

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Preface.....	3
Part I Certifications by the Governing Council Officers .....	4-6
A. Certification of the Petition of Acknowledgment .....	4
B. Certification of The Florida Tribe Constituion .....	5
C. Certification of the Tribal Membership Roll.....	6
Part II Introduction to the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians .....	7-13
Part III Chronology.....	14-89
Section A: 1540 to 1833.....	14-38
Section B: 1834 to 1973.....	39-59
Section C: 1974 to Present .....	60-89
Part IV Membership Histories within the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians	
Section A: The Wards .....	90-122
Section B: The Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band.....	123-147
Section C: The Escambia County Settlements.....	148-155
Part V Response to Part 83.7 Criterion by the Florida Tribe.....	156-172
Appendix 1 The Constitution of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians	
Appendix 2 Membership Roll of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians	
Appendix 3 Samples of Modern Tribal Communications, Issues, Activities, etc.	
Appendix 4 Exhibits in support of Membership	
Appendix 5 Other Research Articles and Exhibits	

## PREFACE

The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians (Florida Tribe) originally filed a Notice of Intent to Petition for Federal Acknowledgment in 1978. The original petition was returned and has been now been finalized in accordance with regulation 25 CFR Part 83 of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.

Today, the official tribal membership roll lists almost 1800 active adult members. Many still live either on or near original Creek homesteads first settled in the early 1800s. Membership is predominately determined by birth. The Florida Tribe's Constitution has a strict membership code that is rigidly adhered to and is mostly based on the U.S. Government criteria which was used to determine the Land Claim settlements of Docket 21, Docket 275, and Docket 272.

This petition has been built from years of research and determination by Florida Tribe's Creek families. It has spanned multiple generations. Many of our elders have passed away since the original petition was filed and, in the last 5 years, some citizens of Florida Tribe have changed their membership to the federally recognized Poarch Band of Atmore Alabama. Other family members have continued their membership with this tribe which is of the State they reside in. The Choctawatchee Clan, the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Clan, and the Escambia County Settlements continue as unified communities under strong leadership, despite the effects of time. Structural and political change is natural, particularly among the Creeks. Some documentation, in particular, copies of old and valuable personal family papers, may not be in the Appendix of the petition at this time. They will be made available upon request by the Bureau of Acknowledgment and Research. For this reason, all sources of information have been carefully cited in the endnotes.

The Florida Tribe has been the recipient of numerous grants from the Administration of Native Americans throughout the past years and extends a thank you on behalf of our people for helping to make this petition possible. We are very grateful. We believe that when this petition is combined with the personal records of our Tribal Office, the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians will demonstrate full compliance with the mandatory criterions for acknowledgment.

**PART I**

**A. CERTIFICATION OF PETITION**

This petition is presented with the full cooperation of the governing body of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians (Florida Tribe). The Florida Tribe reserves the right to amend, modify, and supplement this petition as it becomes necessary.

The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians asks the United States of America to grant this Petition for Acknowledgment through the Department of the Interior in accordance with all procedures established under 25 CFR Part 83.

Submitted to the Honorable Ada E. Deer, Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior this 27<sup>th</sup> day of Sep 1995.

Andrew B. Ramsey  
CHIEF

Tuski Mahaya Haco

Mr. Neil Bopp -  
Council Member Bay County  
Sara a McCoy  
Council member Bay County

Donald Brown

Gloria Cannon

Christopher Lewis

Mary Jo L. McKenzie

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Mazie L. Russell (Micco)

John B. Thomas  
CHAIRPERSON

Jane  
VICE-CHAIRPERSON

Mrs. Zera Denson  
TREASURER

Doris H. Adams  
SECRETARY

**B. CERTIFICATION OF TRIBAL CONSTITUTION**

The officers of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians do hereby certify that the Constitution of said tribe is furnished as Appendix 1 to this petition. This is the true governing document for our people.

The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians reserves the right to amend the Constitution as necessary. Copies of any such changes will be made available to the Bureau of Acknowledgment and Research.

Signed this 27<sup>th</sup> day of Sep 1995.

Andrew B. Ramsey  
CHIEF  
Tuski Mahara Hain  
Donald W. Shain

John B. Horon  
CHAIRPERSON

Jan  
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Mazie Y. Russell (Micco)

Doris H. Adams  
SECRETARY

Mrs. Zera Denson  
TREASURER

**C: CERTIFICATION OF TRIBAL MEMBERSHIP ROLE**

The officers of the Florida Tribe do hereby certify that the official membership roll for the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians is submitted as Appendix 2 to this Petition for Acknowledgment.

This roll is in accordance with the criteria for membership as stated in the by laws of the Constitution for the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians. All members on this roll have a signed affidavit on file and a current address in the tribal office.

The Florida Tribe reserves the right to change or amend this roll as it becomes necessary to ensure that the records accurately reflect its membership. Such instances include members' deaths, changes in tribal status from minor to adult, formal withdrawals, etc.

Submitted this 27<sup>TH</sup> day of Sep 1995.

Andrew B. Ramsey  
CHIEF  
Tacti MAHOGGY HACO  
Donald W. Shawn

John W. Honor  
CHAIRMAN

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Council Member Bay County  
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Doris H. Adams  
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Sara A. McCoy  
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Mrs. Zera Denson  
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Mazie T. Rossell (Mico)

## **PART II: INTRODUCTION**

The ancient Creek Nation (Muskogees) inhabited the greater portion of Alabama, North Florida, Georgia, South central Tennessee and even some parts of South Carolina and Mississippi. It was a confederation of more than 50 individual tribal towns and smaller sub-tribe units. Each tribal town maintained its own internal government, local customs, and peculiar cultures and beliefs. There were many dialects, rather than one spoken language. Historically, the Creeks were a diverse mixture of peoples, culture, and languages that joined together governmentally, but without sacrificing individual traditions. Contact with the Europeans can be dated back to as early as the 1540s and the Spanish soldiers of Hernando de Soto. Today, the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians (Florida Tribe) is a representative of these historic people. The tribe serves present day families of Creek ancestors who either chose to remain in the Southeast during the removals of the 1830s or who returned to the area without seeking enrollment in any other Indian Nation within the United States.

The Florida Tribe is geographically located in an area that is referred to as the 'Panhandle' of Northwest Florida. Its boundaries stretch from Pensacola in the West to the capital area of Tallahassee. The official address for the tribe is P.O. Box 3028, Bruce, Florida 32455 and the telephone number is (904) 835-2078. The small community of Bruce is a mid-point between the East and West boundaries and is located in south Walton County. It is where the Tribal Office and official records are housed, in an old school building on Church Road - a dirt road that cuts through a landbase which has belonged to families of the tribe's Choctawatchee Clan through time.

Multiple counties are represented on the tribal council and there is an official constitution that provides the guidelines for conducting tribal business. This constitution

was established in 1978. The Florida Tribe represents a union of three major clans in northwest Florida. Council representatives are elected by democratic process for the individual county of residence. Each representative is administered a formal oath of office upon election to serve the Creek people to the best of their abilities. The Florida Tribe incorporated as a non-profit organization in 1981 to be eligible for local, state and/or federal grants. Also, the Florida Tribe was recognized by resolutions that passed both the House of Representatives and the Senate for the State of Florida in 1986. Through the levy and collection of tribal taxes, the Florida Tribe conducts and supports the day-to-day affairs that affect all of its citizens. A tribal newspaper keeps members apprised of such things as political issues, family changes, local gatherings, etc.

The geographic divisions of the Florida Creeks is in keeping with the historical Creeks, who were once divided into Upper or Lower Towns and Red or White towns. The general history of the Creek shows that by 1810, Christians and traditional Towns were having serious problems with one another. Some of the Creeks favored the Americans and the different (often dependent) way of life that had developed from trading. Others wanted to hold onto traditional ways. The community of Topachula 'Pine Arbor' is a living example of the traditional Creek ways. Here the Muskogee language is still spoken and the Square Ground is a place of religious and ceremonial activities.

The Creek land were divided between those who signed away or lost their land that the land held by the Creeks was reduced to family homesteads. The Eastern lands were ultimately lost as removal became a reality in the 1830s. In fact, the State of Florida passed a law which is still on the books that forbid Indians to live within its boundaries unless they lived as 'White'. As time passed, other loyalties divided the Creek, such as the Second Seminole War and, of course, the Civil War. The Creek Confederacy in Oklahoma supported the South. Cultural evolution into the existing and ever increasing

white world often became the difference between life and death. Despite this, Creek people did survive in the South. The Florida Creeks maintained their own identity - with full knowledge of who and what they were. Many worked as laborers in timber or in coastal industries. With the removal of all Creek Tribal Towns except one, traditional ways simply disappeared from *public notice*. Remnants of the Creeks who practiced the old religions and family-controlled social activities, banded together in private communities to ensure survival. Today, some of those underground communities are the foundation of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians.

It is estimated that at least 75 percent of the current members of the Florida Tribe live in the Panhandle area. Many of the Escambia County members have both blood and cultural ties to the Poarch Band of Creek Indians in Atmore, Alabama. But because of the state line, they are residents of the State of Florida and have chosen to remain with the Florida Tribe. It makes them no less Creek than their relatives that have been acknowledged. The membership criteria for the Florida tribe is very specific. Citizens are either documented by genealogy to descend from one or more ancestors that are listed on the Southeastern Native American rolls of former Creek Confederacy Towns established by the federal government, or they meet the eligibility requirements of these federal rolls but do not necessarily appear on them, such as the Eastern Creek rolls. So, eligibility is by birth. For example, individuals who applied for and were accepted under Dockets 21, 272, or 275 for the per capita distribution of Creek land payments are eligible under the membership requirements of the Florida Tribe. There are some cases of membership by affidavit, but these are relatively few and require multiple, sworn affidavits be signed by tribal elders. All affidavits and genealogical information on new members are presented to the tribal council for review and a vote of acceptance or denial. The Florida Tribe's official roll contains approximately 1800 members, and 92 percent are on one or more

federal docket. The list of the Creek ancestors' names and federal docket numbers that represent many of the members of the Florida Tribe's are as follows:

Elizabeth English	11147
Nancy Knight	11068
Sam Clark	11145
James Earle	11035
William Hollinger	11058
Lynn McGhee	11075
Catherine McIntosh	11080
William McIntosh	11313
Sam Moniac	11089
John Semoice	11115
Arthur Sizemore	11118
John Smith	11132
George Stiggins	11128
Richard Taylor	11141
John Weatherford	11153

As previously mentioned, there are multiple interrelated communities or clans that combine to form the Florida Tribe. The clans are related by blood and by the common bonds of cultural traditions and habit patterns. Some of the local groups have members that extend outside the geographic area. In these cases, the ties are back to the family-controlled areas. Traditional leadership continues through the offices of the family Matriarchs, Tribal Town Kings (Mekkos), Makers of Medicine and other ceremonial leaders. The matrilineal systems is still of ceremonial importance. However, a modified kinship structure of bilateral descent has gradually supplanted the system of unilateral

descent through females only. The histories of the clans are discussed indepth in the body of the petition. This introduction provides a brief overview of the tribe's clans:

The Choctawatchee Clan:

Located in Walton County, this family's genealogy includes Elizabeth English Ward, Nahoga Ward, and Nancy Knight. The community of Bruce, named for the surveyor's dog, has been the center of this clan for nearly two centuries, according to a Methodist Church publication on the history of Southern Methodism. Bruce is the capital of the Florida Tribe and has a recognized Bruce Indian Methodist Chapel. The Choctawatchee Clan has always had the benefit of strong leadership and of political power. It was a closed community for many years. Mazie Ward Rossell is the political mekko for this clan. Her son, John C. B. Thomas is the current elected Chairman of the Florida Tribe.

Harjo-Boggs Parrot Family of Blountstown:

The Harjo-Boggs Parrot family originally had a government land grant reservation in the present day city of Blountstown, in Calhoun County. The State of Florida abolished this reservation and forced the removal of the residents to the West. However, many of the family members managed to stay there. The last parcel of this land was sold in the 1930s because of financial hardships. Dr. Andrew Boggs Ramsey currently heads the family since the death of Alice Boggs. He also holds the ceremonial post of Mekko of the Florida Tribe. According to the Oklahoma Creek Nation, the Apalachicola Ceremonial Grounds (Pine Arbor) that is located in Blountstown is the only functioning Creek Square Ground in the East with an unbroken tradition.

Escambia-Santa Rosa Counties:

These counties represent Creek communities whose members descend from the Wards, Steadhams, Stiggins, and the Poarch Band of Creeks. The leadership of these people is based on community affiliate. For example, Dr. Mary Callaway and the late Ken McKenzie provided leadership for the Toocheenahatchee Clan. This West Florida Creek community is well known for copper work and genealogical research. Another leader through modern Creek history is Juanita Steadham Sandifer of the Escambia Clan.

Each of the autonomous Creek communities arranges and conducts traditional social activities and religious functions. An example is the annual Busk celebrated by the Harjo-Boggs Parrot family of Blountstown and Pine Arbor. There are also cultural and educational activities that are not limited to tribal members, but are for the larger community. The Woman's Voice promotes activities for women and young girls and raises money for worthwhile activities to benefit the tribe and ceremonial centers, such as buying books for the Creek library. Handicrafts of tribal members that include shell engravings and gorgets, finger weaving, basketry, flute making, copper work and clothing have found their way into numerous private collections. These are not newly acquired skills. Rather, they have been passed down through time. The Museum contains artifact collections and photographic and document archives. And, the Florida Tribe has worked hard to provide educational programs for its people. This is evidenced in publications that include a *Dictionary of the Creek Language*, a *Bibliography of Creeks and other Southeastern native Americans*, *Muskogee Words and Ways*, a *Southeastern Reader*, and collections of Creek Trickster stories and herbal remedies. Anthropologists and archaeologists seek the cooperation and participation of Florida Tribe members as speakers, informants, or cultural specialists for archaeological projects and call upon the tribe for traditional burial of Native American remains that have been disturbed. The

Florida Tribe has a strong sense of community that is traditional to the Creek way of life, but its gains have been largely a self-help effort.

The following chapters of this petition provide evidence that the Florida Tribe meets the criterion of the statutes for federal acknowledgment. The records such as pedigrees, privately held family records, tapes of oral interviews, etc. may not accompany this petition. However, if the records are cited in the end notes, then they are accessible and can be made available during site visits. Statements are carefully footnoted so there will be no doubt as to the authenticity of the statements, or the location of the record.

The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians issued its Letter of Intent to Petition for federal recognition through the Bureau of Indian Affairs Board of Acknowledgment and Research in 1978. Through the years that have passed, the tribe has been the recipient of several research grants to further compile information on genealogical patterns, oral traditions, family histories, etc. Today, after all the years of research, the Florida Tribe is still wholeheartedly convinced that the regulations of 25 CFR Part 83 are met by our people. This petition represents more than just government criterion and words. It is a legacy and a testament of hard work and dedication that has passed through the generations in hopes that Florida Tribe's citizens could be recognized. Being Creek to the members of the Florida Tribe is a natural state that has been accepted through time, despite the hardships from being Indian. It is believed that when the following chapters are combined with tribal records, this petition will be sufficient to allow the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians to be accepted by the Government as well.

## **PART III: CHRONOLOGY**

As stated, the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians represents present day Mvskoke (Creek) people who settled in the counties of Northwest Florida. While much research has been accomplished on the historic Creek Confederacy, there are very few published resources that account for the tribal people presently living in this geographical area. One researcher has documented modern activities of the neighboring Poarch Band of Creeks in Atmore, Alabama to the satisfaction of Congress and subsequently, to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This petition will prove that the Florida Tribal Creeks exhibits a continuous, individualized history with a similar cultural and geneological ties to the Alabama Creeks. This part of the petition supplies information about the continuous existance of the North Florida Creeks. The historical information that could be included in this section is immense, considering that first contact of the native population occurred with the Spanish as early as 1540. However, only a general overview is provided in this chronology. Resources are listed in the footnotes at the end of the part. It is noted that this is a simplified description of the old Creek Nation, the very foundation of the present day Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians, the Creek Nation of Oklahoma, and the Poarch Band of Creek Indians in Alabama.

### **SECTION A - ABORIGINAL SETTLEMENT TO REMOVAL (c. 1540 to c. 1833)**

The year 1540 is considered a beginning of the historic record for the aggregation of indigenous peoples in the Southeastern United States who have come to be known as the Creeks. This was the year the Spanish explorer, Hernando De Soto, traveled the area with a small expeditionary force among whom was his chronicler, the unnamed "Gentleman of Elvas." The documents and accounts he left compromised the first ethnographic

descriptions of the Creek Indians.<sup>1</sup> The early European accounts, research findings of archeology, and oral histories form a picture of pre-contact Creek life.

Swanton claims that "The name Creek early became attached to these people because when they were first known to the Carolina colonists and for a considerable period afterward the body of them which the latter knew best was living upon a river, the present Ocmulgee, called by the Europeans "Ocheese Creek".<sup>2</sup> The native term for Creek is Muskogee or Muscogee; it is not a homogeneous people but rather, a confederation of various different groups - some with radically different linguistic and cultural bases - contained in the same geographical area, and continuously incorporating groups from other regions with a high degree of acceptance and tolerance. Michael Green states that the Creek Nation was a confederacy: an alliance of separate and independent tribes that gradually became, over a long period, a single political organization. Through most of its history, the Confederacy was a dynamic institution, constantly changing in size. Tribes, for whatever reason, entered the alliance or left it. The evidence suggests that many more groups joined the Creek Confederacy than withdrew. They were the only native group that James Adair knew of did not decline in numbers. This means, of course, that the definition of Creek was constantly changing.<sup>3</sup>

Given this caveat, a description of pre-contact Creek life can now be made, keeping in mind that the descriptions are general, and may not address specifically or apply to the more culturally divergent groups within the Creek confederacy like the Yuchi, Alabama, Shawnee, and Natchez.

The social structure of the pre-contact Creek confederacy was built around a town-village system, with the town occupying a central role in relation to its outlying villages. The numbers of villages outlying a given town varied greatly, from one or two to over a score. The towns were then divided into a basic two-part system comprised of "White" or peace towns and "Red" (Chiloki) or war towns; these two types of town were said to be

of different “fires.” Within the governmental town and moiety structure, matrilineal clans were the basic building blocks of Creek society. Clans were named, and Swanton lists some 46 different ones such as Alligator, Bear, Beaver, Bison, Corn, Deer, Panther, Wind, Wolf, etc<sup>4</sup> Certain clans were considered superior to others, like the Wind clan which had special privileges. This had a significant bearing on the ascent to power of Alexander McGillivray in later Creek history. Clans were further combined into a larger unnamed grouping system in which several clans would share an affinity based on commonalities in the clan totems, and which directed marriage and division of labor. Within clans were household units, the final subdivision of Creek society. The household units were comprised of a basic nuclear family: a woman who owned the house, her husband, their children, and certain of the woman’s relatives. Children were born into the clan of the mother, and remained lifelong members of that clan.

Leadership and governmental power were bestowed in a micco or mekko and the town council. The micco was head of civil authority, and there also existed a war chief or leader whose authority was applicable only in military matters. The micco was usually chosen from the same clan as the predecessor, and in later times the position became almost entirely hereditary. The civil administration, headed by the micco, also had local precinct officials, a category of people known as heniha who directed public works, and the town’s “beloved men” (and women) who had achieved a position of respect and leadership through their accomplishments. These combined individuals formed the town council, at which legal and other governmental decisions were made. The micco and council did not, however, retain an absolute power or authority over the town. They acted more in the capacities of arbitrators, facilitators, and representatives of the public opinions and consensus’.

The economy of the pre-contact Creeks was varied, combining horticulture with hunting/gathering in a semi-sedentary lifestyle. The calendar was divided into twelve

months, but only two major seasons. During the winter season, hunting away from the town or village was the rule, and during summer season, which included most of the ceremonial cycle of Creek religion, residents of the towns stayed close to home tending crops, storing for the winter months, and preparing for the annual busk. Crops consisted of various types of corn, sunflowers, beans, pumpkins, squashes, and melons. In addition to these domestic crops, the Creeks gathered wild rice, cane seed, different types of tubers, including sweet potato, and a variety of nuts, fruits, and berries. All these flora in the diet were supplemented by various fauna which were taken with the bow, the blowgun, and traps. Fowl, fish, shellfish, small game, primarily deer and occasionally bear were commonly included in the diet. Preservation of food was mainly by sun drying and smoking, and nearly every type of food could be preserved and stored for the lean winter season. Tanned deerskins were the principal item of trade, but other furs, shells, beads, and craft implements were also traded with neighboring groups.

The trading system of the pre-contact Creeks was well established, and artifacts from a variety of different tribes and geographical regions have been found in excavations. This developed system, in addition to the inherent ability of the Creeks to trade and maintain such a trading system, proved to be a natural and adaptable point of interaction with the similar interests of European traders in later years.

The entrance of DeSoto into Creek country in 1540 was followed by Tristan de Luna in 1559. De Luna's forces, like those of Juan Pardo who followed him, began the Spanish practice of assisting one town or tribe within the Creek confederacy in its warfare against another. European weaponry was introduced into the Creek nation during this time, irrevocably changing Creek life. For almost an entire century, the principal European players in Creek history were the Spanish, who by 1670, had colonized much of the Atlantic seaboard of present northern Florida. During this period, the Spanish struck a trail westward, and established a chain of missions west across Florida and through the

panhandle, ultimately reaching Pensacola. The missions consisted of small garrisons with a contingent of clergy, under whose supervision and tutelage were numbers of pacified Indians. Pensacola, owing to its fine deep-water harbor, became an important center for the Spanish later in the 17th century. While the condition of the confederacy among the Creeks at the time of De Soto's arrival is unclear, by 1670 the confederacy was thriving, no doubt due to the increased trading and military activity of the Spanish during the first century of European settlement.

In 1670 the historical picture of the region changed with the founding of the British settlement of Charleston in present South Carolina. Charleston became the center of Creek-English trade and commerce, and it was from Charleston, for example, that Lachlan McGillivray, father of the famous half-blood leader Alexander, made his first venture into the Creek nation. Some 32 years later, French colonists under Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne established a fort roughly thirty miles north of the mouth of the Mobile River. This lasted only nine years, and was relocated in 1711 to the site of present Mobile at which point it became capital of French Louisanna until 1720. The French and the Spanish were thus bordering each other in the southwest part of the Creek nation (the Spanish boundary never went west of the Perdido River), and the Spanish and English bordered each other in the eastern part of the Nation at the Savannah."Occupying as they did a central position," says Swanton, "between the English, Spanish, and French colonies, the favor of the Creeks was a matter of concern to these nations, and they played a more important part than any other American Indians in the colonial history of the Gulf region."<sup>5</sup> In 1685, a significant event took place relative to Creek history. Henry Woodward, an English trader, supervised an expedition of other traders with a large supply of goods and arrived in Coweta. Upon his arrival, the Creeks allowed him to construct the first English trading post in the Nation. The ultimate effects of this new commerce are described by Corkran: "Through the media of intensified warfare, hunting and trading, the Creeks became,

comparatively speaking, a fiercely acquisitive and affluent Indian society. They lost many of their old manual arts and became abjectly dependent upon the English trading system<sup>66</sup> Woodward's English outpost flourished and others were begun. In 1705, the English colonists from Charleston signed a treaty of alliance with the Lower Creeks at Coweta. The French, sent an expedition in 1714 north along the Alabama River to the fork of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, where they established a garrison and trading post named Fort Toulouse. Fort Toulouse remained there for 45 years and figures into the history of the Alabama Creeks, as French Captain Marchand Married Sehoj of the Wind Clan In 1720. Their only daughter, Sehoj Marchand, is an ancestor to the McGillivrays and Weatherfords.

Following the establishment of Fort Toulouse, the Yamasee Indians living south of the Savannah River in present Georgia, attacked settlements in South Carolina—supposedly at the instigation of the Creeks. This began the bloody Yamasee war, which resulted in the near eradication of the Yamasee. One outcome of this was the incursion of the English into what the Spanish claimed was their territory. In 1733 the English colony of Georgia was settled in the area once occupied by the Yamasees, with the town of Savannah as the seat of government. The colony was headed by General James Oglethorpe, and had the direct support of the British crown. Oglethorpe negotiated a treaty with the Lower Creeks for the rights of occupancy, and the territory ceded to the Georgia colonists marked the first in a long series of cessions which led finally, in 1832, to the loss of all land for the Creeks in their native habitat.

The Boundries of the Creek lands in West Florida were deliniated as follows: east to the Apalachicola River, west to the Pearl River (into present day Mississippi), and north to 32 degrees 28 minutes 4 seconds (one-half of present-day Alabama). The majority of larger and more permanent Creek "tvlwv" (tribal towns) were concentrated about river systems such as the Alabama, the Coosa, the Chattahoochee, the Apalachicola, and the Flint.<sup>7</sup>

There were other sites of varying degrees of permanence, such as trading trails, gathering places, and hunting grounds. The lands southward to the Gulf of Mexico from the Alabama River, and eastward to and including much of peninsular Florida, were primarily hunting grounds with scattered permanent and semi-permanent sites.<sup>8</sup> Streams and rivers along the Gulf furnished access to the coast for subsistence on fish and shellfish. Gulf of Mexico rivers that were frequented by the Creeks included the Escambia, Yellow, Chattahoochee, Chipola, Ocklocknee, Choctawatchee and the Apalachicola. One legend of the Florida region, handed down through the generations from the "hofenvike" (Creek forefathers), instructed the Creek people to make this Southeastern area their home. The words were spoken by "Hesaketvmese" (Father Spirit):

"Yv kvnyoksvn os. Yvmv estofis rvfot ocefes momis eto pvkpvkeu oketcken cenmakvkakes."

(English Translation) " This is the sharp land(southern U.S.) Here is never any winter but the trees and blossomsto tell you the seasons..."<sup>9</sup>

Obviously, the early 18th century marked the beginnings of tremendous disruptions to the Creek people from outside foreign influences. The French, British, Spanish, and finally, the United States evolved Indian policies and the means of carrying them out for whatever strategic or political end. There was increased emigration into then Florida lands. During this period, numerous Indian treaties were made with the British government, wars were occurring with the Spanish. Ultimately, a new government formed for colonies in the United States. Some of the effects and incidents that followed have been listed as documented examples of the changes within what became the Creek Nation.

The British Carolinas engaged in a war with the Spanish forcing the Creeks southward. Neighboring Apalachees had allied with the Spanish and were beaten by British Colonel James Moore, who took captives to sell as slaves and then scattered the remaining native people. The Spanish needed Indian allies and reassembled the Apalachees. This attracted

more Creek people into the general area of the Apalachicola and St. Marks rivers.<sup>10</sup>

The Creeks' southern migration was increased by growing trade sites around Pensacola Florida, and the Chattahoochee, Apalachicola and St. Marks Rivers.

Between 1756 to 1763, there were significant changes to the policies and philosophies of dealing with the Florida Indian population. The British dealt with natives as tribes or bands to the point of signing formal treaties. It is remembered that British Florida was divided into West Florida and East Florida, with West Florida administered from Pensacola. This administrative division lasted through Spanish successors of 1783 until Florida was annexed by the United States in 1821 - the year that Elijah Ward applied for land grants in the Yellow River area. Those treaties or actions that are within the area of the Florida Tribe are summarized below:

1763 - A British need for colonization and commerce expansion led to a conference with representatives of the Creek Nation at Augusta. The British Indian Affairs superintendent wrote that "The Claims of the Creeks to the lands bordering on the two Floridas are such as must render these Provinces extremely limited, if the Indians cannot be prevailed upon to recede from them. They do not permit our settling any of the new ceded countries joining their lands above the flowing of the tide, which in the countries westward of Cape Florida is not very far."<sup>11</sup>

1764 - Augusta Conference. The Indians living in the region of St. Marks told the British superintendent there, that just as the Spanish had been tenants on the land, so they would now regard the British as tenants.<sup>12</sup> The British commandant at Apalachee wrote: "The Creeks were concerned about all their lands, both east and west of Apalachee, and were not happy about forfeiting their tidal regions. It has been suggested that the 1764 treaty agreement to give the tidal regions in Pensacola may in itself have been invalid, on the ground that the Wolf King did not have authority to represent all the Creek Nation. That these lands were precious possessions to the Creeks is very clear."<sup>13</sup> Another meeting

was held between Creek representatives and the British in Pensacola, Florida. The Cherokees to the north, the Georgians “Virginians” to the east, the British to the south, and the Choctaws to the west were encroaching upon traditional Creek hunting grounds. Game was scarce forcing the Creeks to become dependent on trade with white settlers. The British authorities readily conceded the importance to the Creeks of their hunting grounds because the British wanted the Indian peltries for commerce. The great Creek Chief Mortar gave a talk at the Pensacola congress, saying:

“The King of England knows his Red Children are very numerous and must be clothed. They are all indigent and I hope the King, the Governor, the Superintendent and all other White people are sensible that they are so, and as I have this day considered the conveniency of the English in granting them land to plant, so I expect they will in return consider me and my people. This land was formerly part of our hunting ground, but now many of us are grown old and incapable to kill deer enough to purchase clothing; we had formerly good success in hunting but are now obliged to cross to Cherokee River for game, which considerations induce me to desire, that as deer skins are become scarce, the trade may be reduced in proportion so that we may be able to clothe and maintain our families.”<sup>14</sup>

1765 - The Treaty at Piccolata. Creeks ceded a larger tract of land. Tallachea gave a talk as representative for the whole Creek Nation, saying he hoped the Governor would “agree to the limits which were proposed by us at Augusta.” He further added, “You will consider that the presents which are now being given us may last for a year but will afterwards rot and become of no value but the land which we now give you will last forever.”<sup>15</sup> The talk of the Chiefs at the Augusta conference, at Pensacola and at Piccolata, clearly pointed out the indispensability of the Creek peoples’ east and west Florida lands to the life of its Confederacy. The Surveyor-General of west Florida reported that the lands on the Yellow River side of Pensacola Bay “belongs to the

Indians.”<sup>16</sup> Creeks retained land north of the coastal tidewater across the entire northern Gulf coast of present day Florida and the lands of central north and south Florida. (See Appendix 1C, Exhibit 1 for DeVorse’s map on the Florida Creek lands of 1775.)

1790 - The Treaty at New York between the United States and “all the individuals, towns and tribes of the Upper, Middle and Lower Creeks and Semanolics composing the Creek Nation of Indians,” the United States guaranteed “to the Creek Nation, all their lands within the limits of the United States to the westward and southward of the boundary” describing the stipulated northern limit of Creek country.<sup>17</sup>

post 1790 - A series of treaties and agreements all of which involved the cessions of or extinguishments of title to successively more Creek domains: Treaty of June 29, 1796 (7 Stat. 56, 2 Kapp, 46); United States agreement with the State of Georgia, 1802; Treaty of June 16, 1802 (7 Stat. 96, 2 Kapp 85).

1811 - The national domain of the old Creek Nation had been diminished to northwestern and southern Georgia, three-fourths of the state of Alabama, extending from the Ocmulgee River and the Altamaha on the east, west to the Tombigbee River and the Choctaw and Chickasaw possessions, and between Pensacola (within Spanish Florida territory) on the south and the Tennessee River and Cherokee country on the north.<sup>18</sup>

1811 - Creek land had steady encroachment of white settlers and the white civilization’s ways. The Shawnee Tecumseh visited among the Alibamu and neighboring Creeks to gain support for the British by stirring up the “prophet movement” through the Red Sticks, the hostile faction of the Upper Creeks.<sup>19</sup> The Red Sticks did not have the sanction of the old Creek Nation.

