takes care of" (Miccosuki). Thus the Seminole are divided into three groups, each of which has a Medicine Bundle, a Medicine Man with one or more assistants, a senate of three or four older men who govern the group, each of which has its own Green Corn Dance.

Sam Jones is the Medicine Man of the Cow Creek Seminole. He got his Bundle from his father-in-law, Billy Smith. His principal assistant is his brother, Frank Shore, who is expected to succeed him as Medicine Man.\(^1\) Oscar Hoe, another brother, was previously his principal assistant.

Ingraham Billy is Medicine Man of the Tamiami Trail Miccosuki. This Bundle was held for a great many years by Billy Motloe. When he died it passed to Ingraham's brother, Josie Billy. A few years ago, Josie was converted to the Christian faith. He gave up his position as Medicine Man, but went on using his knowledge of herbs as an Indian doctor. For two years he held his Medicine Bundle, during which time there was no Green Corn Dance on the Trail. Then he turned it over to Ingraham Billy, who already had a name as a Medicine Man, and who put on his first Green Corn Dance in 1948. His assistants are his son, Jimmy Billy, and Frank Charlie.

The Big Cypress Medicine Bundle is held by Frank Tucker, but he has had it only a few months. It was given to him by his father-in-law, John Osceola, who put on the Corn Dance in 1949 with Frank Tucker as one of his assistants. For many years this Bundle was held by Cuffney Tiger, who put on the Corn Dance of the Big Cypress group. He died at the Cow Creek Green Corn Dance in 1947. His Medicine Bundle disappeared for 2 years. Ingraham Billy, Trail Medicine Man, had hidden it until he could find someone he thought capable of handling it. He finally turned it over to John Osceola, whose assistants at the 1949 Corn Dance were his sons-in-law, Frank Tucker and John Billy, and his son, Billy Osceola.

It is not planned that the Medicine Bundle be passed on by death. The Medicine Man's assistant is trained to succeed him, and when he feels his successor is ready, the Medicine Man turns the Bundle over to him and retires to private life. Sam Jones, by far the senior of the present Medicine Men, is turning over more and more of his part in the

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1 Sam Jones has retired, and Frank Shore is now Medicine Man.
ritual of the Green Corn Dance to Frank Shore, and hopes soon to transfer the whole thing. He has been Medicine Man for over 20 years.

THE MEDICINE

The Medicine Bundle is to the Seminole what the Ark of the Covenant was to the Jewish Nation. The Medicine was given to him directly by God, and the Bundle contains everything necessary for the Indian's well-being. When new conditions arise and something is needed to control them for the Indian's benefit, es-te fas-ta reaches down sometime during the last night of the Green Corn Dance and places in the deerskin that holds the Medicine a new kind to meet the new need.

If the Seminole group is the "body," then the council of old men is the "brain," and the Medicine Bundle, which is the concrete symbol of God's care for the Indian, is the "soul." The Medicine is alive. Each piece of it must move by itself some time the last night of the Green Corn Dance. It has the power to do great good. That was the purpose for which God intended it. But if misused, it has the power to do great harm. That is why it is guarded so carefully—lest its forces be changed in some way into forces of evil; lest its powers be turned down a wrong channel and become hurtful instead of helpful. And that is why the first thing the Medicine Man does each morning of the Green Corn Dance, as he stands naked in the pond facing the east, is to rub the water over his body as he prays that he may handle the Medicine safely and for the good of the Indian, and that it may do him no harm.

This is the song of the Medicine Man as he stands in the water facing the sunrise, the last 4 days of the Green Corn Dance:

Supa-hon-sup-h (Repeated six times)
Ta-lok-ka-lee
Staf-a-sta
Fil-sa-hon (Repeated six times)
Ta-lok-a-lee (Repeated four times)

Translation

Fog Make bright Bless
Now they come Please give me something
Don't say, "No" Bless
Now they come Please give me something

The fact that the Medicine Bundle is the "soul" of the group is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that if the Medicine is allowed to die, as it can through several years of discontinuance of the Green Corn Dance, the life would pass out of the tribe—"No more Seminole," it was explained. "Mebbe Indian die." I read that passage

* He has now done so.
to Sam Jones, Medicine Man of the Cow Creek Seminole. "No more White man," he amended. "Everything gone!"

One cannot help being struck by the truth in Indian symbolism. If the Green Corn Dance were neglected, the Medicine would die, because it would mean that faith in the Medicine was dead. Faith is the life of any religion, just as faith is an essential element in the cure of disease. It is also obvious that if the great cohesive force of the Green Corn Dance were lacking, the tribe would disintegrate.

The Medicine is always folded in a deerskin, hair side out. When the medicine has to be hidden out at the time of the Green Corn Dance, it is further wrapped in a piece of waterproof cloth if the weather is inclement. Within the outer covering, each kind of medicine is done up in a small piece of buckskin, and wound with a buckskin thong. The private medicine of certain of the Indians is usually wrapped in cloth. The Medicine consists of many different things: pieces of horn, feathers, stones, dried animal parts—some six or seven hundred different items in each Medicine Bundle—but the identical things in each of the three bundles. Where the Medicine came from originally is shown in the story of the Rattlesnake and the Horned Owl. This is as it was told to me by Sam Tommie in 1938, and checked since with two Medicine Men:

THE RATTLESNAKE AND THE HORNED OWL

Long time ago, Rattlesnake think he see how long he go without eat. Horned Owl he come along. He say, "What you do?"

Rattlesnake say, "I see how long I go without eat."

Owl he say he can go longer without eat than Rattlesnake.

So that Rattlesnake say, "All right. I know I can go longer without eat than you can. You go up in that tree. Don't you go away. Every 30 days I come out. I rattle. You holler, 'Owl!'"

So that Rattlesnake go in he's hole. Thirty days. He come out. Rattlesnake rattle and Owl holler, "Owl!" Snake go back in.

Thirty days more. That snake come out. He rattle. Owl holler, "Owl!"

Three months. Snake rattle. Owl holler, "Owl!"

Four months. Snake rattle. Ain't nothin'.

Thirty days more. Snake rattle. Ain't nothin'. So that snake come out and look around.

Then an old person come along. Only he ain't person. He like a monkey. Call him es-te mat-tee. That means, "Person look all over." Anything he find he put in he's bag.

He say to that Rattlesnake, "You give me you fang."

That Rattlesnake he say, "I only got four fang. I give you two." Then he say, "You want Owl's claws?"

So he take rattlesnake fang and owl claw and put 'em in he's bag. That's how Indian get those Medicine.

When monkeys come along they can talk to animals. Hu-lots-kee, that's monkey.

["We call monkey, wo-wit ko kolsh-kee," Sam Jones commented. "That's 'Raccoon man.'"]
Es-te mat-tee, he get some medicine, but he doan know how to use it. Tha's before people come. When people come, es-te fas-ta, he come down. He bring lots more medicine. He show people how to use it.

HOW THE MEDICINE CAME

(Cow Creek version)

Kee-sa-kee tom-a-see, "the Old Man." His boy is stuf-a-sta (es-te fas-ta), that means, "Gives Everything."

It was very bright for 4 or 5 days before "Give Person" came. Lots more people come in. He give 'em gifts right on Indian River. Indians ask, "Where you come from?"

Stuf-a-sta give 'em everything—he give 'em land—he give 'em medicine—all kinds Medicine—oh, eight, nine hundred kinds. He give 'em rice and everything else. Only he didn't give 'em corn. He show 'em coconut shell rattle, you know, like Billy Stewart have for Buffalo Dance.

Last day he say to 'em, "Who want to be Medicine Men?" Pretty soon one Tiger say, "I." Then one Wind say, "I." But Birds scared. Everybody else scared.

[The name of the man from the Wind Clan was to-ka-long-chee, Josie Billy explained. The Tiger was to-ween-ah-kee. There must always be two Medicine Men.]

He say to them two men, "All right, you be Medicine Men. You take the Medicine. You take it out in woods. You build you a little hut. You clear out all around it so fire won't burn it. You put Medicine in it. Every night you sleep by it. You lie on west of Medicine. You hear him talk you better listen!"

When stuf-a-sta go he say, "Man comin'." In 'bout two—three weeks, fas-ta-chee, "Little Give," come. He look like corn. He about that tall [about 2 feet]. His hair like corn—his body all corn. He sit down and talk.

He take out little bag [about 3 inches long] with five or six corn in it. He say, "You know what that is?" They don't know. He say, "That corn. That good for you." He tell 'em all about grind it.

He say, "You build a shack, all logs close together—10, 12 feet high—15 feet square—15 and 15, plain square. You go now cut logs. Pretty soon dark."

He ask 'em how many camps. They say five camps. Not Bear, it too small. That's why he make log house that size. This be for all these camps. That log house ti-kee. He tell 'em he go to other camps. That ain't so. He give this corn to Tigers. That be for everybody.

Then they all go to bed, go to sleep. Corn man fix bed in corner. When everybody sleep, he slip out. Gone!

'Bout eleven o'clock, noise like electricity—"Hum-hum-hum-hum-hum-hum!" They don't touch log house. That noise never stop all night. In the morning it stop. Then they open house. It's full of corn. When they open door it come out on the ground. They take that corn to everyone in five or six camps.

The next day they cut green logs. They burn out hole. They make pounding sticks. They put in a little corn—put in a little water. They pound that corn just like he told 'em. They pound it 'bout half an hour. Then they make sof-kee.

They use the rest of that corn for seed—that what's in the east side of the corner. They plant that corn 3 days after. It come up as good as can be.
All that time the Medicine Men sleep by the Medicine. One night there be a voice. That be after the corn man come. That voice sing song about the Medicine. There be four-five hundred kinds Medicine in that bag. That first night it sing 'bout three kinds at a time. Sometimes it sing 'bout five kinds Medicine put together—six or eight or three or two. Each kind Medicine, new song.

When that song done, that voice say, "You know that song?" Mebbe that Medicine Man don't know that song. He say, "I don't know that song." Then that voice sing that song again. By'm by that Medicine Man know that song. Some nights that voice ain't come, then they sleep all night. Sometimes there be three songs, sometimes five. Sometimes they get through eleven o'clock, then they go sleep. Sometimes they ain't sleep all night.

Them first two Medicine Men they got eight-nine hundred songs—mebbe thousand. They do this one-and-half years. Then he teach 'em one last song. That for all kinds Medicine. Then he say, "You know all them songs?" One Medicine Man he say, "I ain't sure 'bout this one." That voice say, "That other fellow, he know that one. You sing these songs to each other. When you wrong, he tell you." They do that half a year. Then they both know all them songs.

Then that voice he say, "Gotta do something them young boys—make 'em strong. You heat 'em stones. Take steam bath. After that you blood it all over body. You go up yonder—find it water—take bath all things—wash all over. Before daylight you count Medicine. See what luck you got."

This is a Cow Creek version. Josie Billy, ex-Medicine Man of the Miccosuki, does not agree that the Seminole came up out of the ground near Silver Springs.

**HOW THE MEDICINE CAME (MICCOSUKI VERSION)**

Indians came out of high hill near Atlanta in Georgia [according to Josie Billy]. Creeks come out of high hill north side of big river. Muscogee come out of big hill south side. There were 61 different tribes of Creeks—49 different tribes Muscogee: All people together 110 different tribes. Medicine leak out of another hill on Muscogee side. Just Muscogee get Medicine. They give it to Creeks. But first Muscogee make house for Medicine. Medicine say something—sing. Those two fellows don't eat 8 days.

When they go back, hear something at night—midnight—grab it. That's new kind Medicine. Know all kinds sickness. Tells 'em too.

**AFRICAN ANIMALS**

In the summer of 1938 I took Sam Tommie, one of the most articulate of the Seminole, to New York for a radio broadcast. In the week we were there, we visited the museums and other places of interest. In the Museum of Natural History are the marvelously lifelike Akeley groups of African deer and antelope in their natural surroundings. As we stood in front of the first case, Sam said, "You know what we call that animal?"

No Seminole had ever seen that animal before, or any of the animals in the exhibits. But Sam went down one side of the hall and back the other and gave almost every animal there a perfectly good Seminole name. They were descriptive names such as "Big Rabbit"
or "Water Cow." "You know how I know about them animals?" Sam asked.

Then he explained that Sam Jones had in the Medicine Bundle about 38 points of horn—not full horns, but the white tips, and for each he has a description that fits one of the African animals. His descriptions run like this: "Hair like goat's hair. Hair and tail like a goat. Neck with white spots. White spot on shoulder. Stripe close to eyes. Horns close together then spread. Back tail white." I took him back 2 days later and we went over the animals again. In many cases he gave them the same names; in others, he didn't. Sometimes he gave the name to a different animal.

