

CHAPTER II

THE ARRIVAL OF MAN

1. The Aborigines

Of the few as yet but very imperfectly explored regions in the United States, the largest perhaps is the southernmost part of Florida below the 26th degree of northern latitude. This is particularly true of the central and western portions of this region, which inland are an unmapped wilderness of everglades and cypress swamps, and off-shore a maze of low mangrove "keys" or islands, mostly unnamed and uncharted, with channels, "rivers" and "bays" about them which are known only to a few of the trappers and hunters who have lived a greater part of their life in that region. ¹

The above paragraph from the pen of Ales Hrdlicka, the author of a definitive study of anthropology in Florida written in 1922, remains undisputed twenty-four years later. On a trip from Chocoloskee Island on Florida's southwestern coast to the southernmost point of Cape Sable, a distance of fifty miles, Ales Hrdlicka found the actual settlers to consist of only five or six families in the early 1920's. ² The seasonally inundated shores of Lake Okeechobee, the grassy waters of the Everglades, the swampy isolation of the Ocaloacoochee Slough and the Big Cypress, and the tidal flooded islands of the Mangrove Coast infested with mosquitoes and other pests could never have been the habitations for a large population.

¹ Ales Hrdlicka, The Anthropology of Florida, 5.

² Ibid., 6.

Various canals and small harbors along the southwestern coast and tremendous piles of shells on the mangrove islands indicate that southwest Florida was once inhabited by numerous and enterprising men.³ Excavations in many large mounds have produced various types of potsherds; obsidian knives found on nearby Key Largo suggest Mayan stock, perhaps in the Caloosa tribe which held the area in the sixteenth century. Diggings in a series of deposits at the fork of the New River several miles west of Ft. Lauderdale revealed pottery of a primitive nature. These mounds, located in 1908, ranged up to eight feet in height above the surrounding land and as much as fifty feet in diameter.⁴ On Long Key, in the Everglades, a refuse deposit two hundred feet in diameter gave up numerous potsherds which bore shell-cut workings on marine shells. The ancient inhabitants of the region used terrapin shells extensively as well as alligator, fish, and bird bones in their primitive handicraft. Ancient camp sites have been found on a number of Everglades islands.⁵

A joint state and federal archeological survey, working in the Dade County area in 1936 on mounds near Opa Locka and Golden Glade, unearthed a large variety of shells, beads,

³ John C. Gifford and Alfred H. Gilbert, "Prehistoric Mounds in South Florida," Science, LXXIV (March 18, 1932), 313.

⁴ Mark Raymond Harrington, "Archeology of the Everglades Region," American Anthropologist, XI (January-March, 1909), 139-142.

⁵ Ibid., 142.

pottery, and other artifacts which indicated two distinct Indian cultures, one on top of the other. ". . . the results obtained will prove to be of utmost value to archeologists in more clearly understanding the type of man who lived in Florida in pre-Columbian days."⁶ These investigations in the mounds near Miami brought to light valuable and important materials which definitely proved that an earlier race inhabited these village sites than the Tequestas or other Indians discovered in South Florida by the Spanish explorers.

Ales Hrdlicka, in his anthropological searches in Florida, located a great number of mounds, shell heaps, and kitchen middens on the western and southwestern coasts, and a number of relatively insignificant sand mounds along the Caloosahatchee River from Ft. Myers to La Belle.

About eight miles northeast of the small town of La Belle, however, there is a large sand mound which may be seen . . . oval in outline, about 20 to 25 feet in height and approximately 160 yards in circumference at the base. A number of excavations have been made by local explorers in the mound, but so far as could be learned without results.⁷

Between La Belle and Lake Okeechobee, Hrdlicka could find nothing of importance in the way of Indian remains, nor could

⁶ Florida State Archeological Survey, Second Biennial Report to the State Board of Conservation (1936), Part IV, 145.