1812-1813 Defeat of the hostile Creek faction at Horseshoe Bend, followed by the Treaty of Fort Jackson. Large numbers of Creeks fled to the Florida lands to join with those already residing there, which included the domain between the Yellow River at the

Bay of Pensacola and the Apalachicola.<sup>20</sup> Coweta, in the Lower Creek Nation, had become "the capital of the Creek Nation, and all national affairs were carried on from this place throughout the war and for some time thereafter."<sup>21</sup> Throughout the period of the war, the friendly Creeks, consisting of the Lower Creeks and the leading Chiefs of the Upper Creeks, remained loyal to the United States, even though the annuities promised to them "for the years 1812 and 1813 were unpaid and they were in great distress."<sup>22</sup> Of the large number of hostile factions of Upper Creeks who fled to Florida, twelve hundred warriors were at some time "afterwards incorporated with the Seminoles as one people."<sup>23</sup>

1814 - General Jackson called a meeting for the Chiefs of the hostiles at Fort Jackson. Of the thirty-six (36) Creek Chiefs attending, only one was a hostilecatetrophically reduce the land of the friendly Creeks and refused to attend the Council. There were formal protests made by the Creek which were to be in the Treaty of Fort Jackson. However, Jackson threatened the annihilation of the Creek people and the British to secure the land provisions on August 9, 1814, which was "...signed under duress by thirty-five (35) of the friendly Creek Chiefs, constituting the Creek National Council, the de jure Government of the Creek Nation, which had been the faithful ally of the United States during the entire war, and which had furnished warriors who had fought side by side with the American troops in every important battle of the war; and but one hostile chief signed the treaty, he being the only hostile chief present."<sup>24</sup>

From the time of this treaty until the removal years, eastern Creeks tried to secure justice or be compensated for this land. These efforts were continued after the reassembly of large numbers of the new Creek Nation in Oklahoma territory on lands set aside for those who were removed. These efforts were joined by eastern Creeks of Georgia, Alabama and Florida and were recognized in the twentieth century.<sup>25</sup>

1816 - United States military action at Apalachicola against the Negro Fort (Ft. Gadsden); however, the hostile faction did not fight in it, having left the fort after the departure of the British contingent and prior to General Gaines' reduction of the fort.<sup>26</sup>

1817 - White Americans depredated hostile Creek lands. Indians complained to American and British officials. David B. Mitchell, agent to the Creeks, reported late in 1817 that in his opinion the whites were the aggressors, and that the attack on Fowltown was unjustified.<sup>27</sup> Hostile Creeks reacted to the American forces' attack on Fowltown (an attack which the hostiles had not provoked) by forbidding Americans to cross south of the Flint. United States Department of War gave Jackson, in the words of a Jackson adulator, "carte blanche . . . to proceed against the Seminole and . . . punish them..."<sup>28</sup> Jackson, assisted by Creeks under General McIntosh, attacked the Creeks at Mickasukee town and then at St. Marks. "Dispersed and routed at Mickasukee, they fled into the swamps, and towards the Spanish ports of St. Marks and Pensacola," though Jackson reported they offered no appreciable resistance. Jackson then decided to limit further assault to the strongest centers, St. Marks and Pensacola, where he believed the Indians would hope to find defense.<sup>29</sup> Northwestern Florida had become a veritable highway for the Creeks.

1821 - The Adams-Onis Treaty ratified. Jackson had arranged a peaceable occupation of Fort St. Marks with the Spanish authorities, then "dispersed and intimidated the Indians" 80 miles eastward and started his plan to cut off the two strong relief points: Spanish ports of St. Marks and Pensacola,<sup>29</sup> During this campaign, he was assisted by friendly Creek guides and warriors, from Georgia, and Florida tribes. In May, Pensacola was taken from the Spanish. The United States returned Pensacola and St. Marks to Spain; however, Jackson's war against Florida Creeks helped persuade Spain to cede Florida to the United States. Jackson was appointed Commissioner and Governor to administer the Florida territory, an office he held seven months with powers "more enlarged and extensive" than those granted to anyone before.<sup>30</sup>

The Creek Indian force during the Creek civil war that was raised by McIntosh to assist Jackson, must have nearly equaled the number of Jackson's troops.<sup>31</sup> Bowleks and Ene Amathla, both Florida Creeks, did not fight with the hostiles in the Creek War, yet had sided with the British against the United States by the time of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on December 27, 1814. In addition, towns listed for Florida Creeks decidedly included friendly towns. Indians, which led to the Treaty of Camp Moultrie—a treaty which included both “these very runaway Creeks” and “the others (Seminoles)”.<sup>32</sup>

The uncertainty about what should be done with the Florida Creeks, indicated that the decisions in regard to them, as indicated partly in the treaties affecting them, were essentially administrative decisions made by and on behalf of the United States government. Not only for General Jackson, but also for government officials and the frontier settlers, the guiding imperative was clear: white settlement. When the Adams-Onís Treaty with Spain was ratified in 1821, the white population of Florida was confined to St. Augustine and Pensacola, four hundred miles apart. The remainder of the territory was occupied by the Florida Indians. “Manifest Destiny” and the existence of the Florida Indians were at odds. On September 22, 1822, Governor Duval wrote to Secretary of War, Calhoun:

The view of your Department in relation to the Indians of Florida, “that they should join the Creek Indians in Georgia” ought if possible to be carried into effect; for place them in any situation you may in Florida, they can at any time cut off the communication between Pensacola and St. Augustine, for owing to the particular face of the Country, the communication between the two places must be high up in Florida [precisely the area of highest residential concentration of northwest Florida Creek Indians today, coincidentally] in order to pass the various streams that flow into the Gulf—If Congress will not agree to move the Florida Indians to the Upper Creeks, to whom they properly belong, they ought

to be sent West of the Mississippi - no treaty ought to be made with them until the country they occupy has been properly explored...<sup>33</sup>

In August, Governor DuVal ordered that all the Chiefs attend a treaty assembly at Fort Marks, but the assembly was postponed.<sup>34</sup> On December 7, 1822, Major Thomas Wright wrote to the then acting Governor Walton "...The provisions intended for the Indians [expected to assemble at St. Marks], I turned over...for the use of the troops or Indians... they were in want of them...particularly as their crops were extremely scant the last summer, and many of them they say, will suffer with hunger without aid from the Government". He concludes by reprimanding Mr. Richards, an Indian interpreter, for inciting the Indians "to assert and maintain their right to the lands they now occupy."<sup>35</sup>

1823 - The Treaty of Moultrie Creek. Secretary of War, Calhoun, commissioned James Gadsden and Bernardo Segui to hold a Treaty with the Florida Indians and, by June, Commissioner Gadsden urged the removal of the Indians from Florida altogether while affirming the view that the superior strength of the United States would induce the Indians to accept whatever terms it desired.<sup>36</sup> September 6, 1823, at Moultrie Creek near St. Augustine, the Indians had assembled. They agreed upon Neamathla, originally from Georgia, for their head man. Among those accompanying him were John Blount, Mulatto King, Tuske Haco, Econchatimico and others. The conference lasted several days. The Indians, distrusted the proceedings for Neamathla, John Blount (Lvfvko), Tuske Haco, Mulatto King, Emathlochee, and Econchatimico had no intention of leaving their Apalachicola lands. These six of the principal Chiefs<sup>37</sup> would not negotiate at first. Large concessions were made to these head men. The more humble were required to remove within a stipulated boundary; while their chiefs, and a few friends were permitted to remain in their old towns, and participate alike in the annuities and other benefits accruing under the treaty.<sup>38</sup> The treaty was signed on September 18th. On the following day,

Neamathla, Blunt, Tuske Haco, Mulatto King, Emathlochee, and Econchatimico signed a separate article

1823 - The Treaty of Payne's Landing. Separated the Creek people from the Seminole people, required the removal of the Indians to Mississippi and the relinquishment of their lands in peninsular Florida. Certain select Chiefs should be sent to Mississippi, to the land allotted to the Creeks, to choose a land suitable to their people and to secure "the favorable disposition of the Creeks to re-unite with the Seminoles as one people." Article I stipulated, in addition to the relinquishment of all Seminole lands in Florida, that the new Seminole land in Mississippi, "proportioned to their numbers, will be added to the Creek territory, and that the Seminoles will be received as a constituent part of the Creek Nation." Neamathla, Blunt, Tuske Haco, and the others of his group did not sign at Payne's Landing. The Apalachicola remained a Creek Indian tribe, and a potential entity after the signing of the Treaty at Moultrie Creek.

1827 - The United States arranged that the last Creek lands in Georgia should be ceded. Neither Alabama nor Georgia could contain themselves. Both Alabama's and Georgia's legislatures had taken action calculated to appropriate Creek lands even before the fraudulent treaty of McIntosh had been, though Alabama later desisted.<sup>40</sup> In Florida "the disposition to trample upon the Indians, manifested itself in all quarters." Indian Agent Gad Humphries wrote on the 6th of March, 1827 "...The coutee and brier root, which have hitherto been to them a tolerable dernier dependence, are almost entirely consumed. What they are to do another year I cannot imagine. They have not corn for this year's seed, nor can I procure it for them. Those particularly who during the late alarm were robbed of their guns, have been absolutely famishing..."<sup>41</sup>

At one point he cites an Act of Florida's Legislative Council, and comments on the means proposed to secure the removal of the Indians from that Territory, "...I have learnt enough since my arrival here to make me feel it to be an imperative duty to address you . .

. in time to prevent the disastrous consequences which must inevitable flow from . . . a law of the last legislative council, which is in the following words: An act to prevent the Indians from roaming at large, throughout the surrounding territory. Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, that if any Indian of the years of discretion venture to roam or ramble beyond the boundary lines of the reservations which have been assigned to the tribe or nation to which said Indian belongs, it shall and may be lawful for any person or persons, to apprehend, seize, and take said Indian and carry him before some justice of the peace, who is hereby authorized, empowered, and required, to direct (if said Indian have not a written permission from some agent, to do some specific act) that there shall be inflicted not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, at the discretion of the justice, on the bare back of said Indian, and moreover to cause the gun of the said Indian, if he have any, to be taken away from him..."<sup>42</sup>

1829 - Jackson's presidency "with the announced intention of driving the Indians across the Mississippi ...Alabama divided the Creek land and added it to organized counties and placed the Creeks under the jurisdiction of the local courts" even before the Washington treaty of 1832.<sup>43</sup> As if he had counted on the desired response from the states, Jackson followed Alabama's actions with "a communication to the Creeks urging them to preserve their political autonomy by removing beyond the limits of the state." Although in June of 1829, the Creeks agreed in Council to reject this proposal, General William Carroll and General John Coffee were already among the Creeks and Cherokees with instructions from the Secretary of War to persuade them to remove. Debo observes:

He [Secretary of War Eaton] instructed them to conceal the official character of their mission and to engage in this work of mercy to the Indians' by working on the chiefs privately in their homes. They were to point out the Indians' former strength and their present decline and the fertility and opportunities of the West. If this argument were to fail they were to resort to bribery.<sup>44</sup>

Meanwhile, Alabama was passing a law “prohibiting the word of an Indian from being received in court against that of a white man.”<sup>45</sup> Hence, the Creek was to be made destitute, not only of his property, but also of his values and moral sense. In August, the Chiefs voted in council to remain in their homeland and submit to state laws. Early in the following year (1830), a Lower Town delegation went to Washington to plea to remain in their homeland. However, Eaton replied by advising them to emigrate. Even the list of wrongs—“fifteen hundred intruders in the Lower Creek country, laying out homesteads, etc.”—sent by Eneah Micco in December, 1831, secured from Eaton no more than a repetition of his advice that only emigration could remedy these evils. On January 7, 1831, Eneah Micco, principal Chief, joined with other Chiefs of the Lower Creeks to send emissaries to Washington “protesting against the operation of the laws of Alabama over them and the settling of white people on their lands, which resulted in frequent clashes between the men of the two races.”<sup>46</sup> They concluded by declaring they could never consent to leave the lands of their fathers. This was to no avail. The years surrounding the Treaty of 1832 were “a bad beginning which lasted a long time, which broke Indian hearts for generation after generation, which inflicted destructions that no future time can wholly repair.”<sup>47</sup>

Destitution, starvation, theft of Creek property by white settlers, intrusion upon their lands in violation of the Government’s promises and treaty agreements were among the ills visited upon the eastern Creeks. When Major Philip Wager, commander of Fort Mitchell, attempted to enforce the Government’s obligation to remove white intruders, he was indicted by the grand jury of Pike County, Alabama, for creating “fear and confusion among the white settlers...operating materially to their injury.”<sup>48</sup> However, despite the condition of the Indians, in late 1830, residents of Mobile county petitioned their legislative representative to secure “the passage of a law to authorize Justices of the Peace etc., to seize any meat found in the possession of Indians who follow hunting for a

livelihood”, a proposal that was “soundly condemned” by the editor of the Mobile Commercial Register soon after. On December 13, 1831, Eneah Micco sent the Creek Agent John Crowell his memorial of wrongs. The list included 1500 whites, including horse thieves and other criminals, squatting on Indian lands, many of whom were declaring “the situations they design occupying, by blazing and cutting initials of their names on the trees around the homes of the Indians.” The memorial continued: “We expect to be driven from our homes... Yesterday in your hearing we were notified by a white man from Georgia that he had located himself in our country, and, should any thing of his be misplaced or interfered with, he should prosecute us under the law of Alabama.”<sup>49</sup>

1833 -When the delegation of Chiefs returned to Ft. Gibson, Arkansas, from their survey of the Mississippi country, they were greeted by a government delegation who forthwith presented them an “Additional Treaty” stating that the new country was suitable, and substantially re-affirming their agreement to the previous treaty. This took place at Fort Gibson. However, in Florida, the oldest and most influential chiefs, who had governed the nation for years, were unheard in this relinquishment of their possessions, and they resolved to resist by force the first attempt to dispossess them. Combined with prior events, it was a justifiable cause for war, according to the codes acknowledged by the white man himself. Humphries had described the government’s method of containment of the Indian, not truly a containing action, but “this war.” The war was, one must infer, instigated by the United States against the Seminoles and the acceptance of open warfare, commenced in 1837. From the three decades from the beginning of the war between the British and the United States the results were a division of the Creek tribes into hostile and friendly factions, Creek civil war, enforced geographical separation of ‘Florida Creeks from the rest of the Creek Confederacy through the establishment of the Jackson Corridor north of the Florida lines, the Seminoles’ final assertion of their

separate and distinct political identity, and the legitimization of the attempt to remove all Muskogee peoples from their homelands.

It was President Jackson's intent to extinguish Creek identity by assimilation, having failed to destroy the people by arms.<sup>50</sup> This attempt would also fail, though the Creek struggle against it continues into the present.

1832 - The Treaty at Washington. This begins with the infamous Article I: "The Creek tribe of Indians cede to the United States all their land East of the Mississippi River." It was the consummation of Government maneuvering, which had already sent small groups of Creeks to the place reserved for them beyond the Mississippi.

The difficulties these emigrants encountered in the west had an important effect upon the history of the eastern Creeks, including not only those who remained in their homelands but also those removed Creeks who would make their way back to the east. Creek emigrants' discovered that the Cherokee, who had emigrated from Arkansas, claimed the land they had been removed to along the Arkansas River. Creeks were again in great danger foraging for food and protecting their dwellings. The government failed for several years to provide removed Creeks the promised requisites for survival, and the displaced Creeks' search for game to feed and clothe their families was further hampered by the hostile western Indians.<sup>51</sup> Understandably, numbers of removed Creeks surreptitiously made their way back to the east. The very limited overview of events that have been mentioned thus far are extremely important to the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creeks because they define the pressures that caused eastern Creeks to keep their identity surreptitiously, and to quietly endure, over the years.

1832 - The Washington Removal Treaty stated that Creeks could remain on their lands for five years before leaving, with the provision they would not be compelled to emigrate but "shall be free to go or stay, as they please."<sup>52</sup> The treaty further provided that during this

five-year interim, intruders would be removed from the lands. A method of allotment was decided upon and incorporated into the treaty, according to which individual Indians would be given a portion of land of his own selection after a survey for this purpose had been completed. (By the 1850s, allotment had assumed a standard pattern as a device for breaking up tribal lands and terminating tribal existence by the 1850s.) It is important to point out the allotment principle was at work in all treaties affecting the Apalachicola Creeks (*infra*) of Florida, who were the forerunners of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot clan.

By May, 1833, Creek agent John L. Abert wrote to the Secretary of War complaining of the rapid reduction of the whole Creek people from “a state of comparative plenty to that of unqualified wretchedness and want.”<sup>53</sup> Later events still live in the family records of the Florida Creeks.. Of those Creeks who took refuge among the Cherokee,<sup>54</sup> some escaped removal with the Cherokees by making their way to Florida, which is why some members of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians are Creek/Cherokee.<sup>55</sup>

## SECTION A: ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Gatschet, Albert S., A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians, Vol. 1 (1884).
- <sup>2</sup> Swanton, John R., Social Organization and Social Usages of the Creek Indian Confederacy (Forty-Second Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology, 1928); see also Joel Martin, Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991).
- <sup>3</sup> Indian Claims Commission, No. 21, Creek Nation v. United States, Brief of the Creek Nation, pp. 1-2
- <sup>4</sup> Swanton, *Op. Cit.*
- <sup>5</sup> Swanton, John R. 1952. p. 116
- <sup>6</sup> Corkran, *Op. Cit.*, p. 53.
- <sup>7</sup> Swanton, *Op. Cit.*, p. 115.
- <sup>8</sup> DeVorse, Louis Jr., The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763-1775, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), pp. 230-234.
- <sup>9</sup> Kun-yoksau\* (Florida) adopted from the version in M. L. King Jr., History of Santa Rosa County (Individually published, 1972), p. 12. In Santa Rosa County Public Library, Milton, Florida.
- <sup>10</sup> W. T. Cash, The Story of Florida (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1938), pp. 109-127, *et passim*.
- <sup>11</sup> Public Records Office, London: Colonial Office Records. Colonies General., C.O. 323, 5-66 (1689-1843). Cited in DeVorse, *Op. Cit.*, p. 186.
- <sup>12</sup> DeVorse, *Op Cit.*, p.189.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* p. 189.

<sup>14</sup> Public Records Office, London. Colonial Office Records, C.O. 5-582. Cited in DeVorse, p. 214.

<sup>15</sup> DeVorse, *Op. Cit.*, p. 194.

<sup>16</sup> Colin Mitchell v. United States, 9 Peters 711, 34 United States 536 (1835), Court Records, pp. 752-753 in United States Court of Claims, Appeal Docket No. 1-70, McGhee v. United States.

<sup>17</sup> August 7, 1790, 7 Stat. 35, 2 Kapp. 25.

<sup>18</sup> Before the Indian Claims Commission, No. 21, Creek Nation v. United States, Brief of the Creek Nation, pp. 7-9. The Creeks had objections in 1814 to Gen. Jackson's lines, wherein the Creeks stated the Creek hunting grounds include "between Cossau and Tombigbee, and between this and Pensacola." Creek Nation v. United States, 2 Ind. Cl. Commission (1952). This and other instances cited show continuity of the Florida lands with Creek national domain, at least until of the 1832 treaty. Though the United States might have no qualms about drawing the lines for white settlement, the Spanish did press for Indian allies, and the lands south of 31st degree north latitude were in Spanish control. General Jackson's fact was not synonymous with Creek historical fact.

<sup>19</sup> Cash, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 121-122.

<sup>20</sup> Creek Nation v. United States, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 130-131.

<sup>21</sup> Before the Indian Claims Commission, No. 21. *Op. Cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

- <sup>25</sup> Transcript of Records, Supreme Court of the United States, October Term 1952, #227, *The Creek Nation Petitions v. C. W. McGhee, et al.*, p. 88.
- <sup>26</sup> Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), p. 110.
- <sup>27</sup> Bassett, John Spencer, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1927; New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969), Vol. II, p. 323n. Bassett cites, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 154-162, for a detailed account.
- <sup>28</sup> John Henry Eaton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (Philadelphia: McCary and Davis, 1828), p. 278.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.
- <sup>31</sup> M.M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964, reprint of the 1836 ed.), p. 43.
- <sup>32</sup> Cohen, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 46-48.
- <sup>33</sup> *Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XXII, pp. 533-534.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 576.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 577-579.
- <sup>36</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 433-434.
- <sup>37</sup> these six principal Chiefs of the Florida Creek Indians were recognized because they, "...have warmly appealed to the Commissioners for permission to remain in the district of country now inhabited by them; and in consideration of their friendly disposition, and past services to the United States..." (Kappler, *Indian Treaties*: p.203-204). Moreover, the government did not or would not recognize the traditional

matrilineal forms of government that many Creek towns practiced. For example, Benjamin Hawkins would write that, "The Creeks never had, till this year, a national government and law. Everything of a general tendency, was left to the care and management of the public agents, who heretofore used temporary expedients only; and amongst the most powerful and persuasive, was the pressure of fear from without, and presents." (Sketch of the Creek Country, p. 67) Though only partially correct, Hawkins would try hard to establish a regular form of government, based not on Indian culture or tradition but upon the only anglo model he knew.

<sup>38</sup> John T. Sprague, The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War (New York: A. Appleton and Company, 1848), p. 23.

<sup>39</sup> David Adams and Daniel Newman to Governor John Clark, 31 December, 1820. Cited in Antonio J. Waring, ed., Laws of the Creek Nation (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960) p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> R.S. Cotterill, The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before the Removal (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1954), pp. 219-220.

<sup>41</sup> Sprague, *Op. Cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>42</sup> Gad Humphries, Agent, to Col. Thomas L. McKenny, Office of Indian Affairs, February 9, 1835; in Sprague, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>43</sup> Angie Debo, The Road to Disappearance (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 96-97.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>45</sup> Grant Foreman, Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932; 1953) pp. 107-109.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107

- 47 Cohen, *Op. Cit.*, p. xxi.
- 48 Niles' Weekly Register, May 8, 1830 in Foreman, *Op. Cit.*, p.109.
- 49 Office of Indian Affairs, *Op. Cit.*, 709, in Foreman, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 709-710.
- 50 Andrew Jackson, "First Annual Message - Dec 8, 1829, " in A Compilation of the Messages and Papers fo the Presidents, 1789-1902,(Washington: Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1903), Vol II, pp. 442-466.51 in Foreman, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 147-152.
- 52 *Ibid.*, pp 198-199.
- 53 *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.
- 54 John Abert to Secretary of War Lewis Cass, U.S. Senate Document 512. Cited in Holatte Cvpvkke, "Drove Off Like Dogs," Indians of the Lower South: Past and Present, John K. Mahon, ed. (Pensacola: Gulf Coast Humanities Conference, 1975), p. 119.
- 55 Andrew Boggs Ramsey, Taped interview, Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians, June, 1978.

## **SECTION B: 1834 TO 1973**

Section A of the Chronology provided historical evidence for the existence of Creek Indians in Northwest Florida and covered those treaties which the U.S. Government initiated with the old Creek Nation for land sessions. These treaties were breached by both the Government and settlers as well. Major treaties such as the Treaty of Payne's Landing and the Treaty of Fort Moultrie provided concessions (monies, goods, protection) for land cession but were breached shortly thereafter by the government and settlers.<sup>1</sup> General Andrew Jackson - military leader, Governor, and President - had clearly determined to remove Creek people from their native lands without compensation.

Questions of what ultimately happened to the Eastern Creeks find multiple answers. Some never left. Some were removed, and shortly returned again because the conditions on the Arkansas River and the Canadian River were intolerable. Others, who were being forced into removal changed their minds, jumping from the carts of their captors in order to make an escape.<sup>2</sup>

From the 1820's onward, white settlement spread rapidly across the Florida lands. Creeks who remained or returned concealed themselves in the forests and swamplands. From 1817-1828, Juan de la Rúa had a lumbermill enterprise on Pond Creek (eight miles from the Blackwater River, Santa Rosa County) but laborers were difficult to keep because of the presence of the Indians.

The Florida Creek Indians retained their identity by maintaining the cultural tradition of family and clan while outwardly adapting to most community mores. Interspersed among a white population, as a means of survival, few of them had a definite location and land-

base like those who endured decades of troubles on the McGhee-Semoice lands at Poarch, Alabama. (There are a number of Florida Creeks, especially in Escambia County, that were born in the Poarch community or descended from the Poarch Creeks.) Others, such as the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot clan, still continue to live in the old Indian reservation of present day Bloutstown. For a large number of post-removal Eastern Creeks in Florida, the only consciousness of the Creek Indian identity was able to be shared in small communities that were based on family ties, large and completely related family clans, church gatherings, and the clannishness that exemplifies rural North Florida. From early removal the eastern Creeks learned they had two options: (a) to keep their Creek Indian identity surreptitiously, or (b) to forsake living in Florida altogether.

The Creeks of Apalachicola suffered depredations upon their cattle by white settlers, were cheated out of their annuities, were deprived of goods necessary to their subsistence in violation of the Ft. Moultrie treaty, were forbidden to engage in trade and when robbed After the Treaty at Payne's Landing, the Apalachicola Creeks continued to be treated separately. However, in the formation of the treaty, the Apalachicola Creeks were not party to the negotiations; and in fact, the Apalachicola Creeks were subsequently "Subjected to the hostilities of the Seminoles." George Gibson wrote to the Secretary of War, Lewis Cass:

"It will be seen that the Indians mentioned by the Agent are a part of those to whom the government guaranteed the peaceable possession of certain reservations of land by the Treaty of Camp Moultrie, dated 18 September, 1823. The Agent represents them to be now, and to have ever been, peaceable and friendly towards the whites, and that, indeed, when called upon by the Governor of Florida, they sent their warriors to battle for the United States. It further appears, that the operations of the peculiarly unfortunate and oppressed. They have been subjected to the hostilities of the Seminoles, and the treachery and plunder of the whites. They have been robbed of their slaves and other property, and

driven from their homes; and having been prevented from raising their usual crops, they are greatly suffering for subsistence. They have applied to this office for some corn and beef. Not conceiving it to be the province of this office to furnish the supply asked for, I refer the matter to the Secretary of War in the hope that he will consider that the under the Resolution authorizing the President to furnish rations to certain inhabitants of Florida, [5 Stat.131] passed February 1, 1836..."<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, United States officials persisted willfully and wrongly to identify the Apalachicolas (who were then and are now Creek Indians) with the Seminole Nation.<sup>4</sup> Neamathla was a Creek Chief who refused to oblige Florida's Governor DuVal in his efforts to effectuate the Florida Indians' removal. Eventually, Neamathla was deposed by DuVal. In the Creek "Wars" of 1836, Neamathla and Jim Henry were principal leaders of the hostiles. In June of that year, Neamathla was captured, enchained, and brought to Ft. Mitchell where about a thousand of his followers surrendered a few days later. His captors were led by the friendly Creek, High Head Jim, from whom a number of Florida Creeks are directly descended.<sup>5</sup> Those of Neamathla's hostiles who escaped this incident returned to Florida. Meanwhile, the Apalachicola Creeks and other northwest Florida Creeks continued their distinct Creek Indian destiny.

In the year of Payne's Landing, Jackson had ordered a separate negotiation with the Apalachicola Creeks for Creek removal. John Blount's band were suffering from cholera, from which forty-seven had died. Of the others, fifty tribespeople sought residency among the distraught Creek Indians of Alabama (leaving one hundred sixty-three in Blount's band)<sup>6</sup> that Yellow Hair and his group were granted permission to join. Flood, disease, drought, white enmity, and land-avarice caused some to prefer removal. However, Econchatimicco, Mulatto King, and others did not wish to be removed, and seemed not to have understood the treaties they signed in 1833 that required their removal. Government agencies kept records of Apalachicola Creeks, who emigrated or agreed to emigrate,

along with some other data including the payment of annuities.<sup>7</sup> However, official records of Apalachicola Creeks of those who remained are either scarce or non-existent. From 1832 to 1836, Creeks living at the Apalachicola reserves led a troubled, vacillating existence. The Apalachicolas were Creek Indians, continued to be Creek Indians, and today are accounted for among the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians.

Beginning early in 1836, Indian problems kept West Florida in a state of turmoil. The Second Seminole War, remote in one sense, spelled potential trouble to many West Floridians. They expected to be caught in the middle as Creeks fleeing removal from Alabama and Georgia passed through the area to join the warring Seminoles. Rumors of Indians sighted on rivers and bays in the area prompted at least two county meetings in May 1836, one in Marianna, the other in Quincy. Citizens of Jackson County called for the President to send troops and order a stockade built to protect them while Gadsen County people asked the Territorial Governor to disarm the Indians still living on the Apalachicola River.<sup>8</sup>

The Apalachicola Indians were in dire straits. Caught in the middle, they were attacked by the Seminole and suspected by non-Indians of assisting the Creeks. They did, in fact, take in some Creek warriors, but they also went to fight with the whites against the Seminole. Finally in 1838, they agreed to emigrate after federal officials had threatened to cut off their annuities and leave them to the jurisdiction of Florida laws.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the official removal policy, Indians did remain scattered throughout the West Florida panhandle. During the 1840s, newspapers, travelers, land surveyors, military officers, and other government officials reported Indians living in the swamps and timberlands from Blackwater Bay to south of Tallahassee. Most of these Indians survived in very small groups which tried to remain aloof from the non-Indian settlers. However, a few larger bands of up to several dozen Creeks roamed the countryside.<sup>10</sup>

From the perspective of many whites, Indians were marauders responsible for some of the most violent crimes along the frontier. James Long, writing from Holmes Valley in November 1842, described the Indians as:

part of the renegade Creeks [who] have no doubt concealed themselves in West and Middle Florida for five or six years past and are supposed to number from forty to sixty warriors. Their location or home is generally believed to be in the east side of the Apalachicola River, in some of the dismal swamps that abound in that country, from whence marauding parties penetrate the frontier settlements of the country east and west and commit their savage depredations<sup>11</sup>

Further reports of the Indians' presence spread rapidly causing many zealous and patriotic non-Indian settlers to try to kill or force the Indians from the region. Search parties of white settlers and military personnel became an all too familiar sight. Furthermore, the Second Seminole War, in the southern peninsula, further heightened the sensitivities of the panhandle citizenry.<sup>12</sup>

However, evidence suggests that many stories about Indian atrocities were distorted. For example, Brigadier General W.J. Worth in late 1843, indicated that the Indians of Florida "kept perfect good faith with the terms of the peace treaty of August 14, 1842", and that "the whites are very generally expressing the wish that the Indians shall be allowed to remain."<sup>13</sup>

Although the West Florida frontier was not hospitable, the situation for the Creeks in Georgia and Alabama proved even less desirable. From the 1840s onward, Creeks migrated into Florida from the adjacent states. Quite naturally, the western section of the panhandle received most of the Alabama refugees and the Georgia Creeks came to reside in Jackson, Calhoun, and other eastern Florida counties. In 1848, Creeks around the town of McLellan, north Santa Rosa County, were a constant presence during the cutting of railroad ties for the railroad proposed for Milton.<sup>14</sup> There was much Creek Indian

## Exemption 6

movement across the north Florida border and the Creeks were reluctantly adopting the ways of white civilization, assuming white names, even outwardly declaring European or Mulatto identity to avoid the consequences of being Creek Indian.

By the end of the Civil War, many counties had received these Indian migrants.<sup>15</sup> The story of the Choctawatchee Clan in Part IV of the petition illustrates this point.

The Ward's migration reflects but one pattern of Indian settlement which existed for a century throughout the panhandle--a family moves into Florida, removes itself from extensive interaction with its original location, and established itself over several generations in a sparsely settled region. Conversely another settlement pattern operated. A relatively close knit group of Creek Indians lived in rural Escambia and Monroe Counties in Alabama. Centered around what became known as the Poarch community northwest of Atmore, these descendants of the Weatherfords, Tates, Sizemores, and Colberts of Baldwin and Monroe Counties and the McGhees, Manacs and Rolins of Escambia retained a close identification with their past. While some people permanently left this area for West Florida in the 1890s, many more proved far more transitory moving back and forth between Alabama and Florida, especially Escambia and Santa Rosa Counties.<sup>16</sup>

The Stewarts came from Uriah, in Monroe County, about 1906, to Muscogee on the Perdido River. There the family settled and worked in the woods, but continued many Creek traditions. For example, a descendant today remembers his father and grandfather regularly dressing in traditional Indian clothes. His grandparents reminisced about taking care of Sam Manac in his old age.<sup>17</sup>

Another Alabama family, the Thomleys, first came to northern Escambia County in the early twentieth century to work for the Alger Sullivan Lumber Company. The family went back and forth until 1944 when a son came to stay.<sup>18</sup> (b) (6) came to Pensacola from Atmore after her marriage to a white man in 1938, and lived subsequently

in both Escambia and Monroe counties.<sup>19</sup> She provides a third example of this migration pattern which became widespread in the twentieth century.

