A Resource Guide to
John R. Swanton’s Creek and Seminole
Ceremonial Ground / Square Ground
Maps from Oklahoma

By

Mark Williams

LAMAR Institute Publication 207
The Lamar Institute, Inc.
Savannah, Georgia
2015
# Table of Contents

Introduction .............................................................................................................................. 1

The Drawings .......................................................................................................................... 15

The Photographs ...................................................................................................................... 111

References Cited ..................................................................................................................... 145
Introduction

John Swanton is a name of mythical proportions in the ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and archaeological study of Southeastern Native Americans. He was born in 1873 and obtained his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1900 (Steward 1960). Swanton worked at and was associated with the Smithsonian Institution for over 50 years, during which he wrote a virtual library of publications on the Native American societies that formerly inhabited the Southeastern United States. This work has formed the intellectual, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric base for hundreds of archaeological projects throughout the South for almost 100 years and counting. His actual ethnographic fieldwork among people living in Oklahoma, however, was primarily associated with the very early part of his long career. Here I wish to concentrate on his experiences in the Muscogee and Seminole Nations from the fall of 1911 until the spring of 1912. In an incredibly ambitious project, his Smithsonian-sponsored expedition visited and mapped virtually every then-known ceremonial Square Ground of the Creeks and Seminoles in eastern Oklahoma. These were spread out over an area some 60 miles square centered on the town of Okmulgee.

The story of his 1911-1912 field work has not been adequately told, and I am unfortunately not prepared to tell it in detail here. Hopefully there are adequate notes either at the Smithsonian, or in the Swanton family papers at Harvard, for someone to reconstruct the story properly (Swanton Family n.d.a, n.d. b). For now we must be limited to a summary of his trip published in the 1912 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution. Although the account is credited to Frederick W. Hodge in the publication, I believe that this section was more likely written by Swanton himself, as a way of accounting for his trip to his superiors.

Dr. John R. Swanton, ethnologist, devoted most of the year to field researches among the Creek in Oklahoma. These investigations continued from the middle of September, 1911 to the middle of May, 1912, during which period excursions were made into Texas to visit the Alibamu Indians
and for the purpose of endeavoring to trace remnants of other Texas tribes, and to the Caddo Indians of southwestern Oklahoma. No remains of the Texas tribes, of ethnologic value, other than the Alibamu, were located, but a considerable mass of material was obtained from the latter. Dr. Swanton’s visit to the Caddo was with the view of learning how many old Caddo dialects were still spoken, and some valuable documentary material was obtained in Natchitoches, Louisiana. No words of Haiish, supposed to be quite distinct from the other Caddo dialects, could be gathered, but evidence was obtained that it resembled Adai. In the course of his Creek investigations Dr. Swanton visited and made photographs of every busk ground of the Creeks and Seminole still maintained, and information was gathered regarding the organization of the “big house” in each, as well as in those that have been abandoned. Dr. Swanton devoted July and August, 1911, mainly to the study of the Hitchiti and Natchez languages, and the period subsequent to his return to Washington in May 1912, was occupied in copying his field notes and in incidental work on the Timucua language of ancient Florida, as preserved in Father Pareja’s writings, with the view of determining whether Timucua bears any relation to the languages of the Muskgoan stock (Hodge 1913:43).

Much of the data from his incredible mapping program barely referred to in this account was finally presented in his classic publication *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy*. Although this was completed in 1925, it was not published by the Smithsonian until 1928. The ceremonial square ground maps made in 1911-1912 were included (along with a few historic ones) in Figures 6-101 of this important document.

I have used a few of these maps on several occasions in my own work in the past, as have a great many other researchers. I recently have been working anew on archaeological data from probable Square Ground sites in central Georgia, and was once again drawn to Swanton’s masterpiece. Every time I have looked at these wonderful maps I have seemingly discovered something new in them. Indeed, I recently saw something in his Figures 49 and 54 (Swanton 1928a) that, if I had noticed it when I was writing my dissertation in 1983, would have significantly altered one of my interpretations of the Joe Bell site (9MG28) in central Georgia (Williams 1983)!
Having decided that I needed to study these wonderful maps in more detail, and with the help of 21st century technology, I decided to scan all of these drawings. I quickly ran into a problem I had noted earlier in my career when the use of Xerox copying technology was rampant—the pages of 1928 Smithsonian publication were so thin than the images from the back of one page bled through badly onto the front of each page. Photoshop to the rescue! For the use of the figures reproduced here I have first scanned all the images at 600 dpi and then cleaned them in Photoshop CS6. The most significant tool used was simply that of increasing the contrast tremendously to eliminate the image on the back of the page.