The net meaning of all this, it seems to me, is this: The ancient Seminole Medicine contains 18 horn points each accompanied by a description. These descriptions are not definite enough to identify the animal accurately, but are definite enough to eliminate any indigenous animal with which the Seminole might be expected to be acquainted. The suggestion has been made that the Seminole got these descriptions from the Negroes with whom they were closely associated at the time of the Seminole War and before, many of whom were fresh from their African homeland.

Sam Tommie's comment on the rhinoceros was particularly interesting as showing a definite aspect of the Medicine. The description was: "Two horns and round nose."

"They doan know what to do about that point," Sam Tommie said. "Sam Jones, he's afraid of it. Every time he touch it his hand swell up an' get sore. 'At's the worst horn Sam got. He think he just take care of it. Keep it in bag. Bring it out every 4 years. He doan know what it's good for. He doan touch it. He pick it up with sticks—like this."

Sam Jones verified these facts. The name of the horn is ee-ah-pee.

**One Original Bundle**

From the beginning and until the time of the Seminole War (1835-42) there was only one Medicine Bundle. This was in charge of the two Medicine Men. There must be two Medicine Men for a Medicine Bundle, as Josie Billy pointed out, because of the rituals. Originally, as reference to the origin story will show, they were of equal importance. Today, the Medicine Man is infinitely more important than his assistant, who does not even have the title, but is called ee-ma-shwa, "stay with all night," or ka-a-pox-shee ee-ma-shat-see. 

At the time of the Seminole War, Josie Billy explained, Little Chiefs came to the Medicine Man. "Going on long trip," they would say. "Got to have some of that Medicine." So the Medicine
Man would make up a Bundle with a little bit of each kind of that Medicine in it, and the Little Chief would take it with him and his war party. In that way, a lot of these little Medicine Bundles were lost. Others, the Florida Seminole think, were taken west. But at the end of the war, three Bundles were left in Florida, and these are the three Bundles in use today.

A great deal of the Medicine in the Bundles is for war; and, as Josie Billy explained it, "some of it is for people, and some of it is for people get hurt—like break your leg."

Ten years ago Sam Tommie told me about "Shot-in-the-heart" Medicine. Hil-eesh hat-kee, "white medicine," is Creek; ai-yicks hat-kee is Miccosuki. It is known also as "white roots," according to Josie Billy. This is the medicine Josie Billy told Robert Greenlee about. If it is used within 15 minutes of the time a man is shot in the heart, the man will get well. It was effective 100 years ago when it was used in the Seminole War, but there has been no opportunity to use it since. "Put in water, shake it up, drink it," is the method of use according to John Osceola, Medicine Man. Sam Jones, the oldest and most experienced Medicine Man, says that hil-eesh tock-fee, another Medicine in the Bundle, is even more effective. "Man die half an hour, put a little Medicine on each side mouth. Half hour he come to." This Medicine was made from a snake horn.

Another snake horn in the Medicine Bundles is the left-hand horn of the Snake King. Josie Billy told me the story.

THE HORN OF THE SNAKE KING

Another thing in Medicine [Josie Billy says] is left-hand horn from King Snake. That horn got power. King Snake got horns. He live under rock. Two fellows go after him. One fellow got stick but he afraid. Other fellow, he got stones. He singin'. Snake he come out. Fellow throw stone. Break off left-hand horn. Right-hand horn more powerful but can't get that.


Sam Jones verified this story. There are pieces of this horn in each Medicine Bundle, and Nahaw Tiger's private Medicine is a piece of it, according to Sam Jones.

POWER IN WAR MEDICINE

One evening Sam Tommie stopped by my home. He had been traveling through and Josie Billy had told him to be sure to stop and tell me about cho-no-thlee, the "Power in War" Medicine that is in each bundle.

"You got to have cho-no-thlee in wartime or you can't win," he explained. "Osceola, he had that. Don't eat it, just taste it. [He illustrated by touching lightly several times with the tip of his tongue
an imaginary something in his hand]. Mustn't eat all day when you use it. It's like hard stone—like marbles. Each Medicine Man got little piece. Not work just where you are—work way out, 20, 30 miles away. Indians have known it forever."

Independently of this, Henry Cypress had also told me something about this stone. "I think that's a spirit," he said. "Sometimes there; open package again, gone. Sometimes there, sometimes gone. That's little stone like old time make fire."

Cho-no-thlee is the Miccosuki word. The Cow Creek, Sam Jones told me, is sho-no-too toot-ka. I told him that Henry Cypress said it was sometimes there and sometimes not. "No," he said. "Always there."

There is a stone in the Medicine Bundles "like old time make fire." It is called "Medicine Stone," sat-too hil-esh-wa (Creek); tal-lee ai-yicks-chee (Miccosuki). This is always used to start the Medicine Man's fire at the Green Corn Dance. It is also regarded as a sort of insurance. If the Indians were unable to get modern matches, they could always use this primitive method of making fire. Each of the older Indians also has a piece of flint as a precautionary measure. One day when we were discussing this, Tom Smith rummaged in his kit until he found his, and illustrated how he could strike fire from it with his knife.

**THE BOSS STONE**

Another stone in the Medicine Bundles is called sat-too his-sia-ka (Creek), "live stone." This is a small piece of the same kind of stone as is used in the sweat bath. The sweat bath stones themselves are called sat-too hi-yee (Creek), tal-lee hi-yee (Miccosuki), "hot stones." They would be ineffective without the stone in the Medicine Bundles. That is the head man—the big boss of all sweat-bath stones. It directs all sweat-bath stones in their proper duties even at a distance. . . . If the life were to pass out of it, the sweat bath would no longer be effective. But while the stone is in the Medicine Bundles and alive, the Seminole can pick up any stone of that kind and use it on the sweat bath confident of its power of cure and prevention.

The implications here are so profound, that I made a special effort to find whether there are any other "control" pieces in the Medicine Bundles. Two Medicine Men, Sam Jones and Josie Billy, both said definitely that there were not.

Nahaw Tiger, one of the Cow Creek group, was sitting beside me at the Green Corn Dance and began to talk about the "old Medicine—before Indian he come up." Nahaw studied the Medicine for some time, and at one time planned to be a Medicine Man. He is head man
in putting on the Hunting Dance (Snake Dance, the Indians call it) each fall. He mentioned the deer-horn points, obviously the ones that Sam Tommie related to the African animals in the Akeley groups.

“Snake come up out of water,” Nahaw explained. “Ma-tee beat him to death, make Medicine of him. That there.”

“You’ve got some Medicine, Nahaw,” I said. (This is the piece of the left-hand horn of the snake king mentioned above.)

“My uncle, Old Tusteneggee, give me that medicine,” Nahaw said, and changed the subject to some “big bull ants 'bout that long” (a little more than an inch) that are in the Medicine Bundles. Sam Jones says he does use “big bull ants” but there are none in the Medicine Bundles. He uses them as a treatment for rheumatism but he gets them as he needs them. The Creek name is ha-may-lay-ga.

It was Nahaw Tiger who, years ago when Billy Smith was Medicine Man, sold some pa-sa to a Tampa doctor for 25 dollars. It was an excellent example of misuse of Medicine and its disastrous results. Pa-sa (Cow Creek)—pa-see (Miccosuki)—is just about the most important drug in the Seminole pharmacopoeia and plays a very important part in the ritual of the Green Corn Dance. Nahaw wasted away until he was near death before he would confess his crime to Billy Smith and go through the rigorous course of treatment necessary to restore him to a right social attitude and to health.

Of course Billy Smith knew all the time what he had done, but it was necessary for Nahaw to realize his crime, confess what he had done, and be willing to demonstrate at the cost of great physical discomfort that he was willing to conform, before his cure could be effected. I will demonstrate this attitude toward crime and punishment still further at another point.

WAR RATTLES

There is a coconut-shell rattle in the Medicine Bundle, which I have seen at each dance. It is the most readily visible article in the bundle because of its size and characteristic shape, and because it is not wrapped. Most of the items are in little buckskin bundles a couple of inches long. Each of these is opened twice each Green Corn Dance: once almost as soon as the Medicine Bundle is brought from its hiding place in the woods to the dance ground before sunrise on Court Day, and once the following morning before sunrise before it is done up tightly again in its deerskin and taken from the dance ground to be hidden again in the woods.

I have stood within 6 feet of some of these packets as they were opened, quickly examined and folded up again, without being able to make out in the slightest degree what is in them. The rattle, however, can be identified from a distance. It, also, is a piece of War Medicine.
It is used only in the War Dance, where its purpose is to whip up emotion. As he picks it up to examine it, the Medicine Man shakes it lightly close to his ear to see that it is working properly, and then returns it to the Medicine Bundle.

**HOW THE MEDICINE IS KEPT**

The Medicine is always folded in a deerskin, tanned with the hair on and with the leg and neck skin. It is folded into a tight packet about 1 foot by 2 feet and 6 or 8 inches thick, with the hair side out. During the 24 hours it is displayed at the Green Corn Dance this packet is loosened. During all of Court Day the legs are tied together and the Medicine Bundle hangs in basket form on a stake to the northeast of the dance fire. In the early evening it is taken from the stake and arranged behind the Medicine Man and his assistant or assistants, half of the deerskin skin side on the ground, and the other half folded lightly over the Medicine, the open side toward the Medicine Man.

Between Green Corn Dances, the Medicine Bundle is kept in the Medicine Man’s house. When the time comes for the Green Corn Dance, the Medicine Man does not take the Bundle directly to the dance ground. He takes it somewhere in the woods and hides it. This “somewhere” is to the east of the dance ground and out of sight of it. When the Medicine Man or his assistant goes for the Bundle, he walks east across relatively open country until he is out of sight. He is out of sight for some time before he reappears with the Medicine Bundle in his arms.

When he takes the Medicine away after the final ceremonies, he reverses this procedure, returning empty handed to the Dance ground and returning at some later day to regain his Medicine. If the weather is inclement and rain probable, the Medicine Bundle is further wrapped in waterproof cloth when brought from or taken to its hiding place in the woods.

**NEW MEDICINE**

When es-te fas-ta brought the Medicine at the very beginning of things, he was not done with it. Changing conditions would bring about new needs. So, when a new Medicine is needed to take care of a new condition, es-te fas-ta brings it. This is always the last night of the Green Corn Dance. The Medicine Man does not know when it happens, he learns it only when he goes over the Medicine and counts it the last morning of the dance. For a good many years during my early acquaintance with the Seminole, no new Medicine had been added. Sam Tommie told me the Indians
thought this was due to "too many wires." The telephone, telegraph, and electric lines interfered. Recently, however, Sam Jones has received several new kinds—three at one recent Green Corn Dance.

Many of the Indians have their own private Medicine. This follows the same rules as the tribal Medicine. Life in it must be renewed periodically and this done at the same time. The private Medicine is collected by one of the Medicine Man's assistants who goes from clan camp to clan camp while the Medicine Man's fire is being kindled in the early evening of Court Day. Some of the Indians bring their own Medicine to the fire, where it is placed in the loosely folded Medicine Bundle with the tribal Medicine.

The individual Medicine is given back to the owner when the Medicine Man is counting over and examining his Medicine the last morning. The owner is standing over the Medicine Man who is squatted before the Medicine Bundle, opening one package after another. When he comes to the proper package, he hands it up to the owner who carries it to his hut.

I was interested to see, in 1946, the Medicine Man give back to John Osceola, who has since become a Medicine Man in his own right, his gun, which had been with the tribal Medicine all night. The purpose was to give it supernatural accuracy.

**OTHER MEDICINE**

Another Medicine about which Josie Billy told me is the "Thunder Bullet." This is tim-nee-kee in-telee in Creek, tu-no-kat-see sa-kee in Miccosuki, the first word in each case being "thunder," the second, "bullet." This is also a War Medicine.

When rain start coming, lightning strike tree. Go round and round and then in ground. Hurry up and dig it out. That in Medicine—White Stone—can see through it. Use it in wartime. Soldiers coming, Indians have that, go in swamp. White soldiers can't come, can't see 'em, don't know they there.

Some of the Indians mentioned Thunder Bird feathers, and said there were some in the Medicine. Josie Billy denies that there are any. Eagle feathers, yes; but no such thing as Thunder Bird feathers.

**RELIGION**

God is sa-kee tom-mas-see in Cow Creek. This is made up of sa-kee (breath), tom (everybody), mee-see (make it). In Miccosuki, God is fee-sa kee-kee o-meeck-chee, which has the same meaning. He is not the Indian God—he is God. There is only one God, for Indian, for White man, for everyone. He lives far, far up in the sky and does not come down to earth.