A few Creek Indians returned to their homelands after spending time in Oklahoma or Texas. Yellow Hair, for example, visited his wife and children who had remained in the Apalachicola area. This migration pattern for Northwest Florida Creek Indians, however, seems inconsequential in comparison with the other two patterns from Georgia and Alabama.<sup>20</sup>

Determining the precise number of Creek Indians living in Florida proves exceedingly difficult. For reasons discussed below, few people of Indian heritage wished to identify their actual race on official records until very recently. A review of census returns, city directories, court records, selective service material for World War I, the Cherokee Claims files from 1907, and other evidence suggests that at least 700 Creeks resided in Northwest Florida by 1920.<sup>21</sup> Fifty years later the official 1970 census reported only 882 Indians living in the 17 counties from Pensacola to Perry, but other population surveys estimate a more accurate figure for people of Creek heritage would be about 6,000.<sup>22</sup>

Although the Creeks originally were rural dwellers, a significant number now lived in urban areas. Again, specific information is scant; an in depth study of about 150 Creeks in Escambia County in the early twentieth century reveals slightly more than one-half living in Pensacola.<sup>23</sup> Census data for 1970 indicates 597 or 80 percent of the Escambia and Santa Rosa County Indians (both Creek and non-Creek) resided in metropolitan Pensacola.<sup>24</sup>

Many factors well known to American historians contributed to the migration of Creeks. The economic and social pressures of the aggressive white population which originally had led to removal continued to threaten Indians remaining in Georgia and Alabama. These conditions seemed particularly dismal when compared with the perceived opportunities in West Florida. Professor Anthony Paredes believes the out migration from

the Poarch community reflects the penetration of white civilization into this remote section of rural Alabama beginning in the 1880s. Without question, the lack of economic opportunity and the unwillingness of many Indians to exist as subsistence farmers pushed them into Florida.<sup>25</sup>

The panhandle had its own attractions. Like other rural residents of the Gulf states, most of the Creeks had little formal education; therefore, employment for them was in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. Because the region contained large amounts of unsettled land, opportunities existed from the 1840's onward for farming and livestock herding, for working in the woods with the lumber and turpentine companies, and for employment with the railroads. While most Indians provided menial labor for the woods industries, a few worked at more complex occupations such as carpenter and locomotive operator. Even Indians who wished to remain less assimilated in the work force could and often did discover isolated regions to eke subsistence life from the woods, rivers, bays, and gulf until the 1960s.<sup>26</sup>

Urban related economic activities especially in Pensacola also beckoned Creeks. Many of the jobs again were unskilled including delivery work, caulkers in the shipyards, fishing, teamsters, etc. In addition, some Creeks practiced such crafts as dressmaking, tailoring, barbering, and painting. The Navy Yard, paper mills, and chemical plants emerged as important employers during the second third of the twentieth century when the migration from southern Alabama became especially pronounced.<sup>27</sup>

A few Creeks, whether in rural or urban areas, entered white collar occupations. Included in this category were bookkeepers, teachers, merchants, and government officials. A labor survey in the early 1970s indicated, however, that the major employment occupations were farming, laborers, semi- skilled and paraprofessionals.<sup>28</sup>

Despite these opportunities, the economic status of most Creek Indians were poor. When they migrated to Florida, many did not purchase land. Instead these people either

rented or squatted. Land ownership came gradually, yet even the more successful Indians were normally of modest means.<sup>29</sup> A study of 900 Indians employed in Escambia and Santa Rosa Counties in the early 1970s found 40 percent had income below the poverty level of \$4,100 and about 55 percent of all families had family incomes of \$7,000 per year or less. Fifty-five percent were not high school graduates. Evidence suggests that similar economic conditions existed for Creek Indians throughout the Panhandle.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to perceived economic opportunities, social practices, specifically racial attitudes, influenced Creek migration. During the nineteenth century, Indians thought they could avoid some of the more blatant racial hostility by reestablishing themselves in Florida. Here they could "blend" into the White rural culture or the more cosmopolitan Pensacola. Evidence concerning differences in attitudes about Indians between Alabama and West Florida is conflicting. Some Indians reported overt discrimination in Alabama, but others remember little hostility. What is certain, "becoming white" in outward practices reduced or eliminated many of the potential problems.<sup>31</sup>

Before the Civil War, the legal status of the Florida Indian changed. As discussed above, Federal policy required the removal of the Creeks to the western territory. Indian agents following federal directives sought out people to resettle until well after the Civil War. Fear of the Seminoles and frustration over the Federal Government's apparent inability to remove all the Indians led the State of Florida in 1853 to make "unlawful for an Indian or Indians to remain within the limits of this State, and any Indian or Indians that remain or may be found within the limits of this State shall be captured and sent West of the Mississippi provided: that the Indians and half breeds residing among the whites, shall not be included in the provisions of the section."<sup>32</sup> Despite this later exclusion, many people, both Indian and white, thought that the intent of Federal and state law was to make it illegal for Indians to live in Florida.

Because of hostility toward the Indian and legal uncertainties, people of Indian heritage frequently found life more secure by concealing their racial identities if they lived among whites. These people slowly adapted the folkways of rural southern Whites, such as housing styles, fundamentalist religious beliefs, a penchant for square dancing, dietary practices, and dress. In many families, interracial marriages further accelerated this process with Indian women marrying white men. Whether by design or unconscious evolution, significant cultural modification had started for most residents of Indian ancestry by the early 1900s, and many people, both red and white, had forgotten their Creek heritage.<sup>33</sup>

A few Indians over the years adopted successfully some of the more pronounced characteristics of white society. The story of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot (Perrit) Clan in Part IV of the petition illustrates this point.

One of the leading families of Indian decent was the Boggs who had both Cherokee and Creek blood. During the 1850s, Polly Perrit, the matriarch who lived from 1784 to 1897, settled her clan deep into the wilderness about 16 miles northwest of Blountstown. Dominated by Polly, the family lived as squatters wresting a subsistence agricultural life from the soil and woods. Although English was spoken, many other Indian "ways" were practiced until the late nineteenth century. Then the intrusion of the white culture, especially lumbering along the Chipola River, caused the older women of the extended family to encourage the young males to learn about white customs. The economic activity of the river trading post in Blountstown proved especially alluring. As a teenager, James Daniel Boggs got a job rafting logs down the Chipola River to the Apalachicola River and then the Bay. From his savings, he established in Blountstown about 1908 a general store which became quite successful. James, who was treated as white, used his income from the store to purchase Calhoun County school board bonds, pay teachers during the depression, and purchase substantial property in the region. After his death in 1933 the

store failed, but a son eventually repurchased the store and the family operated it as part of the Piggly Wiggly food chain. At the same time, a grandson earned a doctorate and worked in an administrative position for the Calhoun County School Board.<sup>34</sup>

Another more recent example involves the Rolins, one of the most extensive Poarch families. Buford Rolin's parents were sharecroppers on a small Alabama farm, and his father also worked as a migrant laborer in the orange groves of South Florida. Money was so scarce that Buford and his siblings hired out in the nearby fields after school and during the summer. Following graduation from high school, the young Rolin in 1958 attended college for one year and soon entered the U.S. Army. Upon his discharge, he returned to Pensacola in 1964 where he worked as an officer of a road paving company and became a leader in the Indian community.<sup>35</sup>

As in other regions, Indians and blacks also intermarried. Yet, the position of the Indians within the late 19th century society seemed more secure than that of the Blacks. When the Cherokee Indians Claims Commissioner held hearing in January of 1907, for example, a number of Creole colored families petitioned to be recognized as Indians. At the same time, most Indians tried to be disassociated from blacks.<sup>36</sup>

Racial hostility against both Indians and blacks intensified in the early twentieth century although systematic overt discrimination towards Indians seems less blatant. Stories abound of racial stereotyping such as "she is a dirty little Indian" or "he is a lazy drunken Indian." Some evidence of discrimination in housing, schools, and access to "white" cemeteries also exists.<sup>37</sup>

All Indians, however, did not equally confront these problems. The color of complexion normally proved a mitigating factor---informants noted that ancestors with lighter colored skin or hair had less difficulty than those that "really looked Indian." Both education and economic success for Indians lessened racial friction.<sup>38</sup> To conclude, twentieth century racial discrimination worked against the Creek Indian especially if he

looked Indian, was poor, and uneducated. These conditions understandably affected acculturation. The family became the mechanism for perpetuating the Creek heritage. Within the confines of the home, information was passed on frequently by the mother who was of Indian lineage. Some families continued features of Creek dress into the twentieth century while others spoke a few Creek words; used Indian hunting, trapping and fishing techniques; practiced herbal medicines; enjoyed such dietary favorites as gophers, honey and corn; used yard brooms made of gallberry bushes; made reed, split oak and pine straw baskets; followed traditional burial practices; and quilted. The extended family provided a means to communicate these customs and values and the periodic family reunions further reenforced this important kinship network. For example, more than 100 members frequently attended the Wards, Boggs, McGhee and Rolin family reunions in the 1960s.<sup>39</sup>

The cultural disintegration of the Florida Creek Indians closely paralleled a similar national process. After the late 1880s, the federal government attempted for more than a half century to encourage individual land ownership, especially small family farms, and thereby weaken tribalism. At the same time, the national policy sought to reimburse Indians for land originally taken from their ancestors.<sup>40</sup> Both aspects of the emerging Indian policy appealed to the economic desires of most of these people.

Individuals have been willing to assert their Indian heritage to obtain money even though this disclosure frequently subjected them to racial or other social injustices. As early as the first decade of the twentieth century, panhandle residents tried to prove they were Indian in order to become eligible for federal payments. Of course, none of the more than 500 Alabama and West Florida Creeks who petitioned for the Eastern Cherokee Claims monies were ruled eligible, although Special Commissioner Guion Miller observed, "This idea was spread in certain sections of the south by some attorneys and claims agents who were themselves under the impression that Eastern Creeks were entitled to share in this fund."<sup>41</sup> Rebuffed by the court, the Creeks once again publicly forgot their Indian

## Exemption 6

heritage. Within ten years only two males in West Florida, (b) (6) of Escambia County and (b) (6) of Santa Rosa County, declared Indian as their race during registration for Selective Service.<sup>42</sup>

While the national policy began to shift again in the early 1930s to re-establish Indian culture, this development had no perceptible impact on West Florida until the early 1950s.<sup>43</sup> Then the quest for civil rights and the drive for land payments encouraged the public identification of Indian. Each of these developments originated regionally in southern Alabama.

In the late 1940s, the Poarch community, under the leadership of Calvin McGhee, challenged the Alabama Escambia County Board of Instruction to provide an appropriate public school for elementary students and access to public education beyond sixth grade. The process of gaining victory by 1950 enhanced the group identification whether the people actually lived in Alabama or just maintained ties.<sup>44</sup> In West Florida, discussion of civil rights throughout the 1950s and early 1960s centered on conditions in other areas, yet this awareness helped foster a more positive attitude among the Creek Indians although these people continued socially to keep to themselves. A few individuals such as (b) (6), Connie Palmer, Charles Daniels, and Andrew Ramsey studied more systematic ways to incorporate Creeks' cultural traditions. Crafts such as basketmaking, quilting, pottery, and weaving began to be practiced.<sup>45</sup> Land claims once again emerged as a vital issue in the Indian communities. After many years of debate, Congress in 1946 created the Indian Claims Commission to review petitions from Indians seeking reimbursement for ancient tribal lands. Although the Oklahoma Creeks filed the first claim in 1948, Calvin McGhee learned of the process two years later. Fresh from his success in the school controversy, McGhee began to organize Creeks along the Gulf Coast and establish the Perdido Band of Friendly Creek Indians of Alabama and Northwest Florida. McGhee and other leaders developed the strategy which consisted of recruiting

## Exemption 6

competent legal advice from Claude Pepper, Lenoir Thompson and others, drawing attention to the process through the sponsorship of Pow-Wow and other Indian cultural activities, and urging people of Creek heritage to prove their Indian ancestry. Through these efforts the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi, as McGhee's group came to be known, was permitted to enter a claim with the Oklahoma Creeks, was found in 1955 to be eligible for payment for almost nine million acres of land, and was awarded jointly 3.9 million dollars in 1962, although Congress did not appropriate funds for the claim until 1967 and the monies were not paid to individuals until 1972.<sup>46</sup>

The progress of the land claims on Docket 21 provided the rallying point for many Florida Creek Indians for more than two decades. People such as Perloca Linton and her daughter (b) (6) worked thousands of hours at much personal cost to gather genealogical information and prepare petitions. Hundreds of meetings were held at both the local and regional levels to maintain support.<sup>47</sup> Creeks with important political connections such as Jesse Joe Ward lobbied leaders including Senators Spessard Holland, George Smathers, John Sparkman, and Lyndon B. Johnson as well as Representative Robert L. Sikes to push the claims case. Finally, Creeks were willing to provide demonstrations on Indian customs for such public events as the Pensacola Quadricentennial Celebration and the annual Fiesta of Five Flags.<sup>48</sup>

Without question, the land claims case proved the most important factor encouraging the formal "coming out" of many Florida Creeks. Both personal activities and widespread newspaper coverage from the early 1950s onward drew sustained public attention to the Florida Creeks for the first time in almost a century. At the same time, many of the key white politicians became acutely aware that their constituencies contained Creek Indians. The total society now remembered this Native American heritage.

## SECTION B: ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Of the 14 treaties that the United States government made with the Creeks between 1790-1833 many of the signers are directly related to many modern day members of Florida Tribe. Some of these signers include; William McIntosh, William McIntosh Jr., Chilly McIntosh, Roly McIntosh, Charles Cornells, Alexander Cornells, Alexander McGillivray, William McGillivray, Charles Durant, Captain Issacs, Yellow Hare, William Colbert, John Blunt, Osa Hajo (Major Davy), Tuski Hadjo, Coa Thlokco (Cockrane), Opothello (John Stidham), Chocoatie Tustonnucky, William Kannard, George Colbert, and David Adams. Other Creeks, who led the Red Stick parties against the United States, such as Josiah Francis, Little Warrior, William Weatherford (Red Eagle), Peter McQueen, William and Thomas Perryman, Alexander Durant, Samuel Manac and High Head Jim are also forefathers of many decents of modern day Florida Tribe Creek people. Had the varioius secretaries of treaty proceedings been more careful in spelling of the Indian names, perhaps others could also be identified.

<sup>2</sup> Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, pp. 174-175.

<sup>3</sup> The Territorial Papers of the United States, XXV, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 312n.

<sup>5</sup> Files of the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council.

<sup>6</sup> Covington, op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Statements of residents and annuity payments, Apalachicola reservation cf. appendix.

<sup>8</sup> During 1836 and 1837, West Floridians reported seeing Creeks fleeing from Georgia and Alabama. Several county meetings were called at which citizens proposed raising a

militia to defend the area. Pensacola even sent out a scouting party to locate Creeks reported near the Blackwater Bay. Pensacola Gazette May 28, 1836, March 11, 1837, May 13, 1837, July 15, 1837. TP XXV, 283, 284-285, 327.

<sup>9</sup>. Elbert Herring to Wiley Thompson, December 23, 1834, TP XXV, 83; Carey A. Harris to George Walker, August 2, 1837, 409; and Walker to Harris, January 25, 1838, 458-459.

<sup>10</sup>. Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartly Crawford, November 25, 1838, in Wilcomb E. Washburn, The American Indian and the United States, Vol. I (New York: Random House, 1973), pp. 35-36; Memorial to Congress by Richard K. Call, February 26, 1840, TP XXVI, p. 353; Adjutant General to Josiah H. Vose, September 12, 1842, TP XXVI, p. 538; Pensacola Gazette, February 2, 1840, August 7, 1841, August 9, 1842, September 14, 1842, January 13, 1844, February 24, 1844, November 20, 1847, November 27, 1847, January 1, 1853; Tallahassee Sentinel, June 25, 1841, August 26, 1842; The Floridian, January 8, 1842; Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser, November 4, 1847, November 18, 1847; John M. Irwin to Col. Robert Butler, Surveyor General of the United States for Florida, October 16, 1847, Letters and Reports from Deputy Surveyors to the Surveyor General, Vol. I, 1825-1827, pp. 843-848, State Department of Natural Resources cited as Surveyors Letters and Reports, DNR. John M. Irwin to Col. Robert Butler, Surveyor General of the United States for Florida, July 27, 1848, and February 17, 1849, Vol. II, 1848-1856, pp. 77-79, 85-88, Surveyors Letters and Reports, DNR. See also, McKinnon, History of Walton County, pp. 118-128,

and W.T. Cash, "Taylor County History and Civil War Deserters", Florida Historical Quarterly 26 (January 1948): 29-33.

<sup>11</sup>. James W. Long to John C. Spencer, Secretary of War, November 16, 1842, in 28 Congress, 1st Sess., House Executive Document 253, cited as House Executive Doc. 253.

12. Ibid., See especially John C. Spencer to James Long, November 28, 1843; Henry A. Nunes to Major Jacob Brown, January 16, 1844; M. Arbuckle to General R. Jones, January 23, 1844; Lt. A. Montgomery to Major Jacob Brown, March 30, 1844; Paul McCormick to Col. Robert Butler, Surveyor General, January 18, 1838, Surveyor's Letters and Reports, Vol. I, pp. 141-43.

13. W.J. Worth to General R. Jones, November 17, 1843, House Executive Doc. 253.

14. Oral history tape, the Barnhill's June, 1978, Santa Rosa Committee for Indian Affairs, NWFCIC/FTECI.8. James W. Covington, "Federal Relations with the Apalachicola Indians," The Florida Historical Quarterly (October 1963), 128-129.

15. U.S. Census, Population Schedule, Florida, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900; Oral interviews with Connie Palmer, Andrew Ramsey, Perloca Linton, Corrie McCann, Louise Phillips, Gloria Faye Bates, Julia Mae Dunn, Mrs. R. W. Barnett, Homer Gaines, James Waite, and Arthur Turner, all conducted in late 1979 and early 1980.

16. J. Anthony Paredes, "Back From Disappearance: The Alabama Creek Indian Community", in Walter L. Williams, ed. Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1979), pp. 124-128, cited as Paredes, "Back from Disappearance".

17. Oral interviews with George Curtis Wells and H.M. Stewart, January 7, 1980, and with H.M. Stewart, April 10, 1980; George C. Wells, Affidavit for Creek Land Claims, April 13, 1955.

18. Interview with John Wesley Thomley, March 3, 1980.

19. Interviews with T.M. Parker and Carolyn Davis, January 25, 1980, and Carolyn Davis, February 1, 1980.

20. Interview with H.M. Stewart, April 10, 1980, and Connie Palmer, February 17, 1980. See also A Narrative of the Early Days and Remembrances of Ocoola

Nikkanochee, Prince of Econchatti Written By His Guardian, Intro. by Frank Laumer, Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1977).

21. U.S. Census Returns for 1890 and 1900 were carefully analyzed as were Pensacola City Directories, 1885, 1894, 1896, 1900, 1903, 1905, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1921-1922; the Selective Service Registration Records for World War I at Federal Records Center, East Point, Georgia; Escambia and Santa Rosa County Deed, Probate and Court Records; and Guion Miller, Special Commissioner, "Report to U.S. Court of Claims, The Eastern Cherokees v. the United States, No. 23214, May 28, 1909, Record Group 75, National Archives, cited as Guion Miller, Cherokee Claims.

22. U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Population Census, Characteristics of the Population: Vol. I, Pt. II, Florida Section, pp. 154-155; Interview, Carolyn Davis; Creek Census Project, 1976, Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council.

23. Rolla Queen, "Creek Indians Residing in Escambia County, Florida, 1890-1940", February 1980, manuscript in possession of authors.

24. West Florida Regional Planning Council, "Socio- Economic and Demographic Data For All Census Tracts and Enumeration Districts in Region I According to the U.S. Census, 1970, Fifth Count".

25. Paredes, "Back From Disappearance", p. 129, and Mary Elizabeth Young, Redskins, Ruffleshirts and Rednecks: Indian Allotment in Alabama and Mississippi, 1830-1860 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 96-113.

26. U.S. Census of Population Schedules, Florida, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900; Selective Service Registration Records; Oral interviews with Connie Thrower, Gloria Faye Magaha Bates, Perloca Linton, and Malzie Pate.

27. Ibid., Pensacola City Directories, Oral Interviews with Buford Rolin, John Thomley, Ruth Hogan, and Kathy Mason.

28. Oral interviews with Andrew Ramsey, Ward Family, Connie Palmer, and Ruth Hogan; Census materials and City directories; Willie J. Junior, Executive Director, Community Action Program Committee, Inc., to Bobby Crooks, Manpower Specialist, United Southeastern Tribes, Inc., Memorandum and Indian Manpower Program Proposal, December 30, 1975, cited as Willie J. Junior, "Memorandum".

29. Rolla Queen, "Creek Indian Residency".

30. Willie J. Junior, "Memorandum". See also interviews with Andrew Ramsey, Mildred Grant, the Evans Family, William Sadler, Carolyn Davis, and Sam Blue.

31. Oral interviews with Buford Rolin, H.M. Stewart, Carolyn Davis, Tennie Davis, and Andrew Ramsey; Robert C. Macy, "The Indians of the Alabama Coastal Plain", Alabama Historical Quarterly 1 (Winter 1930), 408-409.

32. Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, Sixth Session, Chapter 555-(No. 76). Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, U.S., 50th Congress, 1st Sess., Senate, Executive Document No. 198, pp. 133-136. As late as the 1880s, some local white citizens feared Indians; see Woodward B. Skinner, "Geronimo Coming", The Echo 1 (Spring 1980), 1.

33. Regional newspapers in Pensacola and Tallahassee no longer carried stories identifying regional residents as Indian; oral interviews further substantiate this conclusion.

34. Interview with Dr. Andrew Ramsey, February 17, 1980, and genealogical materials provided authors by Dr. Ramsey.

35. Interview with Buford Rolin, February 6, 1980.

36. Guion Miller, Cherokee Claims.

37. Oral interviews with Ruby Semich, Letha McGhee, Connie Thrower, Andrew Ramsey, Carolyn Davis, and Perloca Linton.
38. Oral interviews with Andrew Ramsey, Perloca Linton, Connie Palmer, and Homer Gaines.
39. Oral interviews with H.M. Stewart and George Wells, Carolyn Davis, Connie Palmer, Faye Magaha Bates, Julie Dunn, Mrs. R.W. Barnett, Andrew Ramsey, Buford Rolin, and Malzie Pate.
40. William T. Hagan, "The Reservation Policy: Too Little and Too Late," in Jane F. Smith and Robert N. Kvasnicka, Indian--White Relations: A Persistent Paradox (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1976), pp. 164-166, cited as Jane Smith, Indian--White Relations.
41. Guion Miller, Cherokee Claims.
42. Selective Service Registration Records.
43. Lawrence C. Kelly, "John Collier and the Indian New Deal: An Assessment", in Jane Smith, Indian--White Relations, pp. 227-240.
44. J. Anthony Paredes, "The Emergency of Contemporary Eastern Creek Indian Identity", in Thomas K. Fitzgerald, ed., Social and Cultural Identity (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1974), pp. 70-71, cited as Paredes, "The Emergence".
45. Based on numerous interviews with Creek Indians including Mildred Grant, Connie Palmer, Vivian Williamson, Andrew Ramsey, and Ruth Hogan.
46. Paredes, "The Emergence", pp. 71-72; Paredes, "Back From Disappearance", pp. 136; Pensacola News Journal, August 11, 1957, October 17, 1957, April 18, 1964, November 18, 1966, December 2, 1966, and December 19, 1972.

47. Interviews with Perloca Linton, Jackie Cummins, Buford Rolin, Mazie Rossell, Malzie Pate, Lura McCook, Agnes Ward, Margie Weathers, and Mildred Grant. See for example Pensacola News Journal, January 23, 1953, May 22, 1955, December 17, 1956, August 15, 1960, April 20, 1961, August 7, 1963, October 4, 1963, November 23, 1963, January 23, 1964, September 10, 1966, September 7, 1967, January 12, 1969, April 26, 1969, and August 13, 1969.

48. Interview with Perloca Linton; Pensacola News Journal, August 10, 1959, October 18, 1961, and April 13, 1962; and letters to Jesse J. Ward, Chairman, Democratic Executive

Committee, Walton County, from Spessard Holland, January 11, 1956, February 13, 1956, March 2, 1957, July 1, 1957; Lyndon B. Johnson, June 28, 1957, July 8, 1957; George Smathers, February 13, 1956, June 28, 1957, August 6, 1957; John Sparkman, June 27, 1957; Robert L.F. Sikes, December 15, 1955, January 23, 1956, April 2, 1956, June 27, 1957; Claude Pepper, December 6, 1955, July 2, 1957; Lenoir Thompson, January 16, 1956, March 9, 1956, July 30, 1956, January 10, 1957.

## SECTION C: 1974 TO PRESENT

This section is a summary of actions of the modern Florida Creek people who had lived in isolated environments as a direct result of federal and state enforcements. Section B covered the re-emergence of a Creek Indian government (extending family/clan organization) comprised of remaining Alabama and west Florida Creeks which began to accelerate during the 1940s. With the changing of its name from the Perdido Friendly Creek Indian Band of Alabama and Northwest Florida to the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi, on August 31, 1951,<sup>1</sup> the tendency was for the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi to limit itself and its governance to Alabama and west Florida Creeks. In 1955, they correctly asserted legal representation of Creeks in Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.<sup>2</sup> In the 1960's, separate Creek families and extended families began to emerge into the open, beginning with the Lower Muskogees. Later in the 1970's, other pre-existing autonomously governed groups appeared e.g. the Tukabatchees, Choctawhatchees, Apalachicolas and the Cowetas. Finally, with Florida Creeks working together, a central tribe established to reunite descendants of the old Creek Towns called The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians (Florida Tribe). The infrastructure of the Florida Tribe is defined by Constituion in Appendix 1 of this petition. To date, the Florida Tribe has only had one Chief, Dr. Andrew Ramsey of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Clan. This runs counter to the ideas that Wesley Thomley served as Chief to the Florida Creek. A cross section of activities has been prepared by year. The full accounts are available from Tribal minutes.

### 1975

Pressure for additional official acknowledgment among Florida Creek decendants, coupled with the realization of many continuing and unsolved needs peculiar to Florida Creek Indians, culminated the founding of the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council

(NFCIC) by an act of the Legislature of the State of Florida. During the periods between 1975 and 1978, the NFCIC began to refine its infrastructure and identifying those people who were Creek Indians. Focal communal activities of this group included: Title III CETA grant for vocational training of non-reservation Indians, Language classes, Summer youth recreation programs, and a Census to identify Creek Indians in Escambia County, Santa Rosa, and Okaloosa counties

#### **1976**

Jurisdiction of the NFCIC extended to include two additional counties: Okaloosa and Walton which was home to the Ward Families. Also, by recommendation of district legislators responding to requests of Creek Indians in other counties, the first measures to extend this Council to the Apalachicola River were started which includes the area of Harjo-Boggs-Parrot.

An elective Tribal Council of the Florida Tribe was instituted to provide an efficient vehicle for the representative governance of and by all Florida Creeks. The formal institution of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians elected its first Tribal Council via ballot on April 1, 1978, under the guidance of Florida Tribe Member and former Chairperson, Juanita Steadham Felter. Creek people from the initial three counties Escambia, Santa Rosa, and Okaloosa cast a ballot for four representatives each. A Tribal Chairman was elected by the full Council.

The first Creek census was taken the social-economic status of the tribal citizens. An ancestral chart was completed by each Creek responding to the census and balloting, and an affidavit was attached signed by every voting Creek to request citizenship in the Florida Tribe

#### **1978**

Between April 1, 1978, and May 13, 1978 the counties were expanded to include Walton, Holmes, Jackson, Washington, Bay, Calhoun, and Gulf, to elect representatives to the full Council. The first meeting of the Tribal Council was on May 13, 1978. The names of the people are listed because there are modern leaders of Poarch Band and at the same time, relatives that waiting for recognition of the Florida Tribe:

Escambia County: Melvin McGhee, Riley Rolin, Michael Geri, Perloca Linton

Santa Rosa County: Frances McDonald, Carl McGhee, Evelyn Holland, Jim Hill

Okaloosa County: James E. Waite, James E. Taylor, Sherrie Lynn Bowen, Lucille  
Blackwell

Walton County: Mazie T. Rossell, Zera W. Denson, J. Lamar Ward, and Margie  
Weathers

Bay County: Sara Alice McCoy, Martha B. Bass, Susie Robins, and Alice Morris

Jackson County: Janice Maddox, Fauline Jordan Mathis, Ruth Lynell Foulks, and Angela  
L. Rester

Calhoun County: Dr. Andrew Boggs Ramsey, A. B. "Wesa" Ramsey, W. R. "Connie"  
Palmer, and W. R. Palmer

Gulf County: Ireta Gem Melvin

May 28, 1978: Bruce Florida, Tribal officers were elected by the Council:

Chairperson--James E. Waite, Okaloosa County

Vice-Chairperson--Riley E. Rolin, Escambia County

Corresponding Secretary--Sherrie L. Bowen, Okaloosa County

Recording Secretary--Connie Palmer, Calhoun County

Treasurer--Jim Hill, Santa Rosa County

The Tribal Constitution was adopted by a roll call vote at this meeting. The Tribal Council stressed that its mission was to:

1. Maintain representative, democratic processes as a basis for the conduct of tribal affairs.
2. Foster and continue good relations with the surrounding communities
3. Promote better conditions for the Creek Indian people and their descendants--economically, educationally, culturally, and socially.
4. Provide for the continuity and development of the Creek Indian Heritage.

Tribal citizens were voted into citizenship by Tribal Council based upon: (a) signed affidavits, (b) ancestral charts proving their Creek ancestry, and (c) census information.

June 13: The Chairman mailed the first part of the petition for Federal Recognition to the Bureau of Indian Affairs-Department of the Interior.

Prior to the installment of the full Tribal Council, a letter was written by Robert W. Trepp (Manager, Government Policy and Research Administration, Division of Tribal Affairs, Creek Nation, Muskogee, Oklahoma) to Ester Mae Bane (residing in DeFuniak Springs, Florida) responding to an inquiry regarding the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council of Creek Indians (see Appendix 3A, Exhibit 2)--the administrative branch of Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians. He states that, "...They [Florida Tribe] are a very special group of people to me, personally, because they are the only "Indian" organization among the Eastern Creeks which really seems to be committed to serving the Indian people. I think that you can trust them in their efforts to help you and your people. Their staff (through Juanita Felter) and their Board (through Buford Rolin, Chairman) should be very willing to work with you and the Indians of your community. 7

June 21: Tribal Chairman Jim Waite directed Riley Rolin (Chairperson of Administrative Committee) to extend the NFCIC through contact with elected state and

local officials and acquaint them with the Tribal Council and NFCIC. In addition, Mr. Rolin received correspondences from all major Indian agencies and organizations in the eastern United States. Concurrently, Mr. Waites also instructed Dr. A. B. Ramsey (Chairperson of Program Committee) to research and identify the needs of its citizens (e.g. housing, medical, educational needs) as well as obtaining support from Tribal citizens to participate in the Muskogee language classes .

July 12: Jan Tuverson, Acting Director, Florida Governor's Council on Indian Affairs, Tallahassee Florida invited Juanita S. Felter, Executive Director of NFCIC, to attend Tallahassee Junior Museum's second annual "Native American Day" and to highlight Creek customs including arts, crafts, and foods for display, exhibition, or sale.

Dr. Andrew Ramsey led an open discussion on the need for the state government to realize that a third tribe existed (Florida Tribe) in the State of Florida--in addition to the Seminoles and the Miccosukees Tribes. A Tribal committee was appointed to draft a resolution asking for a representative of Florida Tribe to be seated upon the Florida Governor's Council on Indian Affairs.

September 10: Joe Quetone, Executive Director of Florida Governor's Council on Indian Affairs, was present with District 1 U.S. Representative Earl Hutto. Open discussions were held on establishing an economic base for Creek people residing in Florida. Mr. Quetone recommended that Florida Tribe seek funding directly from the State of Florida, separate from the Governors Council on Indian Affairs for initiatives.

September 23: Florida Tribe sponsored the celebration of American Indian Day at Saunders Beach, Pensacola. Workshops in Creek dress, history, law, language, basket-weaving, beading, fingerweaving, and Eastern Creek adaptations of Cherokee dance for the public were held. Buford Rolin (Chairman of NFCIC) gave a welcome. Prayer in Muskogee language was led by Rev. H. M. Stewart.

Junita Felter, Buford Rolin, and Babeth Fleming appointed to the Florida Governor's Council on Indian Affairs to represent the Creeks of Northwest Florida. Mary Callaway, Tribal Attorney, explained how federal recognition could be attained by lumping all family and extended families under one Eastern Creek Confederacy, while each family and extended family still retains its own identity as a lesser entity. An example of such a group was a group in Michigan

November 5: Directive was given to Ms. Felter to act on behalf of Florida Tribe to acquire a seal, citizenship cards, and stationary. New Tribal committees were also formed such as: educational, activities, benefits and services, political action, membership, elections, administrative and policy, and federal recognition. On December 5, 1978, John Shapherd of the Federal Acknowledgment Project, United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., acknowledged receipt of Subpart 10-B to the Petition for Recognition of Florida Tribe.

## 1979

February 4: The meeting of Florida Tribe at Bruce: it was the consensus of opinion that unity with Atmore (Poarch Band of Eastern Creeks) will strengthen the Eastern Creek Nation of the Mississippi both politically and culturally. In December, 1978, Chairman Waite, Ms. Felter, Mr. Rolin, Mr. Eddie Tullis, and Ms. Jennie Dees of Atmore, and Dr. Jack Gregory of University of West Florida, attended a meeting in Tennessee concerning the 1980 census. A representative of the Census Bureau would meet with all Tribal citizens at a future date. Ms. Felter encouraged all Council members to write the state representatives in support of the changing legislation to expand the seats on the NFCIC to include ten counties. The Tribal newsletter was discussed and would contain news with a purpose to keep the citizens fully informed of the "goings on" of the Council (see Appendix 3E). Ms. Felter also attended the Florida Governors Council of Indian Affairs

meeting in Hollwood, Florida, and reported that relationships with the Seminoles and Miccosukees (of Florida) had improved.

May 20: Florida Tribe meeting held at Cayson Mound on the west bank of the Apalachicola River, the site of one of the original reservations along the Apalachicola River. Rev. H. M. Stewart preached the Sunday church service. The Apalachicola Band provided the music; others from Pensacola provided the entertainment along with the Apalachee Clan. Docket 275 enrollments were discussed. Copies of House Bill 770 were shared (Appendix H) as well as the history of the NFCIC.

June 6: Governor Bob Graham signed the bill (House Bill 770 for the Creek Indian Council) into law on June 6, 1979.

July 1: Tribal Council members Dr. and Mrs. Andrew Ramsey and Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Palmer petitioned from the Apalacicola Band for admission to the NFCIC. That petition was voted in the affirmative on May 31, 1979.