While most of Swanton’s drawings were standardized with a north label at the top of the drawing, not all were so oriented. For some unknown reason many had east at the top of the drawing. I have reoriented these to place north at the top. Swanton’s drawing were uniformly hand lettered by some unknown artist—presumably the same person that drew them. He does not acknowledge any artist in the publication, and I believe it likely that he drew and lettered them himself, but cannot be certain. Perhaps a study of documents in his handwriting at the Smithsonian or elsewhere could resolve that issue. For some time I have wondered why the Smithsonian could not have had the drawings for his 1928 publication typeset—perhaps the expense was deemed too great. In any event, much of the handwritten notes on the drawings were turned sideways by the original artist, making reading and studying them difficult to say the least. I considered replacing all of the handwritten text with modern computer fonts, but blanched at the time that would be necessary—someone else can (and should) do that! I did, however, rotate a great deal of the handwritten text at right angles in Photoshop to make most of the drawings easier to read.
In studying all the drawings of the named Oklahoma Square Grounds I began wondering where these were located more specifically in Oklahoma. Figure 1 presents a modern map of the Muscogee Nation acquired from their web page (http://www.muscogeenation-nsn.gov/).

Swanton, for reasons completely unknown, does not include a map of the locations of the many sites presented in his publication. As I began searching the internet I stumbled on an old map that proved to be a Rosetta Stone that permitted me to map most of Swanton’s locations. I have included that old map here as Figure 2. Who drew this originally, sadly, is unknown, although it is widely distributed on many Muscogee web sites. The version I used is from a PDF supplied by the Muscogee Nation web site at http://www.muscogeenation-nsn.gov/Pages/History/pdf/mvskokehistory_master.pdf. There were a few problems equating the names on this important map, which may date to about 1900, with the names used by Swanton from his 1911-1912 visits, but I was able to make equations for almost all of them. Incidentally, the Oklahoma Seminole Nation (http://sno-nsn.gov/) lands adjoin those of the Muscogee on the latter’s southwestern border. The locations of Swanton’s Seminole Square Grounds was derived (as best as is possible) from a map showing the Seminole town locations also from about 1900 published by the Seminole Nation, Indian Territory (http://www.seminolenation-indianterritory.org/seminole_towns_of_1900.htm).

Figure 3 below presents the locations of all the Square Ground sites mapped by John Swanton. There was insufficient room for placing the labels on the map itself, so I have assigned numbers keyed to Table 1 that follows Figure 3. This figure also includes the Seminole Square Ground site outside the Muscogee boundary in the southwestern part of the map. Table 1 includes the names used by Swanton and his figure numbers, rather than the name seen on Figure 2. As can be seen from Figure 3, there were more Square Ground sites in the center and southern
part of the area than in the northern part of the territory. Not surprisingly, almost all of the sites are close to one of the many rivers that cut through this part of Oklahoma.