⁷ Ales Hrdlicka, The Anthropology of Florida, 52.

he locate anything in the vicinity of the lake itself. The canals and other works of drainage construction in the area failed to reveal any Indian remains of importance; consequently Hrdlicka concluded:

It appears that no mounds have as yet been located either about Lake Okeechobee or to the east of it. The interior of the peninsula at this latitude is, therefore, according to all indications so far, much more sterile in Indian remains of all sorts than the coast regions. 8

A report on the location of ". . . a great plan of earth works elaborately laid out in embankments and mounds, covering an area a mile square" at the very edge of the Everglades near the shores of Lake Okeechobee and the present town of Belle Glade was made in 1931.⁹ The central figure of the earth works consisted of a flat-topped rectangle thirty feet by two hundred and fifty feet, with earthen embankments enclosing a court at the front of the figure. A semi-circular bank, partially enclosing the rectangle and embankments, extended farther forward. Matthew W. Stirling, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, found these Everglades constructions the nearest approach to the famous Fort Ancient earthworks in Ohio of any in North America. Excavations on a small scale disclosed potsherds identifying the locality

8 Ales Hrdlicka, The Anthropology of Florida, 52.

9 Matthew W. Stirling, "Explorer Finds First Traces of Unknown Everglades Tribe," Science News Letter, XIX (May 23, 1931), 325.

with an aboriginal inhabitation long before that of the
 10
 Seminoles.

While plowing ground on the northern shore of Lake Okeechobee in 1921, M. A. Miller discovered an idol cut from *lignum vitae*. This idol, carved to represent a human figure in a squatting position, lent additional strength to the theory that a race antedating presently known abo-
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 riginal tribes lived in the area. J. Walter Fewkes, then chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pointed out that this object, found in the earth where Lake Okeechobee waters formerly stood six feet deep, possessed a remarkable similarity to a wooden idol found some years previously in Cuba; both were approximately the same size, both had been cut from *lignum vitae*, and both had weathered to an identical color. Fewkes, comparing this artifact with others found on Key Marco and near Ft. Myers, regarded it as typical of a culture unrecorded in the past but opening a new phase of
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 archeological research in Florida.

2. Early Explorers

Ponce de Leon, the earliest recorded white man to reach

10 Matthew W. Stirling, "Explorer Finds First Traces of Unknown Everglades Tribe," loc. cit., 325.

11 Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Aboriginal Wooden Objects from Southern Florida," Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXXX (March, 1928), Number 9, 1-2.

12 Ibid., 1-2.

Florida, found the area peopled by sedentary Indians. There exists no authentic evidence as to the origin, arrival, or blood relation of these aborigines, though they were found to have had some contact with other continental tribes and with Cuba.¹³ Daniel Brinton, one of the earliest anthropologists to give serious study to Florida, divided Florida, as occupied by the Indians in the sixteenth century, into several districts. Two of these covered most of the Everglades: from Cape Canaveral to the tip of the peninsula on the east coast lay Tequesta; and the west coast area, at least as far as Tampa Bay and into the interior around Lake Okeechobee, was inhabited by the Caloosa or Calos.¹⁴

Ponce de Leon, no doubt, had heard tales of the Caloosa, for on his second voyage to the continent he chose the western coast for his itinerary. When the explorer attempted to land near the present site of Ft. Myers at the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River in 1521, his forces were met by a fleet of eighty canoes filled with these Indians. The Spaniards¹⁵ were compelled to withdraw after an all day fight.

¹³ James Mooney, "Calusa," Handbook of American Indians, Part I, Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1912, 195-196.

¹⁴ Daniel Garrison Brinton, Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, Indian Tribes and Antiquities, 112.

¹⁵ Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561, 158-159.

Even at this early date they were noted among the tribes for their golden wealth which they had accumulated from numerous Spanish wrecks cast away upon the keys in passage from the south and two centuries later they were regarded as veritable pirates, plundering and killing without mercy the crews of all vessels, excepting the Spanish, so unfortunate as to be stranded in their neighborhood. 16

The name Caloosa, defying interpretation, appears in the early French and Spanish records as Calos, Carlos, and Calusa; in the English records as Caloosa, Carloosa, and Charlotte. The name survives today in Caloosa village, Caloosahatchee River, and Charlotte Harbor.¹⁷ The language of the Caloosa, surviving only in a few place names, shows affinity with the Choctaw, and Caloosa may be a combination of Kallo, "strong," and lusa, "black." The second element of Caloosahatchee is the later Seminole hachi,¹⁸ "river."