November 18: Citizenship cards to each new applicant. Discussion on seeking official affiliation with Poarch Band. Dialogue between the official religions entity, Pine Arbor, and Creek Nation of Oklahoma with appointment by Chief Claude Cox of Charles Daniels "Sakim" as ceremonial leader (See Appendix 3-A, exhibits 3-4).

## **1980**

February 24: Professor Hunt announced that he wanted to start Muskogee (Creek) language classes in the Escambia County area in April. Later, Professor Hunt taped Muskogee languages to be brought to the Council for use in studying the language. Invitation from Pine Arbor and Oak Hill Square Ground Ceremonial Leaders in Tallahassee to attend the Green Corn Ceremony. Attendance by invitation only. All names were submitted for approval in advance. Poarch Band were also invited.

September 14: Decision that no person should be removed from the Council without a full vote of the Council. It was decided not to change any section of the Constitution at this time. Dual citizenship in Florida Tribe and any other band, clan, or tribe is acceptable until federalization.

## **1981**

February 18: Each county was responsible for its own election of new Council members. Seating of new Council members took place May 16th at the Blountstown Elementary School, followed by a covered dish supper. Religious services were held on Sunday, the 18th, at Torreya State Park, Calhoun County. Plans were implemented for American Indian Day Celebration in September at Saunders Beach, Pensacola. The motion was made to petition the NFCIC for help in obtaining a grant to purchase Cayson Mound in Calhoun County. Ms. Cathy Mason would come into each of the counties one day a month to be available to the Creeks who need help with employment, education, and any of the other many programs available through the NFCIC.

February 22: Resignation of Jim Waite from wife's health problems. Dr. Ramsey was elected Chairman and Micco. Mrs. Rossell was elected vice-chairperson. Ann DeBeaux acted as advisor on grants/recurring grants and time frames to meet the needs of the people. "Yard Sale" items were given to Ms. Mason. Proceeds went for special services and emergency needs for Creeks. Also, non-perishable food items were accepted for the Food Box. The County Commissioners in each county cooperated with Ms. Mason in allotting her space to meet with the Creeks each month to render them services.

January 21: Florida Tribe received a letter from Theodore C. Krenzke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, announcing that ANA was planning to announce grants to assist unrecognized Indian groups in doing research necessary to clarify their status as Indian groups in relation to the Federal Government and to state governments

April 26: Chairman Ramsey announced that a Memorial Service would be a part of the church program on May 17th, for all those who have died during the past year. Ms. Callaway pointed out that it would be in the best interest of the NFCIC to serve all American Indians, especially Creeks in Florida, and not act alone. Elections in Okaloosa, Escambia, Santa Rosa would be held April 19, 1981, at the Health Center, Pensacola; Bruce, on April 26, 1981; and all other counties would vote on May 16th in Blountstown. Mrs. Sara McCoy and Mrs. Wesa Ramsey chaired the scholarship committee to seek donations for and scholarships for Creek people. On May 31, 1981, Ms. Palmer announced that the charter for Florida Tribe had been approved by the Secretary of State, to enable the tribe to receive the benefits of applying for federal grants. New members were seated on the Council on that date.

August 23: Land acquisition project for Florida Tribe to request that the State of Florida CARL program purchase eighty acres in Jackson County for the purposes of ceremonies, Indian meetings, limited picnicking, canoeing, and nature trails. The Galvez medallion, which was given to the Creeks and other Indians in the Pensacola Area in 1781, was presented to the NFCIC in behalf of them and was not to be on loan to the Pensacola Historical Museum but would be housed in the NFCIC office.

November 1: Bruce meeting. Announced that the Thanksgiving pow-wow would be held in Poarch, Alabama. Ms. Felter would be working on the design of the Indian village and craft shops for the La Fitte Landing Commercial project of Mr. Hector, Pensacola. This would result in more jobs for Creeks. Ms. Felter wrote an inquiry regarding low-income housing and Community Service funds available for Creeks.

## 1982

January 17: Mrs. Garrett, NFCIC, requested that Paula Brush represent Florida Tribe as assistant historian on a stipend to Newberry College Library, Chicago, Illinois, to

conduct research on the Creeks. Dr. Ramsey moved to accept Mrs. Garrett's recommendation of Paula Brush as Assistant Historian and was seconded by Mrs. Rossell. The Tribal council sent a letter of endorsement for Paula for the fellowship. Mr. W. V. Williams was selected as Chairman for a committee to work on an Economic Self-Sufficiency Study for the Tribe. Other members included Dr. Ramsey, Donald Sharon, and Chief John Wesley Thomley. Ms. Felter recommended that new citizenship into the Tribe should follow constitution requirements for citizenship. Mrs. Garrett reported that support from state representatives and senators for the preservation of Waddell Millpond (Chatot Indian village site and mounds) for a cultural site had been achieved.

February 21: Educational grant (Indian Education Act--Title IV) had been written for the Creek children to be formally taught the Muskogee (Creek) language.

March 14: Announced that James Wary would design a proposal to assist Florida Creeks, similar to a project received by Poarch, to help their community to survive.

May 23: Ann DeBeaux announced that services were available through county offices for needy citizens and Florida Tribe representatives should be aware of what existed. The weatherization program, cheese distribution program, and emergency fund projects were available. NFCIC Chairperson Juanita Sandifer established an ad hoc political committee to work with the state representatives to inform them that Florida Tribe is still strong and advised members of the Tribal Council to attend the meeting of the next Florida Governor's Council on Indian Affairs.

August 22: Mr. Sharon gave an up-date on the Choctawhatchee property in Bruce. After surveying the property, Florida Tribe will be given access to the land for meetings, etc. The Ward log cabin has been donated to the clan by Ms. Hazel Sharon.

Florida Tribe advised Panhandle Area Educational Cooperative (PAEC) to submit the "Mvskoke-" (Muskogee Creek) language program for refunding under Indian Education

Act--Title IV funding. Ms. Rossell was asked to make plans for the up-coming elections and present qualifying and election schedule at the January meeting. The new Council members were seated in the spring, and Council officers were to be elected after the new Council is seated.

November 21: Ann DeBeaux had been meeting with the Interagency Council of Walton County as a representative of Florida Tribe and NFCIC and had been responsible for initiating a "meal on wheels" program/ center established for elderly Creeks in Bruce. Thomley worked with public schools during Thanksgiving week by promoting Creek culture and also reported on the formation of the Muskogee Construction Company which would employ Creeks. This company was able to receive some bids on weatherization programs due to their minority status. Ms. Rossell reported on the Choctawhatchee Clan's activities in Walton County, which included an Indian dinner served to the Walton County Interagency Council of Health and Rehabilitative Services.

### **1983**

March 27: Mrs. Garrett from NWFCIC asked for Florida Tribe's political support to initiate a refund to the NFCIC in order to continue to serve the Creeks and Florida Tribe. Dr. Ramsey reported the same proposal as FY83 was submitted for Title IV funding for the children's Muskogee language for the next year. Mr. Sharon wanted the language classes to continue over the summer months, if funding was available. Otherwise, the last class for Bruce was April 9; the last class for Blountstown was April 11.

July 31: Tribal Rolls closed for the federal recognition petition. Chief Gainer, Micco of the North Bay Clan, Panama City, inquired about citizenship in Florida Tribe for the entire clan. Mrs. Sandifer stated that no clan can be accepted for citizenship; each individual must come in on an individual basis as prescribed by the Tribal constitution. The Council would then vote on acceptance of new citizens who met the citizenship criteria.

Mazie Rossell made a motion that the Council House be considered the Florida Tribe's Indian grounds for the federal acknowledgment project. Motion was seconded. Dr. Ramsey also announced that the Calhoun County Commissioners had offered a lease to Florida Tribe for the next twenty-five years in Sam Atkins park. It consists of seven and one-half acres and costs \$1 per year to lease. Dr. Ramsey also made a request that he be allowed to place a sign on the grounds which has the symbol of Florida Tribe in the background and used the Tribe's colors. Donald Sharon announced that the Choctawhatchee Clan's library is now open and has 150 books. The clan is having the floor to the Ward homestead raised. Dr. Ramsey further mentioned that there were environmental grants available through the local school board to renovate the Ward homestead.

The results of the election held at the Blountstown Pow-wow on May 14, 1983 were as follows: Escambia County--Juanita Sandifer, Melvin McGhee, Wesley Thomley (W. V. Williams had two more years to run on his term); Santa Rosa County--Kenneth McKenzie, Jim and Betty Hill (Mrs. Franklin had two more years to run on her term); Bay County--Tom Howard, Sara Alice McCoy (Meigs Raney and Rita Melvin had two more years on their present term); Calhoun County--June Clemons (Andrew and Wesa Ramsey had two more years to run on their present term); Walton County--Lamar Ward and Mazie Rossell (Zera Denson and Ann DeBeaux had two more years to run on their present term); Jackson County--(Eddie McClendon had two more years to run on his term); Gulf County--Ireta Melvin; Washington County--(Thelma Steverson had two more years to run on present term); Okaloosa County--Don Sharon and Marcus Boone. The members that were elected to serve on the Council for the first time would be seated as soon as their genealogy was verified--June Clemmons, Tom Howard, and Kenneth McKenzie, III. Don Sharon was elected the new chairman of the Parent Committee for the Title IV children's Muskogee language program.

This year included field trips, Creek cooking, crafts such as pottery, and the language instruction. A beginner's class and an advanced class were options. Mazie Rossell reported on the long range plans for the Choctawhatchee Clan's Center and Museum. Zera Denson met with Mr. Coley, Florida State Department of Education, on the \$3,000 grant for the Bruce Center. Juanita Sandifer sent in an endorsement on behalf of Florida Tribe in support of federal recognition for the Poarch (Alabama) Band of Creek Indians to Mr. Shepherd, BIA. The status clarification project would receive finishing touches from Dr. Terry Prewitt, University of West Florida anthropologist, and Dr. Henry Dobyns, ethno-historian, and would be ready for Florida Tribe to read, discuss, and decide on further federalization progress. Juanita Sandifer was sponsored to go on a trip to Oklahoma to represent Florida Tribe at the public hearing on Docket 272. The total amount of the interest to be paid to the Creeks is \$7,000,000. Mrs. Sandifer, Melvin McGhee, and Mrs. Garrett were hospitably received by Chief Cox and Robert Trepp. Election of officers for the Council were held and results were as follows: Chairperson-- Andrew Ramsey; Vice-Chairperson--Don Sharon; Recording/Corresponding Secretary-- Juanita Sandifer; Treasurer--Zera Denson. The next meeting was scheduled for August 28 to pass the federal acknowledgment petition.

## **1984**

January 15: Tribal meeting in Bruce, it was voted on to establish an interest bearing endowment fund to assist Florida Tribe's operations and to provide a monetary base to for future activities for the Tribe. In addition, Florida Tribe's first newspaper, The Muskogee Crier (see Appendix 3E for sample copies of the Tribal newspaper) was established to keep its citizens informed of Tribal political and social events. Positive reports were given related to the Muskogee language programs initiated for Tribal citizens. Classes were being taught in Pensacola, Bruce, and Blountstown. Lastly, Florida Tribe provided discussion to establish their headquarters at the old homestead of James B. Ward. Maize

Rossell, Clan leader of the Choctawhatchee's, gave the Tribe the property deed. Further comments included the reminding of the Ward Reunion to be held in Bruce.

May 20: Tribal meeting in Bruce. State Senator W.D. Childers honored Florida Tribe via a resolution which passed the state senate on April 10, 1984. A copy of the resolution was presented to the Tribe on behalf of senator Childers. Moreover, the charter of Florida Tribe was amended to provide alignment with the State's requirement of incorporation. Lastly, citizenship rolls were being updated by Barbara Garrett and Mazie Rossell.

August 26: Council Tribal meeting in Bruce reported the Pensacola historical Museum had an Indian burial displayed for public viewing. Chairman Sharon corresponded with The director of the Museum--sighting Florida Tribe's position on the issue. Consequently, the display was removed. There was also a report of several sights in northwest Florida being excavated and the University of West Florida would be working closely with Florida Tribe on remains issues. In addition, progress on revisions of the federal petition efforts was reported.

October 28: Tribal meeting in Bruce, it was reported that the NWFCIC was writing letters encouraging Escambia county commissioners to critically examine the lack of health care facilities for the indigent population. It was reported to the Governor's Council on Indian Affairs to explore the needs of the Indian elderly and youth populations in Florida. It was also decided that a copy of a letter of eligibility for Docket 21 or Docket 272 be substituted for a birth certificate. It was decided that the language classes in Pensacola be conducted by Chairman Sharon and in Panama City by Doris Adams (Chief (Dr.) Andrew Ramsey was already having classes in Blountstown and Bruce). Three craft days be held in Bruce with each class teaching basket weaving, finger weaving, and beading techniques.

December 2: Federal recognition status and weakness of the Tribal genealogy was reported on. Pedigree work required. 251 new citizens have been added to the Tribal

rolls. Language classes were reported and progress was positive. Lastly, a lengthy discussion was promoted as to Docket 21 residual moneys. According to the Chairman, congress passed PL 98-390 which allowed other federal Tribes to receive residual Docket 21 moneys. Council objected to this law and wants it repealed.

## **1985**

January 27: Tribal meeting in Bruce. Endowment fund had accrued more than a \$1000 and a CD was purchased. It was further reported the importance of citizens to write their congress representative to ask the repeal of PL 98-390. The Tribal Council also began brainstorming on methods to raise additional funds for the Tribe such as a plea to citizens for donations, craft sales, etc. Lastly, plans were discussed for the Tribe to participate in Indians Days, located in Pensacola, during September of 1985.

February 24: Tribal meeting in Bruce, plans continued for participation in the Indian Days festival in Pensacola. Moreover, Chairman Sharon addressed the Council in working closely with the newly formed Coastal Historic Preservation Society, whose goals were in preserving the archaeological and ecological finds from Phillips Inlet to Destin. It was also reported at this meeting that Senator Hawkins had received and read the file on Florida Tribe's docket dilemma. According to Hawkins, The funds in Docket 272 were safe for the time being; however, further discussions on possible Tribal actions were also discussed at this meeting. Lastly, the Ward Reunion, held in Bruce, was reminded by Maize Ward Rossell.

March 24: Tribal meeting in Bruce, various items were briefly discussed including Tribal newspaper articles, reports on the endowment funds, and the Governor's Council on Indian affairs. Florida Tribe also passed a resolution that authorized the Tribe to represent

## Exemption 6

its citizens for Docket 21 or Docket 272 before congress, the BIA or any other courts and legal entities having jurisdiction affecting disbursements of these moneys.

April 28: Tribal meeting in Bruce. Dr. Andrew Boggs of the Apalachicola Band had been seated on the Governors Council of Indian Affairs (see Appendix 3A, exhibit 5). Chairman Sharon had appealed on behalf of Florida Tribe to the Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs regarding Poarch Creeks receiving residual Docket 272 moneys. The appeal on Docket 21 moneys was denied.

May 19: A Muskogee dictionary and language book would be printed and a request would be filed for a new grant for \$25,000 to further enhance the language program.

September 8: Florida Tribe received more than the \$25,000 for language enhancement. Instructors were paid and classes were held in Bruce, Pensacola, and Panama City. Instructors included (b) (6), Charles Daniels Sakim, and Don Sharon. Other Council activities included reminding Council members and citizens of the Harvest Busk and the Ward Reunion in Bruce. Moreover, The Seminole Tribe of Florida had passed a resolution to unanimously support Florida Tribe in their Federal petition endeavors (see Appendix 3A, exhibits 6-7).

November 10: Denial of Docket 21 residual funds. A motion was made and passed that Florida Tribe should appeal the Docket 21 denial. Discussion was presented regarding a meeting with the BIA and The Poarch Band of Creek Indians to find a feasible solution for distribution of Docket 272 moneys. The motion was presented and passed that the Chairman of Florida Tribe, Chairman of the NWFCIC and Florida Tribe's attorney negotiate a meeting date with Poarch and the BIA to pursue this activity. The Tribe's constitution was amended as well--namely articles V, VII, and VIII.

1986

January 12: Chairman Sharon reported on his meeting with the Chairman of the Florida Miccosuki Tribe regarding the next Decennial Indian Census. All Florida Tribe records held by the NWFCIC have been relocated to the Tribal office in Bruce. It was voted on by the Council that all records in possession of Florida Tribe were considered property of Florida Tribe. Lastly, a reminder went out to the Tribe about the Ward Reunion, held in Bruce.

March 23: Florida Tribe had appealed the Docket 21 decision in a federal court in Washington D.C. and met with state representatives in Washington. Moreover, Docket 272 moneys were put on hold for distribution to Poarch and Florida Tribe. Dr. Ramsey also reported on a proposed state bill which would do away with the Governor's Council on Indian Affairs and establish an Indian Commission instead. Florida Tribe had been working with the Governor's Council on Indian Affairs, and the Florida Seminole and Miccosuki Tribes to adopt stricter human remains laws for the state.

May 18: The State of Florida passed a resolution that recognized Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians as a Tribal organization (see Appendix 3A, exhibits 8-9). Bud Shapard, Chief of the BIAs FAP office visited Florida Tribe.

August 17: Tribal meeting in Bruce reported on the success of the language classes offered by Florida Tribe to its citizens. The classes went on a field trip to Kolomoki and Ocmulgee Indians mounds located in Georgia. Lastly, the Tribe received a \$2,000 dollar grant towards remodeling the Tribal headquarters in Bruce.

October 26: During a public forum, U.S. representative Earl Hutto thanked the Creeks for their support in the past, urged that Florida Tribe keep in touch and offered his continual support in their endeavors.

**1987**

January 18: Tribal meeting in Bruce, the Native American Day committee began planning for participation by Florida Tribe during late September at Sanders Beach, Pensacola. Docket 21 case remanded from the federal court back to the district court in Washington D.C. It was suggested to move the case to Pensacola. Docket 272 letters and payments were being sent to Tribal citizens. Lastly, reports on the endowment fund were presented and the Tribe had two \$1,000 dollar CDs and was working towards a third. Ward Reunion to be held in Bruce.

March 22: Tribal meeting in Bruce, the NWFCIC had advanced notice of a state bill, HB 398, supported by the Governor's Council on Indian affairs and the Florida Seminole and Miccosuki Tribes which affected post secondary education. Florida Tribe had written to Rep Tom Banajin to include Florida Tribe participation in the bill. In addition, the Docket 21 litigation was moved from Washington to Pensacola.

May 17: New Council members were elected.

August 30: Language grant was renewed. In addition, language students traveled to Mound State Park, and the Horseshoe Bend State park, both in Alabama. Other discussions centered around the appeal on Docket 21. Lastly, the legal brief for Florida Tribe was due by October 18, 1987 and the Federal attorneys have until November 27, 1987 to file their brief.

November 1: Indian Education Day set. Other activities included Florida Tribe receiving a 13.6 acre archaeological site from the Walton County commissioners and San Destin Beach Resort (see Appendix 3A, exhibits 10-12). In addition, Florida Tribe was contacted to re-inter remains. Two private ceremonies were held, one at Mack Bayou and the other at Crystal River State park.

**1988**

January 17: Dr. Jack Campesi and Attorney Henry Sockbeason from the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) visited Florida Tribe to ascertain if the Tribe was legitimate and could pursue federal recognition. After their visit they concluded that NARF would be able to assist Florida Tribe with their federal petition via a grant funded through NARF. The Council voted to initiate the process and to release the 1978 petition.

February 28: Basic herb and pottery classes taught in Blountstown to all interested Tribal citizens. Ward Reunion date was also set in Bruce. Dr. Ramsey was appointed to represent Florida Tribe on the Governor's Council of Indian affairs. Other topics were reports that the Native American rights fund has included Florida Tribe on their next funding cycle to assist in writing their federal petition, and that the Ward Reunion was to be held in Bruce.

March 27: Tribe has enough in their endowment fund to purchase and additional CD. Ward Reunion turnout, land committee plans to expand Florida Tribe's landbase, and operating budget. Lastly, Florida Tribe had begun a dialog with Hurlburt Airfield with regards to Native American remains and proper re-interment of them (see Appendix 3A, exhibits 13-14).

June 26: Director of the language grant (Kay Crawford for PACE) wanted to extend language classes until August. Federal judge residing over the Docket 21 appeal had requested that Florida Tribe's attorney resubmit the legal brief. NARF hired Dr. Susan Greenbaum to research Florida Tribe's petition for 30 days. She was to interview elderly Creeks living in Bruce, Blountstown and areas surrounding Pensacola.

October 30: Plans to expand the language class areas include Milton, Defuniak Springs, and Tallahassee. Indian Day celebration in Pensacola. Lastly, Florida Tribe Chairman Sharon was asked to participate in a committee set up by the NWFCIC. This committee was comprised of a representative from the Seminole, Miccosuki, Poarch,

Independent Seminole, and Florida Tribes. The goal of this committee was to examine setting standards for other Native American groups seeking state recognition in Florida.

## 1989

January 22: Language classes would begin in February and be held in the Pensacola area NWFCIC complex, in Bruce at the Tribal office, in Panama City at Doris Adams home (temporarily), in Blountstown at the Courthouse, and in Tallahassee at Charles Daniels home. Additional language books are to be reproduced. NARF began working on the petition and information was sent to Dr. Campisi

Two additional Tribal citizens were elected to serve on the NWFCIC representing Florida Tribe: At Antioch cemetery, two additional acres of land had been donated as well as the county enhancing the access road to the cemetery. Champion lumber company almost destroyed two archeological sites and were willing to give Florida Tribe complete jurisdiction on the sites provided the Tribe would fence in the area. Ward Reunion to be held in Bruce.

April 3: Language program was reported inactive during the summer due to lack of funds. Reports of the Ward reunion given. Rep. Hutto to introduce a bill in the House of Representatives to recognize The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians. In addition, Rep Hutto had contacted Florida Senators Mac and Graham to introduce a bill for the same purpose in the Senate. In order to raise funds, a small, low stakes Bingo game was initiated in Bruce every Saturday. The September 17, 1989 Tribal meeting in Bruce reported the Tribe lost the appeal on the Docket 21 decision and the Tribe would not appeal the decision a second time. In addition, several Florida Tribe citizens visited Washington D.C. to gain support from representatives to introduce bills in Congress for federal recognition. Verbal commitments were made by Representative Hutto, and

Senators Mac and Graham. Lastly other business regarding voting in prospective citizens and initiating motions to amend the Tribal constitution were discussed.

## 1990

January 14: Tribe should not have to incorporate because it is a sovereign entity. However, arguments ensued regarding the fact that the Tribe could not do any business in Florida without incorporation. After discussion, it was suggested the Tribe re-apply for incorporation. Tribal Chairman suggested to each Council member that they contact Tribal citizens and initiate letters and telephone calls to their congress representatives to support the bills recognizing Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians as a federal Tribe. It was also mentioned that Champion was deciding to give the Tribe the land where the disturbed archeological sites were located. In addition, the Tribe has made the motion to re-submit a continuance for the language program. The Ward Reunion to be held in Bruce was mentioned as well.

April 29: Tribe has to pay back taxes for the Mack Bayou archeological site at Sandestin. It was suggested a portion of the land fund be used for that purpose. New culture classes formed in Pensacola, Ebro, and Blountstown. Tribal newspaper had over 92 subscribers. NARF had been actively working on the petition and it was near completion. NWFCIC wanted to have all Florida Tribe records returned. The Council objected to this request.

October 28: Grant for language education has now ended. However, it was suggested that enough people can speak the language to varying degrees and that volunteers could teach those who wanted to learn. The finance committee reported the Tribe had three CDs. Other business included expanding and refining the criteria for citizenship dues within the Tribal constitution.

1991

April 28: Grant was initiated to the Gannett Foundation to purchase three facsimile machines for the Tribe to use. The Chairman read a Florida Tribe resolution seriously condemning The Poarch Creeks initiative to build a bingo hall at the Old Hickory Grounds in Wetumpka Alabama. It was also reported that Dr. Campisi would finish the federal petition by May, 1991. Walton County had roughly \$30,000 for promotion of an area in Ft Walton Beach where the Indian Festival would be held. Florida Tribe planned to ask for \$10,000 to promote the Indian Day Festival at Ft Walton Beach.

July 28: Reported that there would be no more bingo and all moneys made by the bingo would go into the general funds account. It was reported that the federal petition was complete and would be up for review by the Tribe. The gate for the San Destin property was reportedly delivered and it would be installed as soon as possible. The CRA agency has agreed to fund Florida Tribe \$10,000 for the Indian Day festival at Ft Walton Beach.

November 17: Kent Riley from U.T. at Austin visited the Tribe's Square Ground in Blountstown. Dr. Riley reported that the Apalachicola Band operated under the old Chieftain type structure but the Band had re-organized recently and displayed the same type of Tribal organization that Florida Tribe has and that their Council is patterned after Florida Tribe with 11 members. The Tribal attorney presented five changes to the Tribal constitution as a result of an ANA Grant Committee studying improvements for the Tribe's constitution. A motion was passed to table the changes for the time being. The Tribal attorney suggested that a Long Range Planning and Economic Development Commission be initiated to serve the Florida Tribe and become a part of the Tribe's code. The motion passed. Also mentioned were the events of Poarch's attempt to put a

gambling casino on Old Hickory Grounds, voting on potential citizens for the Tribe, and the status on the general funds account for Florida Tribe.

## **1992**

January 26: Tribal meeting in Bruce reported the various balances of Tribal funds to date. Resolutions were made and passed in relation to the federal petition. It was decided the petition should be recognized by the Tribe, and the Tribal rolls closed. In addition, it was reported the gate on the Sandestin property was installed. A motion to apply for a grant that would partly provide funds for Council house improvements was initiated. The motion passed.

April 26: Chairmanship passed from Don Sharon to John C.B. Thomas. It was also reported that lawyers in Washington would assist Florida Tribe's petition efforts, however, the Tribe had to make a resolution to this fact.

June 7: Tribal meeting at the Square Grounds Blountstown reported the Tribal rolls were being checked to be submitted with the petition. It was further reported by Chairman Thomas the rolls were incomplete. Tribal attorney, Mary Callaway, reported a Governance and Economic Improvement grant (ANA 13612-921) was submitted to the ANA. It was also suggested for future Council meetings that an executive summary be prepared to insure proper informational flow between the Grant Administrators and Project Directors with the Council. Moreover, Ms. Callaway informed the Council a copy of the grant was available in the Tribal office for review by Council members and citizens. The Tribal Council discussed (in general) grants and their benefits to the Tribe. In addition Florida Tribe had examined other Tribe's codes and to begin develop a set of codes for themselves.

July 26: Long Range Planning Commission presented the last of the developed Tribal codes the commission was working on. It was also reported that the Tribal rolls were

closed and only those already on the children rolls were being presented for citizenship. All other applications were being held until the rolls are re-opened.

October 25: Publication of Tribal newspaper changed to following the Council meeting in January and each quarter thereafter. The motion passed. A motion was made that the rolls be re-opened. Motion denied. The Tribal attorney presented three additions to the Tribal codes such as burial and archeological remains, Tribal land use, and health and human services. The additions passed. Other activities included voting on potential citizens, initiating a resolution to ask the county commissioners in Pensacola name the new park The Alexander McGiverty park, and sending relief to the Miccosuki Tribe as a result of the hurricane.

### **1993**

July 18: Procedure should be required for absent Council members to notify the Council prior to the meeting if they were to miss one. The Chairman stressed the necessity of this policy to ensure the interest and presence of Council members. Chairman Thomas reported the Tribe had 1600 certified citizens and approximately 200 who have not completed their paperwork (genealogy) for citizenship. It was also reported the petition was not acceptable in its current form and the Tribe should pursue additional funding to re-work the current petition in a more coherent form. In addition, it was also suggested the Tribe impose a \$15.00 per year Improvement Tax on each citizen over 18 which will provide supplements for Tribal operational expenses. Ethics committee was formed to examine guidelines to Tribal citizens. Lastly, the Tribe planned on participating in a Walton County Heritage festival.

September 18: Chairman Thomas had initiated a grant to procure funding to re-work the petition. Upon receiving the grant, the Tribal office would re-verify the rolls and files to be in order. The resolution was passed to initiate the grant from ANA for \$65,000 to

work on the petition. Several Council members expressed their objection to the Tribal Improvement tax, but the issue was placed on hold until the next Council meeting.

The Long Range Planning Commission submitted a report to the Tribal Council for consideration. Projects that were underway were Grant Initiatives for the Federal Petition, Investigating software for a Genealogy data base, Electronically cataloging Florida Tribe's library, Resources and issuing library cards.

Other projects suggested for consideration included plans to build a Tribal administrative complex, low income housing for Tribal citizens, procuring funds for continuation of language and culture classes, restoration of the Tribal office, examine a mail order catalogue business for Tribal crafts persons, publish and sell Florida Tribe calendars, develop job descriptions and definitions of duties for Council members, Clarification regarding Citizenship cards, the formation of a library committee, up-grading existing computer equipment, initiate an annual Tribal meeting at the Sandestin archeological mound, fire prevention and protection for the Council house in Bruce, coordinate a Tribal needs assessment and group granting, and develop a Tribal mission statement.

The Florida Tribe presently has several budgets. There is a general operations budget, an endowment fund and a land grants budget. The Tribe currently owns seven acres adjoining the Council House in Bruce Florida and has a 13 acre archeological site in Sandestin Florida. There are also newly acquired lands around the Council House. The Tribe has several banking accounts for a general operations fund and a land grant fund. When Diamond Joe Ward preached, they use to pass around an old hat to take up collections for the orphans. The Council still passes the cup around to get the money to pay the Council House light bill. The Council house is heated by the same wood heater that was used when the Ward children attended school there. The Tribe also possesses an

extensive genealogical section in the Council house and many volumes of bibliographic materials family lines.

#### **1994 to present**

The most current minutes are held in the tribal Council house, as are the excerpts from the minutes that are listed above. What should be obvious from the overview of 20 years is that the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians was a conscious unification of the clans from Escambia County Florida to Calhoun County and included current members of the Poarch Band of Creeks. The Florida Tribe has independently managed to find funding that can be used to protect and to better the Creek Indians inside their jurisdiction. This has not been an easy process. For one thing, when the Poarch Band was federally recognized, members that had held positions of authority in the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council and the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians did not openly avow their allegiance to the Poarch Band; they waited, stayed involved in Florida's affairs until the recognition process was nearing completion and then, they disappeared. This has naturally interfered with the political effectiveness of the Florida Tribe.

The acknowledgment of Poarch has caused a few minor concerns, such as over the tribal roll that is submitted with this petition. It may contain dual memberships because there was no notification by new Poarch members. Budgetary cutbacks have caused a serious weakening in the agencies that are to support Native Americans in Florida. The Governor's Council on Indian Affairs was not funded this year, and the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council has been dismantled. Still, the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians continues, just as its community has for the past 150 years. We find the ways to teach our culture and our language, to support our people, to answer the needs of our Creek community. This petition is an excellent example of a large scale project that has been lost inside a proverbial black hole for 15 years, changing hands from one 'expert' to another, but never being accomplished. It has finally been completed - not by highly

educated scholars, nor by lawyers, as the BAR will immediately notice - but by younger members of an old Creek Nation. We do not ask for anything more than the right to fulfill our elders' desires of recognition. It is what our people are entitled to, since the times of hiding out in the swamps of Northwest Florida. We have managed to endure.

The current structure of the political identity of Florida Tribe is deeply rooted in the traditional religious, socio-political structures practiced by the old Creek Nation. It is accepted as given for this petition that part of the social structure of Creeks intertwines with the political structure and the religious structure - which ultimately determined how Florida Creeks survived. There's no need for a lengthy discussion, only a brief description of the social structure, as it relates to the political structure.

This information has been placed at the end of this chapter because the next part of the petition addresses Membership. This sets the tone of how modern Florida Creek communities adapted old norms to this situation. The basic unit of Creek structure is that of the tulwa or town. Each tulwa or town had offshoots called a talofa<sup>3</sup> (dah-low-fah), a collection of houses/village sites.<sup>4</sup> Talofas were not towns, but were extended communities of the tulwa.<sup>5</sup> A tulwa not infrequently gave off branch settlements [talofa] of temporary character which received nicknames of names derived from some natural feature. Geographical proximity and terms of friendship between tulwa resulted in a feeling of solidarity, a feeling of spiritual relationship. All combined tulwas and talofas made up the Creek Confederacy; however, each tulwa was a separate entity, religiously and politically. For example, Bartram stated that, "Every Creek town and village is to be considered as an independent nation or tribe having its Mico (Micco) or Chief."<sup>6</sup> Hudson (1987) concurs with Bartram by stating, "...the Creek chiefdom was a group of people who had their own ceremonial center with a town house, square ground and chunky yard. The chiefdom might include only one town or settlement of people, or it might include several along with individual households scattered up and down the river. Some Creek

chiefdoms were relatively autonomous."<sup>7</sup> Green also concurs with Bartram and Hudson and writes that "The Creek people lived in villages, or Italwas. They were called towns by the English and came to be commonly know by that term. There was no centralized governing body of the towns because each of them had been founded by independent groups [clans] that had separate histories and different customs."<sup>8</sup>

Sturtevant (1971) also asserts the autonomy of Florida Creek settlements by stating that, "Each talwa was a separate 'tribe' in the special sense. By the end of the British period in Florida it seems clear that the Florida Indians (were) treated independently and (acted) independently..."<sup>9</sup> Within each individual politically autonomous tulwa existed clans. Swanton suggests that "...The Creeks possessed what might be called an 'open' clan system, that is, a clan system to which new clans might be added or from which they might be subtracted..."<sup>10</sup>

The matrilineal clan was an Indian's family, more important to him than his town or anything else. More than anything else, clan membership determined a Muscolgulge's social relationship...the clan system had proved resilient, able to withstand pandemics, warfare, enslavement and repeated relocation better than most aspects of Indian society, and here the traditional red/white dualism survived. <sup>11</sup>

Creek towns have been and continue to be politically and socially independent of each other and membership into the mother's clan identifies who that person is as well as their function within the town. These points are critical because not only define Creek communities, but shape the modern day political and social structure for the Creeks.