Figure 1. Muscogee Nation and Oklahoma Counties.
Figure 2. Location of Muscogee Square Grounds, ca. 1900 (Anonymous a).
Figure 3. Location of Swanton’s Square Ground Sites (See Table 1 for Key).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map Number</th>
<th>Swanton’s Name</th>
<th>Swanton's Figure(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Abihka</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Abihka in the West</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abihkutci</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>64-67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Asilanabi</td>
<td>34, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Apalachicola (Talwalako)</td>
<td>73, 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Atasi</td>
<td>50, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Chiha</td>
<td>82, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Coweta</td>
<td>77, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Eufala</td>
<td>61, 62, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Eufala Hobayi?</td>
<td>80, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Hilibi</td>
<td>59, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Hitchiti</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kan-tcati</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kasihta</td>
<td>70, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kealedji</td>
<td>52, 53, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Koasati 2</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Laloalga</td>
<td>38, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Laplako</td>
<td>55, 56, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Likatcka</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Liwahali?</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Lutcapoga</td>
<td>18, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nuyaka</td>
<td>20, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Ocmulgee</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Okchhai</td>
<td>36, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Okfuskee</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Osochi</td>
<td>84, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Otciapofa</td>
<td>13, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Pakan tallahassee</td>
<td>26, 27, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tcatoksofka</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Talledega</td>
<td>6, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Talmutcasi</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Tukabahchee</td>
<td>45-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Tulsa Canadian?</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Tulsa Little River</td>
<td>15, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Tukpafka</td>
<td>32, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Tuskegee 1</td>
<td>42, 43 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map Number</td>
<td>Swanton’s Name</td>
<td>Swanton's Figure(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Tuskegee 2</td>
<td>42, 43 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Wiogufki</td>
<td>29, 30, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Wiwohka</td>
<td>40, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Yuchi 1</td>
<td>76 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Yuchi 2</td>
<td>76 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Yuchi 3</td>
<td>76 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Chiaha Seminole</td>
<td>97, 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Eufala Seminole 1</td>
<td>92, 93 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Eufala Seminole 2</td>
<td>92, 93 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Eufala Seminole 3</td>
<td>92, 93 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Hitchiti Seminole</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Liawahali Seminole</td>
<td>94, 95, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Mikasuki Seminole</td>
<td>99, 100, 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Ochessee Seminole</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Okfuskee Seminole</td>
<td>87, 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Tallahasutchi Seminole</td>
<td>89, 90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Key to Square Ground Sites in Figure 2. Those sites marked with stars indicate uncertainty of which of multiple possible locations Swanton actually visited.

Figure 4 shows all the Square Ground sites, but divides them by whether they were considered by Swanton to be sites of the red or white moieties, a famed social division within the Muscogee people. The data for this are, of course, taken directly from Swanton in his 1928 publication. There clearly are more white moiety sites than red in Oklahoma, and the red tend to be more concentrated in the center and southwestern parts of the map, although a few are scattered throughout the Nation.

Figure 5 shows the Square Ground sites by the original locations of the towns in Alabama and Georgia referenced and Upper or Lower Creek by Swanton. There were a great many more Upper Creek towns than Lower Creek towns represented in the distributions, and the Lower are concentrated in the center and upper parts of the Nation. Clearly there was no attempt to replicate their original geographic distributions once they were forced to move to Oklahoma.
Figure 4. Red and White Moiety Square Ground Locations.
Figure 5. Former Upper Creek Towns (Green) and Lower Creek Towns (Purple).
The figures (numbers 6-101) starting on the next page are the Photoshop cleaned and modified images from Swanton’s 1928 publication. I have intentionally kept his figure numbers as the same for this publication—this facilitates comparison with the original publication for me, and I am sure for others. The figure numbers therefore also match with those listed in the third column of Table 1 above. There was no scale on any of Swanton’s drawings, nor does he list specific measurements for the buildings in the drawings. This sad problem was exacerbated by the widely variable sizes of the drawings in the original publication. I have done no better, but have simply fitted each of the drawings to a single page by expanding or compressing them.

Swanton quotes Benjamin Hawkins as saying the cabins he saw were 40 by 16 feet (Swanton 1928:181) and David Taitt (1772) as stating that the cabins he saw at Tukabahchee in Alabama were 40 by 10 feet (Swanton 1928:185). It is also very difficult to derive accurate size estimates from the extant photographs of the Square Grounds. Certainly there must have been some normal variation between the many sites. It also appears that they did not build structures much larger than they needed based upon the estimated attendance to the events.

Several additional points need to be made about the drawings. First, all of the drawings now have north at the top. Several of his published drawings inexplicable were not this way, and have been properly rotated. The Tukabahchee drawings (Figure 45-49) have all been rotated 45 degrees to comport with the rule of keeping north at the top. It is very curious that this is the only Square Ground that was indeed rotated away from the cardinal directions. Swanton himself (1928:187) comments that this was rare, and that Tukabahchee in Oklahoma may have been laid out so the entrances were at the cardinal directions rather than the cabins.

Figure 11 is a drawing by Swanton based upon the written description provided of Coosa town in Georgia by James Adair from the late 18th century (Swanton 1928:206-207). Figure 68
of the Kasihta Square Ground was derived by Swanton from the written description by Benjamin Hawkins, and would therefore have been of the original one in Georgia, and not the one in Oklahoma presented in Figures 69-71. Figure 69 was from an Albert Gatschet visit to Oklahoma apparently likely sometime in the 1880s. Swanton does not give a specific reference from Gatschet’s writing, however, and it is a bit unclear where Swanton got the Gatschet information for Figure 69.