When Ponce de Leon landed on the west coast, he was able to find an Indian who understood Spanish. Wherever the Spaniard traveled along the coast he encountered a hatred for the Spanish which bore testimony to previous unfortunate

16 James Mooney, "Calusa," Handbook of American Indians, Bulletin 30, Part I, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1912, 195.

17 John R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors, Bulletin 73, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1922, 29-30. Cited hereinafter as Early History of the Creeks.

18 William A. Read, "Florida Place-Names of Indian Origin and Seminole Personal Names," Louisiana State University Studies, XI (1934), 45-46. Cited hereinafter as "Florida Place-Names of Indian Origin."

experiences. De Leon had with him, ". . . one or more Indians who gave him the Indian place names of Florida and translated their meaning into Spanish."¹⁹ These competent guides must have been brought along with the expedition, thus showing previous contacts between the Spanish and the Florida aborigines.

In the period from 1521 to 1560, Spanish attempts at colonization in Florida and the nearby regions of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts ended in dismal failure. France, sunk in a slough of "decadence and civil war" from which the Huguenot leader Coligny dreamed of rescuing her "by snatching treasure and colonies" from Spain, sent out several expeditions in the decade of the 1560's.²⁰ The French Protestants turned to the southern coast of North America for settlements and Jean Ribaut attempted to plant colonies, at Port Royal in 1562 and at the mouth of the St. Johns River in 1564, from which locations the Spanish treasure fleets might be seized. The Port Royal colony ended in the settlers embarking for France in a leaky ship, while the St. Johns colony was also short lived, being destroyed by Pedro Menendez de Aviles in 1565. The little French colony in Florida was twice visited by Rene de Laudonniere, who was

¹⁹ David O. True, editor, Memoir of D^o d'Escalente Fontaneda Respecting Florida Written in Spain, about the Year 1575, Translated from the Spanish with notes by Buckingham Smith, Note 47E, 62. Cited hereinafter as Memoir of Fontaneda.

²⁰ Kathryn T. Abbey, Florida, Land of Change, 26-27.

accompanied by an artist, Jacques Le Moyne. Le Moyne made a great many sketches of the scenes he saw in the new world, and on his return to France the drawings were published, together with an explanatory narrative and one of the better maps of the times. From Le Moyne's account it is possible to glean something of Lake Okeechobee and the Everglades in the sixteenth century.

During the time of Laudonniere's second visit to the Florida colony stories were heard of foreigners living with some of the Indian tribes. The French offered rewards to the Indians who would bring such persons to them; as a result two Spaniards were brought into the French village. When questioned as to how they arrived in Florida, these men related that they had been members of an expedition which had been wrecked on the Florida reefs and had fallen
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into the hands of the Caloosa.

Both were brought in, naked with hair down to their hams, Indian fashion. Spaniards by birth, but so accustomed to the natives' manners, the French seemed foreigners. They were clothed, shaved, and bathed, they kept their hair to show the hardships they had experienced in India. 22

The two Spaniards related the details of their shipwreck near one of the Florida keys, and how the chief of the

21 Jacques Le Moyne, Narrative of Le Moyne, an Artist Who Accompanied Laudonniere, 1564, 10-11.

22 Ibid., 10.

Caloosa, King Calos, had kept for himself the greater part of the riches from their vessel and others that had suffered similar disasters. The majority of the crew and passengers, many of whom were women and children, had been saved and continued their existence as slaves of the Caloosa. They regarded King Calos as the handsomest and largest Indian of all that region, a powerful ruler, possessed of a great store of gold and silver collected from marine disasters along the coast and from trade among neighboring tribes.²³ The king was held in great veneration because of his magical incantations which his people believed furnished them with the goods of life. At harvest time each year the barbarous king sacrificed a man set aside for this purpose, usually one of the group of captive whites.