The conception of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians began with the Poarch Band of Creek Indians, the late Calvin McGhee and the Perdido Band of Friendly Creek Indians and extended family leaders in Florida, such as J.J. Ward of the Choctawhatchee settlement. For more than 30 years, both Alabama and Florida Creek people worked together for the betterment of their people. However, due to differing needs of the Florida

Creeks and the geographic proximity, Florida Creeks pursued issues that directly affected them and detached formal political ties with the Poarch community during the 1970s, although it still maintained informal political and social tie with Alabama Creeks. The state of Florida recognized the large Creek population by establishing and funding, through state legislation, an organization that was dedicated to addressing issues and concerns of Creeks living in Florida known as the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council. However, because of the distribution of federal docket moneys, a separate political organization had to form within Florida. This was the beginnings of Florida Tribe.

Florida tribe has grown in citizenship, and in establishing itself as the Native American entity serving all Creek people in Florida. It works with local, county, state and federal agencies to preserve Creek Culture. The Florida Tribe assists local and county areas with histories of the Creek people and participates in local and county festivals representing Creek people. Its experts provide guidance to Native American archeological sites and re-interments in county and federal military installations in Florida and have input on Indian issues in Florida through service to the Governor's Council of Indian Affairs. The Florida Tribe has been recognized as an Creek Indian Tribe not only by the state of Florida, but by The Seminole Nation of Florida. The Creek Nation of Oklahoma has also offered their assistance to Florida Tribe in the federal petition endeavors.

## SECTION C: ENDNOTES

- 1 Before the Indian Claims Commission, No. 21, *The Creek Nation v. The United States*, Intervenor's Objections to Defendant's Requested Findings of Fact and Intervenor's Reply Brief, February 15, 1955, p. 78.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- 3 Wright, J. L. *Creeks and Seminoles*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press), 19 , pp. 1-19.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 6 Bartram, William, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians*, in E.G. Squier (Ed.) *Transactions of The American Ethnological Society, Vol III-Part 1 1787*, p.23.
- 7 Hudson, Charles, *The Southeastern Indians*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987, p. 233.
- 8 Green, M.D., & Porter, F. (1990). *The Creeks*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, p. 21.
- 9 Sturtevant, W. C., *Creek into Seminole* in Eleanor Leacock and Nancy Oestreichlurie (Eds.) *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*. New York: Random House, 1971, pp. 95, 104-105.
- 10 Haas, Mary R. (1940). Creek inter-town relations. *American Anthropologist*; 42, pp.479-89.
- 11 Wright, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 18-19.

## **PART 4: MEMBERSHIP OF THE FLORIDA TRIBE**

The introduction to this petition furnishes a general overview of the largest clans that have been unified historically, culminating with the modern day citizenship in the Florida Tribe. This chapter on membership provides a more indepth look at these Creek Indian families. It has been divided into three sections because of the amounts of researched information on the family histories and because of the way that the clans have been structured through time. The chapter is either backed up with copies of documents in the Appendix to the petition or is footnoted. It is important to realize that the modern Florida Tribe's boundaries are relatively extensive, covering a 10 county area of Northwest Florida. The demographics are more logically presented by grouping the members as is described in the next paragraph.

Section A of membership discusses the Ward family. Section B covers the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Clan. Section C is a brief overview of some of the Escambia and Santa Rosa County members, many of which have direct undisputed social, cultural, and blood ties to the Poarch Band of Creeks in Atmore Alabama. It is again stressed that all of the referenced data may not be furnished in hard copy form at this time. For example, the family records of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot clan requires six bound volumes to hold general data and is permanently housed at the tribal council headquarters in Bruce Florida. Some of the oral taped interviews were part of a research project that was funded by the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. The tapes and/or transcripts are located in the archives of the University of West Florida in Pensacola. Sources, such as personal papers of tribal members, are only going to be copied and made available upon request because the amount of documents and because they are very fragile. The Florida Tribe families inherently have one or two clan members that maintain family historical records, affidavits, Bibles, diaries, etc. for posterity. In these cases, the family member's name is

cited in the footnote along with the location(s) of the records. The address is available through the membership roster. Efforts have been carefully made to ensure that the endnotes are specific as to the actual sources of information. Each of the three sections is immediately followed by its own endnotes, rather than having them placed at the end of the chapter. This method has been used for the convenience of all persons involved. Some of the individual footnotes contain additional 'notes' and may offer additional information, sources, or clarifications to the topic.

## **SECTION A: THE WARD FAMILIES**

There are two separate groups of the Ward family: one group migrated from Bon Secour Alabama to the western portion of Walton County Florida (modern day Escambia-Santa Rosa Counties) as early as 1821, and the other migrated from Malvern Alabama to the southern part of Walton County Florida in the early 1860s. The two groups are blood related with evidence of considerable movement back and forth between the groups and numerous intermarriages. However, these groups have two Docket 21 numbers assigned because the Wards were half-blood brothers that married full blooded female members of the Creek nation. The lineage of the Wards traces back to the females: Elizabeth English and Nancy Knight. Section A demonstrates that the Wards are Creek Indian families who pioneered Walton County Florida.<sup>1</sup>

An appropriate place to begin this section is in the community of Bruce, Florida (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 1). This is the homestead of the modern day Choctawhatchee Clan. For purposes of this petition, the definition of the words 'clan' or 'band' identifies people belonging to a particular family and extended family that lives within close proximity to each other. The Ward settlement originated in the mid-nineteenth century near the banks of the Choctawhatchee River. This river, still called "the road" by elderly members, linked Florida homesteaders to adjoining Alabama Creek territories. And, it

offered a path to the Pensacola area of Escambia County because it flowed into the Choctawatchee Bay, the gateway to the Florida Tribe's costal counties. The river provided the environment that was necessary for the Ward's survival. In order to gain immediate access to this settlements in southern Walton County from an easterly approach required the use of a ferry system that was controlled by the Wards. In fact, the job of running steamboats and ferrys passed though four generations of Wards. It is from this lifeline river that the modern clan takes its name. These Florida inhabitants share a common blood bond with the Creek Nation through James B. Ward and his wife Elizabeth English, a documented Creek Indian. Membership for this clan is reserved for those people who demonstrate direct lineage from the Ward lines. The Choctawhatchee Clan provided politically influential leaders throughout the county, followed one dominant leader through one genealogical line, and exhibited continual Creek culture especially through its kinship relationships. Further, a majority of the original settlement area lands is still retained by Creek families living in the area (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 2).

## **I. The Choctawatchee Clan**

### **a. Early History**

The Ward family can be traced to John Ward I, an Irish immigrant who settled in Berkley County South Carolina, during the later part of the seventeenth century. His last will and testament, recorded in 1719, named his sons Jonathan, Jona, and John II as heirs to his property rights and other goods. Thirty-nine years later, his son John Ward II, filed a will in Berkley County, dated May 17, 1758 which listed his wife, Sarah, and his children: Mary, John III, Joshua, Daniel, and Benjamin as his heirs. John Ward was also enlisted in the revolutionary army (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 3 through 6).

John Ward III and his brothers raised cattle which were driven from the Virginia/Carolinas to Alabama and Louisiana by way of Columbus, Georgia.<sup>2</sup> During one

such crossing, John Ward III met Nancy Knight, the daughter of Creek Indian, Jackson Knight, who was a blacksmith by trade and a Creek. The Knight family lived on the banks of the Chattahoochee River near old Fort Mitchell, Alabama. After his marriage, John Ward III, his wife, and brothers continued in the cattle trade. Children of John and Nancy were listed as Tarleton, Nancy, Elijah, Moses, Patrick, Henry, Daniel, and James Benjamin (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 7 through 9).<sup>3</sup> Baptismal records also identify a girl child named Anna. Because of the nature of their parents' work, the children were born in four different states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, and Florida (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 7 through 13).<sup>4</sup> At the turn of the 1800s, the U.S. ceded lands from New Orleans to Florida, and in 1803 John Ward applied for a provisional land grant. There was land purchased on the Bon Secor River in Spanish Florida. Several of John III's brothers followed him to the Spanish Territory and obtained joint lands with John, as well as owning other lands in Florida. John and his brothers were politically active in the Mobile area of this Spanish territory (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 14 through 21).<sup>5</sup> It is through John and Nancy's son, James Benjamin Ward, that the Choctawhatchee Clan traces a Creek history that includes a settlement which has lasted through modern times.

According to the affidavits of the Ward family papers, James Benjamin Ward, born in South Carolina, prospered as an Indian trader and cattle rancher. He assisted his father and brothers in driving cattle across Creek territorial strongholds from the Carolinas to Louisiana. With the Creek territories changing due to settlers rushing westward and Creek uprisings, James B.'s family temporarily forewent the cattle drives.<sup>6</sup> James B. enlisted in the military during the period of the first Seminole War, from 1812-1814. Georgia military records list him as a spy serving under a Major Patton at Fort Mitchell, beginning in December 22, 1814 (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 22-24).<sup>7</sup> This type of position was primarily given to friendly Creeks fluent in both English and Indian languages. The job description did not only cover duties as spies, but also included responsibilities as

translators and guides through Indian country. James B.'s military assignments carried him from the state of Georgia to Mississippi, and ultimately into Baldwin, Monroe, Conecuh, Henry and Dalethe Counties in Alabama with Leonard and Lynn McGhee. The McGhees were also scouts and were the founders of the Poarch Band Creek Settlement. The location of his posts changed often because of the rapid settlements of non Indians in the area and the changing strategic and political boundries. Depending on the situation, he was headquartered near Savannah, Natchez, McIntoch Bluff, Wakefiled, Richmond, Daleville, or Newton.

After the tour of military service, James B. returned to the cattle and trading business. James B. and his father settled on or claimed public lands in West Florida which later became Jackson County. (Appendix 4, Exhibit 25). His brother, Elijah, claimed public lands in modern day Escambia County. Through the travels from running cattle, he met and married Elizabeth English. Elizabeth was a full-blooded Creek that had been raised by James English, a white trader that regularly worked with the local Indian population. Elizabeth had been abandoned as a child on the west bank of Georgia's Okmulgee River by her parents who left her there to go fishing for shad. English found her waiting on the banks. He spoke the local Creek dialect and could communicate with her. English stayed with the young Elizabeth into the night to give her parents a chance to return for her. Finally, James English took her to his home and raised her with his own children. He made attempts to locate her parents among the local Creeks, but no one would claim her. It was assumed that her parents either drowned in the swift river currents or intentionally abandoned her in hopes that she would be found and cared for. English always referred to Elizabeth as 'my little Indian.' Times were hard for Creek families and leaving children for adoption, as a way of protecting their lives, was not unusual. According to the Ward's oral history, Elizabeth English had skin that was copper in color, rather than dark brown.

Because she was "red faced", she could fit in with the ruddy complexioned Irish settlers without too much difficulty (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 26-33).<sup>8</sup>

James B. applied for a government land grant in Dale County, Alabama in the 1850s for his services in the Seminole War. The Wards eventually settled there in a predominately Creek Indian community. This grant became very important to the Wards as the ensuing years brought land hungry non Indians to the rich soil of Alabama. The grant offered protection from the forced Creek removal by giving the Wards a legitimate claim to a land base to raise their children and, at the same time, enabled them to live among the other half-blood Creeks who had received this same government benefit. On the 1840 census, there were eight children listed: John (Jack) Jackson, James (Matt) Madison, Thomas (Jeff) Jefferson, Benjamine (Frank) Franklin, William Josiah (Diamond Joe), Elizabeth, Mary, and Monroe (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 34 through 39). The family farmed squash, sweet potatoes, corn, pumpkins, and persimmons and fished for a living.<sup>9</sup>

During the peak of Creek Removal, James was forced to move his family from the Alabama River to Malvern, Alabama. His land grant in Dale County, which was the same general grant as was afforded to Lynn McGhee of Poarch Alabama, had been incorrectly awarded to a James Ward that resided in Tennessee. While the error was eventually corrected, this mistake created a series of hardships for the Wards. There was no stability. James B. and the male children had to work for a timber company. They cut logs in the daylight hours and moved their possessions by night to avoid being uprooted and removed by the federal government.<sup>10</sup> When the first census was taken in Alabama, James B. and his wife were registered as whites by census takers. Depositions state that Elizabeth and her young children were cared for by the neighboring Creeks when James B. was forced to make cattle drives (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 26a through 26d). The Wards lived in a close knit Creek community. Their Creek neighbors brought honey and fresh meats to Elizabeth. In exchange, she furnished gunpowder and bullets. Prior to leaving on a trip,

James B. made the arrangements for his family's care. He bought the powder, bullets, and guns, which he had access to from his service to the government. His half-Irish heritage made him physically passable as a member of the white race and through time, Ward family members have been known for their pale blue eyes. The working arrangement between the Creek Wards and neighbors was mutually beneficial. James B. and Elizabeth English remained on the homestead in Alabama until their deaths.

The Creek removal of the 1830's naturally led to drastic changes. Schools which educated the local Indian population were forcibly closed. The Wards had been more fortunate than most of the Creek because James B. was from an educated family. The Wards were early council members in assemblies held in Spanish Florida and were able to write and sign their names. James B. Ward provided a will, land sale, and letter to his youngest son, Monroe, that demonstrated that he could read and write (Appendix 4, Exhibits 36-37). Elizabeth English had been raised in the house of a non-Indian family. She too had received some education. Their children, however, were not allowed to attend public school in Alabama. They were recognized as Indian. Consequently, the education of their children was assumed inside the family, using a Bible as the primary teaching guide. In later years, some of the Ward's grandchildren were sent away to schools in Mississippi because of the discrimination practices in Alabama (Appendix 4, Exhibit 38).

During the 1850s, the Ward family remained stable. Assets listed in his will, showed James B. to be a landowner with a few slaves, a large holding of cattle, livestock, and currency (Appendix 4, Exhibit 36). The census of 1850 shows property values ranging from \$2000 and \$4973 (Appendix 4, Exhibit 40). He was relatively prosperous for the times. The next decade brought many changes to the Ward family.

The U.S. Decennial Census of 1860 continued to count the Wards as white. It is important to note that prior to this, the 1816 census of the Mississippi Territory listed the Ward's residence as old Baldwin County - with the McGillivrays, Moniacs, Rolins, McGirts, Moores, Stiggins, and other half-blood ancestors of the Poarch Band of Creeks. The problems with acquiring promised land grants for military service of the War of 1812, the Creek removal and subsequent forcing of the Wards to work in a timber company (located near Old Hartsford), when combined with the denial of an education to their children, led to a decision to remain listed as members of a white race. This decision was made after lengthy discussions between James B. and Elizabeth English. \* It is interesting to note that an identical discussion occurred some 50 years later between their son, Diamond Joe, and his son, J.J. Ward who was fast becoming a recognized local politician. J.J.'s daughters were very young and were listening outside the door. They overheard the conversations and later began asking questions which angered J.J. because he did not want his children to have the many problems and injustices that he had learned to associate with being Indians in a white world. After they girls had eavesdropped, their father changed his mind and Diamond Joe resumed teaching them the Creek ways with the understanding that it would be kept inside the family.

Creeks were usually listed as Negroes if they had dark skin or as White if they were lighter (half-blooded) or copper colored. The actual breakdown of Indian as a race on census records was very rare for the Creeks. James B. Ward allowed a white government census taker to count him as a white citizen because as a white male, he maintained the advantage of holding property, voting, and of protecting his family among the increasing numbers of white settlers. However, he wrote a letter to his youngest son Monroe on August 28, 1861 that gives testament to the fact that the Wards considered themselves Creek and privately maintained their Indian heritage. The letter reads as follows:

"I am writing this for your information. Your mother Elizabeth English Ward is a Creek Indian. I am half Indian and half Irish descent. I believe the Federal Government will pay for the land that once belonged to the Creek Indians in the near future or during your life time. I pray that you receive all that you are due and that you have some of the things I missed (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 37).<sup>11</sup>

This document was notarized by a Dale County Justice of the Peace, James M. Collin. During this period, the histories of nearby Baldwin and Monroe Counties show prominent members of the Poarch Band of Creeks holding local political offices and appointments. For example, David Moniac was appointed to act with the Commissioner's Court of Monroe County to contract and make repairs near Little River, and in February of 1861, he had become auctioneer of Baldwin County. Other Poarch Band leaders were "Inspectors of General Elections". As the children of James B. and Elizabeth had become older, they had married within the neighboring Purvis and Wynn families, who were also Creek Indians.<sup>12</sup> The writing of this letter coincided with a changing political environment and with the beginnings of the Civil War. The Creek Nation of the West had believed that the Confederacy could win and in turn, ensure the Creeks the rights to their lands. An alliance had been made between the Creeks and the Confederate States. James B.'s and Elizabeth's son, William Josiah, went to war at age 16 (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 41 through 42) serving as a Private in Company D of the 39th Alabama Infantry for the Confederate State Army. He was underage. The Ward family papers do not contain a copy of his enlistment papers. However, the service information and regiment is listed on his tombstone that was placed there at his death in 1923. It is located at the Antioch Cemetary in Bruce Florida.

**b. The Move to Florida**

William Josiah, referred to as 'Diamond Joe' because of the diamond mark he placed on his possessions, served in the Confederacy as a Tessie Boy. The position has always been called this by the family. By description, it seems that this position is similar to that of an officer's aide. Diamond Joe served a Confederate officer who was killed in battle. Before the officer died, he instructed Diamond Joe to take his horse and "return to your people". Diamond Joe started riding for home, deserting the scene of the battle. On the way back to Dale County, while riding in the night, the horse fell into an open grave and broke a leg. Diamond Joe had to walk the rest of the way home. He was afraid he would be charged with desertion or, even worse, stealing a horse, and subsequently left his family and home in Alabama in early 1863 to hide out in the swamps of present day Walton County.<sup>13</sup> Family depositions state that the area next to 'the road' offered abundant wildlife and land for people who deserted the Civil war and of course, for Creek Indians avoiding other serious problems. Following the Civil War, the South declared amnesty for deserters. By then, Diamond Joe had his homestead prepared. He went back to Alabama, retrieved his wife, and moved back to Florida. Several of the Ward brothers left Alabama with him.

The reasons the Wards moved into Florida were threefold:

1. Because they were known as Indian to the local community, their children were not allowed to receive an education to better themselves;
2. The offense of desertion and possible horse theft haunted Diamond Joe. Even though the South had declared amnesty for deserters, he did not trust this and as an Indian, he believed that he would always be subject to government charges;
3. Diamond Joe had a spiritual dream that waked him in the night. Diamond Joe was told to "leave, follow 'the road' and propagate the earth". In other words, move and establish a community in the seclusion of the Florida swamps. He was told that it would always be a safe haven for his people.<sup>14</sup>

Diamond Joe and James Madison were the first of the brothers to return to settle in the remote, isolated portion of Walton County near the Choctawhatchee River (Section 25 and 36, Township 2 North, Range 1 West). These homesites are near modern day Antioch and Dead River cemeteries used by the local Wards. The year was approximately 1866 as Diamond Joe's ninth child, Annie Laura, was born in Florida in 1867 ( see Appendix 4, Exhibit 43). Between 1870 to 1880, Ward family brothers Thomas Jefferson, Monroe, and Benjamin Franklin also permanently moved from Malvern Alabama to Florida with their wives and children. These homesteads formed a settlement area around the land of Diamond Joe and James Madison (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 44).

The Wards are listed on the Walton County census of 1870 as white, not unrealistic considering state legislation did not allow for the Indian race. Indians residing in the State of Florida had to live as white citizens by law. However, these settlers' children knew they were Indian from birth.<sup>15</sup> The Creek ways were lived inside the family, away from public scrutiny. Because the sparse population in the area were either relatives or selective people fleeing justice (i.e. the Pate family head who was Irish and had 'killed a man'), it was not difficult to continue to live as Creek. Elizabeth English visited Florida regularly after James B.'s death in the 1860s and continued to teach the ways of the Creek people to her grandchildren.<sup>16</sup>

Monroe Ward returned to Alabama in the 1870s. He was a farmer and wanted to return to the family homestead where he was "on better lands" and could care for his mother (Appendix 4, Exhibit 45). The remaining brothers worked for the local timber companies located in Freeport and surrounding areas, cutting cypress from the river and driving the logs down river to a pulp mill. They would "read" the river, by waiting until the river was at it's highest peak to send the logs downstream. Part of the logs the Wards harvested were diverted from the river route into a lake that was formed by the high waters. It was called "Stealin' Lake". Some of the timber would be left in the lake and retrieved at later

times by the Wards to be able to supplement their families' income when it was necessary. The brothers diversified their means of making a living to complement one another. For example, Benjamin Franklin became a steamboat captain on the Choctawhatchee River, an occupation that passed through four generations.<sup>17</sup> Thomas Jefferson farmed and worked with timber, as did James Madison and John (Jack) Jackson. Diamond Joe also had a small store. It was here that his granddaughter, Malzie, remembered the 'medicine man' Penton who also lived near the squaregrounds of Antioch visiting with his bag, his stick, and assorted bottles. Diamond Joe knew the herbal healing qualities of various plants and liquids to use to doctor the community. When John Jackson was killed by a misguided falling tree in the 1880s, the Ward brothers supported his wife and children in the Creek way.<sup>18</sup> The brothers did all major repairs to his farm, assisted in planting crops, and purchased any supplies required by the widow and her children.<sup>19</sup> Diamond Joe regularly hunted deer, wild turkey, pigs and gophers in the woods of Bruce. His granddaughter, Malzie Ward Pate, remembers going with him to check his homemade treadle bird cages for quail. He taught her to never waste what nature gave. No matter how many quail were in the cages, they only kept enough for the one meal. The others were freed. The two would carry their dinner home, with Diamond Joe walking along with his shoes ties by the laces and thrown over his shoulder. He would only wear shoes if he were going to preach along the sidewalks of Pensacola or to attend some public event that required such uncomfortable dress.<sup>20</sup>

There was one road that directly passed the Ward's community from east to west. The road was interrupted by the Choctawatchee River. The ferry, owned and operated by the Wards, was a way to identify and prevent the various people passing by from remaining in (or even entering) the community. According to oral tradition, the Ward brothers could keep an undetected watch on who traversed the river from inside a hollowed out cypress tree, especially during those early years in Florida. As time passed, Diamond Joe and his

brothers regularly travelled back to Alabama to visit by means of the Choctawhatchee river. Intermarriage was a common practice between first cousins in this community (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 46) and still occurs among the Wards. It is neither openly promoted in the modern day, nor looked upon as unacceptable.

With the Ward Migration to Florida, Diamond Joe emerged as the true leader of his people. He would cash gold coins or produce paper money on a regular schedule and divide the amount between the poorest women of the community. While the origins of the gold is not openly accounted for by the family, oral histories and even local books and articles refer to a renegade group commonly called the "Ward Raiders" - and a missing Yankee payroll (complete with paper and plates) from the Civil War. Be that as it may, Diamond Joe doctored, ministered, and furnished what was necessary for the lasting security of his people. He would smoke beehives to give its honey to the tribe's expectant members, whether they knew to ask for it or not. He used the river swamp herbs to treat different disorders.<sup>22</sup> Lastly, he served as spiritual leader, preaching for the family when no there was no church available, even though he was not a formally trained minister. Diamond Joe had a gift referred to as 'divine inspiration'. He could be asked to quote any sets of verses from any chapters of the Bible. As he grew older, he would travel to Pensacola with the Ward steamboat operators and be left on the docks or the courthouse steps 'reading' the scriptures that the people requested, while his son, Jesse Joe conducted legal business in the district courthouse. The ritual was always consistently reported: Diamond Joe reaching upwards with his hand exactly two times, and then, reciting the Bible verse or chapter that was requested. The gift was known to people in Pensacola. Oftentimes, donations would be collected, and he would give them to one of the respected people listening to him (in one instance it was a Pensacola judge) with instructions to give the money to the local orphanages. It is not a surprising request, as his mother had been orphaned and told him of the generosity of the white trader who raised her. His

granddaughter, Malzie, would was quite young, sometimes followed his readings at home with the family Bible, but would find it difficult to keep up as he neared the end of a page. When she finally complained that he was going to fast, he told her that he had to start reading faster because he never knew when God would turn the page.<sup>23</sup> Spiritual 'gifts' were not uncommon in the Ward family. The ability to 'see' and 'heal' has passed through male members of the Wards and still exists inside one branch of the family.

Diamond Joe believed in spiritual strength. He decided the community needed a regular, more accepted church. He chose the Baptist faith and the church was formed by Diamond Joe between 1909-11 (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 47). However, the community could not get a Baptist minister - they could only get a Methodist one. Diamond Joe simply told his people to switch religions, which they did. The new church's cornerstone was laid around 1919, with Diamond Joe getting his granddaughter, Mazie Ward Rossell, to recruit the Ward youth while he finished recruiting the Ward adults.<sup>24</sup> The Bruce Methodist Church is still a Ward family church. This tiny community of 200 plus residents also has an Assembly of God church that is attended by non Indians.

Although Diamond Joe was of the 'Baptist-turned Methodist' Christian faith, he practiced the Creek religion before deciding to build the church in Bruce. There was a concealed Square Grounds located near the Antioch cemetery at his homestead (Appendix 4, Exhibit 44). His granddaughter, Mazie accompanied him there when she was 12 years of age. She said it was hidden deep in the woods with a cleared out rounded area, overgrown with the year's weeds. She stepped over the ridge of the circle and sunk into deep sand that came up to her knees. The abandoning of the Square Grounds during the beginning of this century coincides with the date of the Methodist church construction. It also matches the dates given by Charles Daniel of Pine Arbor (near Tallahassee) for his grandfather's last trip from Yulee/Fernandina Beach Florida to Bruce by way of train to DeFuniak Springs, then mule and wagon to Antioch to provide services to the Square

Grounds. He was a recognized Heles-Haya (maker-of-medicine).<sup>25</sup> The change to the Methodist Church, more importantly, coincides with Diamond Joe's son, J.J. Ward, becoming a County Commissioner - a very visible position that he held for 20 years.

Religion was not the only important element to Diamond Joe. Education was a foremost concern. The small Choctawhatchee community never lacked for a school or a means to further their education. Diamond Joe's sons attended business schools and universities. Their tuition was paid for by him and his brothers.<sup>26</sup> In addition, he would pay for any of his nephews' or nieces' schooling if their families did not have the finances. He made sure that the children of the community had the benefit of a small school to receive an education. He and his brothers built a small one-room school in the Bruce community, and hired a teacher who lived with Diamond Joe or with his son, Jesse Joe, all paid for by Diamond Joe. It was Diamond Joe's belief that only through the benefit of an education could the Ward family survive and prosper. He also developed his own form of shorthand, writing notes that only he could read.

Diamond Joe Ward led the Choctawhatchee community until his death March 7, 1924. He was 94 years old.<sup>27</sup>

### **c. Changing Leadership**

After Diamond Joe Ward's death, his son Jessie Joe (J..J.) Ward assumed the active leadership role in the community. With the help of his father and uncles, J.J. had established himself within the area. He had a successful general store that catered to and cared for the community. J.J. had not originally planned to remain in Bruce because of the education he received in business. But, his older brother Thomas had bought a store in Bay County and J.J. was asked to remain in Bruce and take care of things. J..J. invented his own tokens that other family members would use for trading. The tokens replaced regular government currency and family members exchanged the tokens for

goods by the family and friends of the Wards. The tokens were assessed at Jesse Joe's own discretion of worth.<sup>28</sup> Jesse Joe would also extend lines of credit to those in the community who had no money for food. He was also one of the main incorporators of the ALA-FL railroad, organized at Slocumb, AL. to connect Chipley, FL to Troy, AL.<sup>29</sup> J.J. was well versed in legal matters. He represented family and community members in all legal matters from theft to bootlegging, served as a notary for marriages and land exchanges and helped eligible families receive pensions or military benefits: from Civil War era descendants to World War I and II veterans. Lastly, he employed members of his family in his store, continued to finance education for the youth of the community, and became the Wards' official voice in politics. The Wards vote was a block vote and still is.

J.J. began his political activities by serving as county tax inspector. In 1910 he was elected as a Walton County Commissioner, a position he held for the next 20 years. In 1915 he was also elected Chairman of the Democratic Party for Walton County. He was elected as chairman of the county commissioners in 1924. That same year, J.J. was instrumental in delivering the Choctawhatchee Indian vote for Sidney J. Catts, the Governor of Florida.<sup>30</sup> During September 1924, J.J. Ward was indicted for obtaining transportation funds under false pretenses. The charges against him were determined to be unfounded and political in nature. He was acquitted by Judge A.G. Campbell.<sup>31</sup> Governor Catts reinstated J.J. in office one week later.<sup>32</sup> J.J. Ward was defeated in the Commissioner's election of 1930. He later discovered that his opponent had traveled the county and told voters that he had died. Following this defeat, he was appointed Deputy of the State Game Commission. He enforced the new game laws at a time when game conservation and game licenses were little understood or cared about by Floridians outside his community.<sup>33</sup> Although he was politically connected statewide, his interest in his people and community never wavered. His lifelong interest in the education of his people, resulted in his election to three terms as a Walton County Schoolboard Member from

1940 to 1952. He was instrumental in obtaining a building for the local Women's Club to hold their meetings in for \$1.00 per year.<sup>34</sup>

During the 1950's, J.J. Ward worked vigorously with the help of his cousins Lura McCook and Margie Weathers to document his people's ancestry to qualify for Docket 21 Land payments. He stayed in constant communication to work on Docket 21 with Chief Calvin McGhee of the Poarch Band. Chief McGhee personally hand carried the Ward family papers to Washington D.C. and addressed the Commission on the Ward's behalf because in his words, "We are of the same people". J.J. knew the basics of law and could work with attorneys Claude Pepper of Miami, Florida, and Lenoir Thompson of Bay Minette, Alabama. The Ward family papers still contain some of this original correspondence. During a government hearing on Docket 21, Elizabeth English Ward's photograph was Exhibit No. 2 to assist in establishing that there were, indeed, Creek Indians in the Eastern United States after removal.<sup>35</sup> His endeavors were successful, and his people received their claims.

J.J. wrote numerous letters to legislators to advance his people's cause such as to Lyndon Johnson and the counsel for The Creek Nation East of The Mississippi. J.J. was not the only Ward member to hold political office in Walton County. Captain Jess Sharon, Jeff Sharon and Lamar Ward were also political figures, but J.J. Ward was the acknowledged leader of the community until his death. Lamar Ward was, at one time, the teacher of the Bruce school. He was later replaced by J.J. Wards' granddaughter, Zera Pate Denson when she was 18 years of age. Upon the death of J.J. Ward the position of community leader was not filled for a number of years. A loose alliance of the families within the community settled political matters.

During the 1970's there was a new resurgence that ran through the Choctawhatchee community. It resulted in the election of a new leader for the clan, Mazie Rossell, the

youngest daughter of J.J. Ward. Mazie is still the chairperson of the community and is 93 years of age. She was Chairman of the Democratic committee for years and a Silver Haired legislator that addressed the Florida state Congress. Her afghans are prized and have been presented to Governors of Florida from the Creeks.

In 1978, Mazie took the Choctawhatchee community into alliance with The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians. The precedent for this alliance with other Creek Indian groups came from the philosophies of the old Creek Indian Confederacy. Mazie has also served as Vice Chairman of the Florida Tribe, served for many years as the membership committee chairperson and served on the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council, whose members are appointed to office by the Governor of Florida.

Many of Wards have contributed their time and abilities for the successful continuation of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians. For example, John C. B. Thomas is the great grandson of Diamond Joe Ward and currently serves as the elected Chairman of the Florida Tribe. Zera Pate Denson (great granddaughter of Diamond Joe) serves as the Florida Tribe Treasurer and her daughter, Anne Denson Tucker, served as a member of the Council and is now completing this Petition for Acknowledgement begun by her great grandfather, Jesse Joe Ward with the help of so many over the years. Mazie Rossell, granddaughter of Diamond Joe, is the Micco of the Florida Tribe, a respected elder and noted voice for the Wards. Donald W. Sharon, a grandson of Susan Ward Sharon served as Tribal Chairman and continues to serve on the Council of the Florida Tribe. He is a well known local expert in archaeology and in family history. And the list of these family members goes on and on. The Wards have had voices on the Northwest Florida Indian Council and the Governor's Council for Indian Affairs for the State of Florida. This tiny community of Bruce has become a liaison center for services that are available for the members of this Tribe from a Creek library to educate, to crafts, language, and social aid.