Figure 12 was redrawn from a 1791 drawing by Caleb Swan that Swanton believed was Otciapofa in Georgia (Swanton 1928:208). Figure 76 was redrawn (by Swanton?) from Figure 38 of Frank Speck’s classic 1909 ethnography of the Oklahoma Yuchi (Speck 1909:118). There were three Yuchi towns in the northwestern part of the Muscogee Nation lands in Oklahoma. These are numbered 41, 42, and 43 on Figures 3-5 above. Unfortunately, Speck does not tell us (and neither does Swanton) from which of the three Yuchi communities the Square Ground drawing (Figure 76 here) was derived.

Beyond the drawings Swanton derived from other scholars, his drawings break down into two major groups. These are the drawings he made based upon native informants, and those he made from his own site visits and direct observations. Although he does not make this completely clear, it appears that the ones he visited are the ones whose figure captions state the year 1911 or 1912. For the other figures, if there was only a single informant or no disagreement there is no note, but if there were multiple informants who differed in memory, these drawings are listed with roman numerals such as I, II, etc. By this rule, he directly visited 22 of the Square Grounds himself (1 in 1911 and 21 in 1912).

Another clear but unstated division in the drawings Swanton presented was that drawings that were just of the center area, regularly called the Square Ground, and larger area maps that
encompassed the Square Ground, Ball Grounds, and sometimes Mounds or Pits which he routinely collectively called the Ceremonial Grounds. Interestingly, all of the Ceremonial Ground maps are from the sites Swanton himself visited, rather than the ones he gathered information only from informants. Indeed, not a single map based upon an informant includes more than the center Square Ground area. Likely this was an oversight in Swanton asking questions of his informants.

Of particular interest to archaeologists, many of the drawings included the drawn locations of the wall posts for the cabin structures. I see no patterns about which drawings did or did not have posts drawn, however. While most of the drawings made by personal visits by Swanton did show the actual post locations, several did not. Likewise, many of the informant drawings did have posts drawn and many did not.

I would finally comment here that the primary use to which Swanton put all this site data in his 1928 publication was to examine directionality by clan in the seating patterns within the cabins at the many sites. He presents many tables and makes some tentative conclusions. I believe that this dataset and others in his publication could be profitably reanalyzed using modern statistical techniques of several sorts. Although I have been tempted to conduct such an analysis, time has prevented me from attempting this thus far!
The Drawings

N.
ball ground

women enter here

medicine pots

Bear

x smico (Bear)

x henha (Raccoon)

x hiliis haya (Bear)

Warriors' Bed

Alandyala and Deer

Takalgi

Imala

Imala

Henhias' Bed or Winds' Bed

Alligator

Panther

Wind

FIG. 6.—Plan of the Talladega Square Ground
Fig. 7.—Talladega Ceremonial Ground (including Square) in 1912
Fig. 8.—Plan of the Abihka Square Ground (near Eufaula, Okla.)
Fig. 9.—Plan of the Square Ground of Abihka-in-the-West
Fig. 10.—Plan of the Square Ground of Kan-teati
Fig. 11.—Conjectural arrangement of the Coosa Square Ground
Fig. 12.—Plan of a Creek Ceremonial Ground as given by Swan. The top of this illustration is west instead of north. 1, Square; 2, Telokofa; 3, Chunkey yard
Fig. 13.—Plan of the Otsiapofa Square Ground
Fig. 14.—Otiapofa Ceremonial Ground in 1912

 Tattoo 
 Ash pile
Fig. 15.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Little River
Fig. 16.—Tulsa Little River Ceremonial Ground in 1911
The miko and miko apokta were both Beavers; the speakers were called kos-istagi.

Tástanągis, Imalas, and Henihas

Warriors' Bed

Fig. 17.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Canadian
Fig. 18.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (I)
Fig. 19.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (II)
Fig. 20.—Plan of the Nuyaka Square Ground
Fig. 21.—Nuyaka Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 22.—Plan of the Okfuskee Square Ground

Panther, Aktayatci
Deer, Tami, Alligator, Turkey,
and in fact almost any clan not
provided for in the other
beds; also youths.