Es-te fas-ta (person—give) is the intermediary between God and
man. The Seminole identifies him with Christ and, in many cases, considers that he is Christ in the form in which he came to the Indians. In fact, this amalgamation of the two religions seems to have resulted from the impact of missionaries on the Indian. He retains his own, because he cannot conceive that everything that he and his ancestors have believed and practiced all their lives is utterly false. He naively blends the two. Es-te fas-ta was responsible for the collection of the Medicine by es-te ma-tee, and it was he who gave it to the Seminole at the great meeting at Indian River City. It was he, also, who instructed the first Medicine Men on how to use it. It is he who brings new Medicine when the Indians need it. Es-te fas-ta gave the Indians everything except corn, which was brought shortly after that great meeting by fas-te chee (fas-te, "give"; chee, "little").

Ho-la wa-gus corresponds to the devil. The word means "bad" or "evil," and is used in that sense as an adjective. Strong drink is ho-la wa-gus and so is a viciously quarrelsome man. Ho-la wa-gus lives down under the ground but comes to the surface to carry evil doers down below. He has all the earmarks of the devil. In fact the Christian devil may actually be his prototype. He is rarely mentioned.

This identification with Christianity, the monotheistic idea of one God only for everybody, the conception that the Christian God and the Indian God are one and the same, the identification of Christ with es-te fas-ta, and the similarity of ho-la wa-gus to the popular conception of the devil are provocative aspects of the Seminole religion. Therein may be the clue to the ease with which the Indian everywhere has seemed to adopt Christianity and yet maintain his ancestral religion alongside it.

Another surprising thing about the Seminole religion is the tolerance for other religions. I have never seen the slightest attempt to proselyte. The Seminole seems to accept Christianity not as a religion, but as an aspect of religion, and his own the same. The first is suited to the white man, the second to the Indian. He naturally resents proselyting when directed against his people because it means the destruction of usages and rituals he considers essential to his good. If he believes that the welfare of his nation depends directly on the observance of the Green Corn Dance, and that the continued neglect of this ceremony will result in the disintegration of his people, he can hardly be blamed if he resents the efforts of White missionaries to make him abandon it.

To recapitulate; the Seminole has experience with only two religions—the Christian and his own. He believes that the Christian God and his own are the same—that there is only one God. He believes that his religion is the relationship with God ordained for
him, and the Christian religion is the one ordained for the White man. Both, he believes, are true.

Years ago Sam Tommie explained to me the Indian attitude toward prayer. A group of the Seminole were to meet a Government official from Washington to ask for certain things they needed. But before the conference they went off in the woods and prayed. I asked how they prayed, and Sam Tommie explained that they told God the things they needed.

"But He knows everything," I said, and Sam agreed.

"Then why did you have to tell Him?" I asked.

And Sam carefully explained that prayer is not for God's benefit, but for the benefit of the person praying. God knows without being told what is good for the Indian, and will give him what is right for him to have. But the Indian must never forget that everything good comes from God. Prayer, then, is not to ask God for favors, but to make the one who prays conscious of his obligation to God and, by implication, more worthy to receive the blessings that God sends.

Sleep, to the Seminole, is a kind of little death. In it the ghost comes out of the anus and, unhampered by physical laws of time and space, goes about having experiences. These experiences, remembered when the ghost reenters the body and the person wakes, are dreams.

In death, the ghost leaves the body and does not return. It does, however, stay near the body. Therefore the Seminole take the body to some isolated spot, on a well-hidden hammock, for example, and build a long, low, thatched hut with an elevated floor. It is just large enough to house the body. Fires are kept burning at the head and foot of this hut for 4 days, during which time a special black drink is drunk and no relative must leave. Then it is left to its ghostly habitant—for this is the abode of the ghost for the rest of time—nearby it will live its ghostly life, invisible to all mortals except "fortune tellers."

During Sam Tommie's trip to New York, we were looking through the exhibit of the Western Indian in the Museum of Natural History. In the section on "foods," Sam saw some mushrooms.

"People eat that?" he said in astonishment. "That ghost food. Ghosts eat that and itty, bitty bugs. You see those bugs around dead bodies."

The ghost lives a life, if such a paradoxial expression may be used, very much as it did before death. The catafalque is its home. If that is destroyed by fire, for example, the ghost is homeless and can only acquire another by marrying a woman who has one. At the next ghostly Green Corn Dance, he presents his problem to the
ghostly Medicine Man, who provides him with a ghostly wife who has a home for him to share.

The soul is not the same as the ghost. If the Indian has lived a good life, sa-kee tom-mas-see reaches down and lifts his soul up to heaven. If he has lived a bad life, ho-la wa-gus comes up out of the ground and draws him down to eternal fires. This is probably not indigenous with the Indian but has been adapted from the teachings of Christian missionaries. If so, it is a concrete example of the naive blending of Christianity and paganism.

**THE GREEN CORN DANCE**

The Green Corn Dance has several names. It is generally known as ta-nah kee-ta (Creek); ta-nah kee-kee (Miccosuki). This means ta-nah (all people), kee-ta (get together). It is also called nah-kuff kee-ta (good time get together); and ah-til-lo kee-ta (serious business get together), which refers to the Medicine, Court Day, and the council. Literally, Corn Dance is at-see o-pon-ga (Cow Creek) or ah-spee tal-lil-nee (Miccosuki). This refers more properly to the actual dance itself, with its particular song, rather than to the several-day event with its rituals, ceremonies, and big program of dances.

The Green Corn Dance has two main purposes: to preserve the life in the Medicine and insure health to the individual. Or, as the Indian himself puts it, "So the Medicine live—so the people live!" It is also a necessary purification before the men can eat the now ripening green corn. A woman may eat the corn at any time, but even small boys must prepare themselves.

The site for the Green Corn Dance is selected by the Medicine Man with the greatest care, to insure privacy. It is moved from time to time. I have attended several Green Corn Dances of the Cow Creek Seminole, but the two Miccosuki dances differ in no essential detail. I have checked this with two Miccosuki Medicine Men. Medicine Men attend each other's dances. John Osceola, Big Cypress Medicine Man, was a regular attendant at Cow Creek. Cuffney Tiger, his predecessor, died at the Cow Creek dance in 1947. The Cow Creek dance, then, may be considered typical of all three dances.

The Cow Creek Seminoles, who constitute about a third of the whole Seminole Nation, are scattered through the pine lands around the northern shores of Lake Okeechobee, mostly in family groups at various points through the Brighton Reservation; at various spots off the Fort Pierce-Okeechobee Road; and for a few miles north of there. The country is pine lands, with occasional ponds and marshes, and intersected by some streams. Outside of the arterial highways that cut through it, the roads are nondescript. Those that lead to
and connect the Indian villages are nothing but a couple of ruts that branch and divide and rejoin in an utterly confusing way.

The Corn Dance grounds are at a distance from the nearest Indian village and from 4 to 6 miles off the road at the end of such a maze of tracks that one of the Cow Creek Indians has to guide the Big Cypress and Tamiami Trail Indians who attend or they could never find it. They are in a piece of well-drained land about four sections in extent called Grassy Island. It is mostly open country with occasional stands of sand pine.

The dance is held at the beginning of the "Everything growin' Moon," ha-see (Cow Creek); hi-yon-tsee (Miccosuki). This is the new moon the last of June or the first of July. The Big Cypress Indians date theirs the same way. The Indians on the Trail hold theirs when the "Seven Stars," the Pleiades, which have sunk below the horizon, make their reappearance. This last is an earlier date than the other.

Announcement is made by the Medicine Man of the date just a few days before, but even then the exact days of the important parts of the ritual may be inaccurate. Once the dance starts, however, there is no longer a question. For example, a couple of weeks before, and again on the Monday before, the Medicine Man told me that Picnic Day would be Wednesday, July 7. Actually it was Thursday, July 8. It is my experience that Picnic Day is 2 days after the calendar date of the new moon.

My first schedule of the Green Corn Dance, obtained years ago, called for 6 days and was outlined as follows:

First Day—Clear land; clean ring.
Second Day—Smokin' tobacco leaves.
Third Day—"Get wood day"; start dance—not before.
Fourth Day—Put up tchoc-ko thloc-ko. Picnic Day.
Fifth Day—Court Day.
Sixth Day—Black Drink Day—sat-kit-ta (Creek); hi-eet-see (Miccosuki).

**Figure 7.**

From a photograph taken just after the close of the ceremonies the last morning.

It shows the three fires still burning. The clan camps are along the horizon line, the tchoc-ko thloc-ko in the right middle distance. The dance circle occupies the center of the picture, and the objects having to do with the Medicine are to the left. This is the first picture ever made of the dance ground.

**Key:**
- A, Tchoc-ko thloc-ko.
- B, Ball-game pole.
- C, Stake for Medicine Bundle.
- D, Frame of sweat bath.
- E, Smoke of sweat-bath fire.
- F, Tarpaulin.
- G, Sweat-bath tarpaulin.
- H, Smoke of Medicine Man's fire.
- I, Rough outline of Dance circle.
- J, Log seat of Dance director.
- K, Dance fire.
- L, Pails of Black Drink.
- M, Tarpaulin.
- N, Log pile.
- O, Log seat for men.
- P, Little Bird Camp.
- Q, Tiger Camp.
- R, Bird Camp.
The first 2 days are sometimes combined. On the other hand, in 1948, Sunday, July 4, was the first evening of dancing, and the ceremonies ended the morning of Saturday, July 10. The calendar new moon was the night of Tuesday, July 6. Thursday was Picnic Day and Friday, Court Day.

The Creek schedule is:

Nit-ta (Day) kats-ka (opening).
Ee-too (wood) ah-o-kah (get together).
Hom-pee (meat) shee-off (eat) Kee-ta (all day). Picnic Day.
Posh-kee-tah (fast) nick-ta (all day). Court Day.
Nick-ta (day) nots-ka (resting). Last Day.

The Miccosuki is:
Yo-ka ha-tsee-tee (smoking), or at-so-mee yo-ka ha-tsee-tee.
Ce-ta (wood) wee-kee (bring in).
Im-pee-kee (eating) nick-ta-kee (day). Picnic Day.
Ka-a-pox-shee (this is the word for "tomorrow"), or nich-ta (day) no-leets-kee (sleeping). Last Day.

Various things determine the location of the Green Corn Dance. Privacy and isolation are the most important. There must be an open space of 2 or 3 acres, free of trees. The ground must be dry, a condition that varies from year to year. It is never near any permanent camp. And there must be no taboos. Cuffney Tiger, the visiting Medicine Man from Big Cypress, died at the 1947 Cow Creek dance. The Green Corn Dance will never be held in that location again. The new ground, used ever since, is about half a mile away.

There is no set time for families or individuals to arrive at the dance ground. Since it is the social event of the year, however, it is the custom to arrive early, especially for the women. Men with regular jobs are likely to come late—just in time for the essential rituals—unless they are needed to build houses, or unless they are willing to sacrifice their pay and jeopardize their jobs for a longer stay. Indian philosophy always considers a routine job as definitely secondary to a full life.

The houses at the Green Corn Dance ground are rarely thatched. They are used for only 5 or 6 days a year and it would not be worth the trouble or the necessary repairs. Instead, a tarpaulin is thrown over the ridgepole and attached to the side beams. Otherwise, the houses are of the same construction as the permanent houses, with a floor about 2 feet above the ground.

The clan camps are grouped in a rough semicircle, in general to the west of the dance circle. There are four or five camps. The Tiger and Bird clans are by far the largest. The Little Bird and Deer are small. There seems to be no regular order for the arrangement of
these camps, except that the Bird camp has been closest to the dance circle and tchoc-ko thloc-ko at each of the Cow Creek dances I have attended, probably because the Medicine Man, who is a Tiger, lives in the Bird camp, since his wife belongs to that clan.

Smaller clans camp with the smaller Deer and Little Bird clans; visitors from the Tamiami Trail and Big Cypress camp with the corresponding Cow Creek clans. In 1946, however, there were so many

Figure 8.—Ground plan of Green Corn Dance.
visitors from the Miccosuki groups that a separate camp was established for them. Diagrams of the arrangements for three separate dance locations are shown herewith (figs 9 and 10). Since the floors and poles are permanent, the arrangement made when a new ground is first put to use is maintained until that location is abandoned.
The arrangement in each clan camp is the same as that in a permanent village. The houses are in a circle around a floorless cooking shack which is thatched. This is used in turn by the various families. Visitors put up temporary shelters in an outer circle on the side away from the dance circle. These shelters are like the regular Seminole hunting camps—low canvas roofs with palmetto fans spread on the floor and a cloth over them.
THE DANCE GROUND

The first thing done at the Green Corn Dance is to put the camps in shape and prepare the dance ground. Usually the dance is held where it was the year before, so there is little heavy work to do. Structures of the year before are put in repair and the dance circle is cleared of grass and weeds.