#### **d. Social Activities**

The Methodist church in Bruce has been a place for social activities since its earliest beginnings. It has been recognized as a Native American church by the United Methodist Conference. The church was built by members of the Ward family, who once again pooled their talents and resources to have a religious site for their families. Across the street is the headquarters for the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creeks, the converted one room schoolhouse that has been a part of the Ward's history for almost 100 years. This is the place that elections are held. Political rallies and dinners for candidates have been a part of this building since Jesse Joe Ward. The building has served as the meeting place for the Women's Club, Ward members that take care of the cemeteries and cleanings, family gifts, or other business that needs to be done such as cooking and raising funds. There is a Creek library here. Classes have been held for teaching the children the Creek language and the old crafts still remembered by members of the Florida Tribe. Here has been generations of culture, religion, and education for this Creek family. Before these buildings were available, the Wards would come from miles for a "Harvest Festival" that was held at Diamond Joe and then, Jesse Joe's homes. The wagons would arrive with family and goods and the celebration would last up to a week. Sometimes as many as 200 people from other communities would find their way to Bruce. The men and women separated. The woods of Bruce were filled with game and while the men fished, hunted squirrels, deer, pulled gophers (land turtles), or found wild turkeys the women cooked, quilted and caught up on family events. There were always goods exchanged. The Ward families had its own musicians playing, concluding the evenings with a dance called "The Yellow River Bend," a name used for the traditional Creek "snake dance." During this Harvest Festival, community business was taken care of. If there were family disputes,

legal problems or community hardships, Diamond Joe would mediate the disputes and the parties would accept his decision and abide by it.<sup>36</sup>

Today, the Harvest Festival is only held on the third Sunday of October. It is attended by friends and family from all sections of the country. The gathering has been shortened to one day but there is still the singing of songs at the church, visiting in each others homes, and eating a large communal lunch, with food each family contributes to feed all who are present. It is sometimes advertised in the local paper, but has been held for so long within the Ward family that people from all areas of Florida know to come. With the revival of the Creek language, the blessing of the day is in traditional Creek.

#### **e. Burials**

The people of the Choctawatchee Clan have several cemeteries that are used for the family members. The main cemeteries are at Dead River and Antioch with secondary cemeteries at Red Bay and Black Creek (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 44). Older graves are still completely covered with shells - mostly heart cockle *Dinocardium*, Lightning whelks *Busycon spiratum*, with a few occasional Channel Whelks *Busycon canaliculatum* and Clench Helmet shells *Cassis spinella*. Some have "kill-holes" of the deceased placed on the grave (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 48-54). Appendix 4, Exhibit 55 lists the known burials of the deceased in the Antioch and Dead River cemeteries (highlighted names are Creek, descendants from John Ward and Nancy Knight). As demonstrated, the Antioch and Dead River cemeteries contain many Wards, while Red Bay and Black Creek contain members of the Burke, Simmons, Pate, Bishop, Silcox, and Walker families who married into Ward families at Bruce.<sup>37</sup>

The graves in the Bruce community lie east to west. The feet always point to the West because 'the sun has set on that life'. The Wards made their own caskets for many years from pine. (Malzie Ward Pate and her husband were local casket makers whenever it was needed by family members.) The Creek graves of the Wards are marked by wooden headstones with symbols of diamonds, circles, or squares. Graves are covered with personal items of shells, broken colored glass, and even children's toys. There are no traditional wooden houses remaining in these cemeteries. However, these outward signs of the traditional Creek burials are still in existence in other areas of the Florida Tribe and will be discussed.

## **II. Yellow River and Wardville**

### **a. Early History**

The second Ward settlement area in Walton County begins with Elijah Ward, James B. Ward's brother, and his family members. Elijah Ward was born in North Carolina in 1776 and was an older son of John Ward and Nancy Knight.<sup>38</sup> His younger years were spent essentially the same as that of James B. and are not being restated for that reason.

In 1816, Elijah formally married Sarah Cochran (see Appendix 4, exhibit 57). However, they had lived together for a few years as a son had been born prior to this marriage. The Mississippi Territory 1816 census of Monroe County (currently Alabama) showed Elijah (called Mahaja) having four people living in his house and owning seven slaves (see Appendix 4, exhibit 58). Elijah's brother, James B. is listed on this census also. During the next few years, Elijah continued in the cattle business on drives from Virginia to the Louisiana territory. He traveled extensively between present day Covington

County Alabama and his public land in Florida. There were more Indian problems beginning to occur in Florida and his cattle was periodically raided by hostile Creeks.

## **B. Florida Migration**

Elijah decided to move to the Western portion of Walton County Florida off the Yellow River in 1821. This is near present day Ward's Basin at Milton Florida. The land is next to his brother's and father's (see Appendix, 4, exhibits 25 and 59).

Between the years 1814 and 1837, Elijah and Sarah had the following children William, Gabriella, James, Andrew, John, Louise, Sara, Celestine, Mary, and Harriett. He was listed as a petitioner in several memorials to Congress for opening trade with Pensacola, setting up a district land office in western Florida, and river improvements on the Yellow River.<sup>39</sup>

Before the last two children were born, the Second Seminole War began and Elijah enlisted as a private in the Florida Militia in 1837 at Eucheeanna FL. Eucheeanna is a small community that is located barely 20 miles from Diamond Joe's later settlement in Bruce (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 61).

The 1850 census of Walton County (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 62) lists Elijah as being 74 years of age and his wife Sarah as being 51. Their occupation is farmers. His married children all homesteaded next to him. This included Celestine Josiah, John, William Marion, and Gabriella. Between 1852 through 1856 Elijah worked on obtaining a land grant for his military services to the United States during the Second Seminole War (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 63-68). He finally received Homestead Certificate No. 8210 located at N 1/2 of the NE 1/4 Sec. 6 TP. 3N. R. 22 W.<sup>40</sup> He and his family members moved to what is present day Crestview Florida now located in Okaloosa County. His married

children also followed him to this new property and settled near him. Elijah died in the late 1850s.

### **C. Leadership**

Elijah had lived with his oldest son, Celestine (Teen), just prior to his death. Teen became the leader of the family. <sup>41</sup>

Elijah had understood the possible devastation that a civil war could bring to Florida. This family was prosperous and owned many slaves that had been acquired after his marriage to Nancy Cochran. He often hired his slaves out to build the railroad in Northern Walton County. According to family history, Elijah took his daughter Harriett Elizabeth and her children to Shell Banks in Baldwin County Alabama because of the extensive raidings and killings that were going on in Florida. Harriett's husband, George Washington Nelson, had already joined the First Florida Infantry and had been fighting near Mobile. Orelia Nelson (Harriett's daughter) was four years old at the time and remembered Elijah taking her mother and her to Shell Banks. She remembered running along beside the wagon and riding underneath it when she got tired. Elijah accompanied them as far as the Styx River. where they said goodbye. Elijah was on a big white horse and had long flowing white hair. That was the last time Harriett and her children saw Elijah. <sup>42</sup> Harriet's husband, George Washington Nelson, had deserted during the Battle of Mobile and found his wife in Shell Banks. Oral history of this family says that he hid in the chimney of the house when the soldiers came looking for deserters. He then remained in the swamps with Harriet's swine until it was safe to come back to his home. Elijah's oldest son, Cilestine Josiah Ward had married Nancy Elizabeth Majors who was also Creek. According to family history, after Andrew and John Ward (Teen's brothers) freed a slave they owned, Elijah's son-in-law, Coval Nichols and his family caught the slave and

tortured him. Andrew and John tried to defend the slave but were hung by Coval, his father and his brother. It was decided by the family that Teen, as a member of the victim's family, would keep with Creek custom and assume responsibility to avenge his two brothers' deaths. Teen shot and killed Coval and his father. Coval's brother (Austin Nichols) survived, although he was also shot during the altercation. Teen immediately left the area. The year was 1865. He was not prosecuted by the law. It is also stated that after the Ward's freed their remaining slaves, there was a massive riot and all of the cattle and property of the Wards was permanently destroyed. Teen, his newly widowed sister, and all members living with Teen moved back to the original homestead on the Yellow River. By 1872, Teen and his family had moved to Wardville (now Davisville) near Bratt Florida. Wardville was a small thriving community of Creeks.<sup>43</sup> By this time, Teen was married to his third wife with eight children left to raise. The wife's family and Teen's other children furnished the assistance needed by his widow. In 1922, Chief Calvin McGhee of the Poarch Band visited the home of Babe Ward in Walnut Hill Florida. He later furnished a handwritten signed letter about a group of Creek Indian people that he and his family had known over time. His certification states the family of Elijah Ward, son to John Ward and Nancy Knight, daughter of Jackson Knight, were Creek people that he had recognized as a youth on this visit with his great-uncle Gil Gibson (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 82).

#### **D. The Wardville Ties**

The best accounts of Wardville were written by Otis Ward and were recited by him until his death in 1993. The written story he often told was humorous and described Wardville at the early turn of the century. At this time, Otis would have been 10 years of age. From his account, Wardville was a small community with many kinship ties though the families of the Wards, Majors, Nichols, Tuckers, Millers, Hollands, and Tennants. The

community had a school for their children. Elijah "Lige" Ward, Otis Ward's father, was an influential member of the schoolboard. The community relied on agricultural endeavors such as family farms, timber, cotton, and cattle that were supplemented by trapping and trading. There was also a saw mill and a grist mill.

The education of the children was housed in a one room schoolhouse called the Wardville School. The school went to the 11th grade, with one teacher serving all grades. All of the teachers lived in Lige Ward's, similar to the teachers in the Ward settlement in Bruce. A school superintendent visited the school approximately every six months.<sup>44</sup>

#### **E. Social Activities**

Social and other activities, such as house raising and hog-killings centered around the Church at Pine Barren Baptist Church (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 71). The regular attendees at the church were part of the Ward family. Marriages within the Elijah Ward line become quite intermingled. A web of intermarriages were noted as well as some brother sister marriages of nearby families and cousin marriages (See Appendix 4, Exhibit 69 for partial family chart). From the marriages that have been documented in the pedigrees of the Florida Tribe, it is clear that the Ward family and extended families in this area married and moved back and forth from Covington, Escambia, and Baldwin Counties Alabama to Escambia and Walton Counties in Florida. These intermarriages were noticed to be common between the Wards, Nichols, Brewtons, Majors, Davis', Godwins, Ards, Neils, and Gibsons which are now affiliated with the Poarch Band of Creek Indians. Also, Celestine's second wife was from the Bruce area and there are marriages with the Harjo-Boggs Clan. A consistent reunion of Wards occurred at the Pine Barren church each May (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 70 and 71). It is a social event similar to the Ward reunion in Bruce and has been held through time. Activities were limited to catching up on family gossip, marriages, births, singing, and dancing, and eating together.

## **F. Burials**

There are several cemetery sites in which Ward family and extended family members in this area are buried including: Pine Barren, Mossy Head, Ray's Chapel, Godwin, Walnut Hill and Crowder's Chapel (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 72-77). The burials are like those of the Bruce cemeteries of Antioch and Dead River with the use of shell and personal broken items (see Appendix 4, Exhibits 78-80). Teen and Nancy Elizabeth Ward were buried in the Godwin Cemetery at Bratt Florida. Traditional Creek houses were in place over both graves which meant that they had both received the Creek rites of burial as members of the Creek Nation. Cilestine's sister, Gabriella, was buried at Mossy Head Florida with this traditional house in place (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 81).

## **III. Concluding statements**

These families were and still are dominant groups in historical Walton County and as citizens of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians. The communities of Bruce and Wardville were specifically discussed because these areas are primary land bases to the many Docket 21 Ward family Creek Indians (see Appendix 4, Exhibit 83). The Ward line easily extends from Bruce to present day Davisville Florida and still exists as a modern day Creek community. These tribal members are linked to original Indian settlers in Florida and more than 94% of these members remain in close proximity to their original land. They genealogically relate to either Nancy Knight or Elizabeth English (Docket 21 Roll Nos. 11068 and 11147) through half-blood brothers. Three and four generations of Wards are traditionally descended through a primary person, usually a woman. Their names have been part of the family for generations, especially the names of the male members. Multiple generations continue to live in single extended family households on family land that has passed back and forth between members of the Creek family through the years. The patterns of leadership, particularly with the Choctawhatchee Clan, has

always been easily identified and well defined through a genealogical line. It is influential leadership, as it was from the early 1800s to the present time. These communities were independent of other communities, recognizing one leader from one line for his/her life, providing and caring for their own, following group intermarriage patterns with other Creek families, pooling community resources and talents for the benefit of the whole community. Relocation, religion, burial, celebration, loyalties remained inside the Creek group. Unfortunately, many of the pioneering Wards of Wardville died and some of their descendants were absorbed into other neighboring settlements. But the Wards, as multiple families of Creek Indians, endured. The family remained Creek, even though the public rituals and celebrations were altered to fit what was expected by a dangerous encroaching and scrutinizing white culture. They did not forget who and what they were. They learned to exist in and become survivors of the changing history of Florida - just as other federally recognized Indian bands have been forced to do. These are the words that a granddaughter raised with Malzie Ward Pate heard through the years she was growing up: "We are not like those people around us...(referring to outsiders that had lived in Bruce for generations)...The Ward's are different and always have been. We stay to ourselves, take care of our own, and we keep ourselves apart in the ways that we live our lives. This is what I was taught by my father as I grew up, and it is what I am telling to you because as you grow up, you will find out that you are not like they are."

## SECTION A: ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> McKinnon, J.L. (1968). History of Walton County. Gainesville, FL:

Palmetto Books.

<sup>2</sup> Pensacola Gazette, December 10, 1842. A copy of this article was retyped because it was not legible when copied. It is submitted as Exhibit 7 in Appendix 4.

<sup>3</sup> Personal Papers of Margie Ward Gatti, Mobile, Alabama

<sup>4</sup> Ward Family Papers, Tribal Headquarters, Bruce, Florida. The Ward Family paper are a collection of certified courthouse records, census reports, and legal documents which include original affidavits, and depositions. These combined documents were accepted as absolute proof by the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Ward's Creek race for payment under the Docket 21, 272, and 275 land claims.

<sup>5</sup> "Below on Mobile Bay was Bon Secours, under the Spanish Rio del Buen Socorro. John Ward in 1793 purchased a house and tract of land there, a mile from the mouth of the bay, from John Even. He discovered afterwards that Even had no title, and so he obtained a provisional grant in 1803 from Osorno to eight hundred arpens. Ward represented himself in his petition as the father of a large family." As quoted in: Peter Hamilton Colonial Mobile. University of Alabama Press, 1976, pp. 516-517. In 1867, John Ward's children, Patrick and Sarah, sought title of the lands jointly owned by James, Benjamin, and Daniel per personal family documents that are held by Florida Tribe member Margie Ward Gatti in Mobile, Alabama. John Ward's sons Tarelton, Moses, Patrick and James moved from Bon Secour to the Mississippi Territory before 1810. They are listed as voting for territorial representatives at Baton Rouge for that portion of land

(The Republic of West Florida) to be admitted into the Union versus being annexed as part of the Louisiana purchase. They were listed in Memorials to Congress with concerns over land claims in the area during 1816. Jackson county tax rolls of 1814 through 1840 lists the Wards over time, including the 1840 census which has as heads of households: Patrick, Tarelton, Moses, Henry, and John Ward. By the late 1860s, the State line had changed and placed them in Alabama, near Bon Secor according to Cyril Edward Cain, Four Centuries on The Pascagoula, Vols 1 & 2. Spartanburg, South Carolina: The Reprint Company, 1953 and the Personal Papers of Margie Ward Gatti; Mobile Alabama, 1994. James B. and his brother, Elijah, moved to Alabama and Florida respectively.

<sup>6</sup> Ward Family Papers, Op. Cit.

<sup>7</sup> State of Georgia, Dept. of Archives and History: Georgia Military Records Book 1779-1839. Deposition of James Patton.

<sup>8</sup> Ward Family Papers, Op. Cit.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* It is not clear where James B. and his family actually stayed as he had other land holdings in Early County Alabama and in Florida. He did sell the land in Early county. A copy of this deed is Exhibit 35 in Appendix 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Personal Papers of Odell Ward, Bruce Florida. James B. and Elizabeth's children married neighboring Creek families: John Jackson married Susan Wynn c.1843, Geneva County Alabama; James Madison married Mary Purvis c.1858, Geneva County Alabama; Thomas Jefferson married Holland Purvis c.1844, Geneva County Alabama; William Josiah married Apseybeth Purvis c.1850, Geneva County Alabama; Benjamin Franklin married Mary E. Gilley c.1857, Geneva County Alabama;

Geneva County Alabama; Elizabeth married Rufus Purvis c. 1849, Geneva County Alabama; Mary married James M. Davis c. 1857, Geneva County Alabama; Monroe married Polly Davis c. 1864, Geneva County Alabama; Josephine married William Gilley, Geneva County Alabama; Sarah married G.W. Purvis, also in Geneva County Alabama. (The Purvis', and the Gilleys' and Davis' were brothers and sisters).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* From 1863 to 1866, Diamond Joe is not listed on any Florida or Alabama census. Family history stated Diamond Joe had a hiding place on the river near Bruce that he used during the war and whenever trouble came about where he had to hide.

<sup>14</sup> Pate, Malzie Ward, Oral Interview, Bruce Florida. May 1984. Taped copy in the University of West Florida Archive at Pensacola Florida.

<sup>15</sup> Rossell, Mazie Ward, Oral Interview, Bruce Florida, October 1994.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Carswell, E. W., Tempestuous Triangle, Historical Notes on Washington Co. Florida, Chipley, Florida, 1974. p. 47 and p. 57. Steamboats were one of the main modes of transportation to Pensacola by way of the Choctawhatchee bay. The following accounts the steamboat activities: W.D. "Dan" Ward, nephew of Pinkney Ward who was the son of Diamond Joe, now residing in Vernon, FL was a steamboat captain of the Vernon, Bell, Edna C., Bruce, Captain Fritz, Eugene and Annie. The Vernon sank in 1918 at Rooks Bluff. The Eugene was built by the Walton Land and Timber Co at Portland Florida and sank in 1918 at Wise Bluff. The Bruce was the last steamer traveling from Holmes to Vernon. It was built in Freeport Florida by Charlie Sharon, Lee Tucker and Jasper Ward and made her last run in 1926. It burned at White City north of Port St. Joe Florida. Other

accounts of the use of steamboats are accounted for in the report Historical Remembrances of the Choctawhatchee River by The Northwest Florida Water Management District, Havana Florida.

<sup>18</sup> Rossell interview, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>19</sup> Thomas, John C.B., Oral Interview, Bruce Florida, December 1994.

<sup>20</sup> Pate interview, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>21</sup> Rossell interview, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Pate interview, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Rossell interview, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>25</sup> Sakim (Charles Randall Daniel), Oral interview, Tallahassee Florida, December 1994.

<sup>26</sup> According to the numerous Ward's, Thomas Jefferson, Diamond Joe and two other Wards hijacked a steamship bound for Pensacola that carried a Union payroll. These riders were called the Ward Raiders. The bounty included a printing press, plates, paper and ink used for printing money. Whenever someone was in dire need or wanted to go to school they would come to Diamond Joe for council. If Diamond Joe thought it was valid, Thomas Jefferson's son, Chessler Ward, would print off enough money to pay the bill or tuition. According to Mazie, "He never printed off money for frivolous things." The press was finally buried in the woods, where no one would find it. This is how J.J. Ward could be sent away for his education and open a general store in Bruce.

<sup>27</sup> The Defuniak Herald, DeFuniak Springs, Florida, Vol.XXX, No. 3,(Thursday, March 7, 1924), "Joe Ward Sr., Dies at Bruce," p.4, column 3.

<sup>28</sup> J.J. eventually had to let the store go because he and his last wife "had a good heart, which ultimately caused them to go broke." Malzie Ward Pate stated several example of J.J.'s wife, Carl Commander giving food, shoes, and clothing to family members in the community that were on hard times.

<sup>29</sup> Carswell, p.113, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>30</sup> The Breeze, DeFuniak Springs, Florida, Vol. XXXII, No. 11 (Thursday, May 1, 1924), "News from the County: Bruce Notes," p.2, column 1.

<sup>31</sup> The Breeze, DeFuniak Springs, Florida, Vol. XXXII, No. 32 (Thursday, September 25, 1924),"Ward Case Dismissed," p.1, Col. 5.

<sup>32</sup> The Breeze, DeFuniak Springs, Florida, Vol. XXXII, No. 34 (Thursday, October 9, 1924), "J.J. Ward Writes Letter to People," p.2, Column 3.

<sup>33</sup> The DeFuniak Herald, Florida, Vol. XXXVI, No.21,(Thursday, June 12, 1930), " Mr. Ward Shakes `em up", p. 2, Col. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas interview, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>35</sup> A picture of the exhibit is located in a Poarch Band Creek booklet entitled, Creek Nation East of the Mississippi. (1975). Mobile, Rush Printing Company

<sup>36</sup> Thomas and Rossell interviews, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>37</sup> Walton County Cemeteries, Robbie Garrett and Lisbeth Jackson. This document is located at Tribal headquarters at Bruce Florida.

<sup>38</sup> Gatti personal papers, *Op Cit.* and the Personal Papers of Merline Booher, Pensacola Florida.

<sup>39</sup> Personal Papers of Bob and Maxie Mayes, Ft Walton Beach Florida. Although Elijah and Sarah were formally married in 1816, they had been together at least years, since their first child William was born in 1814. It is clear that Elijah, his

wife Sara, and son William accounted for three household members. However, the identity fourth person is not known. Elijah's next child was Gabriella, born in 1818.

<sup>40</sup> Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol XXII, p. 320; Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol XXIII, p. 658 and the Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol XXVI, p. 485.

<sup>41</sup> Gatti Personal Papers, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Gatti, Margie, Oral interview, Bruce Florida, January 1995.

<sup>44</sup> Ward, Otis, Looking Backwards on the Wards For The Last 100 Years, Mobile, Alabama. Copy available in personal papers of Margie Gatti, Florida Tribe member.

## **SECTION B: THE HARJO-BOGGS-PARROT CLAN**

The last section discussed some of the history and continuity of the Ward settlement areas in Walton County Florida and provided details about key citizens who historically shaped the future of the modern Creeks. This section focuses on another river settlement to the east of Bruce Florida that shares common social and political patterns of the Wards, as well as extended family members. The Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band of Creek Indians are located in present day Calhoun County Florida (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 1).

### **1. Early History**

Prior to the time of Spanish Florida, the present day land areas around the Apalachicola River of Calhoun County were most probably occupied by a group of Muskogean Indians calling themselves Apalachees. After European contact, the aboriginal populations had dwindled, leaving vast areas vacated along the Apalachicola River.<sup>1</sup> Several small townships were located along the river, formed from Creek Indians migrating from the town of Tukabatchee that was located in the historic State of Alabama.<sup>2</sup> There were two of these towns in particular, Spanwakula and Iolee, that were parents communities of the modern day Calhoun county.<sup>3</sup> The Miccos or leaders of these two towns were named Tuskie Haco (often spelled Hajo) Cochran (Corakko), and John Blount (Lvfarvk) respectively.<sup>3</sup> The modern history of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Clan begins with a Cherokee woman named Polly who left Chickamauga Tennessee during a food shortage in the 1780s. She traveled south with her family into the more fertile river valleys of the Chattahoochee River where she was captured by friendly Creeks. The Creeks carried Polly further south. She was ultimately taken to what is now Blountstown Florida after being purchased by Tuskie Haco 'John' Cochran, one of six principle chiefs of the Apalachicola Creeks.<sup>4</sup> His township was in the same area as the settlements of Neamathla, John Blount, Mulatto King (Tuskie Haco's brother-in-law), Emathlochee, and

Econchatimico. Cochran was polygamous, and his first wife was the sister of John Blount.<sup>5</sup> She did not accept Polly and made it very difficult for her. Finally, Tuskie Haco arranged for Polly to be returned to her family unaware that Polly was pregnant. She gave birth to his child in 1784.<sup>6</sup> Clan descent was matrilineal and the children belonged to the mother who was responsible for their upbringing and discipline. This child was named Polly Perrit (also spelled Parrot or Parot) and she was the matriarch of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Settlement at Boggs Pond.

Polly Perrit remained with her mother and family. She met and married John Boggs, Jr. at age sixteen.<sup>7</sup> A year later, in 1810, she gave birth to John Joseph (John J.) Boggs.<sup>8</sup> Polly had two more sons and several daughters. During the years before the Indian Removal, the Boggs family traveled extensively throughout Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. John Boggs was polygamus with a second family that lived separately in Marshall County Alabama.<sup>9</sup>

Cochran Town had originally been located on the Georgia/Florida border to the north of Blountstown. By 1815, New Cochran Town was located three miles south of Ocheese Bluff (Chief Blount's Town) in Calhoun County Florida and a permanent Creek town.<sup>10</sup> Blount's original town had been burned down by the Seminoles because he had not made an agreement with the Red Stick faction during the early stages of the First Seminole War during 1813-1814. Blount's family was captured and never returned by the Red-Sticks, and he had fled to Fort Scott on the Flint River in Georgia later joining General Jackson's troops. He had returned to the Apalachicola around 1817 near the town of Ocheese-ulge. Cochran's town, however, was spared by the warring Seminoles because Cochran had established a friendly relationship with them.<sup>11</sup> Mounting settler migration and increased conflicts in the Apalachicola area had prompted the United States Government to make a treaty with the Creek on December 18, 1823. This Treaty of Camp Moultrie Creek compromised parts of Indian Territory in Florida (see Appendix 5,

The removal forced Polly Perrit and her clan to leave Chickamauga and travel southward to her Tuskie-Haco Cochran's land . The Perrit family entered the Chattahoochee River Valley, continued south along the river basin, to Blountsville, Alabama where forty acres was purchased. Polly only stayed here temporarily and then again moved southward. As they neared Cochran Town in the Apalachicola River Valley, Polly found that Cochran was dead and the Creek's were being removed from the Apalachicola reservation.<sup>17</sup>

Following Cochran's death in 1833, his son by his principal wife called Major Davie (Osia Haco) became the Tuskie Haco. He and John Blunt lead 256 Creeks from the Apalachicola River Valley reservation to Livingston, (Trinity River Valley) Texas, to join Davie's uncle in 1834.<sup>18</sup> Polly refused to go with Major Davie and John Blount (Blunt) and remained in Florida. She could not remain at the reservation, and moved to a parcel of land which historically came to be known as "Boggs Pone," (also Boggs Pond or the Boggs Indian Refuge lands) on the Jackson/Calhoun county line-which was west of Tallahassee near the Chipola River.<sup>19</sup> James Long, in an 1842 letter sent from Holmes Valley (next to Jackson/Calhoun), concurs with this location and described the Indians as "part of the renegade Creeks" and:

Have no doubt concealed themselves in West and Middle Florida for five or six years past and are supposed to number from forty to sixty warriors. Their location or home is generally believed to be on the east side of the Apalachicola River, in some of the dismal swamps that abound in that country; from whence marauding parties penetrate the frontier settlements of the country east and west and commit their savage depredations.<sup>20</sup> Atkins stated that a petition of 144 residents of Jackson County, the location of Boggs Pond, was presented to the U.S. Congress asking for an arsenal at Ocheese Bluff.

Boggs Pond's legal description was Section 15, Township 2, North Range 10 West, and it consisted of 100 acres. The only access, at that time, to the pond was to travel

Exhibit 2)<sup>12</sup> and included an additional article to that treaty by six of the principal chiefs of the Florida Indians. Tuskie Haco, Neamathla, John Blount, Mulatto King, Emathlochee, and Econchatimico, appealed to the commissioners (James Gadsden, William Duval and Bernardo Sequi) for permission to remain on their lands. This appeal was granted and established additional reservations within close proximity to Tuskie Haco (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 3). These reservations were designated by legal description and Tuskie Haco and Blount were granted eight square miles together. The legal description read as follows:

"...a reservation, commencing on the Apalachicola, one mile below Tuskie Hajo's improvements, running up said river four miles; thence west two miles, thence southerly to a point two miles west of the beginning; thence east to the beginning point (Townships 1 North and South, Range 8 West)..." (see Appendix 5, Exhibits 4-8).<sup>13</sup>

The location of the "improvements of Chief Tuskie Haco" is marked on map "B" by two small houses based on the description given above. Therefore, the Apalachicola Band became an official political entity recognized by the United States government after the Treaty was signed in 1823. This treaty also established three other reservations in the area: the Econchatimicco Reservation in Jackson County, the Neamathla Reservation in Gadsden County, and Emathlochee-Mulatto King Reservation in Calhoun County (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 3).<sup>14</sup> The Forbes Land Company owned land on the eastern side of the river (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 9).<sup>15</sup>

White pressures for Indian removal were building in other parts of the southeast to take Indian land and remove them to the new Indian Territory in Oklahoma. John Boggs, Jr., was a town leader, and did not leave. He was killed by white settlers as a result.<sup>16</sup> The burial site of John Boggs is not known. However, the oral tradition of Harjo-Boggs relates that he was buried in either Chickamauga or Alabama because he was polygamist with two separate households.

down the Apalachicola River, to the point where that river forks with the Chipola River, then travel up the Chipola River and overland to the west. It was a controlled entrance, like that of the Ward family in Bruce. The physical description of the land was the same as that chosen by "Diamond Joe", a swamp with desolate high hills laden with beautiful thick low-growing scrub oaks, holly trees, mulberry bushes, and grape vines growing wild and profusely. The Ward's homestead had been in an area called the sand hills.

Polly Perrit had her son build the Band a settlement area which had several small long-rectangular log houses that faced each other. The Band lived by the men's gathering of the cattle and small-scale farming of the women. They brought four slaves with them who worked with the women to take the black, fertile soil from Boggs Pond over to spread on top of the near-by sandy soil for agricultural purposes.<sup>21</sup>

There was an annual meeting in the fall of each year. During this time cattle running wild in the woods were rounded-up, butchered, meats dried, and hides prepared. The remaining cattle, storage of supplies, and distribution of harvested goods for the winter were centrally directed by Polly. Any inner Band conflicts were resolved at these meetings which included one of Polly's hardest decisions: to expel her son, Coleman "Coley" Boggs, for wanting to make his own decisions ran counter to the good of the community.<sup>22</sup>

Two of Polly's sons that were significant to the Band's history were John James William Joseph (James Joseph) Boggs who was born in Florida in 1840 and Coleman "Coley" Boggs. The other children were Ezekiel, William, Jane and Mary. For four generations the Band existed as penniless, illiterate squatters in the desolate country northwest of present day Blountstown.<sup>23</sup>

John J. Boggs married Mary Musgrove (Mele Pule) and they had two daughters and four sons. Mary (Mele Pule) Musgrove was Hitchiti, born in the town of Miccosukee, Florida (near present day Tallahassee) around 1800. She spoke both Creek and Hichiti and lived in Miccosukee until Andrew Jackson burned the town in 1817, with help from

Chief Blount (LaFavka). Mele Pule had been forced to move westward towards the Apalachicola River, near Polly's settlement. Mele was about 17 years of age (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 10).