According to these Spaniards, the village of the chief of the Calos lay on a river beyond the Cape of Florida, forty or fifty leagues towards the southwest.²⁴ One of them told how he had acted as a courier to the chief and had been sent several times on a four or five day journey from Calos to a chief named Oathchaqua on the east coast.

²³ Jacques Le Moyne, Narrative of Le Moyne, an Artist Who Accompanied Laudonniere, 1564, 11.

²⁴ The river was most likely the Caloosahatchee. Buckingham Smith, editor, (MSS) "Memoir of Hernando D'Escalante Fontaneda on the Country and Ancient Indian Tribes of Florida," 48-50.

Midway on this journey there is, in a great freshwater lake called Sarrope, an island about five miles across, abounding in many kinds of fruit, and especially in dates growing on palm trees, in which there is a great trade. There is a still greater one in a certain root of which flour is made, of so good a quality that the most excellent bread is made of it, and furnished to all the country for fifteen leagues about. Hence the inhabitants of this island gain great wealth from their neighbors, for they will not sell the root except at a high price. Moreover, they are reckoned the bravest people of all that region. . . . 25

Woodbury Lowery's placement and description of the Indian tribes in southern Florida in the sixteenth century put the province of the Caloosa on the southwestern extremity of the peninsula about the river which recalls their name. A populous and powerful nation, rich in pearls, they were settled in many little villages along the Gulf coast and the shores of Lake Okeechobee. This region was also inhabited by descendants of Cuban Indians who had come in

25 Jacques Le Moyne, Narrative of Le Moyne, an Artist Who Accompanied Laudonniere, 1564, 11. On his crude map of Florida Le Moyne placed the territory of Calos at the southernmost end of the peninsula, a little to the west of the cape at the extreme south, the country of Oathcaqua at Cape Canaveral, and approximately midway between the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. Swanton believed Le Moyne's placing of Lake Sarrope in the south central section of the state to be too far south and too far inland, as the French knew of it only by hearsay. Swanton pointed out that the island was probably Merritt Island behind Cape Canaveral and between the Banana and Indian Rivers rather than one in Lake Okeechobee. Buckingham Smith held that the lake was Okeechobee and the island was situated in it. John R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, 329; David O. True, editor, Memoir of Fontaneda, Notes 15S, 15Sw, 42-43.

search of the traditional rejuvenating waters. Lowery placed the province of Tequesta, peopled with aborigines who worshipped the sun under the semblance of a stuffed deer, on the Florida east coast from the southern end of the Indian River to the Florida Keys. He placed the Ais at the upper end of Tequesta in the vicinity of Cape Canaveral, the Indian and Banana rivers, and the Mosquito Lagoon.

In the summer of 1565, the Spanish adelantado Menendez directed Francisco de Reynoso, one of his captains, to visit Chief Carlos of the Caloosa on the west coast of Florida. With a company of thirty soldiers, Reynoso was directed to erect a fort for the protection of Spanish interests ashore and afloat, and to discover a waterway to "Lake Miami" through which communication by ship might be established from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico by way of the St. Johns River. ²⁷ The Caloosa, into whose country Reynoso was sent, were ". . . masters of a large district of country, as far as a town they call Guacata, on the Lake of Mayaimi,

²⁶ Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561, 63. James Mooney estimated the number of Caloosa Indians at 3,000, and their neighbors, the Ais and Tequesta at 1,000. James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXXX (1928), Number 7, 7.

²⁷ Woodbury Lowery, The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, Florida, 1562-1574, 263, 276.

which is called Mayaimi because it is very large." ²⁸ Reynoso experienced a great deal of trouble with the Caloosa chief-tan, who was becoming restless with the lordly foreigners whose presence was whetting his thirst for blood. The Spanish captain and his little band of men withstood several sly attempts on their lives before the wily Carlos was put to death under a sentence of Reynoso. ²⁹