N.
Chiefs' Bed
Bear and Bird
(at W end probably) (at E end probably)

miko (Bird)
Henihsa (Bear)

Warriors' Bed

Inalas

Tastanagas

two sets of legacies

women enter here

Tasikayas Bed

ball ground
Fig. 23.—Plan of the Abihkutei Square Ground
Fig. 24.—Plan of the Talmuteasi Square Ground

Several clans mixed together;
the Bird perhaps at the
east end

Old Peoples’ Bed

Several clans mixed
together:

Tastanagation’s
Bed

Youths’
Bed
Fig. 25.—Plan of the Tcakosofka Square Ground
FIG. 26.—Plan of the Pakan tallahassee Square Ground (I)
Fig. 27.—Plan of the Pakan tallahassee Square Ground (Il)
Fig. 28.—Pakan tallahassee Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 29.—Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (I)
Fig. 30.—Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (II)
Fig. 31.—Wiogufki Ceremonial Ground in 1912
N.

Warriors' Bed

Tastánágis  Imaías
(in later times this bed was occupied by a number of clans mixed together)

probable location of medicine pots

Chief's Bed

Deer clan and several others mingled together

miko (Aktayatci)

Chenìha (Panther)

Wind, Panther, and other clans

Fig. 32.—Plan of the Tukpaska Square Ground
Fig. 33.—The old Tukpafka Ceremonial Ground as it appeared in 1912
Fig. 34.—Plan of the Square Ground of Asilnabi

- Warriors' Bed
- Tastanagis
- Imatas
- Youths' Bed, where visitors are also accommodated.
- Wind
- X miko (Bear, later Raccoon)
- X henha (Wind, later Deer)
- X hillis haya (any clan)
- Raccoon and Potato
- Chief's Bed
- Deer
- Bear
- Bird
  - Panther, Beaver, Alligator, Tami, and Turkey mixed with the three principal clans.
- Medicine pots
- Women enter here
- Ball ground
- Trash heap
Fig. 35.—The Asilnabi Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 36.—Plan of the Okchau Square Ground
Fig. 37.—Okchali Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 38.—Plan of the Lálogálga Square Ground
FIG. 39.—Lálogálga Ceremonial Ground in 1912

low mound

low mound

lødje

low mounds

ball post (wooden fish on top)

ash heap

2 posts 8 spaces in this direction
Fig. 40.—Plan of the Wiwahka Square Ground (I)
Raccoon, Deer,
and various other clans mingled
together (there were very few Wiwohka all told)

ball ground

Fig. 41.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (II)
Fig 42.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (I)
Imalas
Bird and some Panther

Tastanagis,
Beaver,
Aktayatci,
Raccoon, etc.

Visitors

ball ground

Fig. 43.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (II)
Fig. 44.—Plan of the Square Ground of Koasati No. 2

N.
Warriors', Imatás or Holhtaš Bed

Tástánágis
(those out of all clans who had been hurt in war)

medicine pots

Wind
(henihas)

x miko apokta
(Panther)

x miko (Raccoon)

Chief's Bed

ball ground

Raccoon

Alligator,
Beaver, Panther,
Deer, Aktayatci,
and Bird

Tásikayas' Bed

Bear
FIG. 45.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (I)
Fig. 46.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (II)
Fig. 47.—Plan of the Tukabahbee Square Ground (II).

Wind
Beaver
Bird
Deer
and
Shark

Warriors' Bed

Raccoon, Akelayati,
Potato and Fox

Potato

Alligator:
Ghost Dances

Turkey

Warriors' Bed

Sharks and Raccoons

mound where buffalo 
dance was held

Women enter here

Interior floor

Raccoon, Akelayati, and Potato

Potato

Youths

Places of the Dead

[Diagram showing the layout of the Tukabahbee Square Ground, with various assigned areas for different activities and symbols for ceremonies and dances.]
Fig. 48.—Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 49.—The old Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground near Melette, Okla., as it appeared in 1912-14
The persons in this bed were mostly of the Bear clan.

Henihas and Youths, including most of the Wind clan.

Panther, and some of the Alligator, Bear, and Aktayatci.