In 1854, John (John Joseph) Boggs purchased land from the State of Florida, to wit: the SW 1/4 of the NE 1/4 of the NW 1/4 of the SE 1/4, Section 6, Township 2, Range 9, North and West. This land contained 120 90/100 acres and was located in Jackson County, next to Boggs Pond. In 1860 John J., his wife Mele Pule, and five of his six children were listed on the Calhoun County census (Chipola District, Marianna Post office) and he his occupation was farmer (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 11).<sup>24</sup> Polly Perrit was still the leader of the Band. John J. (John Joseph), was her emissary.<sup>25</sup>

Coley had been forced to leave the Band and moved to present day Sheldon's Corner, Jackson County, five miles east of Boggs Pond. He married Harriet Byrd, daughter of William and Lucy Byrd who were of Creek lines. In 1878, William and Lucy Byrd gave Coley and Harriet 40 acres of land in Jackson County at Sheldon's Corner, to wit: The SW 1/4 of the NW 1/4, Section 18, Township 2, Range 9, North and West.<sup>26</sup>

Coleman "Coley" Boggs' second son, Jess, had the following children at Sheldon's Corner: Vada, Laura, Wilson, Beulah and Eulah (twins), Ida, Helton, and Verlie. Vada married Cobie Bennett, her third cousin. Laura married Bill Chance, her third cousin. Wilson married Francis Boggs, granddaughter of John James William Joseph (James Joseph) Boggs, sister to Annie Boggs Sheldon, and his third cousin. Beulah married Pokey Chance, her third cousin; since Bill and Pokey Chance were brothers and Laura and Beulah were sisters, their children became first cousins/fifth cousins simultaneously; Eulah married Archie Freeman, her third cousin, Helton married Jimmie Melton, daughter of James Joseph Boggs. After the expulsion of Coley from the Band, the children of Polly Parriot did not reunite until 1981. Even with the strained relations within the Band, marriages did repeatedly take place between the grandsons of Coley Boggs and the

granddaughters of John James William Joseph (James Joseph) Boggs. Polly Perrit (Parrot) remained the leader until her old age. After her death, the leadership went to John J. Boggs, her son.<sup>27</sup> As is demonstrated, Creeks in this area primarily married among themselves, by preference and by lack of choice. There existed and continues to exist several generations of intermarriage and the group is intricately knitted together by a complicated network of multiple kinship ties. The cohesiveness of the Florida Creeks exists as a function of the panhuman institution of kinship ties.<sup>28</sup>

### **Changing Leadership**

John Joseph Boggs told his son, John James William Joseph (mes Joseph) Boggs, that the days of their way of life were numbered. He told him to:

"Go out and get a job, and learn, and if you can, marry into a white family to bring white blood into our family so that we may lighten the color of our skin, because as the white people are increasing in this area, our isolation here cannot last much longer. To survive, this is what we must do."<sup>29</sup>

James Joseph left Boggs Pond and worked on a large farm owned by Daniel Smith and his wife, Sally. Oral tradition states that this family was also Creek. The farm was located in Calhoun County, a few miles from Boggs Pond. James J. learned non-Indian ways, but kept to his Creek traditions. While at the Smith farm, he met their daughter, Sarah Ellen Smith and married her in 1860. She was disinherited for it. Sally returned with him to the Boggs refugee lands, still led by the Band's matriarch, Polly Perritt (also spelled Parrot or Parot). James J. was polygamous, as was the "old way."<sup>30</sup> The Calhoun County census of 1885 (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 12) lists John James William Joseph Boggs with Sarah Sarah Ellen Smith as his first wife; Lucy H. Chasen (reported as being Cherokee decent in oral histories) as his second wife; and Rena Chancy as his third wife. Mele Pule Musgrove, James J. Boggs' mother, was listed as living in the household at the time and her age was

80. Polly Perrit was still living, but not listed on the census because anytime a white man would come into the settlement, she would run into the woods and stay hidden.

James Daniel Boggs wanted to stay at Boggs Pond and continue the family ways, e.g. live from cattle as his ancestors had done since removal. His father had purchased additional land in Jackson County in 1892--the NW 1/4 of the SE 1/4 Section 32, Township 7, Range 10. However, Mele Pule and his mother, Sarah Smith Boggs, told him that the white people were crowding in, cattle were becoming scarce, and that he couldn't stay and do well. They told him he should leave the Indian refugee lands and become a trader. James Daniel Boggs also worked as a logger floating logs down the Chipola River, like the Wards in Walton County. He moved to Blountstown near the land of his grandfather, Cochran/Tuskie Haco where he met Alice Meigs McClellan, daughter of Catherine Harriet Meigs and Andrew Jackson McClellan. Catherine Harriet Meigs was the daughter of Gabriella Ward and granddaughter of Elijah Ward and Sarah Cochran.

Alice McClellan was Creek ancestry through John Ward and Nancy Knight. John Ward had received a Spanish grant of land in 1732, in present day Bon Secour, Mobile County, Alabama. Nancy Knight was a Creek from Ft. Mitchell (presently Columbus, Georgia) where James B. Ward had served as a spy in the War of 1812. Prior to the marriage of James D. Boggs, he purchased the Gabriella Ward Meigs' home. And, in 1900, he purchased some of his great-grandfather's reservation back--the North 1/2 or the SE 1/4, Section 18, Township 2 North, Range 9 West which remained in the family until his death in 1933. A historical marker today stands in front of the old courthouse marking the western boundary of the reservation given to John Blount and Cochran/Tuskie Haco (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 13).<sup>31</sup> A portion of the original reservation remains in the McClellan family, present day relatives of James Daniel Boggs' wife.

With another portion of the money from logging, Boggs bought a trading post which was located at the present site of the Ford dealership on Central Avenue, Blountstown. In

1919, the trading post moved across the street and eventually became the Piggly Wiggly Food Store, which is still owned and operated by the family.<sup>32</sup> James D. (James Daniel) provided economy for other Creeks in the area by employing them in his trading post, namely: Minnie Eleanor Boggs, Joe Williford (who married his sister Josephine), Alice Kathleen, and James Ramsey. Like J.J. Ward of the Choctawhatchee, James Daniel also assisted family and extended family members in the community by extending credit to families who could not afford to pay, providing money to family members who were sick, and giving food and goods away to desperate family members in need (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 14).<sup>33</sup>

Until James D. became the leader of the Band following his father's death, James Joseph still called a major yearly with cattle roundups to gather cattle running wild in the woods each fall. After the roundup, the cattle were divided among the different families in the band, the cattle were butchered, the meat dried, the hides prepared, as of old. During this time council meetings were held tending to the needs of the group, dividing the cattle, and settling the disputes between band members. It was a great time of not only of work, but also festive. In 1904, John James William Joseph Boggs (James D.'s father) received a homestead certificate No. 17506 in Jackson County near the refugee lands, from the United States, which was 159 91/100 acres. In 1908, the homestead claim of his grandfather John J. Boggs as an "actual settler on the public domain," returned to the General Land Office by the Surveyor General of the United States and was granted to his heirs as Homestead Certificate No. 18594. This land was adjacent to the homestead land granted to James W. in 1905, as a result of an approved Act of Congress.<sup>34</sup>

Following James J.'s death, James Daniel became the Tuskie Haco of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band. James Daniel Boggs, after he became the leader of the band, said:

"No longer were cattle roaming wild in the forest for the gathering to provide food for the group. [The] men had to hold jobs to make money. These jobs were mostly in the

logging industry. After [the establishment of the trading store] the band meeting [sic] continued, but were more social in nature, but decisions were still brought forth from the Family council headed by [James Daniel]. His words were still law and to be obeyed."35

In 1906, Catherine H. & A.J. McClellan gave their daughter, Alice McClellan Boggs, two acres on present West Central Avenue, formerly known as West Avenue which became the site of new settlement of the Boggas-Parrot-Harjo Band after the refugee land settlement. By 1910, J.D. (James Daniel) Boggs had built what was called the Big House (on Boggs Hill--the two acres given to James Daniel's wife, Alice, by her parents). It was built on the old council house which housed as many as 250 people at one time (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 14). There were gatherings in spring and fall, just as with the Choctawatchee Clan. There frolics included hunting and fishing and fish fries within the Indian Community. There was "Fast Indian Shuffle" dancing with partners in long lines, fiddles, guitars, accordions, and sometimes a music box. The fiddlers were: John Yon, Ed Atkins (Minnie Boggs Green's first husband and George Atkins' brother whose family adopted and reared an abandoned Creek child across the Apalachicola River), and Drew Hall, Creek. Most of the social activities were family, hence Band-oriented. The Council was called when there was trouble and decisions had to be made, when there was grief, when people were in or had trouble, or when people needed advice. However, the women raised the children and made financial decisions for the family.

In addition to providing for the economy of the Creeks, James Daniel provided for the economy of the white community in Blountstown. If their Indian ancestry had been known in any place but the Indian community, people would not have traded with James Daniel. Furthermore, educational discrimination against Creeks was still widespread among whites in Calhoun County as late as 1919, during the term of J. Flake Durham (1913-1921) as Superintendent of Schools. M. Case Pippin served as attendance officer for the school board in 1919. Although a Cherokee Indian himself, he put several Indian

children out of school, labeling them "Negro" because of their dark skin.<sup>36</sup> Yet James Daniel used his money to buy Calhoun County school board bonds, paid teachers' salaries during the Depression (1923-32), and purchased property. Land Deed records both in Calhoun County and Jackson County will show numerous purchases and sales of additional property in both counties by the Boggs from as early as 1854, 1878, 1892, 1907 to 1981.

Other Indian decedents within the Creek community but outside the blood line of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band (with the exception of the Pippins) were the Montfords, the Pitts, and the Ayers. All were dark-skinned and mistaken for Negro. Alice Meigs McClellan Boggs' grandmother was Hanna Pippin. After the death of James Daniel, his wife, Alice Meigs McClellan Boggs, became the leader of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band. In addition, Alice Boggs became the first convert from the "old Square Ground religion" to the faith of Christian Scientist. She did not forget tradition. If an owl happened to hoot, then it was talk about all the good luck that they were going to have sometime in the future. The owl is an angel of the Spirit and his hooting was an omen of good luck. She would repeat this each time she heard one call.<sup>37</sup>

Alice's husband, James Daniel, wanted his grandson Andrew Boggs Ramsey to know the "old days and never forget." She taught the oral history and traditions to Andrew, her grandson. For example, she told Andrew about Polly Parrot by saying, "Polly had visions and these visions saved us from leaving our land. Polly had often said, "We won, we stayed, and we lived. It was hard, almost too hard, but we did it." She would carry him on her shoulders to go swamp fishing, taught to Andrew by his Uncle Bert.<sup>38</sup>

After Alice Boggs' death, the Band leadership went to the women--her daughters, Minnie Eleanor Boggs-Green, Ireta Gem Melvin, Alice Kathleen Boggs Ramsey, and Lillie Bell Boggs Smith while Andrew Boggs Ramsey, Kathleen's son, appointed as spokesman in accordance with tradition.<sup>87</sup> The women still were in charge of home and family

activities as in the days of Polly Perrit (Parot, Parrot). It was not until Alice Kathleen Boggs married James Andrew Ramsey in 1931 that males made decisions in the family.

James Andrew Ramsey is a direct descendant of Adeline Elizabeth "Addie" Whitehead, a Creek born in Georgia or Alabama in 1822, and who died in 1884. Addie is buried in the Old Creek Indian Cemetery at River Sticks, Florida, in Liberty County (next to Calhoun County). Adeline married John T. "Honest John" Ramsey and had nine children, of which one was Ambrose Marshall Ramsey. Ambrose Ramsey married Nancy Lynn, daughter of Henry "Dump" Lynn, who was the cousin of "Devil Bill" Lynn. Nancy Lynn was a mixed blood Creek Cherokee. They had seven children, one of which was James Andrew Ramsey, born 1908. He married a Creek, Alice Kathleen Boggs, and they had four children, one of which is Andrew Boggs Ramsey, the current Band leader.

Marriages among the Creeks of this Band still takes place.

By 1945, the majority of the Band population lived in Blountstown around Boggs Hill--the new settlement site after Boggs Pond. Fifteen families lived in close proximity and three families lived within ten miles. Over a dozen families lived around Sheldon's corner, one family who had intermarried with the Wards, lived at Sink Creek, and ten families had out-migrated to Bristol across the Apalachicola River from Blountstown--seven miles east across the Apalachicola river bridge.

It was not until 1978, that genealogies were reckoned through the male. Traditionally in the Harjo-Boggas-Parrot Band, the genealogies were reckoned through the female line. As was tradition, "the mother's oldest brother taught you all things; the husband wasn't important until Docket 275. The Band made the decision to apply for Docket 275 for the Land Claims Commissions per capita payment on Creek Lands that were never properly compensated for. Also, for the first time since removal, the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band made the decision to come together into a larger political organization called the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creeks. Although individual members of the Band had to come into

Indian Council and the Florida Tribe in the Calhoun County Courthouse from the Board of County Commissioners.

### **Burials**

The Apalachicola Creeks have specified cemeteries in and around Blountstown to bury their dead. For example, Boggs cemetery is located 3/4 miles west from where the old big house was. Andrew Ramsey's grandfather had given land for this cemetery. Other cemeteries include one at Shiloh (near Boggs Pond--7 miles west of Blountstown) and Old Bailey Cemetery (The Daniel Smith farm) on the West bank of the Chipola River in Calhoun County (5 miles west of Blountstown).

Multi-colored, broken glass was found on Creek graves, particularly on the McClellan-owned land which is the site of the reservation of Cochran/Tuskie Haco and John Blunt. The Boggs Cemetery is the burial site of James Daniel and Alice Meigs McClellan Boggs, Jack McClellan, and Catherine Meigs McClellan, daughter of Gabriella Ward. At the old Shiloh Cemetery near Boggs Indian Refugee Lands, John Boggs, father of John James William Joseph and Coleman "Coley" Boggs, is buried, as well as Polly Parrot (Parot, Perrit) and three of her daughters. Sarah Ellen Smith Boggs is also buried there. There are also two graves on the Boggs Refugee Lands: those of Mele Pule Musgrove and another (see Appendix 5, Exhibits 15-24). According to family sources, most of the "old-timers" are buried at the Shiloh cemetery. Although many graves now have marble or concrete slabs, evidence of the use of shells at all cemeteries have been found and vary from Cemetery to Cemetery. According to family sources, many of the shells and grave goods had been at all the gravesites until about ten years ago. The shells are the same type of shells are used at the Ward's cemeteries as described in Section A.

At few private family graves away from Blountstown, in a greater rural setting, yielded a combination of modern marble and older concrete headstone, there were also a few

membership by meeting the Tribe's membership criteria, individual Band members applied and some were even elected to serve on the first Tribal Council. On May 13, 1978, Dr. Andrew Boggs Ramsey and Mrs. A.B. "Wesa" Ramsey from Calhoun county, Mrs. Sara Alice McCoy of Bay County, Ms. Ireta Gem Melvin of Gulf County--all descendants of Cochran-Tuski Haco Cochran and Nancy Knight, were installed as the First Elected Florida Creek Tribal Council in over 148 years. Mr. Robert Trepp, Manager of Government Policy and Research of the Creek Nation of Oklahoma, was present to give recognition to the Florida Tribe by the Oklahoma Creeks. Also installed were descendants of the Ward blood lines: Mazie Ward Rossell, Zera Ward. Denson, J. Lamar Ward, and Margie Weathers--all of the Choctawhatchee Band, and Percola Linton of Escambia County --descendant of the Pippin lines.

### **Current Leadership**

The Boggs-Harjo-Parrot Band currently has its liaison office in the new Calhoun County Courthouse--room 319. The Tuskie Haco is Dr. Andrew Boggs Ramsey. A vote for the Band is not called unless there is a disagreement. He has also served twice as Tribal Chairman of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creeks and is a charismatic leader of the for all Creek people in the area. In 1981, he was seated on the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council, the administrative branch of the tribe. His wife was seated in 1984.

In the spring of 1984, he and the Harjo-Boggas-Parrot Band were reunited with the descendants of John Blunt (Blount), who are now members of Florida Tribe. The Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band was responsible for negotiating with the Calhoun Board of County Commissioners to get land donated to Florida Tribe for their ceremonial use, along with the perpetual care of that land as the responsibility of the Board. The Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band was also responsible for procuring office space for the Northwest Florida Creek

graves with the shells (same as listed above) but with the old style wooden Creek markers; rounded tops denoting a female and a diamond shape denoting a male, still common in the old Ward burials in the Choctawhatchee area.

Currently, many members of the Band practice Christianity at Blountstown's First Baptist church (established 1910), Methodist church, or Episcopal church, or the Christian Science church. However, during the reign of Tuskie Haco Cochran, there existed Buskofv or "Square Grounds" near the old council house on his property, which remained there until his death in the early 1830s.<sup>38</sup> Christian missionaries were rapidly converting Creeks in the area, and traditional religions could not be practiced publicly.

### **Social Activities**

Although there was not a "physical square ground" for the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot, the Band has kept Harvest activities since Polly Perrits time. As mentioned previously, every year during November, the cattle was rounded up, and J.D. Boggs had a winter Harvest dance every year at the new big house. Daniels states that "even though communities were physically scattered from the 1830s onward, the sense of community was never scattered." It was not uncommon for "ceremonial leaders to travel to rural communities (from the late 1800s to the 1950s) to make medicines and conduct other private activities associated with a Busk for a community."<sup>39</sup>

In 1985 the Fire returned to Cochran Town (Blountstown) and it is the only Square Grounds east of the Mississippi, recognized by Creek Nation of Oklahoma (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 27-29). Not only does Creek Nation Oklahoma recognize the Square Grounds and its ceremonial leadership, but it has offered support and assistance in procuring lands for religious purposes and federal recognition (see Appendix 5, Exhibits 30-33). Creek Nation has also worked closely with Pine Arbor and other state agencies referring to Pine Arbor as an official source representing official Creeks religious practices and histories in Florida (see Appendix 5, Exhibits, 34-40). Tobacule (New Pine Arbor) has undergone

several name changes due to changing ceremonial leadership and relocation throughout time. Other aliases of this Ground were Old Pine Arbor, Oak Hill, Lapaha, and Tulwa Ahashee. This Square Ground is the religious center of the Creeks that are affiliated with Florida Tribe.

### **Other References and Sources**

An account of the continual history of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band was recorded in The Tallahassee Democrat, August 1 1982, November 9, 1986; The Defuniak Herald, The County Record, July 5, 1979; The Pensacola Gazette, December 10, 1842; in Lucius F. Ellsworth and Jane E. Dysart's "West Florida Forgotten People: The Creek Indians from 1830 to 1790," Florida Historical Quarterly (April 1981); and The Florida Genealogist (Volume 6, Number 4, Whole Number 22). Letters of endorsement were also written by Frank L. Stone, Calhoun County Property Appraiser and County Judge J.L. "Big Jim" Godwin of Calhoun County. Both stated common knowledge that members of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band are descendants of Cochran-Tuski Haco, and these members are active in Creek Indian affairs (see Appendix 5, Exhibits 40-42).

As demonstrated, leaders within this Band came from one continuous line, made continuous decisions that affected the community, family and extended families, and assisted family and extended family members in times of crisis, identical to those characteristics found in the Choctawhatchee Clan. . Although no written record had been kept as to the individual attendees, family and extended family members in both the Choctawhatchees and the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot were in contact with each other on a regular basis through the reunions, festivals and "informal kin visits to Bruce and the surrounding areas" as mentioned by elderly members of the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band. Burial patterns with the use of shells and shell types are identical in both communities and both had Square Grounds (the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band still has a Ground). It is also

through the Ward line that both communities are intertwined and that the tie continues into the Escambia County Settlement area.

## SECTION B: ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Hudson, Charles (1976). The Southeastern Indians. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, pp. 6-7 and 105-109.
- <sup>2</sup> Covington, "Federal Relocations with the Apalachicola Indian 1823-1838" in The Florida Historical Quarterly, October, 1963.
- <sup>3</sup> Jedidiah Morse's Report to the Secretary of War dated 1820. These towns are listed in the aforementioned report to the Secretary of War. The tulwa that was called Iolee under Chief John Blount was 60 miles above the mouth of the Apalachicola River on the West bank. The tulwa of Chief Cochran was called Spanwakula and located 2 miles below Iolee. T. S. Woodward also gives reference to Spanwakula as being a town on the Apalachicola where DeSota camped in Woodward's Reminiscences of The Creek or Muscogee Indians, . Montgomery, Alabama: Barrett & Wimsu Book and General Job Printers, 1859.
- <sup>4</sup> Notes on the Apalachicola Creeks. In the U.S. Congress, "Treaty with the Florida Indians," Number 18, (1st Congress, 1st Session), American State Papers, Class II, Indian Affairs, Volume II (hereinafter cited as "Treaty with the Florida Indians") p. 429; "Survey of 1831;" James Covington claims that it is hazardous to label the Apalachicola as Creeks, Seminoles, or even Apalachicolas before the year 1823. Grant Foreman (1953) Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, pp. 318-323 call them Seminoles during the 19th century. Lucius Ellsworth and Jane Dysart, "Florida's Forgotten People: The Creek Indians from 1830 until 1970", Florida Historical Journal, April 1981, p. 424 agree with contemporary scholars, including James D. Doster and William S. Coker, that the Apalachicolas were, in fact, Creek Indians and remained Creek until after they left Florida. After

removal, they maintained tribal relations with the Georgia and Alabama Creeks and retained a Creek culture. John K. Mahon also acknowledges that the Apalachicolas shared the Creek culture in the History of the 2nd Seminole War, 1835-1842, Gainesville Florida, 1963. Creek towns were always situated on a river because of the abundance of game, timber, fresh water, and rich soil. Sites were occasionally abandoned because of the outbreaks of pestilence and the relative size and importance of the town meant changing boundaries. Gaschet also knew of the existence of the Apalachicola Creeks. "The Hitchiti, Apalatchukla (sic), and Sawakli tribes with the branch villages (talofas) have retained their languages to this day, notwithstanding their membership in the extensive confederacy . . ." quoted in A.S. Gaschet, A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1984, p. 119.

- <sup>5</sup> Susan DeFord, (November 9, 1981). He Was Fed the History of the Creeks. Tallahassee Democrat , p. 1 (hereinafter cited as Tallahassee Democrat).
- <sup>6</sup> Ramsey, Andrew Boggs, Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band of Creek Indians: Historical Papers of Clan History, Calhoun County Florida, 1984, p. 19.
- <sup>7</sup> Ramsey, *Op. Cit.*
- <sup>8</sup> Ramsey, Andrew Boggs, Boggs Family Papers, 1988. Note: It is highly likely that intermarriages occurred between Creeks and Cherokees in this area of Florida as with Polly Perrit and that the movement throughout the two native areas was quite common. This is pointed out in Gilbert that "... some 100 miles to the east of Escambia County near Blountstown in Calhoun County there is said to be a colony of Melungeons from Tennessee..." Gilbert, W., Synoptic Survey of Data on The Survival of Indian and Part-Indian Blood In the Eastern United States, Washington DC: General Research Section, The Library of Congress, 1947, p. 30

- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119. This document is a "Claim for Improvement \$1000" for Robert Boggs. Polygamy was common. The plural wives usually lived in separate houses, with no evidence of ill feelings; but often they lived together, especially if they were sisters, and were the best of friends. For more information see Debo, Angie, Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, p.17.
- <sup>10</sup> Andrew Boggs Ramsey, Boggs Family Papers, 1988
- <sup>11</sup> Interview with Alice Boggs Ramsey, 1943, 1945, Calhoun County, FL; Boyd and Ponton. Later Blount returned to the Apalachicola around 1817-18 near the town of Ochese or Ocheese-ulge.
- <sup>12</sup> U.S. Congress, "Treaty with the Florida Indians," *op. cit.*, p. 429. It must also be noted that Cochran and Blount were both signers in this treaty.
- <sup>13</sup> Debo, "Survey of 1831," Road to Disappearance, p. 19. Map of Blunt's and Tuskegu's Reservation showing the close proximity of Major Davies' house and Tuskegu's house to each other and to the Council House (cufofv). The dwellings of the Creeks were placed with some semblance of a street arrangement around a public building.
- <sup>14</sup> Covington, *ibid.*, pp. 125-126
- <sup>15</sup> George Atkins, "Remembering Our Past," (Calhoun County Record), 1973.
- <sup>16</sup> Andrew Boggs Ramsey, "Treaties between United States of America and the Several Indian Tribes," Boggs Family Papers, 1776-1837, compiled and printed by the direction and under supervision of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Washington: Langree and O'Sullivan, 1837), 269-270 in "Political Activity after 1837," Boggs Family Papers, 18.
- <sup>17</sup> Andrew Boggs Ramsey, Boggs Family Papers, p. 19.

- <sup>18</sup> Most of these Indians survived in very small groups, attempting to remain isolated from the white settlers. A few larger bands of up to several dozen Creeks roamed the countryside.
- <sup>19</sup> Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartley Crawford, November 25, 1838 in Wilcomb E. Washburns, ed. The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History, 4 volumes (New York 1973), I, 36. Memorial to Congress by Richard K. Call, February 26, 1840, Territorial Papers, XXVI, 353. Adjutant General to Josiah H. Vose, September 12, 1842; August 9, September 14, 1842; January 13, February 24, 1844; November 20, 27, 1847; January 1, 1853; Tallahassee Sentinel, June 25, 1841, August 26, 1842; Tallahassee Floridian, January 8, 1842; Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser, November 4, 18, 1847; John N. Irwin to Robert Butler, surveyor general of the United States of Florida, October 16, 1847, Department of Natural Resources (Tallahassee), 1, 843-48 (hereinafter cited as Surveyors Letters and Reports, DNR). McKinnon, Walton County, 118-28. W.T. Cash. "Taylor County History and Civil War Deserters," Florida Historical Quarterly, XXVI (January 1948), 29-33 in Florida's Forgotten People, 425.
- <sup>20</sup> Letter from James W. Lang to John C. Spencer, Secretary of War, November 28, 1941; U.S. Congress, "Indians Remaining in Florida," House Executive Document 253, (28th Congress, 1st Session), pp. 2-3 (hereinafter cited as House Executive Document 253) in "Florida's Forgotten People," p. 425. The western section of the panhandle received most of the Alabama refugees, while the Georgia Creeks came to reside in Jackson, Calhoun, and other middle Florida counties. By the end of the Civil War, Indian migrants were scattered throughout the panhandle. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules, Seventh Census, 1850, M-432, manuscript returns for Florida, Calhoun,

Escambia, Gadsden, Holmes, and Jackson counties, roll no. 58, and Santa Rosa, Walton, and Washington counties, roll 59; Ibid., Eighth Census, 1860, M-653m, Calhoun, Escambia, and Gadsden counties, roll no. 106, Holmes and Jackson counties, roll no. 130., Santa Rosa, Walton, and Washington counties, roll no. 133, ibid., Tenth Census, 1880, T9 Calhoun County, roll no. 126, Escambia and Gadsden (part) counties, roll no. 127, Gadsden (part) Holmes, and Jackson counties, roll no. 128, Santa Rosa, Walton, and Washington counties, roll no. 132; Ibid., Tenth Census, 1900, T-623, ibid., Calhoun County, roll no. 166; Escambia and Gadsden counties roll nos. 168-69, Holmes County, roll no. 170-71, Santa Rosa County, roll no. 176, Walton and Washington counties, roll no. 177. Interviews with Connie Palmer, Altha, Florida, February 17, 1980; Andrew Ramsey, Blountstown, Florida, February 17, 1980; Perloca Linton, Pensacola, Florida, March 3, 1980; Corie McCann, Pensacola, Florida, January 12, 1980; Gloria Faye Magaha Bates, Jay, Florida, January 11, 1980; Homer Gaines, Pensacola, Florida, February 1, 1980; James Waite, Ft. Walton Beach, Florida, February 7, 1980. All Tapes are in special collections, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, in Florida's Forgotten People, 426.

- 21 Boggs Family Papers,; The private dwellings of each town were grouped around a public place consisting of three units known as the Chuckey yard, the vchokofa, and the square. These were laid out with ceremonial exactness and were kept in order by persons appointed for that purpose. The square, also "big house" or "town house" was the political and ceremonial meeting place of the Creeks during the summer, Debo, Road to Disappearance, p. 11. Also, the division of labor between the sexes was similar as that of non-Indian people. The women performed the household tasks which consisted of preparing the food, caring for the children, making the clothing, pottery, baskets, and mats; the men supplied

most of the food and the material for clothing, made the implements of agriculture, and fought wars. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> *Boggs Family Papers, Op. Cit.*, Affidavit of Minnie Boggs Green and Edith Boggs Brantley concerning the Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band of Creek Meetings. In addition to the shared experiences of communal labors, the Creeks were bound together by the great unifying force of ceremonials, namely the Buskitas. The greatest was the annual celebration at the beginning of the corn harvest.

<sup>23</sup> *Tallahassee Democrat, Loc. Cit.*

<sup>24</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Census of 1860" in *Boggs Family Papers*, p. 47.

<sup>25</sup> Andrew Boggs Ramsey, *op. cit.*, p. 20; U.S. Census Returns: 1870, Florida; Interviews and tapes in *Florida's Forgotten People*, p. 426. In an interview with Minnie Green (1989), she stated that both John J and Mele spoke Creek and Hitchiti as well as all their children. Moreover, Polly Parot and Mele Musgrove never adopted the last name of their husbands, which is typical of Creek customs. However, their children did adopt the last names of their father versus the mothers. Interview With Andrew Boggs Ramsey, Blountstown, Florida (May 16, 1984). Polly never appeared on any census in the area. Family history reports that anytime any non-Indian tried to visit Polly on "official" business, she would hide in the woods.

<sup>26</sup> Deed the heirs of Harriet Boggs from William and Lucy Bird, 1878, Jackson County, Deed Book H, 433. Interview with Annie (Mary Ann) Biggs Sheldon, Sheldon's Corner, Calhoun County, Florida (May 16, 1984).

<sup>27</sup> *Boggs Family Paper, Op Cit., p. 20.*

<sup>28</sup> Parades, Anthony. (1976) The Need for Cohesion and American Isolates. *American Anthropologist*, 78 (2).

<sup>29</sup> Andrew Boggs Ramsey, *Op.Cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Tallahassee Democrat, *loc.cit.*

<sup>32</sup> James Andrew and Alice Kathleen Boggs Ramsey owned a grocery store during some of the same time as her father. They both also provided economy for the Creeks employing James, Kathleen, Harriet, and Andrew. It is still tradition today for the Harjo-Boggas-Parrot Band to provide economy for other Creeks; the family Piggly Wiggly grocery store employs Andrew, his brother Richard, his youngest son Marshall, James' mother Kathleen and father James, as well as other Creeks in the community outside the bloodlines.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Minnie Boggs Green, Bruce, Florida, Feb 1984.

<sup>34</sup> " Boggs Family Papers, "Deeds"

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Boggs Family Papers.

<sup>36</sup> These were Oxendine children; Interview with Perloca Linton, Pensacola, Florida (February 3, 1984); Interview with Calhoun County School Superintendent, Blountstown, Florida (June 17, 1984). Moreover, according to Andrew Ramsey, the discrimination eventually subsided due to his grandfather (James D. Boggs) personally paying the town teacher to teach other Creek children in the town. Afterwards, Mr. Durham and another man by the name of Pippin subsided their targeted discriminations against Indian children in the community; Interview with Andrew Ramsey, (January, 1995), Blountstown, FL. As a side note, Discrimination against the Creek people still existed as late as the 1940's; if an Indian registered to vote as Indian, they were not allowed to vote. The Congress of the United States gave the Native Americans the right to vote and became American citizens in 1924; yet Calhoun County, as a whole, continued to

discriminate against the Indians. However, In 1922, S.F. and Lizzie Scott (Creek Indians), descendants of Edna Cook Boggs (Creek) who married William Scott (Creek), voted as Creek in Calhoun County; Boggs Family Papers, Vols. 1-4.

- <sup>37</sup> Andrew Boggs Ramsey, Boggs Family Papers,. Angie Deboe, Road to Disappearance, p. 141.
- <sup>38</sup> Sakim, Charles Randy Daniels, Oral Interview from Tallahassee Florida in November 1994 and Ramsey, *Ibid*. According to Daniels as a result of the removal policy, the mother town (square ground) was lost throughout Florida, but some satellite towns remained. According to Daniels, up until the early 1900s there were four main square grounds that were used by the Creeks in North Florida, which were used on a rotated schedule. One Ground was called Antich, located in Bruce, FL, the second Ground was between Yulee and Fernindando Beach, FL, the third Ground was in the outlying area of Tallahassee, FL, and the last was south of Macon, Ga. Daniels stated that his grandfather traveled by train to the Grounds during various times of the year. For example, he stated his grandfather boarded the train in Jacksonville and go off at DeFuniak Springs. Some of the Wards would meet him and take him to Bruce via mule and wagon. Green Corn Buskita was held at the Tallahassee Grounds, Harvest Buskita was held at the Macon, Ga Grounds, Berry Buskita was held at the Antioch Grounds and Little Green Corn Buskita was held at the Yulee/Fernindano Beach Grounds. However, in time these Grounds consolidated into what is presently know as Pine Arbor. Starting in the 1960s, many anthropologists have visited Pine Arbor and concluded to its authenticity. However very little "official" correspondences have occurred in regards to this. While examining Tribal archives, a letter was uncovered by a Dr. Hittman who visited Pine Arbor in 1979 (see Appendix 5, Exhibit 43).

## SECTION C: ESCAMBIA COUNTY SETTLEMENT AREA

This section roughly outlines the Escambia County Florida settlements. These settlements are filled with families who have genealogical ties to Poarch Alabama proven to the satisfaction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, with the exception of Elijah Ward who may or may not be in the lineage of the Poarch Roll. The Florida Tribe has not seen the official roll, so there is some confusion because of this. The actual data that will be submitted with the petition of Escambia County is minimal. The members have direct social, religious, and kinship ties through their family histories to the Poarch Band in Atmore Alabama, but remain with Florida Tribe primarily because Florida is their state of residency. Others remain (and some have asked to join) because they do not meet the one quarter blood quantum i.e. they are children of present one quarter Poarch Band members. Regardless, the historical information and the genealogies of Poarch Band is already available to and has been accepted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creeks is *neither* attempting to circumvent the criterion nor used an acknowledged Indian Tribe as its argument for recognition. The Florida Tribe will willingly furnish any documentation requested by the BAR, including a duplicated history, if that is what is necessary for the whole of our people. Examples of some family history are provided below, as they occurred in both Escambia County Alabama and Escambia County Florida.