The dance track is about 10 feet wide and 40 feet in diameter, outside measurement. In the center of this is the dance fire. This is o-pon-ga (dance) en-tot-ka (fire) (Cow Creek); tal-lil-wee (dance) yo-ka-hee or ee-mee-tee (fire) (Miccosuki). On one side, just outside the circle, is the ball-game pole—ko-ka (ball) a-pee (pole) (Miccosuki). This is a tall pine sapling 20 to 25 feet high, trimmed of branches but with the plume left at the top. From about 4 to about 5 feet from the ground, this pole is squared and smoothed and on these flat sides score is kept with a piece of charcoal. This dance track is cleared, smoothed, and packed.

Every evening about sunset there is a ball game between the boys and girls. This is played with a deerskin ball stuffed with deer hair. It is about 2½ inches in diameter and roughly spherical. The object is to hit the pole with the thrown ball. To more nearly equalize things between the sexes, the boys have to catch or pick up the ball with a pair of rackets, while the girls may use their hands. These rackets are usually made of green laurel, flattened and doubled into a small loop about 4 inches across. The two ends of the strip are joined together to form a handle about 15 inches long. Two crossing thongs of rawhide close the loop. They are very similar to the rackets of the Cherokee.

While this is the usual method of making the rackets, the Indians are ingenious at making substitutes. I watched one of the older Indians rise to the occasion shortly before the dance began. He took a green palmetto-leaf stem and trimmed out a long strip about 1 inch wide and % of an inch thick. He bent this at the middle around a smooth log about 4½ inches in diameter, forcing the flat sides of the ends together as far down toward the log as he possible could, and there he tied them together with cord. He left the strip on the log a short time to set, and then he slipped it off. He tied the extreme ends together. Then he punched holes in the bow with a nail and made his cross thongs of ordinary cord. It was not too permanent a job. One of the rackets came apart before the game was over that evening, but it put his son in most of the game.

The game is pretty strenuous. The boys play the girls. The players divide into two groups with both boys and girls in each, and with the ball-game pole directly between them. The player holding
the ball throws it at the pole. As the usual result is a miss, it is
captured by a player on the other side of the pole, who, in turn, throws
it at the pole or passes it to a team member who is in a better position
to score. The ball crosses from side to side of the pole until the pole
is hit, and a score is registered for the side (boy or girl) to which the
player who threw the hit belongs. There is nothing restrained or
formal about the game. It is full-blooded, unrestrained fun. There
is feinting and blocking and efforts by the girls to wrest the ball from
the boys. The girls run and tumble about with surprising agility
despite their long skirts.

As dusk approaches the ball game ends, and the girls go back
to the camps. Some of the men have been sitting in the thloc-ko
thloc-ko watching the ball game or talking. At all times the thloc-ko
thloc-ko is a clubhouse for the men—a place common to all the
clans, where the men may sit and talk. It is at all times taboo
to the women and so is the dance ground itself. They can only be
on the dance ground when they are actively dancing or playing ball.
Following the ball game, the dance circle is swept with long branches
and the fire started.

HELPERS WITH THE MEDICINE

This sweeping is done by two young men who have a very important
part in the Green Corn Dance ritual. They are the Medicine Man’s
“Helpers.” They are not to be confused with the “Assistant” or
“Assistants,” who are older men, already proficient with the Medicine,
and who are within one step of being Medicine Men themselves.
These young men are known as hi-leesh put-cha-chee (Medicine
Man’s) ma-na-cha ( Helpers) (Cow Creek); ai-yicks-chee (medicine)
in-da-hus-kee (servant); or ai-yicks-chee (medicine) ho-po-yee (look
for) (Miccosuki). They usually have a present intention to become
Medicine Men, but they are only at the beginning of a long, hard
road. Their duties are manifold. They act as police to maintain
order, to escort unauthorized persons from forbidden places, and in
general, to carry out the orders of the officials. It is their job to
find the different herbs that go into the three Black Drinks. They
will prepare the two cold Black Drinks the morning of Court Day
and on the final morning they will bring to the Medicine Fire any
laggards or evaders for the scratching.

With the coming of dark, the dance fire is built up and the dancing
begins. It is in charge of a “dance boss,” o-pon-ga ma-noi-ya
(Cow Creek); tal-lil-wee sin-ka-pa-ta-ni ( Miccosuki). He does not
dance himself, but he determines what dances shall be danced, who
shall lead each dance, and orders people who are not dancing into
the dance. He does this by a running fire of conversation punctuated by staccato and explosive ejaculations of "Staos!" which corresponds to "Ladies and Gentlemen." He also whips up the dance if it seems to lag. If a dance boss fails to get results, he is replaced by another.

When the kind of dance has been decided, the leader takes his place in front and to the right of the tchoc-ko thloc-ko facing east. Other men and boys who are to start the dance, take their position in a line to his left, also facing east. The leader starts the dance song, usually keeping time with a rattle. He sings a phrase and this is repeated by the others. Then he turns to the right and begins the dance, counterclockwise around the circle. Now the women, who have been sitting out in the palmettos, begin to come in and take their places beside the men, to the men's right, on the side away from the fire, and soon the dozens of rattles on the women's legs give loud cadence to the dance.

TIN-CAN RATTLES

The rattle of the Seminole Indian of today is one of his few concessions to the White civilization by which he is surrounded but by no means engulfed. The turtle-shell rattle, the coconut-shell rattle, and the deer hoofs that used to be tied to the women's legs to make the dance cadence are no more, or are seen only occasionally. The evaporated-milk can makes a much more satisfactory noise and is universally used. In its original function, the Indian has punched two holes opposite each other in the top, one to pour from, the other to admit air to make the pouring regular. When the can is emptied of milk, it is punched full of nail holes, sometimes in a regular design, sometimes hit or miss. It is cleaned, the paper taken off, and beads or the seeds of the wild canna inserted through the two original holes in the top. The metal which has been turned back from these, is now pulled out again to keep the beads from coming out, and the Indian has a rattle with far more zip than anything he originally took from nature.

Some 12 or 16 of these can rattles are tied together, and, with a burlap pad to keep them from chafing, a whole bundle of this kind is tied to each calf of a woman dancer's leg. Beneath her long skirt they are quite invisible, but as she walks there is a continual rustling. Once she starts to dance, however, she controls the sound with rhythmic jerks of her leg and the result gives a terrific beat to the dance.

The women's rattles are more likely to have the harder beads, and there are fewer of them. This makes for a higher, sharper tone. It also means the weight is considerably less, which is an important
consideration when so many are worn. The men’s rattles are about a third full of the seeds and give a rather prolonged “shuck” sound.

Each of the men carries a small palmetto fan in his left hand, the hand toward the fire. This is a palmetto frond cut down to a fan about 9 or 10 inches across. He holds this steadily between his face and the fire. If an onlooker is holding one of these fans in his hand, it gives the dance boss the privilege of ordering him to dance and he cannot refuse.

If the dance leader is using a rattle, he holds it in his right hand and beats with it at, but not touching, his left hand, which is held cupped in front of him. This is still the position and action of the rattle during the active dancing. When each movement of the dance is finished, however, he lifts the rattle high above his head and shakes it vigorously. At the same time he stops and the line stops behind him, the men giving shrill yips. They rest for a minute standing in line, and then the dance is resumed, the leader taking up again with his rattle, starting the chant again and resuming the dance step. The end of the dance is signaled in the same way, but the leader, instead of standing, walks away. The men go back to the tchod-ko thloc-ko and the women to their groups in the palmettos.

These groups are seated on the ground just off the path from each clan camp to the dance ground, and about two-thirds of the way from the camp to the dance ground. Here they sit and chat and smoke cigarettes and watch the dancing when they are not dancing themselves. If mothers have small children who cannot be left alone in camp, they are put to sleep under muslin canopies stretched in the palmettos. This is particularly true the last night when the dancing goes on all night.

If the dance or the dance song is complicated, special instructions are given before the dance starts. This, for example would be the procedure when the Green Corn Dance itself is danced the first time the evening of Court Day. East of the dance fire but within the dance circle, is a large log about 4 feet long. The dance leader, one of the older, experienced men, seats himself on this log with his rattle. The dancers, instead of forming in front of the tchod-ko thloc-ko, form on the opposite side of the dance circle facing him. The women, in this case, come in from the palmettos and join the dance before it starts. When the dancers have been instructed, the leader from his seat starts the cadence with his rattle and the chant with his voice. When the end of the movement comes, he signals the stopping point when the leading end of the dancing group is in front of him. He now instructs for the next movement and that is danced, and so on until the dance is ended.
THE DANCES

All the dances up to midnight of the last night are "fun" dances and have no ritualistic significance. There may be an exception in the Feather Dance, when that is danced every few years on Court Day. Josie Billy, however, has assured me the purpose of the Feather Dance is to keep the men awake on a day of significant fasting and purification. The formality of the preparation for this dance inclines me to believe there is much more to it than that.

The fundamental dance that runs through each evening of dancing and accounts for more than half the numbers, is called "just dance." For the men, it is the characteristic double step of the Indian dance, which can be whipped up into a stomp by the dance boss. The song seems to be left largely to the discretion of the leader. He makes it up as he goes along. Since it is fundamentally simple, the younger men often lead it, leaving the more intricate dances to the elders.

Most of the dances are nature dances, based on the actions of some animal with which they are familiar. Their favorite of all dances is the Catfish Dance, in the characteristic phase of which the arm from the elbow makes circles like a wheel, in imitation of the catfish's fins, as the Indian man curls out from the line and makes a close circle to the right.

The Alligator Dance is similarly spectacular. At a certain point and while dancing, everyone suddenly faces to the right, and the men take the women by the shoulders and sway them back and forth. Both ranks then face completely about and the women take the men by the shoulders and sway them back and forth. The undulating line of dancers looks uncannily like a writhing alligator.

The Buffalo Dance I have seen danced always in the afternoon. In this dance the imitative work is done by the leader. The best leader of this dance, in my opinion, is the Medicine Man himself, Sam Jones. Years ago, when I saw him lead it, he held a small tom-tom in the crotch of his left arm against his body and beat it with a small padded stick. For much of the dance he danced backward, beating out the rhythm with the tom-tom, pawing the ground, snorting, and tossing his head. This is the only dance in which I have seen a tom-tom used. On one occasion, one of the Trail Indians left the dance ground during the dance and came back with his rifle, which he fired in the air at intervals during the rest of the dance.

Another favorite is the Steal Dance, in which one of the boys dancing in the rear of the line, sneaks swiftly up to the front of the line, seizes one of the girls by the arm, and dashes back to join the dance again with his new partner. The one now bereft then steals a partner of his own. Another is the Gun Dance in which the character-
istic action is aiming and firing a gun. Among other dances are the Woodpecker Dance, the Screech Owl Dance, the Quail Dance, and the Chicken Dance.

The Medicine Man does not dance in the evening dances. He does dance in the afternoon, as leader and to instruct. Very often in the afternoon, one of the older Indians will be teaching the children one of the dances. Children as young as 6 or 7 years take part in the evening dances, and even younger children take part in the afternoon, learning the dances.

The Medicine Man usually sits on the back log in the tchoc-ko thloc-ko, leaning against one of the uprights. Others of the older men sit in the tchoc-ko thloc-ko and on the log adjacent to it, or logs, if there are more than one, and the male dancers return to it between dances. The Dance Boss is on his feet most of the time. He does not dance himself. He may hold a switch or stick as a mark of authority. He often throws logs on the fire, though this is the particular job of the helpers.

There is naturally more or less passing to and fro along the paths that lead through the palmettos between the dance ground and the clan camps. With a moon so new, the nights are dark, but the Indians rarely carry a light. The light from the dance fire is a great help, especially when going in that direction. For the rest, after a little while you have an instinctive idea of where the path is. Apropos of this, I was walking with one of the Indians along one of the paths, when he made this trenchant comment, "Not walk so fast, snake not hit you." Needless to say, my progress from then on was very sedate, although I have never heard of an Indian being "hit" under these circumstances.