D^o d'Escalente Fontaneda, born of Spanish parents in the service of the King of Spain in Peru, was on his way to the fatherland when the ship on which he was taking passage went afool on the notorious Florida hazards. ³⁰ Captured by the Indians at the age of thirteen, the Spaniard remained in their hands until the age of thirty, when he was rescued by Menendez on one of the latter's explorations, probably in ³¹ 1566. His Memoir, written about 1575, has become one of

²⁸ David O. True, editor, Memoir of Fontaneda, 12. "This name, of which Miami is a variant, may be a compound of Choctaw Maiha, 'wide,' and mih, 'it is so.' By Laguna de Mayaimi Fontaneda meant what is now called Lake Okeechobee. Aviles on his expedition up the St. Johns River in 1566, called this lake Maymi." William A. Read, "Florida Place-Names of Indian Origin," loc. cit., 17-18.

²⁹ Ibid., 16.

³⁰ Ibid., 17, 19.

³¹ "In the year 1564, Pedro Menendez d' Aviles asked permission of the King to seek his only son; and soon after was appointed adelantamiento of Florida. He sailed the next year; and having broken up the French settlement of Fort Caroline of the Saint John's River, he went in search of Don Juan at the Bay of Carlos, and found that he was no longer living. It was probably at this time, in the year 1566, that Fontaneda was relieved from captivity." Buckingham Smith comment in note, David O. True, editor, Memoir of Fon-

the few source records concerning the Everglades prior to 1700.

Fontaneda described the locale of the present day Miami and nearby south Florida area as

. . . a place of the Indians called Tequesta, situate on the bank of a river which extends into the country the distance of fifteen leagues, and issues from another lake of fresh water, which is said by some Indians who have traversed it more than I, to be an arm of the Lake of Mayaimi. On this lake, which lies in the midst of the country, are many towns, of thirty or forty inhabitants each; and as many more places there are in which people are not so numerous. They have bread of roots, which is their common food the greater part of the time; and because of the lake, which rises in some seasons so high that the roots cannot be reached in consequence of the water, they are for some time without this bread. Fish is plenty and very good. There is another root, like the truffle over here, which is sweet; and there are other different roots of many kinds; but when there is hunting, either deer or birds, they prefer to eat meat or fowl. I will also mention that in the rivers of fresh water are infinite quantities of eels, very savory, and enormous trout. . . . The Indians also eat lagartos (alligators), and snakes, and animals like rats, which live in the lake, fresh-water tortoises, and many more disgusting reptiles which, if we were to continue enumerating, we should never be through. 32

taneda, note 36S, 55. True, on the other hand, decided that Fontaneda could not have left Florida before 1569. Since the Spaniard became a member of Menendez's entourage, True's statement would not be inconsistent with Smith's speculation. Ibid., 23.

³² David O. True, editor, Memoir of Fontaneda, 13. Undoubtedly the bread of roots refers to the koonti of the later Seminoles, and the smilax or red koonti. The root similar to a truffle is probably the mud or reed potato, common on the shores of many of Florida's mud-bottom lakes. The rats were probably otters.

Fontaneda commented that these Indians occupied a very rocky and very marshy country. The former was the rock ridge and pineland bordering the Everglades, and the latter cannot be mistaken for other than the glades. The clothing of the men and women was remarkable for its non-existence.

"They are subjects of Carlos, and pay him tribute of all the things I have before mentioned, food and roots, the skins of

deer, and other articles."³³ The lands of Florida, Fontaneda wrote, were abundant in pasturage and he recommended the Spanish government make stock-farms for the breeding of cattle, but he was not certain they were fit for settlement or the plantings of sugar cane, although he had seen stalks of the latter which had been set out and had begun to grow.³⁴

In 1567 the Spaniards established a mission among the Caloosa, but it was never popular with the Indians and was soon discontinued; but the tribe later came under Spanish influence. One of the villages under the dominance of the Caloosa was inhabited by descendants of the Arawakan stock which lived in Cuba and South America as far south as Brazil. These Cuban aborigines had, according to Fontaneda, come to

³³ David O. True, editor, Memoir of Fontaneda, 14. "These Indians have no gold, less silver, and less clothing. They go naked, except only some breech cloths woven of palm, with which the men cover themselves; the women do the like with certain grass that grows on trees. This grass looks like wool, although it is different from it." Ibid., 11.