These Creeks also sought to escape Alabama in the 1830s and migrated into Florida for refuge, seeking an existence in the swampy lowlands and thick pine woods. Factors which contributed to the migration were numerous including starvation of the family, discrimination educationally, and job opportunities.<sup>1</sup> Families living in Escambia County were the McGhees, the Steadhams, the Rolins, the Stewarts, the Geris, the Wards, the Weatherfords, the Hollingers, the Forbes, the Sizemores, the Taylors, etc. They lived in a

cluster from Muskogee Wharf on the Pensacola Bay, commonly called "East End", west along Sanders Beach, and north to Muskogee on the Perdido River. The only people they knew were other Creeks. The Indian community was their world.<sup>2</sup>

After the Federal government had broken up the Creek Confederacy, Ed Steadham migrated from Jack Springs into Escambia and Baldwin Counties Alabama. The Steadhams had signed the Treaty at Ft. Jackson in 1814. They settled near Little River and were given a land grant in the manner of Elijah Ward. John Victor Steadham, grandfather of contemporary Florida Tribe leader Juanita Felter Sandifer, was the overseer for the Indian school in Poarch Alabama in the 1800s. He had founded this school, like the Wards of Walton County, for the education of his children and the other Creeks in the area.<sup>3</sup> John Victor Steadham moved his family away from the Poarch community because the Creek children could not attend the higher grade public schools in Atmore Alabama. He moved to Foley and the move was not successful. Juanita Steadham's older brothers and sisters were subject to racial slurs and mistreatment. There were called "niggers" because of their dark skin.<sup>4</sup> The Steadhams moved again in the 1930s to Summerdale Alabama. The children did not have problems attending school here until Juanita filled out a card for the school and wrote her race as "Indian". She was told to leave school and to not return. Her brothers ultimately dropped out of school, but Juanita was sent to Atmore to live with a sister to complete high school there. Again she indicated "Indian" as her race on the cards and was dismissed from school. She moved in with another sister in Foley Alabama, wrote "white" as her race and was allowed to attend school and graduated in 1941. Juanita was the only one of 12 children that was a high school graduate. She continued to college, graduated, and became the first Executive Director of the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council and the Florida Tribe's first Council. She has also been the Chairperson.<sup>5</sup> The Steadham family is an example of the ties between the Creek communities in Northwest Florida and Escambia County Alabama

that was not cognizant of State lines, only the sense of community between like people. There are many more similarities. John Victor Steadham provided a cemetery for his children and their children, just as the Wards had Pine Barren and Antioch in Walton County. This cemetery has been a focal point since the 1920s. It served as the place to hold family gatherings and reunions. The homecomings were twice a year, in May and October. These are same months of the Wards homecomings in the Choctawatchee Clan and the Busks of Harjo-Boggs-Parrot. The events lasted two days. After a time, a shed and table was put up at the site and it ultimately became a Creek Indian Church.

The settlement of Elijah Ward has already been discussed in Section A of Part IV. Elijah sent memorial to Congress. He had received a patent on his homestead in 1888. This area was at the mouth of the Yellow and Blackwater Rivers near present day Milton Florida (just east of Pensacola). His memorials show that he sided with other Creeks on issues in the settlement, as well as, non-Indians. Another Creek in Yellow River was William Hollinger. He had migrated from Bluff Springs, north of Pensacola, to Santa Rosa County and then to McDavid in North Escambia County Florida. The oldest son of William Hollinger told his children, "I'm going to move across the river (Perdido)."<sup>6</sup>

The East End Settlement of Escambia/Santa Rosa Counties was from a migration of Walter Robinson Turner of direct lineage to Catherine McIntosh. He also moved to Pensacola in 1893. Turner had worked as a lumbarjack, cutting logs for local sawmills, but left Baldwin County after his father remarried and mistreated his younger brothers. He walked to Pensacola with J.D. and William Turner and found a job as a longshoreman at the Pensacola docks. He married Viola Kersay, also a Creek. The Turner homestead was located in Santa Rosa County. His leadership was followed by Charles Willis Turner, who lived around the Muskogee Wharf area of downtown Pensacola. The families in this area were the Turners, the Lees, the Geris, the Wards, the Fuquas, the Dixons and the

## Exemption 6

Kerseys. There were regular frolics. Charles Willis played the harmonica and the dances were the same as in the Ward frolics, buck dances and snake dances. The citizens in this area fished for living, saving twine and making their own nets. This was their occupation through the mid 1900s.<sup>7</sup>

In the 1940s, Tensaw community was visited by Frank Speck. He published an ethnology of the group at Atmore Alabama, but did not describe the Creek relatives in the Pensacola area. The Creeks had been visiting back and forth between Florida and Alabama since the turn of the century. Fred Walker had been called "Chief" while each of the families had their own internal leaders. In 1933, half of Fred Walker's family had moved to Escambia County Florida from Escambia County Alabama because of lack of food. His wife brought 4 of the children into the area. Walker stayed at the Atmore farm with 2 other children. She took a job at National Laundry. Their daughter, (b) (6), is the family leader. At age 14, she walked eight miles to catch a train to Pensacola to keep books for Will McGhee and her father in Alabama. She paid the bills and did the grocery shopping. The Walkers, McGhees, and Rolins intermarried and married into other Creek families.<sup>8</sup>

The 1940s was a turning point for these families because of the unification of the Escambia County Creeks with Northwest Florida, Mississippi, and Southwest Alabama. Lenoir Thompson, a Bay Minette attorney, began a suit against the U.S. Government for repayment of excessive lands taken by the Treaty of Fort Jackson. General Andrew Jackson had seize more land than he had authorization to do. The legal battle that ensued required full working relationships and cooperation between the Ward family, Chief Calvin McGhee of Atmore Alabama, Zelda Weatherford, and local lawyers and politicians. Much of the original correspondence is in the Ward Family records. Perloca Linton, genealogist

for the Florida Tribe, worked with the Escambia County Creeks to document their lineage and combined her research with that which had been done by McGhee and the Wards.<sup>9</sup>

The Florida Creeks sat on the Council of the United Creeks East of the Mississippi. These members were Perloca Linton, J.J. Ward, Jesse Turner from the McIntosh line, and Bertha Dickerson of the Weatherford line. It was during the tenure of Chief Houston McGhee, who had followed Calvin McGhee, that the division by state boundaries, according to general law, came about.<sup>9</sup> The kinship ties of family groups had always existed in Florida. After removal, there was no formal organization of West Florida with a charter, constitution, or bylaws until 1973.<sup>10</sup>

A meeting of the Florida Creeks was held when the Bureau of Indian Affairs Director, Dennis Springwater, members of his staff, and Chief Claude Cox of Creek Nation Oklahoma came to Pensacola in 1973. The Creeks voted a per capita payment of Docket 21. There was a public hearing in Oklahoma which was attended by John Wesley Thomley, W.V. Williams, and Linda Rogers of the Poarch Band of Creeks, Houston McGhee, and Mrs. Calvin McGhee. The Creeks had been united under the Creeks East of the Mississippi since the 1960s. At this meeting, W.V. Williams was informed by the BIA that if the Florida and Alabama Creeks did not get a formal, organizational type tribal government in place, the Florida Creek leaders would not be able to complete anything constructive for their people. In 1974, the Coweta Creek Indian Confederation emerged as the Governing body for the Florida Creeks.<sup>11</sup> The Cowetas sponsored a dance team, socialized with the Creeks on a Formal basis, shared Creek culture and heritage with the general public, and launched a campaign to get Creek Indian children registered as Indian in public schools.

In November 1974, a non-profit charter was obtain and submitted to the Secretary of State in Tallahassee. The Cowetas met with the Escambia County Board of

Commissioners and obtained a lease for land at one dollar per year. This land was ultimately given to the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council. In February of 1975, the Cowetas obtained the first non-reservated Indian grant from the Arts Council of Florida to teach Creek beadwork, basketry, pine needle works, and pottery by its own experts. This group merged in 1978 with the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creeks. The Choctawatchee Clan had formally organized with Buford Rolin, who served as the Vice-Chairman of the Poarch Band of Eastern Creeks and the Chairman of the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council. The Harjo-Boggs-Parrot Band, who had been politically organized since 1837 and are members of the Ward family, also merged into this group. It is also noted that Eddie Tullis, Chairman of the Poarch Band of Creeks and Buford Rolin sat as members of the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council. Both men participated in the National Congress of American Indians and Coalition of Eastern Native Americans to represent all Creeks East of the Mississippi, including the Florida Creeks.<sup>12</sup> The Florida Tribe is recognized in the U.S. Congressional Record in its decision to support/endorse the Poarch Band of Eastern Creek Indians, blood brothers of ancestry.<sup>13</sup>

## SECTION C: ENDNOTES

Note: The sources that were chosen for this section were actual taped interviews that are part of a historical collection in the University of West Florida. These tapes are public record and support the Archival collection on history of the Florida Creeks.

- 1 Walker, Gladys and Caudle, Ruth, Oral Interview in Pensacola Florida, Jan 1984.
- 2 Geri, Ola, with Stewart, Huddie, Linton, Perloca Oral Interviews in Pensacola Florida, Jun 1984.
- 3 Sandifer, Juanita Steadham, Oral Interviews and Personal Family Papers, Pensacola Florida, April 1984. Note: Teacher to school was Martha M. Lomax, grand niece of Sam Moniac, Jr. at the Indain School.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 Linton, Perloca. Oral Interview in Pensacola Florida, June 1984.
- 7 Turner, Charles Willis, Oral Interview in Pensacola Florida, Feb 1984.
- 8 Geri, *Op. Cit.*
- 9 McGhee, Houston, Oral Interview in Pensacola Florida, Oct 1983.
- 10 Williams, W.V., Oral Interview in Pensacola Florida, Apr 1985.
- 11 Williams, *Op. Cit.*

12 Rolin, Buford, Oral Interview in Pensacola Florida, Apr 1981.

13 Correspondence between Florida Tribe and BIA in Washington D.C. Minutes of the Florida Tribe.

## **PART V: CRITERION**

Dr. Anthony Paredes (1974) states that "despite centuries of warfare, disease, miscengenation, acculturation, and extreme pressure to assimilate, Native Americans endure."<sup>1</sup> He also adds this statement: "However conceived, there is nevertheless a current major surge of interest by Native Americans in maintaining their separate identity as Indians while at the same time improving their material conditions in the modern world. Just as Indian survival strategies of the past must be viewed as reaction to the shifting postures of Euro-American governments, modern developments too, must be understood in the context of the larger sociocultural systems which encompass Indian individuals and communities."<sup>2</sup>

The citizens of The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians have endured warfares, unscrupulous land and treaty deals, and varying degrees of acculturation. But, they have consistently found ways to maintain their culture and religion by securing whatever mechanisms were required to assure these continuations for their children and their children's children. Paredes makes another interesting observation stating the following about the identities of Native Americans.

"Indian identity is neither uniform nor static. Particular forms of Indian identity show considerable variability as a result of differences in traditional culture, contact history, degree of acculturation, local conditions, community size and a host of other variables. Indian identity does not exist in a vacuum, but in the context of perceived contrasts with non-Indians and a particular view of history. Similarly changes in the forms and evaluation of American Indian identity must be understood in relation to the changing character of the social environment impinging upon Indians and their communities."<sup>3</sup>

Indian identity is unique, context specific, and dependent on social variables which may not be sufficiently demonstrated in a set of pre-determined and measurable conditions such as the criterion set forth in the CFR regulations. Florida Tribe has tried to adhere to addressing the government's requirements, but it has done so in a context unique to Florida Tribe. The only new endnotes that are cited are those that contain information not presented in the other parts of the petition.

The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians petitions the United States government for Federal recognition under the criterion and provisions set forth by 25 CFR Part 83, dated March 1994, as follows:

**83.7 (a) The petitioner has been identified as an American Indian entity substantially continuous basis since 1900. Evidence that the group's character as an Indian entity has from time to time been denied shall not be considered to be conclusive evidence that this criterion has not been met.**

The Chronology of Part 3 when combined with the description of Membership in Part 4 establishes that the clans of the petitioner have been identified as American Indian from historical times. \*Note: The Appendix to this petition includes a special historical work that was written by Professor Ralph Hunt of Pensacola Junior College and donated to the Florida Tribe to use at its discretion.\* The ancestors of the Florida Tribe are found in the records of the Spanish, the French, and the British during the 16th and 17th centuries. Likewise, the Creeks of the late eighteenth century are documented in letters and reports from Indian agents such as Benjamin Hawkins and in journals and maps of traders. T.S. Woodward Reminiscences of the Creeks offer excellent genealogical information for half-bloods of the Creek Country who are ancestors of present Florida Tribe members such as

John Blount and G. W. Stidham. The Wards of the Choctawatchee Clan have kinties to the Escambia clan through Babe Ward and Elijah Ward who settled in Escambia County as early as 1821.

Two treaties have been mentioned that are important to Florida Tribe: the Treaty of Moultrie Creek 1823 and the Treaty of Paynes Landing. The Treaty of Moultrie Creek affected the modern Harjo-Boggs-Parrot clan of Creeks living in present day Blountstown. This treaty established a government to government relationship with the Apalachicola Creeks. It also specified that Creeks could stay on their lands and more importantly, would be provided protection, food, supplies, good land for agriculture and money by the U.S. government. The Treaty of Paynes Landing distinguished the Creeks from the Seminoles. Emathlochee, Econchatti Micco, Tuske Hajo, Neomathla, and Tuskie Haco (original principal Creek Chief signers of the Fort Moultrie Treaty) did not sign because they would have declared themselves Seminole rather than Creek people.

During the Red Stick War of 1813-1814, Creeks that were sympathetic to the cause of the United States suffered loss of property and life. Their memorials to Congress are documented as are the land grants given to recompensate the military service to the United States. The Wards, Steadhams, and Weatherfords are examples of families who lived in the heart of Creek country and received these grants by military members: General McIntosh, Sergeant Boggs, Colonel John Blount, Tuski Harjo, James B. Ward who served as a spy. In 1833, when Congress approved the Indian removal law, forcing Creeks to migrate to Indian territory albeit Creek individuals were suppose to "be free to go or stay as they please." This is the year that Thomas J. Abbott submitted the final Creek census of towns by heads of family which totalled 8.065. The emigration of Creek Indians is discussed in House Document 512, 23rd Congress, 1st Session. However, at this same time, the Pensacola Gazette in 1837 contained an article that stated "It would require an army and a summer campaign to get the Indians out of Walton County....about 300 of the

Indians made their escape to Florida. I have not the least doubt that from every information worthy of credit, there are four or five hundred Indians in and upon the borders of the county." Obviously, not all Creeks were removed from Florida, which is sometimes contrary to some scholars' beliefs. Florida Tribe has the documented case of Polly Parrot, daughter of Tuske Hajo, principal Chief of the Apalachicola Creeks. Polly Parrot remained less than five miles from her father's reservation and all her descendants lived and continue to live within close proximity to the old reservation and Boggs Indian Refuge today. During the 1840s and 1850s reports of scattered Indian activity have been documented by newspapers, travelers, land surveyors, military officers and government officials from Blackwater Bay to the Apalachicola River. It is during this same time period that Elijah Ward (son of John Ward and Nancy Knight, a documented Creek Indian) and his family were living in Walton County near Blackwater Bay and Polly Parrot and her family lived near the Apalachicola River. In the 1860s and 1870s William Josiah Ward, his family, his brothers and their families migrated from Dale County Alabama to settle in Bruce, Florida and continued to live there with many of their descendants. In a comparable manner, Elijah Ward and his descendants lived near Blackwater bay then moved to Wardville and many of his descendants live there and in surrounding areas today. The papers of the Escambia Clan show some forty-four families living in clusters at Muscogee Wharf and in the East End Settlements. Each of these clans chose traditional living sites along river or other waterfront locations and were involved, to some extent, in the timber industry.

However exact and elongated, the details of events with many of the Florida Creeks families are not complete. Paredes suggests that, "the events between the removal period and 1900 are very cloudy. In general the period is marked by the quiet existence of many of the friendly Creek descendants with the general surrounding population."<sup>4</sup> Given the anti-Indian attitude among surrounding white communities, it was safer to blend when

possible. However, these families did not forgo their Creek identities. They maintained them by the oral traditions. As Paredes offers, "Although some of these people are physically indistinguishable from whites as a result of intermarriage, the group as a whole is locally regarded by non-Indians as Indians."<sup>5</sup>

In 1906, leaders of the Clans were misinformed about potential eligibility for Cherokee land reparations and more than 500 claims were filed, but rejected, from Alabama and Florida. The rejection was because the claimants were Creek. In 1946, Escambia clan leader Calvin McGhee entered a claim against the Escambia County Alabama Board of Instruction for equal education privileges for Creek children. In 1950, an alliance was made to form a council of 12 representative members under Chief Calvin McGhee that was called the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi. The purpose of the council was to support Lenoir Thompson in his efforts on Docket 21 land claims. The Council represented the Creeks of Northwest Florida, Mississippi, and Southwest Alabama. The clans that combine to form the Florida Tribe had family representatives either working for or sitting on this Council. In the 1970s, the State of Florida legislature provided for a state governing Council called the Northwest Florida Creek Indian Council. Florida Tribe members have been active members since its creation. In 1986, the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians was recognized by the State of Florida.

The members of this tribe have lasted as continuous distinct community from historical times to the modern day. This criterion for acknowledgement is met by the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creeks.

**83.7(b) A predominant portion of the petitioning group comprises a distinct community and has existed as a community from historical times until the present.**

The memberships and genealogies of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creeks Indians reveal high incidence of first cousin marriage, cross clan marriages, and extended families intermarriages. Well over 75% of Florida Tribe members live in the same area, or even on the same land, that was homesteaded by the Creeks in the early 19th century.

Social interactions within the communities are almost identical. The local churches provided functions. Since the time of Polly Parrot there has been a reunion for family and extended family members in Harjo-Boggs-Parrot. Creek people in the Blountstown community gathered several times a year on Tuskie Hajo's reservation, near the old Square Ground, at a place locally known as the "pig pen." At these gatherings, families brew a pot of "black drink", fix large dinners, and socialize. Since some Creeks in Blountstown were either Wards or married into the Ward lines, other Wards from Bruce and west Florida would come to the gatherings Blountstown as well. Likewise, these same families in Blountstown would travel to Bruce and Pine Barren. Equal to their Bruce and Blountstown counterparts, Wards in Escambia County have a reunions at Pine Barren Florida, located 7 miles from Wardville. Family members from Bruce and Blountstown attended this reunion as well.

Each of the clans give evidence of a harvest festival or a frolic held in October. Through the late 1800s and early 1900s, these festivals included dancing, cooking, hunting, trading, and visiting between family members. These were formal organized 'get-togethers'. There was fast-buck two-step dancing in pairs with partners forming a snake chain as they danced. The families in Pensacola often visited families in Atmore, with the exception of the Wards who visited between Escambia County Florida and Walton County Florida. There were activities for hog killings, wood sawings, and syrup making. Yards of the families were regularly swept with homemade Gallberry bushes to prevent grass from growing. The annual Busk in Blountstown is well attended. It is also noted that the

state of Florida placed the first Creek bilingual marker in Blountstown Florida attesting to the Creeks living in that area, their language, and their contributions to State's history.

At one time, the community followed the old Creek religion through the Square Ground located in Bruce at the Antioch Grounds. A Florida Public Law passed in 1852 made the Indian race and related Indian Activities illegal. Due to the communities, Indianess and possibilities of drawing outside attention, the Square Ground was forgone and substituted by a Methodist church. In later years, many members of community rejoined the old Creek religion and practice through the Square Grounds currently located in near-by Blountstown. The Pine Arbor community maintains a Square Ground that has been recognized by Oklahoma Creeks as the only authentic site in the southeast with respect to the traditional Creek ceremonies and religious activities. It has endured since the early 1800s, along with the Muskogee language which is still spoken in the area. The Choctawatchee Clan still has the Ward family Methodist church as a center of religious, political, and social activity. It has been officially recognized by the United Methodist Church as a Native American religious center. The Florida Tribe supports the Square Ground and its leadership that is recognized by Creek Nation Oklahoma - rather than the promotion of Pan-Indian events, that are non germane to the culture.<sup>6</sup> The clans have their own cemeteries for family members with burials from east to west, traditional Creek houses, and shells on gravesites. All of these have been documented. The families arrange for or maintain these cemeteries themselves.

Problems with racial identity have been documented in the petition within multiple public school systems attended by clan members. Some of the family leader managed to arrange for the local Indian children to either be sent away to different states and private schools or kept the education system inside the family and away from any true interferences by a public system. They hired their own teachers and the leaders furnished

places for them to live, which kept the children alienated from white culture and allowed the type of education desired to be provided to family members.

These major clans joined together in the 1950s, unified by the late Chief Calvin McGhee. Chief McGhee personally carried the family papers of the Wards to Washington D.C. in those long ago years and spoke on behalf of the family before the Commission for the Docket 21 land claims to verify that the Wards were of his people. His action left no doubt that heritage was true, valid, and still intact. Since those years, the process of tribal evolution has steadfastly continued for the betterment of Florida's Creek people. Today, the Florida Tribe has regular elections in compliance with a constitution that was accepted in 1974. Minutes of all of the meetings have recorded issues and votings by council members for the clans that formally joined together under one tribe. There have been conflicts and problems over the years which have usually been resolved.

However, there was one major conflict that the Florida Tribe feels should be presented under this criterion. The records of the last 20 years will reveal a shift of allegiances and membership by a few key Council Members to what is now the recognized Poarch Band in Atmore Alabama. These modern leaders have extended family members that belong to the Florida Tribe and live in both Escambia County Florida and Walton County Florida. They shared in the governing of the Florida Creek people with present seated council members and were instrumental in the creation of this tribe. It is the Florida Tribe's belief that a state line cannot realistically delineate a 'Native American' boundary - where people on the north side of the line are Creek Indians and their blood related family on the south side of the line are not. It is not peculiar that these federally recognized people, known to the Florida Tribe for years, suddenly decided that family members living in the State of Florida were not Creek Indians. Dr. Paredes asserts that "very little research has been done ... (on) these eastern Creeks."<sup>7</sup> Specifically, Dr. Paredes was addressing a visit initiated by noted anthropologist Frank Speck to the Poarch Creeks in 1941. Speck is

often cited as proof positive of the historic Indians in the Alabama area. It must be remembered that Speck and his colleagues did not venture further south than the Tensaw area. Thus, he did not file reports from along the Gulf Coast of Florida, nor did many other scholars. If they had, the reports would have noted the bloodlines and cultural continuities of Tensaw found in those clans that now petition as the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians. The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creeks seriously disagrees with Dr. Paredes' bold statements that Poarch is the only surviving *community* of Creek Indians east of the Mississippi.<sup>8</sup> The multiple Creek communities that united and formed the citizenship of the Florida Tribe also survived. The tribe does not follow one ancestor, nor is it some private Indian descendant organization or club. Also, it has been written that "...a long time Creek resident of Florida, the late Wesley Thomley ( of the Lower Muskogees), was nominally acknowledged as *chief* of all the Florida Creeks."<sup>9</sup> The statement is in error. It is noted, however, that some Florida Tribe members (such as the late Bertha Dickens and the late Jessie Turner) served on Poarch's Council in the 1970s.

This tribe holds firmly to the position that it exhibits commonalties and ancestors with Poarch Band and, more important, that there was a positive working relationship between leaders of Poarch Band and the Florida Tribe *until the beginnings of the federal acknowledgment process at Poarch*. This statement is not laced with malice, nor is the Florida Tribe attempting to hold on to the coat tails of a group that has met the federal criterion. This is only an observation that the Florida Tribe believes is important.

The Florida Tribe has been the official Creek Tribe in Florida for interment of Native American remains. Florida Tribe and Pine Arbor have been actively involved in numerous burial issues, and have had regular contact with Federal government installations located in Northwest Florida. The advice and assistance of the Florida Tribe was sought out because the Tribe knows the traditional religious ceremonies that ensures the proper respect and dignity for our people. At present, the Florida Tribe is fighting the battle of

being allowed to properly inter our people because the issue of being federally recognized is suddenly getting in the way. It would appear that if a group is recognized, then they also become elevated to the level of experts on all aspects of the culture. However, per Speck's report, "The Creeks of Alabama do not hold social communications with other Indians of the South or in Oklahoma. This isolation has definitely weakened their traditions. The Creek language is entirely forgotten, as I soon learned, English being the common tongue. Religious practices and beliefs savoring of the past have been likewise passed into oblivion."<sup>10</sup>

To date, Florida Tribe has been responsible for programs totaling hundreds of thousands of dollars through the Administration of Native Americans. The funds have benefited its citizens with job training, language preservation, environmental concerns, education enhancements, and many other such initiatives. They have increased the citizens of the Florida Tribe's self sufficiency, self reliance, cultural pride, preservation and continuation. And, the Florida Tribe has made many successful efforts in working with local county governments for sponsorship in its cultural programs. The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians "(has) made extraordinary economic and educational gains, and perhaps more importantly they...have experienced a generalized revitalization of their social identity as American Indians and Creek."<sup>11</sup> Florida Tribe "did not arise as a consciously conceived tactic to manipulate the social system...(but rather) to foster local community solidarity, build political support for the council, enhance personal feelings of *moral worth*, and create a favorable public image, all through expressive symbols of Indian identity."<sup>12</sup>

The citizens of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians publicly assert their Indian ethnicity just as the Poach Band of Creek Indians, the Choctaw Nation of Mississippi, the Seminole Nation of Florida, and other recognized tribes have done. Dr. Paredes has alluded to ethnicity in his statement that "belief in descent from a common ancestral

population appears to be a commonly understood factor in all discussion of ethnic groups. As a consequence of such belief there is often a sense of likeness of kind resembling kinship that characterizes ethnic group membership." <sup>13</sup> Further, "as I have noted in a cursory way elsewhere, the current *ethnic* revival of the Eastern Creeks masks more fundamental sentiments of affiliation based upon kinship and descent".<sup>14</sup> To be a members of Florida Tribe require kinship and descent from known Creek Indians - such as the ones who passed the Government's own stringent criteria established for the Docket 21 Land Claims. These ancestral Creeks were not strangers to one another, nor have their family members been. Today, for people to arbitrarily draw the line at the Escambia County state border and then remark that, "You are Creek if you live in Escambia County Alabama, but if you live in Northwest Florida you are not Creek" demeans the Florida Creek people and their histories - histories that are just as important, just as viable, and oftentimes shared, with the federally recognized Poarch Band. To echo the words of the late Chief Calvin McGhee "My people are all of one family. We are a Creek nation... There are many different families which are all Creek and all some way or another run back into a line with the others."

**83.7 (c) The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present.**

The history of the clans which make up the membership of the Florida Tribe clearly demonstrate the leadership and political atmosphere of these communities. The Wards have been a dominant family group through out Walton County. In the Bruce community, William Josiah Ward (son of James B. Ward and Elizabeth English) brought his family, as well as his brothers and their families into the modern day community of Bruce Florida in the late 1860s. Diamond Joe, as he was known, was the recognized leader of this family

and extended family/clan and established clear leadership patterns such as building the first church in Bruce, providing economic assistance, hiring and housing educators for the children, counseling those requiring advice, and settling disputes among family members. After his death in 1924, his son, Jessie Joe Ward, followed in his father's footsteps continuing to assist the people in his community and expand his political connections to the county and state which included an agreement with Chief McGhee to work for the good of his Creek family members. Following J.J. Ward's death, his daughter assumed the position as family/extended family clan leader. Leadership within this community has been dominated by the Wards through one continuous family line. The Wards did not keep records of the acts performed by their family members. As one elderly informant of the community stated, "we never did keep count of who was in need or who did what. You just went out and helped them the best you could when they needed it. We took care of our own."

On the other side of Walton county, Wards once again dominated many communities through the descendants of Elijah Ward (son of John Ward and Nancy Knight and the brother of James B. Ward). Elijah served in the second "Seminole war," and received a land grant near present day Crestview Florida. His descendants were numerous and inhabited surrounding communities such as Walnut Hill, where Calvin McGhee often visited with his uncle. They eventually pioneered the town of Wardville (presently named Davisville). Many of the Ward intermarried with the Poarch Band families of Walkers, Gibsons, Killiams, etc.

The community of Blountstown was the site of the Apalachicola reservation set forth as prescribed in the Treaty of Moultrie Creek. Tuskie Hajo was the principal Creek chief with a daughter named Polly Parrot. Polly married a Cherokee by the name of James Ramsey and inhabited areas from Florida to Tennessee. Polly's husband was killed during the removal because he refused to leave his Cherokee lands. Consequently, Polly and her

moved back to Florida to find her father and live on the reservation. Tuskie Hajo had died, and the reservation was in the process of being sold. Hence, Polly and her family moved five miles west of the reservation to Boggs Pond. Polly was the recognized leader of the family, overseeing yearly roundup of cattle, disbursements of food and supplies and settling disputes. After Polly's death, the leadership went to her son, John James William Joseph Boggs who married a full blood Miccosukki. John James William Joseph Boggs passed the leadership to his son, James Daniel Boggs who, like Jesse Joe Ward, established a store for the Creeks in the area. He also provided jobs by employing local kinspeople in his trading post, extended credit to families who could not afford to pay, provided money to sick members, gave food and goods away to members in need, and provided salaries to teachers to educate the Creek children in the community.

After James Daniels death, leadership went to his wife Alice Boggs. When Alice became incapable of fulfilling the leadership role, she relinquished it to her daughters, Minnie Eleanor Boggs-Green, Ireta Gem Melvin, Alice Kathleen Boggs Ramsey, and Lillie Bell Boggs Smith. Andrew Boggs Ramsey, Kathleen's son, was appointed as spokesman in accordance with tradition. In the early 1960s Dr. Andrew Boggs Ramsey, was appointed the leader of the community and remains as such today. He is serves as the Chief of the Florida Tribe.

The Escambia County settlements followed a series of leaders that include such famous Creeks as Alexander McGillivray, William McIntosh, John and G.W. Stidham, and the Rolins, McGhees, etc. These clans developed around several interrelated groups in the urban area of Pensacola and have lived in clusters as was described in the section on Membership of the Tribe. For example, the East End Settlement included descendants of Catherine McInTosh, Muskogee Wharf followed Huddie Steward. Today, the family leaders of these historic Creeks include Juanita Steadham Sandifer, Ola Geri, W.V. Williams, and Cary Ellis.

**83.7 (d) A copy of the group's present governing document, including its membership criteria. In the absence of a written document, the petitioner must provide a statement describing in full its membership criteria and current governing procedures.**

A copy of the Constitution of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians has been certified by the governing officers and is submitted with this petition.

**83.7 (e) The petitioner's membership consists of individuals who descend from a historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.**

A certified copy of the membership of the Florida Tribe certified by the Chairman of the Florida Tribe on 17 September 1994 has been submitted with this petition. Each member has an individual file in the Tribal Headquarters with a pedigree chart. The membership list does not include children under the age of 18.

**83.7 (f) The Membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian Tribe.**

The citizens of the Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians do not hold membership in any federally recognized North American Indian tribe. The ancestors of some clans lived in reservated areas of Northwest Florida through a Treaty with the U.S. Government.

These lands were lost. These families are of Creeks lineages that did not choose to allow the government to relocate them to Oklahoma nor Texas during the Indian Removal period. Rather than relocate, these families crossed into the State of Florida, settled in the sparsely populated river swamps, and either obtained land grants or homesteaded the area by establishing small communities or hamlets.

**83.7 (g) Neither the petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.**

There has been no legislation that terminates or forbids The Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians from entering into a relationship with the Federal Government.

## PART 5: ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Paredes, A. J., *The Emergence of Contemporary Eastern Creek Identity in Social Cultural Identity*, T. K. Fitzgerald, Editor, Southern Anthropological Proceedings, No 8., Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1974, pp. 63-80.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.63.
- <sup>4</sup> Parades, A.J., (1979). Kinship and ethnicity among the Eastern Creek Indians. The Bulletin of the Center for The Study of Southern Culture and Religion, No. 3, 1979, p. 9.
- <sup>5</sup> Paredes, A. J., *Op. Cit.*, p. 64.
- <sup>6</sup> This information is covered in the membership portion of the petition. It is noted that the The Museum which was located in Blountstown Florida for 10 years, has photographs, movie film, newspaper articles and various recording of Square Ground members dating from the early 1950s in the archives.
- <sup>7</sup> Parades, A.J., *Op. Cit.*, P. 65.
- <sup>8</sup> Parades, A. J., *Back from Disappearance: The Alabama Creek Indian Community in Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era*, W.L. Williams, Editor, Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 1979, p. 124.
- <sup>9</sup> Parades, A.J., *The Poarch Creeks: Florida's Third Tribe*, Forum, No. 16, 1992, p. 29. It can also be argued that in their "formal beginings", Poarch suffered from lack of leadership until the 1950s. "The fact that no recognized leader possessing energy and experience exists to direct their efforts, to consolidate their feelings and interests, and to represent the community in the eyes of the people of the county and state...Fred Walker is provisionally called

'Chief. See Speck, F.G., *Notes on Social and Economic Conditions Among the Creek Indians of Alabama* in America Indigena, 8, 1949. p. 197.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Speck, F. G., p.182.

<sup>11</sup> Paredes, *Op. Cit.*, 1974, p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> Paredes, A. J., *Creek Indian Ethnic Reassertion* in The Versatility of Kinship, L.S. Cordell & S. J. Beckerman, Editors, New York: Academic Press, 1980, p.171.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.