The dancing usually lasts 2 or 3 hours on ordinary nights, and then the last die-hards go back to the camps, the last bed canopies go up and the last lanterns go out, the fires die down, and the life of the camps is frozen in sleep. Only the dogs in a mad, yelping pack race from camp to camp; the little night frogs whistle; and now and then a screech owl's tremulo breaks the night.

It is a never-to-be-forgotten sight—the Green Corn Dance grounds at night. In the camps, the huts, gray-walled with the bed canopies, are motionless, silent and ghostlike in the almost-dark. Yet you know that life is there behind the sheerest of walls. You know it is there from the occasional cry of a child and the low, quieting murmur of the mother. Down at the dance ground the dying dance fire sends up a momentary Vesuvius of sparks as a log falls apart, and above are the diamond-bright stars of the incredible Florida night.
PICNIC DAY

Picnic Day is the first break in the routine. This is the big feast day for which the Medicine Man provides the meat. Probably in the old days, he killed three or four deer. Today he buys one or two beefs, kills and butchers them himself, and divides the meat among the different camps. He is helped in this by contributions.

Picnic Day is also the time for new thatching on the tchoc-ko thloc-ko and new plumes of pine or new green branches at the corners. Pine plumes were the decoration when I first went to the Green Corn Dance. Today the tchoc-ko thloc-ko roof is edged with sweet bay. Picnic Day is a day of feasting against the morrow when no man may eat. All day long food is brought to the tchoc-ko thloc-ko and the men gorge themselves. All day long there are pans and kettles full on the ground between the log seats, and these are replenished as they are emptied. Women of all the camps and families keep up the supply indiscriminately. But still the taboo against the women is maintained. They may not come on the dance ground or into the tchoc-ko thloc-ko. They bring the food down to the dance ground and leave it there at the edge. It is brought in by the men. The women stand outside and indicate which of the empty dishes belong to them, and the dishes are handed out by the men for replenishing.

Dancing on Picnic Day lasts until full midnight. When the men are not dancing, they are eating, and the efforts of some of the men to get the last mouthfuls of food and the women to get the empty dishes when the day's dance is over, almost results in a tug of war. Then the camp settles down for the night. The preliminaries are over. The serious business of the Green Corn Dance will begin in the morning.

COURT DAY

Court Day dawns. The first gray in the east shows about 5 o'clock at this season of the year. With it, the Medicine Man is up and about. He alerts his assistant or assistants. The Miccosuki name is ka-a-pox-shee (tomorrow) ee-ma-shat-see or ee-ma-shwa (stay with) (or stay with all night). At the present time, Sam Jones' three brothers all act as his assistants to a greater or less degree. For a great many years, Oscar Hoe was the principal and, at times, the only assistant. It was generally understood that he would be next to have the Medicine Bundle. The last couple of years, though, Frank Shore, another brother, has taken the most prominent part, and it is expected now that he will be the next Medicine Man. Charlie Micco has played a minor role. One or two of these brothers will sit beside Sam Jones behind the Medicine fire all night of Court Day—hence the name "stay with all night."
The three men, Frank Shore, Sam Jones, and Oscar Hoe, with the Medicine Man in the middle, walk abreast from the Bird Clan camp to the dance ground, across it and on, approximately 175 yards to the marsh, where they strip and bathe, facing the east, and the Medicine Man rubs the water on his body and sings the song asking sa-kee tom-mas-see to keep the medicine from harming him, and to let him use it for the good of the Indians. They resume their clothes, and the assistant (in this case, Frank Shore) goes on to the east and out of sight, taking with him an empty deerskin. He has gone for the Medicine Bundle. The other two return to camp.

In the meantime, the two boys—the Medicine Man’s helpers—are beginning the preparation of the two morning Black Drinks. The ingredients have already been assembled and are under palmetto leaves to the northeast of the dance circle. The first of these is pa-sa (Creek) or pa-see (Miccosuki). This is *Eryngium synchaetum*, the button snakeroot. This herb is used by the Seminole in many ways. It is a heart medicine, and is also used by the Medicine Man in his treatment of a criminal who has been outlawed and wishes to regain his normal place in the tribe. It is used by the Medicine Man to insure life. That is, if anyone will eat three roots given him by the Medicine Man with appropriate ceremonies, he will not die within 5 years. This plant has been brought in whole in bundles, the stem with attached leaves and fruit, roots, and tubers. The tubers are cut off with a hatchet and chopped up. They are put in a pot with cold water, the cold infusion making the first Black Drink.

This made, they start the second Black Drink, made of a cold infusion of the inner bark of the willow, *Salix amphibia*. The Cow Creeks call this black drink, ac-wa-nah; the Miccosuki, o-kee box-see (medicine water). The willow is brought to the dance ground in the form of a green log about 3½ feet long and about 6 inches in diameter. The outer bark is first removed from almost all of the log in long, narrow strips. Then the inner bark is taken off in long, narrow strips and the pot is lined with these, placed vertically around the inside. Then water is poured in and allowed to stand.

Prayers are blown in this Black Drink, but not in the first one of button snakeroot. This is done through a hollow reed about 3 feet long. Any hollow stem may be used but usually it is that of the cattail. This is wound with three strips of red cloth, one at the end and two others equidistant up the stem, but leaving about 6 inches at the mouth end unwound.

Ideas differ as to the meaning of this red cloth. One Indian said to me, “Some people think it means ‘Red People’ but I think it means ‘blood.’” He was probably right. One of the Medicine Men assured me it is to make the Black Drink prevent “female diseases.” Of
course it is not to prevent "female diseases" in women, because they do not take the Black Drink. It is to prevent "female diseases" in men.

With the Seminole, blood is associated with women because of their menses. For example, when a friend of mine had a bloody flux, the Medicine Man told him he had a woman's disease and would have to be treated by the old women. He went back to the old home camp and his mother doctored him. Thus the old women doctor all female diseases when they are suffered by either men or women, and the Medicine Man or the plain "doctor" treats both men and women for all regular diseases. Herein is also the reason that the women do not have to go through the purification ceremonies as the men do. They purify themselves every month.

The Medicine Man's assistant (in this case, Oscar Hoe) stands by the two helpers. He also blows prayers in the Black Drink. And so may the Medicine Man. Josie Billy, former Medicine Man from the Trail, told me he named over each part of the body and blew the name into the Black Drink; when the Indian rubs it over each part it will be a preventative for anything affecting that part. The Medicine Man himself stands where he can watch the preparation of the two Black Drinks and sees that it is done correctly.

Once you have seen a stripped willow log that has been used to make medicine, you cannot mistake it. Once, leaving one of the Big Cypress camps, I came on such a log. I held it up and called back, "You been making Medicine?" They nodded, "Yes." I mentioned it in another camp a little later. "That's right," I was told. "Jes' been a baby born that camp." So, obviously, the "medicine water" is used in childbirth.

An important point for the Medicine Man's assistants and helpers is, when they turn around, always to turn to the left. "Always got to turn around one way. Turn like this [turns to left]. If they turn around like this [turns to right], maybe make everybody crazy. es-te-fas-ta watchin' all the time. See 'em turn like this [turns to right], say, 'All right, make everybody crazy' [sweeps his hand].

"Dance same way. Always dance one way around fire, Big Country in North, Little Country in South. Always dance from Big Country to Little Country." This results, of course, in the dancers and the dance line continually turning to the left about the fire.

THE MEDICINE BUNDLE

In the meantime the Medicine Man's other brother, Frank Shore, the next-to-be Medicine Man, has come back onto the dance ground. He has the Medicine Bundle. It is in the deerskin, folded loosely over into a covered basket form, the legs, crossed and tied, making
the handle. And Frank Shore is carrying it by this handle. I have seen Sam Jones, the Medicine Man, himself bring in the Medicine in a tight bundle, clasping it in his arms. That was years ago. Now he has a successor nearly ready and turns more duties over to him.

The Medicine Bundle is put down just off the dance circle, directly to the east. The Medicine Man’s assistant (or the Medicine Man) squats down in front of it facing east, and begins to examine the different packages it contains. In each case, the buckskin thong must be unwound; the buckskin package opened; the Medicine examined; the package closed, rewound with the thong, and placed in a deerskin. There is a transfer here from the Bundle to another deerskin.

At this point the actors are disposed as follows: To the northeast of the dance circle the two helpers and one of the Medicine Man’s assistants are making the two Black Drinks. To the east of the dance circle, the Medicine Man’s other assistant is examining the Medicine in the Bundle. The Medicine Man himself stands between the two groups. There are a number of men in the tchoc-ko thloc-ko; some have gone down to the marsh to bathe; some are standing by one or the other of the Medicine groups watching.

Now the Medicine Man goes over to the assistant who is going over the Medicine, squats down beside him on his left and begins to go over the Medicine with him.

When the two helpers and the assistant who have been making the two Black Drinks finish, they spread palmetto fans just off the dance circle where they have been working, and put on them the pots of Black Drink and several cups which they have thoroughly washed.

When the Medicine Man and his other assistant finish going over the packages of Medicine, the deerskin is folded in loosely, hair side out, and the legs tied again to make a handle. A 6-inch branch of wood about 6 feet long with a fork near the top, is worked into the ground until it is firmly set. In 1949, the forked stick from the previous year was still in place. It was worked in more firmly, however, and braced with stones and a log. The Medicine Bundle is hung on the fork, where it will remain until evening. The Medicine is “out.”

It is now about 6 o’clock and the first phase is over.

**SCRATCHING THE BOYS**

While the men must fast from the midnight that ends Picnic Day to the end of the ceremonies at sunrise the second day following (approximately 30 hours), the small boys are not expected to. They come down to the dance ground and each is given a plant of pa-sa. He takes this back to camp and makes his own Black Drink. This he rubs over his body; an older man gives him a token scratching with needles, and he can eat.
All males must be scratched. This purifies the blood and protects the Indian from blood poison during the year to come. The men are scratched thoroughly and purposefully. Probably it was done in the first place with animal claws or snake fangs because each stroke leaves several parallel marks as though an animal had done the scratching. When I first knew about it, it was done with ordinary steel sewing needles held between the thumb and first finger. Three were as many as most men could manage, but an expert could hold four. Today these needles are run through a little block of wood, and there may be six. Greenlee heard of teeth of garfish set in bone being used, but I have never seen or heard of it otherwise.

Most of the men will be scratched the next morning, but a man can be scratched on Court Day, particularly if he cannot be there the next day.

The boy babies are scratched at the tchoc-ko thloc-ko, and several of the older men, including the Medicine Man and his assistants officiate. The mothers bring their children down from the clan camps and wait out in the palmettos, since the dance ground and tchoc-ko thloc-ko are taboo to them. The younger men go out and bring the children in. Babies in arms they carry, but the toddlers are led in by the hand. The scratching of the children is very light. "Just scratch a little bit," said Sam Jones, speaking of the babies, and he traced a minute cross on the back of his hand. As soon as a child can walk, he is scratched on the foot also. The children cry vociferously, but it is more from fright than hurt, because once a child is put down he shuts up like a faucet and toddlers happily about. Once scratched, the children are returned to their mothers and taken back to camp.

The older boys, those old enough to take part in the dancing, are scratched as completely as the men, but not as deeply. By this time the boy's pride has developed to the point that he is ashamed to show hurt or fear. He walks boldly up to the scratching and takes it like the man he considers himself. One of John Osceola's grandchildren, a youngster of about 5, was playing with his grandfather when I visited the camp in September. I asked the boy if he had been to the Green Corn Dance, which had been in early July. His grandfather answered by pushing back his sleeve and showing the scratch marks on his arm. Incidentally, you can always tell, for several months thereafter, when a Seminole has been to the Green Corn Dance. The scratch marks will show below his sleeve.

The incident above illustrates another phase of Seminole life, the affection for children. Men will play for an hour at a time with a child or grandchild and never seem annoyed to have children about.
THE FEATHER DANCE

Every 3 or 4 years, at least, the Feather Dance is danced. One Indian told me he thought it started as an effort of the Bird Clan to make their clan totem a god. Josie Billy, the former Medicine Man, insists that it has no significance, that it is merely a "Day Dance" like the Buffalo Dance, and that its purpose is to keep the men awake, who, otherwise, would tend to sleep all day.

However, it differs from the Buffalo Dance in several respects. The Buffalo Dance is danced several times during the Green Corn Dance every year. The Feather Dance is not danced every year, but it must not be allowed to go 4 years without being danced. The Buffalo Dance is informal and is danced casually. The Feather Dance is very formal, is danced according to a rigid pattern, and is full of ritual. It is difficult, exhausting, and an extremely long dance. It does not seem possible that such effort would be expended merely to keep the men awake. And if so, why isn’t it danced every year?