³⁴ Ibid., 21.

Florida in search of the mythical waters of rejuvenation, and had been detained by the Caloosa. About the year 1600, and thereafter, the Caloosa carried on a regular trade by canoe with Havana in fish, skins, and amber.³⁵

From the close of the sixteenth century to the transfer of Florida from Spain to England in 1763, little account can be found of the Caloosa on the west coast or their neighbors, the Tequesta, on the east coast. John R. Swanton, citing letters from the Lowery manuscripts, writes of an expedition sent to punish certain chiefs for attacking Christian Indians, and said that in 1681 many Indians fleeing from Guale were settling in the Caloosa towns.³⁶ "Another effort to missionize the Calusa in 1697 also failed but it is said that the Indians then living on Matacumbe Island were 'Catholics.'³⁷"

The question as to what happened to the four thousand Caloosa, Tequesta, and Ais that Mooney estimated to be in Florida in 1650 is not easily answered. Mooney assigns the chief causes for the decrease in the aboriginal Indian population in the Gulf states to smallpox, dissipation, wars, slave raids, and removals.

³⁵ James Mooney, "Calusa," loc. cit., 196; James Mooney, "Arawakan Colony," Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bulletin 30, Part I, Bureau of American Ethnology, 74; David O. True, editor, Memoir of Fontaneda, 15.

³⁶ John R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, 343.

³⁷ Ibid.

The populous tribes of Florida seem to have dwindled rapidly under Spanish rule, and their destruction was completed in the eighteenth century by inructions of the Creeks, who were armed with guns by the English of Carolina, while the Spanish Government refused firearms to its own dependents. 38

Hrdlicka assigned war, disease, and deportation as the causes of the aboriginal disappearances in Florida, though he believed traces of the earlier races might be discovered among the Everglades Seminoles.³⁹

Buckingham Smith, in his report on the Everglades in 1848, refers to the traffic of the Indians of southern Florida at the turn of the seventeenth century, and quotes Barcia as saying ". . . that the traffic [with Cuba] in the month of March, 1698, was worth \$17,000. . . ." The invasions of the Creeks and other Indians allies of the English in the eighteenth century drove the Caloosa from the peninsula and forced them to take refuge on the Florida keys, especially Matecumbe, Key Vacca, and Key West.⁴¹

3. The First Tourists

References to the Everglades during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are vague and confusing. The Spanish established missions at Tequesta on the Miami River and, as before mentioned, on the Caloosahatchee River on the west

38 James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," loc. cit., 7.

39 Ales Hrdlicka, The Anthropology of Florida, 70.

40 T. F. Smith, "Buckingham Smith Report," loc. cit., 20.

41 Ibid., 19-20; James Mooney, "Calusa," loc. cit., 196.

coast, but these activities did not prosper. Buckingham Smith, in his 1848 report on the Everglades, briefly traces the policies pursued by Spain in the interior and along the southern coasts of the state prior to the cession to the British in 1763. He says:

The Indians on the southern part of the peninsula spoke different languages, and were frequently at war with each other. . . . religious missions were established among them, and Catholic priests, accompanied by families of whites, were sent to reside among them as teachers to effect their conversion to Christianity, to advance their civilization, and to improve their social condition. . . . The savages were restrained from wars with each other and with the whites . . . were taught to observe the dictates of humanity and hospitality towards the unfortunate who were wrecked on their coast . . . were induced to devote their time to agriculture and the raising of stock, and encouraged to commence a traffic in peltries, birds, skins, and ambergis with Havana. The whites under this policy made settlements, and several religious houses were erected in the interior. 42

English and Indian invasions of the early 1700's from Georgia and Carolina interfered with the Spanish activities. Several missionaries were murdered and the inland and south Florida settlements and missions were ultimately abandoned by the Spanish. Trade between the remaining Caloosa and Havana was kept up, with the Indians adding fish and terrapin to the produce for which they received arms, cloth, and other articles. "Occasionally a large pirogue, or canoe, manned entirely by the Indians and their slaves, could be seen running in fair weather across from the keys to Havana,

42 T. B. Smith, "Buckingham Smith Report," loc. cit., 19-20.

laden with articles for sale, or barter, in that market."