The medicine was placed over a fire here.
N.
Chiefs' Bed

Mikági, Bear, and
Wind

miko (Bear)

Imalas, Raccoon,
and a few
Potato

The tókófa was a half mile away in this direction. They threw up the emetic here.

women entered here

Youths and visitors

Wind (henihálgi), also most of the Deer and some Bear

Tástánágits, also part of the Potato clan and the few Panther in the town

Warriors' Bed

The Aktayatci sat anywhere

Fig. 51.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)
Fig. 52.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (1)
Fig. 53.—Plan of the Keulejdi Square Ground (II)
Fig. 54.—Site of the old Kealedji Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 55.—Plan of the Łapláko Square Ground (I)
Fig. 56.—Plan of the spláko Square Ground (II)
pole on two forked posts on which ball sticks are hung

Fig. 57.—The Łapłako “rallying ground” used before ball games, as it appeared in 1912
Members of various clans mingled together and visitors of all kinds.

A mixture of people, including visitors.

miko (Panther)  
miko apokta  
(Aklayacior fox)

the miko's yarika  
any clan

Warriors' Bed

FIG. 58.—Plan of the Liwahali Square Ground
Fig. 59.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground
FIG. 60.—Hilibi Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 61.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (I)
Fig. 62.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (II)
Fig. 63.—Eufaula Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Principally occupied by visitors. A few warriors may accompany them if they prefer.

Fig. 64.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (I)
Fig. 65.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (II)
Fig. 66.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (III)
Fig. 67.—The Alabama Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 68.—Plan of the Kashiha Square Ground (from Hawkins)
Fig. 69.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Gatschet)
Fig. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)
Fig. 71.—Plan of the Kusihta Square Ground (IV)
Fig. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground
Fig. 73.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa láko) (I)

All the women sat here when there was no fast.

ball post in this direction

woman enter here

a pot of wilana (Jerusalem oak)

medicine maker
miko (Wind)
heniha (Bear)

medicine pots
əhəlogə (cold)
opasa (warm)

Bear
(henihalgi)

Chiefs' Bed

Panther;
Alligator;
Bird,
and part of Potato

Wind
(mikālgi)

Chief's Bed

Deer
and
Tastinaqis

Bird,
and
2 Imatas

Warriors' Bed

Alligator,
Snake,
Kapitca,
and part of Potato

Mole

Beaver

128
Fig. 75.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground
Fig. 76.—Plan of the Yuchi Square Ground. (After Speck)
The Tckofa probably stood here

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Big Imadas</th>
<th>Little Imadas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

O medicine pots

Wind
(and some Bear)

Bird
and
Beaver

hilis haya (fox usually)
miko (Wind)
heniha (Bird)

Women enter from this corner

The rest of the clans, principally tocokis, sat here together. Visitors from other towns were also placed here.

Ball ground

Fig. 77.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (I)
Fig. 78.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (II)
FIG. 79.—Plan of the Square Ground of Łikateka or Broken Arrow
Fig. 80.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)
Various clans mingled together, including the Aklayaći, Potato, Panther, Wind, Raccoon, Fox, Alligator, Bird, Beaver, Wolf.

Four old men at the four posts to lead.

Wind (henihes)

Bear

Fastānāği (Bear)

Miko (Bear)

Women and children of the town (when there was no fast)

Ball ground

N.

Visitors

Fig. 81.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayf (II)
Fig. 82.—Plan of the Chisna Square Ground (I)
Fig. 83.—Plan of the Chihsa Square Ground (II)
Fig. 84.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (I)
Fig. 85.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (II)
Fig. 86.—Plan of the Square Ground of Ocheese Seminole
Figure 87.—Plan of the Square Ground of Okfuskee Seminole
Fig. 88.—Okfuskee Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 89.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tallahassee Seminole
FIG. 90.—Tallahasutci Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 91.—Plan of the Square Ground of Hitchiti Seminole
Deer, Raccoon, and Potato

Kapitca and Panther

Aktayatci, Snake, and Wind

Fig. 92.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Seminole
Fig. 93.—Eufaula Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 94.—Plan of the Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole (I)
Fig. 95.—Plan of the Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole (II)
The seats were each of a single split log.
The Seminoles did not remove the ashes of the fire.