Whenever I have seen the Feather Dance danced, Nahaw Tiger has been dance director. Usually the bird, a white heron, is killed and brought in the day before. In 1949, however, the Medicine Man told me the evening before there would be no Feather Dance the next day because the boys had not been able to kill a bird. Later in the evening I was told there would be a Feather Dance—that the boys were going out first thing in the morning to get a bird. Finally, Nahaw Tiger stood up in the tchoc-ko thloc-ko late in the evening of Picnic Day and announced in a long and formal speech that the Feather Dance would be danced the next day.

Jack Smith, one of the young men, went down to bathe with the Medicine Man’s party the first thing the morning of Court Day. Later he went out of camp with something round done up in a white cloth over his shoulder. About half an hour later he came back carrying a Ward’s heron by the neck. “Couldn’t get a white bird,” the Indians explained. “He got a gray one.” He had shot it, but he did not take a gun with him, nor did he have one when he came back. The heron was hung by a cord about its neck to the southeast corner of the tchoc-ko thloc-ko.

At this point a deerskin tanned with the hair on was necessary, but none had been provided nor was there one in any of the camps. So four of us drove 20 miles to Tom Smith’s camp and got one. When we came back, the heron had been moved to the center of the east side of the tchoc-ko thloc-ko. The deerskin is spread, hair side down, in front of the center of the tchoc-ko thloc-ko. The heron is taken down and put on it. Now one of the men begins to pluck some of the medium-sized feathers of the bird.
In the meantime some sixty saplings about 10 feet long have been chopped off roughly and trimmed of leaves. One or two feathers are tied loosely to the small end of each of these and the butts are trimmed. They are leaned against the thloc-ko thloc-ko.

The neck of the heron is skinned up to the head and the head is cut off with the neck skin attached. This is run on a pole about 6 feet long. The body of the heron remains on the deerskin for some time, but finally it is taken up and thrown on top of the thloc-ko thloc-ko.

Just before 10 o'clock, Eli Morgan and Frank Shore sweep the dance path with long leafy branches which are then thrown on top of the thloc-ko thloc-ko. Shortly after 10 o'clock, Nahaw Tiger takes the pole with the heron's neck and head and, holding it in front of him with both hands, vertically, with the beak to the front, he advances from the thloc-ko thloc-ko east across the dance circle to the far side. He stands there, holding the pole before him and gives four, loud, spaced whoops. Then he returns to the thloc-ko thloc-ko. He repeats this at 5-minute intervals until he has done it four times. Sometimes he is answered by whoops from the distant camps.

Almost immediately after the last call, the men begin to line up in front of the thloc-ko thloc-ko for the dance. Two men divide the bundle of poles with the fluttering feathers. The pole with the heron's head is in one bundle. They are the men who have earlier swept the dance floor, Eli Morgan and Frank Shore. Each carries his bundle of poles under his arm and gives one to each dancer as he joins the dance. Only the men dance.

The dance in 1946 was led by Sam Jones and Oscar Hoe, the Medicine Man and his assistant. In 1949, it was led by Frank Tommie and George Osceola, neither of whom has any official position. The two leaders stand facing the thloc-ko thloc-ko at the south corner, one behind the other. The dancers line up in two ranks to the north.

The two leaders now face to the south and Frank Tommie (Sam Jones, in 1946) intones a chant, the two leaders beating with their rattles against the palms of their left hands for the rhythm, and the dancers repeating each phrase as it is finished. The leaders, followed by the double rank of dancers, slowly dance to the south position, the two men with the extra poles bringing up the rear. Here the two leaders raise their rattles above their heads and shake them, slowly turning in their tracks until they are facing the dancers. The whole line is marking time. The two leaders bring their rattles down again, beating them as before and Frank Tommie goes on with the song, the line holding its place and marking time.

The dancers are holding their poles vertically in their outside arms, the outside dancers, in their right arms; the inside, in their left. The
women are watching from the edge of the camps, sitting on the nearest floors or in the palmettos. They, of course, cannot come on the dance ground. They seem to show more interest in this dance than in any other phase of the ceremonies.

The line, with the two leaders facing backward and everyone marking time, continues in the south position until the song is finished, which is indicated by the leaders raising their rattles above their heads and shaking them. There are several shrill whoops from the dancers. Then the leaders face about, start the song again and lead the dancers to the east point of the dance circle. Here they face about again, the line marks time, and the whole procedure is repeated. The dancers tour the four cardinal points of the compass four times, ending at the west.

Now a change takes place. Frank Tommie leaves his position beside George Osceola at the head of the line and goes and stands at the south position facing back at the dancers who are held marking time at the west position. He shakes his rattle and the line, led by George Osceola, dances slowly toward him. When it reaches him, George Osceola takes his place beside him, but the double line does not stop. It divides and passes the two leaders. Then each line turns in, one inside the other, and they both circle the leaders and dance back in the direction from which they have come. About halfway back to the west position the lines again turn in on themselves and dance toward the two leaders. When the lines reach the leaders the rattles are shaken in the air and the movement ends with staccato whoops. This is repeated at each of the cardinal positions and the dance is over. It has lasted about 40 minutes.

The Feather Dance is danced four times in the course of the day. In 1946, it was danced at approximately 9 and 10 in the morning and twice in the afternoon. In 1949, owing to the delay in getting the bird and lack of preparation because of the uncertainty, the morning dances were delayed about an hour.

**THE BLACK DRINKS**

The taking of the Black Drinks follows the first dancing of the Feather Dance. Both infusions are drunk and both are rubbed on all parts of the body. Both are powerful emetics, so the system is completely emptied. This effect, however, does not take place in public. The men always seem to be able to reach a spot of privacy. If there is no Feather Dance, as is usually the case, the Black Drinks are taken earlier.

About noon is the big public meeting at the tchoc-ko thloc-ko. At all times during the Green Corn Dance, especially the last 2 days, there are men at the tchoc-ko thloc-ko. It is sort of a clubhouse where
the men of all clans meet. At the big noon meeting on Court Day, however, all the men are present. The three or four elders who govern the group are all in the tcchoc-ko thloc-ko. Others are sitting on the logs, and those for whom there is no more room, are standing by. All males are present even to small boys.

**CRIME AND THE COURT**

It is at this time that charges are brought against anyone who has committed a crime. The Seminole attitude toward crime is remarkably advanced. Briefly their attitude is this. It is to a man's advantage to belong to a social group, but he must pay for that advantage by conforming to the laws of that group. These laws are for the good of the group and therefore for the good of each individual of that group. And if a man breaks those laws he is acting against his own good. Therefore that man is not vicious—he is crazy.

Now a man who is crazy is a menace to the group. If, for example, he were to take the Black Drink with them, others might catch his craziness. He is, therefore, excluded from all rituals and ceremonies until such time as he may demonstrate that he has returned to a normal state of mind. No one forces him to his rehabilitation. It is a voluntary act on his part, and at any time he may withdraw. But in that case he remains an outlaw.

If he decides to regain his membership in society, he puts himself in the hands of the Medicine Man who takes him to some solitary place and puts him through a series of tests to break down his antisocial tendencies and demonstrate that he is willing to conform again. For example, the Medicine Man offers him a root of pa-sa and says, "You want to eat this"? If he says "No," the Medicine Man whips him. Then he says again, "You want to eat this"? If he says "No," he is whipped again. This is continued until he takes the root willingly and eats it, or until he refuses to go on with the test.

As another instance, the Medicine Man may prepare a little low hut and tell his patient to lie down in it and not move until he gets back. He goes away and may come back in 15 minutes or 3 days. He may even keep the man in the hut in sight all the time he is gone; but when the Medicine Man comes back, if there is any change of position or if he has seen the man move, the Medicine Man says, "All right. You move. You come out." And he whips him. But when at last the man obeys the Medicine Man in everything and without question, it is assumed that he has returned to sanity. He may now return to his normal life and take part in all the functions of the group.

If a man commits a serious crime and by his attitude shows there
is no chance of reform, he is outlawed and may be killed by anyone—red, white, or black—and there will be no retaliation by the Indians. Or he may be killed out of hand. Society must be protected from him.

The incident of Charlie Emathla, just before the Seminole War flared in 1835, is an excellent example of this. The Government wanted the Indians to sell their cattle and move to Arkansas. The larger number of Indians, however, sparked particularly by Osceola and the young hotheads, had decided that no Indian must do it. If one did, he was promised a speedy and inevitable death.

Charlie Emathla, one of the older Indians, and one who was in favor of conciliation, did sell his cattle and was bringing his people in for transfer to the West, when they were met on the road by a delegation headed by Osceola. Charlie Emathla was killed and his body left for the wolves. The money for his cattle, which was found tied in a dirty handkerchief, Osceola threw into the bushes with the statement that it represented Indian blood. Charlie Emathla’s skeleton lay there for 2 years until it was finally buried by the Whites. No Indian would touch it.

A recent case was that of Johnny Billy. He was executed by the tribe in 1938. On two different occasions, when drunk, he had killed a man. In each case the victim was a member of the Tiger Clan. Each time he was outlawed and turned over to the Tiger Clan for disposal. Both times the fact that he was drunk and not in possession of his senses was taken into consideration, and he was allowed to live because it was felt that he would reform and become a useful member of society; but he did not ask to be rehabilitated, and he remained an outlaw who could take no part in the ceremonies of the tribe. Finally, early in 1938, Johnny Billy beat a pregnant woman, and the Tiger Clan moved into action. The old men met and agreed that Johnny Billy had shown that he was now beyond the hope of reform and for the good of the tribe should be executed. This duty fell on the senior male member of the clan, John Osceola, 80 years old and almost a helpless invalid. His son, Billy Osceola, took him out to Big Cypress to see Cuffney Tiger, who was then Medicine Man. He told the Medicine Man what the Tiger Clan had decided, and Cuffney Tiger gave him some special tobacco to smoke when the execution was over so he would not go crazy. You will go crazy if you kill a man under whatever conditions, unless you take proper precautions afterward.

Jimmy Osceola now drove his father to the Musa Isle camp, where Johnny Billy was living. Jimmy helped his father out of the car, propped him against the car, and handed him his loaded shotgun. Then he went into the camp and summoned Johnny Billy. Johnny Billy knew well what was going to happen, but he walked straight
up to the old man and took the shotgun charge in his chest. Jimmy helped the old man back in the car and drove him home, leaving the body of Johnny Billy for the White man to bury. No Indian would touch it.

John Osceola was driven home, where he sat on his chick-ee floor and smoked the Medicine tobacco, while members of the tribe brought him presents to show that they approved of what he had done. The White authorities took no action against John Osceola beyond a routine investigation that showed it was a case of tribal justice.

STATE OF THE NATION

Noon in the tchoc-ko thloc-ko on Court Day is also the time for formal discussion of problems that confront the group or the tribe. In 1946, for example, the subject that was vehemently discussed was a Creek Indian who had established himself at Dania as a missionary and was forbidding his converts to attend any tribal function.

Discussions at this time are formal. The speaker starts with the traditional address, "Staos"! (corresponding to "Ladies and Gentlemen"!) And his hearers signify agreement with an ejaculated "Ho!" or "Yes."

Influential members of the other groups are usually present at each Green Corn Dance—often the Medicine Man himself—and their opinion is always sought. Thus the idea of each group is carried to the others and the groups are kept in agreement.

COURT DAY AFTERNOON

The afternoon of Court Day has a less rigid schedule. More of the two cold Black Drinks may be brewed and the older of the young boys take them at the dance ground, drinking them and rubbing them on their legs and arms. They may then be scratched at the tchoc-ko thloc-ko—but lightly—and then they may eat. The 30-hour fast is considered too long for them.

The Feather Dance, if it is being danced that year, is danced twice in the afternoon. The Buffalo Dance is always danced. On Court Day afternoon it is quite usual to see one of the older men with a group of the very small children at the dance ground, teaching them one or the other of the dances. The children learn the dances early, and most of the day and early evening dances (except the Feather Dance) have youngsters of 4 or 5 bringing up the tail end.

The men are likely to do quite a bit of sleeping in the afternoon when no official dancing is in progress. The women are doing some cooking, for they can eat, and they also prepare food for the boys who have completed their ritual. Between 4:30 and 6 in the evening,
the men march out with axes and begin chopping wood for the dance fire. Scattered here and there, not too far from the dance ground, are dead pines standing, and down timber, and these are chopped into lengths suitable for carrying. The men bring these in, marching single file and singing, their shoulders protected by palmetto fans. The Medicine Man stands by and directs the piling, sending them back for load after load until he thinks enough has been piled to the north of the dance fire, to last the full night of dancing.