Under the provisions of the Treaty of Paris of 1763, Florida became an English colony. Interest in the peninsula was revived with this change in sovereignty, and a number of literary, historical, and descriptive productions concerning this newest English acquisition came off the London presses. In William Roberts' An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida, published in London in 1763, reference is made to the "Laguna del Espiritu Santo . . . situated between the islands, extending from north to south about 27 leagues . . . near eight leagues wide."⁴⁴ In the Thomas Jeffreys' map accompanying this work the lake is represented as having communications with the bays on the south and west of the peninsula, "and at the end of it . . . are two shoals and six islands, called the Cayos del Espiritu Santo:"⁴⁵ this large lake is as yet but little known." Commenting on the Jeffreys' map in 1886, Angelo Heilprin observed that a broad arm of the sea designated as Bahia del Espiritu Santo corresponded with the modern Tampa Bay, and that an opening into it from the west was possibly the ⁴⁶ Manatee River.

43 T. B. Smith, "Buckingham Smith Report," loc. cit., 21.
44 William Roberts, An Account of the First Discovery, and Natural History of Florida With a Particular Detail of the Several Expeditions and Descents Made on that Coast, 18.
45 Ibid.
46 Angelo Heilprin, Okeechobee Wilderness, v.

William Gerard de Brahm, surveyor general for the southern district of North America, hired as one of his assistants a fellow Dutchman by the name of Bernard Romans.⁴⁷ Romans published his A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida in 1775. He mentions the Okeechobee-Everglades area, but was not sure that Lake Okeechobee existed. He related a conversation he had held with a Spanish pilot who had been a captive of the Florida savages.⁴⁸ The Spaniard spoke of a lake, wrote Romans, "Mayacco, seventy-five miles in circumference by his account. . . . The man told me that he had formerly been taken by the savages, and by them carried a prisoner in a canoe . . . to their settlements on the banks of the lake."⁴⁹

William Stork, writing from the notes of De Brahm in 1769, gathered information on the province in general. In Stork's discussion of the Shark River section behind the cape of Florida and the sea coast eastward he pointed out that it consisted

. . . of swamp and highlands, the latter not exceeding 28,000 acres, in coarse reddish land, containing much moisture, whose luxurious plants are the pomegranate, the arboreous grape vine, the Chicasau plumb [sic], the opunita, spice trees,

47 Carita Doggett Corse, "De Brahm's Report on East Florida, 1773," Florida Historical Quarterly, XVII (January, 1939), 219-226.

48 Bernard Romans, A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida, 285.

49 Ibid.

and a variety of unknown shrubs; the soil is as rich as dung itself, producing mangrove 50 and 60 feet high. . . . 50

Buckingham Smith declared in 1848 that, "From the works written during the possession of the Floridas by Great Britain, it is evident that the best informed, then, knew little of the interior of the Everglades."⁵¹

During the second occupation of Florida by Spain from 1783 to 1821 and for some time after the purchase of Florida by the United States little or no attention was given to the southern end of the mainland. The area remained one of mystery. The best accounts of the Everglades prior to the Seminole War are found in Charles Vignoles' Observations Upon the Floridas, and John Lee Williams' Territory of Florida. Vignoles made a lengthy trip around the peninsula and into the interior of the state. He described the Everglades as follows:

The Glade, or as it is emphatically termed, the Never Glade,⁵² appears to occupy almost the whole interior from about the parallel of Jupiter inlet to Cape Florida, thence round to Cape Sable to which point it approaches very near, and northwardly as far as the Delaware river discharging into Chatam Bay: Its general appear-

50 William Stork, editor, A Description of East Florida, with a Journal Kept by John Bartram, of Philadelphia, Botanist to His Majesty for the Floridas; Upon a Journey up to St. Johns River as far as the Lakes, 12.