Fig. 96.—Liwhali Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Fig. 97.—Plan of the Square Ground of Chiaha Seminole
Fig. 98.—Chiaha Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912
Warriors' Bed

Panther (1st warrior),
Potato (2nd warrior),
and visiting warriors

Panther, Potato, and Alligator

Panther and Potato (lesser warriors)

Visitors' Bed

Fig. 99.—Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (I)
Any of the other clans, seating not definite.

medicines pots (hot and cold)
O (people come here to take medicine)

Bear,
Panther,
Alligator,
and
Otter

Chief's Bed

x miko (Snake, later Panther)
x tāstani (Panther; later Alligator; he speaks for the miko)

Any of the clans not in the west bed; seating not definite. (Most of the Beaver were here.)

women enter here

Youth's Bed

Fig. 100.—Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (II)
Fig. 101.—Mikasuki Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912.
The Photographs

During his ethnographic field work in Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, and a few other places in early 1900s, John Swanton apparently took just over 600 photographs. Many of these are from the Oklahoma Creek and Seminole Square Grounds / Ceremonial Grounds he documented in 1911-1912. His original negatives were on nitrate-based stock and are apparently now in permanent cold storage at the Smithsonian, although many were apparently copied in 1980. In 2010 Gina Rappaport wrote an annotated inventory to the Swanton’s photographs, and this is available on the web page of the U.S. National Anthropological Archives (Rappaport 2010). I have contacted her and received answers to a few more pertinent questions about this invaluable collection of prints and negatives. Specifically, Swanton’s negatives were almost all of 4 by 5 inch sheet film, made with a large format camera, presumably using a tripod. The copies made in 1980 are also 4 by 5 inches, made using an interpositive. Apparently there are negatives without prints and prints without negatives. These are available for copying--and I am planning a trip to D.C. in the spring of 2016 for this purpose.

In the meantime, I have scanned the images from an original of Swanton’s 1928 publications (Swanton 1928a and 1928b) at 600 dpi and cleaned them in Photoshop. I have adjusted contrast and brightness, removed dust spots and hairs, and sharpened them a bit. These are presented below. In my mind they collectively bring the drawings alive. All suffer badly, however, from the halftone screen process used in printing the originals. Until we can obtain high quality scans of the originals at the Smithsonian, however, this is likely as good as we can currently do. There are clearly many archaeologically tantalizing aspects in them. For example is the man on the right in Figure 105 wearing a large round gorget on his chest?
Figure 102. Swanton’s Plate 2a.
Swanton's Plate 2b.

The Square Ground of Pakan Tallahassee near Hanna, Okla., in 1912
Figure 104. Swanton’s Plate 2c.
a. The Square Ground of Eufaula (1912)
c. Tukabahchee Square Ground from the west entrance
Figure 108. Swanton’s Plate 4a.
Figure 109. Swanton’s Plate 4b.
c. Cabin for the ceremonial utensils, back of the Chiefs' Bed at Eufaula.
Figure 111. Swanton’s Plate 5a.
Figure 112. Swanton’s Plate 5b.
Figure 113. Swanton’s Plate 5c.
Figure 114. Swanton’s Plate 6a.
Figure 115. Swanton’s Plate 6b.
c. Camp sites near the Square
Figure 117. Swanton's Plate 7a.

a. A Seminole home in Oklahoma
Figure 118. Swanton’s Plate 7b.
Figure 119. Swanton’s Plate 7c.
Figure 120. Swanton’s Plate 8a.
Figure 122. Swanton’s Plate 9a.
Figure 123. Swanton’s Plate 9b.
Figure 124. Swanton’s Plate 9c.
a. Box for tobacco, medicine, and drum in the Chiefs’ Bed

Figure 125. Swanton’s Plate 10a.
Figure 126. Swanton’s Plate 10b.

b. Rite of the emetic
Figure 127. Swanton’s Plate 11a.
Figure 128. Swanton’s Plate 11b.
Figure 129. Swanton’s Plate 12a.
Figure 130. Swanton’s Plate 12b.
c. The Square Ground just after the fasters have left to bathe in a neighboring creek
Figure 132. Swanton’s Plate 13a.

a. Drum
Figure 133. Swanton’s Plate 13b.
Figure 134. Swanton’s Plate 13c.
References Cited

Anonymous
n.d. a Map of Creek Tribal Towns

n.d. b Seminole Towns in 1900

Hodge, Frederick W.

Rappaport, Gina

Swanton Family
n.d. a Papers.
http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu//oasis/deliver/deepLink?_collection=oasis&uniqueId=sch00115


Swanton, John R.


Speck, Frank G.

Steward, Julian H.