Sometimes the ball game is played before the wood is brought in, sometimes after. There seems to be no exact rule. The ball game usually starts with some of the boys gathering at the vacant dance ground and throwing the ball at the pole. They are joined by older boys with rackets who begin practicing. Then some of the smaller girls join in. Pretty soon some of the older girls drift down from the clan camps. And before you know it, a full-fledged ball game is in progress with a scorekeeper standing by the pole and two mixed groups of boys and girls swinging around the pole and playing in deadly earnest.

In the meantime, in the clan camps, the women are dressing for the big event—combing their hair over the great disks of cardboard in the current fashion, fixing their leg rattles, and putting on their newest and brightest finery.

In the past 15 years there has been a marked decrease in the number of the older women who take part in the actual dancing. But it is very important for the young, marriageable girls to take part, both in the dancing and in the ball game. They are at their glamorous peak—the boys the most susceptible. And there is no question that the physical contact and excitement of the ball game is a matrimonial incentive.

The older men, of course, are an essential part of the dance. Without them it would be impossible. They know the routine, and the songs and it is necessary for one of them either to lead the dance or, in the case of the more intricate dances, to direct from a seat on the log to the east of the fire, between it and the dance path circle. More than anyone else, they realize the importance of taking part in the rituals, and there is always a good leavening of the older men in every dance.

It is interesting to notice that in the years when there is a great predominance of young, inexperienced dancers, few of the difficult dances are called, and the program is an almost unbroken sequence of "Just Dance," a dance of a simple double step with the song extemporaneous on the part of the leader.

Shortly before 7 o'clock the women in the clan camps have their
evening meal. Some of the men are in the tchoc-ko thloc-ko talking, others are in the camps sleeping or visiting. Some may even be undergoing the scratching, if they are unable to take part in the ritual the next morning.

THE LAST NIGHT

About twilight, the Medicine Man and his assistant begin preparing the place to the east of the dance circle where they will sit out the night. They clear off all grass, level the ground, and finally sweep it with branches.

The poles for the sweat bath, two long, limber saplings, are brought in by the Medicine Man’s helpers unless they are available from the previous year. These are put down near the pole where the Medicine hangs.

A fire is now laid for the Medicine Man. This is hil-eesh-wa (medicine) en-tot-ka (fire) (Creek); eet-ka-hee (fire) (Miccosuki). This Miccosuki radical for “fire” is used only for the Medicine Fire. The usual fire radical is ee-mec-tee. Four logs, one side round and one split off square, each about 3 feet long and 6 inches in diameter, are laid parallel in front of the Medicine Man’s place, making a square. Kindlings of lightwood about half an inch thick are laid handy.

In the meantime, the Medicine Man’s assistant has gone over to the Medicine Bundle. He stands in front of it about 2 feet away. The movement of his shoulders shows that he is lifting his hands repeatedly as though addressing the Medicine. He steps nearer and repeats his actions. Then he takes a little buckskin package out of the bundle and carries it over to the newly laid fire. It is the fire flint. It is opened and the boys proceed to start the fire with it. Suddenly there is a little column of smoke and then a spread. One of the boys fans it with his hat. Lightwood is added, and the Medicine Fire is going. The flint is done up again in its package and it is placed against the logs on the east side of the fire.

The Medicine Man’s assistant goes back to the Medicine Bundle where it hangs on the stake, and stands about 3 feet in front of it. Every now and then he bows his head in a slow nod. His shoulders lift as though he were lifting his hands to his mouth. He turns and spits as though he were spitting out seeds or something. He steps nearer and repeats his actions. He seems to be either praying or addressing the Medicine. My impression is that he is doing the latter. He then lifts the Medicine Bundle off the stake and brings it to the fire, putting it about 4 feet east of the fire on a cloth that has been spread for it.

The thong which was tied around the legs of the deerskin and by which it was hung on the stake is taken off and the deerskin gradually
opened, the Medicine Man's assistant kneeling in front of it and doing the opening, while the Medicine Man stands by. The fire-making stone is put back in.

The assistant goes off in the direction of the camp of the Little Bird Clan. The Medicine Man opens the cloth he is holding. It is about 5 or 6 feet square, dark gray from use. He folds it over once and spreads it between the Medicine and the fire. It is for the Medicine Man and his assistants to sit on. He will sit there all night long between his two brothers.

The Medicine Man's assistant comes back from the Deer Clan camp, the opposite direction from that in which he left. He has made a round of the camps and has collected the private Medicine of various Indians in the camps. This is put, not in the deerskin, but just in front of it and against it. Each Medicine is in a little bundle. The tribal Medicine is now in the deerskin, half of which is on the ground and the other half turned over and covering the Medicine, the open side toward the fire. Later it will be covered with a small tarp, but lightly so that the deerskin and the bundles can be seen.

The two helpers bring up white-enamedled pails and put them on the dance circle side of the fire with cups to drink from. They also bring up some bundles of pa-sa and put them by the pails, and a handful of palmetto fronds and a prayer reed wound with red cloth. These are put on the dance-circle side of the fire with the pails and cups.

The Medicine Man leaves the dance circle for a little time. When he returns he has another tarpaulin and a little white-cloth bag. My guess is that this is the "white root" that comes from Oklahoma and is a necessary ingredient in the third Black Drink that is about to be mixed. This is the one element that the helpers do not find, and in a moment they will bring up the rest of the ingredients.

Nahaw Tiger and some of the others have come down to the dance ground from the clan camps with their private Medicine, and are standing by the Medicine Man's fire. The helpers take this Medicine and put it with the other private Medicine against the Medicine Bundle. The Medicine Man puts all the private Medicine inside the Bundle and sits down.

Now the helpers bring up the ingredients for the third Black Drink which they have previously collected. These are arranged against the logs of the Medicine Fire on the side toward the Medicine Man. They include willow roots, the inner bark of which will be used as in the earlier cold Black Drink, and pa-sa, from which Black Drink No. 1 was made.

\[1\text{ From a recent description I had of this root I am sure it is ginseng.―L. C.}\]
THE BIG POT DRINK

This is the boiled Black Drink—ah-lish (pot) thloc-ko (big) ish-kee-ta (drink) (Cow Creek); ai-yicks (medicine) ta-na-kee-kee (all kinds together) (Micosuki). It is the preventive medicine for most of the diseases to which the Indian is subject, with the emphasis on those which the Medicine Man thinks are the greatest menace that particular year. There are 14 or 15 different ingredients. These are gathered during the early days of the dance by the helpers, and the number used depends on their ability to find the proper herbs. Josie Billy, former Medicine Man, said that the boys now do not know all of them and don't try them.

This Black Drink boils until midnight and then it is taken four times. It is swallowed but must not be retained. If it does not come up naturally, the Indian must force himself to vomit. The last of this last Black Drink is emptied on the sweat-bath stones the next morning. Of course, many of the ingredients disintegrate in the boiling, but woody structures and some leaves persist. A classification of the ingredients left intact at the Cow Creek dance in 1949 showed six distinct shrubs, as follows:

(1) St. John's wort (Hypericum aspalathoides)—wee-ah-ko-chee (Cow Creek), a-posh-shee-ka-yee (Micosuki).
(2) Red bay (Persea borbonia)—too-la (Cow Creek), too-lee (Micosuki).
(3) Blueberry (Vaccinium myrsinites)—tsa-fuck-in-a (Cow Creek), o-luck-ee (Micosuki).

And three of the grape family:
(4) Cissus sicyoides—chu-los sho-a-kee (Cow Creek), tsuk-ko-chee (Micosuki).
(5) Vitis rotundifolia—so-losh-ka (Cow Creek), tsuk-ko-chee (Micosuki).
(6) Vitis caribaea.

Other medicines that may be used are:
Sweet bay (Magnolia virginiana)—too-la hat-ka (Cow Creek), too-lat-kee (Micosuki). (Note that both languages use the name for red bay plus the radical for white.)
Rabbit tobacco (Pierocaulon undulatum).

There is also used a root that does not grow in Florida but has to be brought from Oklahoma. It is known in each language as "White Medicine"—hil-eesh hat-kee (Cow Creek), ai-yicks hat-kee (Micosuki). I am convinced this is ginseng.

DANCE ALL NIGHT

It is almost dark. The Medicine Man and his assistants are taking the earlier Black Drink from the pails and rubbing it on themselves; so are some of the other men. The Medicine Man and his two assistants go back of the Medicine Man's fire and sit down. It is now about 8 o'clock. A few minutes later the men go to the thloc-ko thloc-ko and sit down. Shortly, the dance begins.
On this last night, the dancing will go on until morning. The Medicine Man has little sticks of wood, a little longer and a little thinner than match sticks. With these he keeps track of the dancing, sticking one in the ground for each dance and arranging them in orderly rows in front of him. By morning he has quite an array of them.

Up to midnight, the dances are the usual “fun” dances. At midnight the boiled Black Drink is taken again and again until it has been taken four times. The effects are not visible, because they take place in the darkness back of the Medicine Man and to the east of the dance fire. At midnight the Green Corn Dance itself is danced for the first time. It is repeated several times before morning, interlarded with the various “fun” dances.

This is the chant for the Green Corn Dance, sung for me in 1936 by Ben Tommie, whom I have seen lead it several times. Each line is sung first by the leader as he dances, and then repeated by the dancers:

*Song of the Green Corn Dance*

Yo-eeyo-o
Yo-eeyo-o
He-wao-hui
He-wao-hui
Who-he
Who-he
We-he-who-he
We-he-who-he
O-he-ya
O-he-ya
Yo-we-ya
Yo-we-ya
O-he-ya
O-he-ya
Yo-we-he-ya
Yo-we-he-ya
Wa-he-yeo-a
Wa-he-yeo-a
Yea-he-yea
Yea-he-yea
Yeo-ho-yeo
Yeo-ho-yeo
Wa-he-yeo-a
Wa-he-yeo-a
He-eeyo
He-eeyo
Ha-he-ya
Ha-he-ya

I asked Ben Tommie what the words meant. He thought they “didn’t mean anything.” They had been taught him by Sam Jones, the Medicine Man. In 1949, I read these words to Josie Billy, the
ex-Medicine Man. He said the words were wrong and sang me another version. In neither version were any regular Seminole radicals involved. He said they did mean something, but that they were in a language now forgotten.

There is no question that, whether he knows what the words mean or not, the Seminole feels that the dance and the song are an invocation to God to protect the health of the Indian during the coming year and to strengthen the life in the Medicine. I once asked an Indian about the song. He said, "I dunno what the words say, but it make my heart feel good." And there, of course, is the secret, you might say—the secret of all religion.

It is very difficult to identify actual word radicals in Indian songs, or, at least, I have found it so with the Seminole songs. If you ask an Indian while a song is going on, "What are they saying?" his answer usually is, "Not sayin' anything—singin'." There seems to be a distinct difference between the language of the spoken word and the language of song. In the case of the Green Corn Dance song, I have yet to find an Indian who will admit knowing what the words of the song say. They all have a general idea of the meaning of the song, but its exact word meaning is something else again. A logical explanation the Indian offers is that it is in an old language now forgotten, and that when it was new the Indian did know what it said.

THE SCENE AT MIDNIGHT

The Green Corn Dance has reached its climax. But unless it is possible to evoke some of the feeling and some of the emotion of these last few hours, there is no true picture of the dance. The night is not black unless your eyes are blinded by the brilliance of the dance fire. A short distance away, the sky is gleaming with stars. The sky lightens toward the horizon line with the earth black against it, ragged here and there with trees. Back in the clan camps, fires burn low and an occasional lantern glows dully. Now and then a figure moves in the half darkness.

But the life of the tribe is centered around the dance fire which crackles and flares and sends sparks high in the air when new logs are thrown on it. It lights the brilliant figures dancing 'on the opposite side and throws those on the nearer side into sharp silhouette. It shines on the faces of the men sitting in the tchoc-ko thloc-ko and on the long log to the north. Augmented by his own fire, it lights the Medicine Man and his assistants sitting cross-legged behind their fire to the east of the dance circle.

In preparation for this night the men's bodies have been cleansed and purified. For 24 hours they have fasted and taken the powerful Black Drinks. Since daylight of the morning before, the sacred
Medicine, hidden during all the rest of the year, has been out, and now it lies in its deerskin back of the Medicine Man gathering power.

This Medicine shows God's love for the Seminole. It is his gift and holds within itself all that is needful for the good of the Seminole. It has belonged to the Seminole since there was first a Seminole on earth—God gave it to him just after he came up out of the ground. And just as he is doing now, his ancestors have done since the beginning—the same songs, the same dances, the same ritual, to keep the life and power in the Medicine.

And on this night, es-te fas-ta is certainly near, hovering above with new Medicine to put in the bundle if God thinks the Seminole needs it. It is a night of power and forces, which can be felt, and each individual is part of it.

THE FINAL MORNING

Toward morning the dancers begin to tire and the efforts of the dance boss to whip up enthusiasm and keep life in the dancing become, of necessity, more and more strenuous. Here is where the qualities of firmness, leadership, and a good sense of humor really count. I remember one year, however, when there were a great many Indians present from the Trail and Big Cypress groups, and the dancing ended in a blaze of glory. Some of the older men began bringing up the old-time and rarely used dances, and a real competition set in as one after another demanded the chance to lead some particular specialty. Everyone got in the spirit of it and the dancing lasted so late that the whole ritual was thrown out of timing.

As the first streaks of gray show in the east, the women leave the dance ground and go back to the clan camps where they begin the preparation of the feast. The actual preparation has begun previously with the grinding of the corn. This is no longer done with the hollow log and the pounding stick. The soft corn is removed from the cob and ground coarsely in a hand mill, like the old mill used for coffee, or on farms for grinding oyster shells. The hard corn is ground the same way and then winnowed in a great, round, flat basket-tray to remove the chaff. It is picked over carefully and unwanted parts pulled off with the fingernails and discarded.

The ritualistic part of the food is, of course, the corn. This is prepared as boiled ears; as sof-kee, a thin gruel of grits, the traditional drink of the Seminole; and as great biscuit, 8 to 12 inches across, made by mixing the corn with white flour, salt, baking powder, and water, and frying it in an iron skillet, spooning the hot grease over it as it bakes.

Meat is also part of the feast. This is recooked beef. Since the Indian has no refrigeration, the matter of keeping meat when he kills
a whole animal is a problem. Some meat is jerked—that is, dried in the sun. This is not very satisfactory. Florida has anything but the dry, preserving climate of the Southwest. The best solution is to remove the fat and cut the lean meat into cubes about 3 inches in size. These are run on a spear of green palmetto and cooked hard and dry. This meat may be eaten as it is, in which case it is served with a pan of hot grease in which it is dipped as eaten, to soften it and give it flavor. It will keep for weeks in even the warmest weather.

But for feasts such as the Corn Dance, it is cooked up with rice and tomatoes, which softens it, and which gives richness to the vegetables. It is eaten with a spoon. Coffee is another essential. Boiled in little, black, iron kettles, it is served with sugar only.

When the women have left the dance ground, the final purification ceremonies begin. Practically all the men are scarified at this time, the only exception being those who were “scratched” the day before. The scratching is usually of the outer skin only; deep enough to leave marks that scab over and last for weeks, but not deep enough to cause a flow of blood. The scratching may be deep, however, in which case it is usually a younger man. The scratching is being done by one of the younger bucks, and there is a good deal of laughter and banter. It is evident that he is being punished for some failure to measure up to standard.

THE SCRATCHING

The scratching consists of two long strokes on the front and two on the back of each upper arm and each lower arm; two front and two back on the thighs and two each on the lower leg; two diagonal strokes on each breast and two diagonal strokes on each side of the back. The man being scratched, of course, takes it voluntarily, but he may wince and give yi’s and yip’s of appreciation as he feels the needles. It is all good natured, however, and there is quite a bit of banter. All this exuberance and all such acknowledgment of pain are on the part of the younger men. The older men take it quite as a matter of course and with quiet seriousness.

For the scratching the men wear only some sort of a breechclout—usually a shirt twisted through their legs and around their waists. The scratching is done simultaneously by six or eight men, the older men scratching the older and the younger, the younger. The Medicine Man and his assistants, as well as the helpers, are all scratched at this time. In fact, every man not yet scratched is scratched at this time, the helpers being sent out to bring in the laggards. A man too drunk to walk is carried, one on each side, to the dance ground; his clothes are taken off and he is scratched whether or no. In such a case, the scratching seems to have quite a sobering effect.
The scratching on this last morning is not done at the tchoc-ko thloc-ko, but on the opposite side of the dance fire. Its purpose is to purify the blood and prevent blood poison. No sanitary or prophylactic measures are taken and the needles are used on one after another. But I have never seen any infection develop, local or systemic.

In the meantime the sweat bath has been prepared to the northeast of the Medicine Man’s fire. Directly to the east of the Medicine Man’s fire, the stones are heating on the sweat-bath fire—four stones about 10 inches across, of a lime conglomerate. The two long poles for the sweat bath have been provided the day before, or those from the previous year are used again. They are bent across each other in an arc and a tarpaulin is thrown over them, making a hemisphere about 8 feet in diameter, and about 4 feet high.

As mentioned previously, the sweat-bath stones are called sa-too (stone) hi-ye (hot) (Creek); tal-lee (stone) hi-ye (hot) (Miccosuki). The term for sweat bath adds the word for house—sa-too hi-yeet tchoc-ko (Creek) and tal-lee hi-ye chick-kee (Miccosuki). The term for sweat is also used—ish-mish-kkee-ta (Creek), hip-kit-kkee-kee (Miccosuki). This works out sa-too tut-ka ish-mish-kkee-ta (Creek) and tal-lee hi-yeet hip-kit-kkee-kee (Miccosuki). It will be noted that my Cow Creek informant in this case used a different word for hot.

Fifteen or twenty of the men crowd in this small space, clad in their makeshift breechclouts. They are mostly the younger men. The four heated stones are now handed in, and all the remaining Black Drink, and this last is emptied on the stones. In a moment steam curls out of all leaks in the covering, the walls billow as the men move about, and there is much laughter and talk inside the little tent. The men stay inside for about 3 or 4 minutes, and then they burst out, glistening with sweat, and make for the marsh to bathe. Those who have not taken the sweat bath also go and bathe, and for some time there is a continual procession of men on their way from the dance ground to the marsh and returning.

In the meantime, the Medicine Man has taken a little red cloth package from the Medicine Bundle and from this has taken a little pipe. He lights this and stands, facing the east and smoking it. He stands thus for a few moments, smoking, and then he sits down behind the Medicine Man’s fire, facing west, and smokes for a few minutes more. Then he puts up the pipe and turns to the Medicine Bundle.

He is now squatted down before the Medicine Bundle facing east. One by one he opens the little buckskin packages and inspects their contents. It is now he will discover whether es-te fas-ta has given him new Medicine. He will find it as he goes through the packages. Indians drift up and stand by for a while watching him, and then move away, but at all times there are several standing by. As he
comes to any of the private Medicine, he hands it up to the owner, who takes it at once to his camp and puts it back where he keeps it.

When he has finished, the Medicine Man wraps the Medicine in a different deerskin. The deerskin in which it has been for the last 24 hours is spread on top of the tchoc-ko thloc-ko. The Medicine Man now takes the Medicine Bundle and walks off to the east until he disappears in the distance.

The men, as they finish their various occupations, go and sit in the tchoc-ko thloc-ko, on the logs facing inward. The women in long, brightly colored, single-file processions, bring the food down from the various clan camps to the dance ground, setting it down at the foot of the paths through the palmettos. The men bring it in from there and put it in the open space between the log seats of the tchoc-ko thloc-ko. The Medicine Man’s assistant stands by the ball-game pole just outside of the dance circle. Properly timed it should be just sunrise and everything awaits the return of the Medicine Man.

At last his assistant sights the Medicine Man returning empty-handed. He has hidden the Medicine Bundle. The assistant gives the signal and the feast begins. The Green Corn Dance is over.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 7
Typical Seminole Village

Home of Sam Jones, Medicine Man of the Cow Creek Seminoles. In the center, between the houses, is the cooking shelter roofed with sheet iron. It is the center of the circle of sleeping houses. This is a typical village of the pine prairies.

PLATE 8
Two Seminole Medicine Men

Left: Ingraham Billy, Medicine Man of the Tamiami Trail Seminole. Right: Sam Jones, long-time Medicine Man of the Cow Creek Seminole.

PLATE 9
Two Seminole Medicine Men

Left: John Osceola, Big Cypress Medicine Man at the 1949 Green Corn Dance. He held the Medicine Bundle only a few months, and turned it over recently to his son-in-law, Frank Tucker. Right: Josie Billy, former Medicine Man of the Tamiami Trail Seminole.

PLATE 10
Clan Camp at the Green Corn Dance

Upper: Occupied clan camp; for the 5 or 6 days of the Green Corn Dance, tarps are stretched over ridge poles, floors are laid down, temporary shelters are put up, and the camp is a living thing. Lower: Clan camp between Corn Dances; for the rest of the year only bare pole frameworks remain, though floors are left in some instances.
Plate 11

Setting for the Green Corn Dance

Upper: The dance circle. To the left is the ball-game pole; center, the log for the dance director; right center, the dance fire; right, the tchoc-ko thloc-ko. In the back are the deserted clan camps. Lower: Sweat-bath stones and framework. A tarpaulin covers the framework the last morning of the Green Corn Dance. Fifteen or twenty men squat inside and the last of the Black Drink is poured on the four hot stones.

Plate 12

Views of the Green Corn Dance Structure

Upper: The tchoc-ko thloc-ko, or "Big House"—MacCauley's "House Where the Warriors Sit." His term shows his informant was Cow Creek. The Miccosuki word is chick-ee cho-bee, which also means "Big House." Looking east through the structure, the dance fire is clearly marked. The uprights are 8-inch pine logs. The over-all ground measurements are approximately 10 by 14 feet, with a 2-foot overhang of the thatching. In front it is 6 feet 7 inches to the cross beam; in back, 5 feet 8 inches. Seven smaller logs are crossways of the main beams, with light poles across them. The thatching is palmetto, held in place by four logs laid lengthwise. The roof is further decorated with branches of sweet bay. The light poles laid loosely on top are the poles from the Feather Dance. Lower: Reserved seats for the Green Corn Dance. The floor arrangement of the tchoc-ko thloc-ko. The men sit on the double logs front and back. Both rows face east during the dancing and ball games. Both rows face inward on picnic day and for the feast the last morning. The food is placed down the center. The men also face inward for the discussions on Court Day.

Plate 13

Green Corn Dance Items

To the left are the roots, stems, and fruits of the pa-sa. The tubers have been removed for the first Black Drink. Next is the willow log from which the inner bark has been removed to make the second black drink, ac-wa-na. The outer bark of the willow as it was stripped off is in front. To the right of the yardstick is the hollow prayer reed with its windings of red cloth. Next is a well-made ball-game racket, and last a makeshift racket of split palmetto stem. Below are tin-can rattles—those on the left are women's rattles, and those on the right, men's.

Plate 14

Plants Used in Preparation of the Black Drink

Left: Herbs from the Black Drink. Woody parts of herbs remaining from the "Big Pot" Black Drink. Top row, left to right: 1, St. John's wort, Hypericum aspalathoides Wild.; 2, Water liana, Cissus sicyoides L.; second row: 3, blueberry, Vaccinium myrsinites Lam.; 4, Grapes, Vitis rotundifolia Mich., and Vitis caribaea H. & B.; 5, Red bay, Persea borbonia (L.) Spreng. Right: Black Drink herbs and prayer reed. The sweat-bath stones covered with the woody parts of the herbs in the "Big Pot" Black Drink. Leaning against them is the hollow reed wound with red cloth through which prayers have been blown into the Black Drink.
Plate 15

*Items Used in the Green Corn Dance*

*a*, Scratcher. Six needles run through a small block of wood and bound with thread, with which the men are scratched to purify the blood. *b*, Forked Medicine stick. On this forked branch, firmly set in the ground, the sacred Medicine hangs in its deerskin from early in the morning of Court Day until evening, when it is taken down to be watched over by the Medicine Man the whole night of dancing. *c*, Score board. Flattened side of the ball-game pole on which the score is kept with a piece of charcoal.
Typical Seminole Village,
(For explanation, see p. 208.)
Two Seminole Medicine Men.
(For explanation, see p. 208.)
TWO SEMINOLE MEDICINE MEN.
(For explanation, see p. 208.)
CLAN CAMP AT THE GREEN CORN DANCE.

(For explanation, see p. 208.)
SETTING FOR THE GREEN CORN DANCE.
(For explanation, see p. 209.)
Views of the Green Corn Dance Structure.

(For explanation, see p. 209.)
Green Corn Dance Items.
(For explanation, see p. 209.)
ITEMS USED IN THE GREEN CORN DANCE.

(For explanation, see p. 210.)