51 T. B. Smith, "Buckingham Smith Report," loc. cit., 13.

52 Undoubtedly a typographical error as on pp. 52-53 the appellation Ever Glade is used, as are Great Glade and Eternal Glade on pp. 49 and 53.

ance is a flat sandy surface mixed in the large stones and rocks, with from six inches to two feet of water lying upon it, in which is a growth of saw and other grasses, so thick as to impede the passage of boats where there is no current. 53

Vignoles saw a number of islands and promontories in the glades, many of which were covered with hammock growth mixed with some pine and cabbage palm. These he believed capable of cultivation but they were located in such inaccessible positions as to repel most efforts at penetration.

The determination of the circumstance of this immense body of low land occupying the whole southern interior of East Florida, easily affords an explanation of those upon ancient maps, representing it as cut up by rivers and lagoons, communicating with each other and the sea; and it is by no means improbable that the knowledge of its existence, prevented the late government from commencing settlements in a country of so little promise, for had the regions boasted of as equal to Cuba existed here, there is enough of speculation in that island to have improved the land of promise long before this period. 54

Vignoles believed the Everglade morass had been exaggerated by the Indians, Negroes, and refugee whites, and that a sectional survey would have shown rich pieces of land in detached spots.
55

John Lee Williams visited the lower east coast in 1828 and, observing the Miami River, wrote: "The Miami [sic] River is a small stream that issues out of the glades and

53 Charles Vignoles, Observations Upon the Floridas, 50.
54 Ibid., 53.
55 Ibid., 83.

enters Sandwich Gulf [Biscayne Bay] behind Cape Florida. . . .
 The height of the glades above the tide has not been ascer-
 tained.⁵⁶ Local inhabitants told Williams that they reck-
 oned the altitude to be all of forty feet, but Williams felt
 twenty feet was more nearly correct.

The fall of the Rattones, New Hillsboro, St. Lucie, Miami, Shark, Delaware, Caloosahatchee, and other rivers emptying out of the glades led Williams to speculate on the possibilities and results of deepening the channels of the rivers which drained the central area between the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. Williams described the area as follows:

On reaching the level of the glades, a vast grass meadow is expanded, apparently as boundless as the ocean; you then pass on the winding lagoons from six to twelve miles westwardly and the grass, by degrees disappears and you are left in an unexplored grassy lake to which you can discover no bounds. . . . The grassy border of this lake is usually covered with water during the winter season, not so deep, however, as to hide the grass which is very thick and tall. During the summer, the ground is often dry and hard for ten miles beyond the timbered land. This tract is at all times stocked with wild game, and would afford a superior range for cattle.⁵⁷

Reflecting upon the future development of the Everglades, he anticipated much of what has actually taken place. He said:

⁵⁶ John Lee Williams, The Territory of Florida or Sketches of the Topography, Civil and Natural History of the Country, the Climate and the Indian Tribes from the First Discovery to the Present Time, 50. Cited hereinafter as Territory of Florida.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 151.

Could it be drained by deepening the natural outlets? Would it not open to cultivation immense tracts of rich vegetable soil? Could the waterpower, obtained by draining, be improved to any useful purpose? Would such draining render the country unhealthy? Many queries like these passed through our minds. They can only be solved by a thorough examination of the whole country. Could the waters be lowered ten feet, it would probably drain six hundred thousand acres; should this prove to be a rich soil, as would seem probable, what a field it would open for tropical productions! What facilities for commerce! 58

After studying old maps of the interior of the peninsula which depicted the principal rivers connecting the coasts on both sides and talking with native Indians working in the Spanish fisheries on Charlotte Harbor, Williams came to the conclusion that the area had never been explored. "Not one of the writers who have described this country since the change of flags, has been able to obtain any certain intelligence relating to this part of the peninsula."⁵⁹

4. The Seminole War

The Seminole Indian War in Florida was but a phase of the general movement in the United States in the nineteenth century to push the Indian farther west. The movement in the southernmost state differed from that in the Mississippi Valley in that it was from north to south, rather than east to west. American pioneers began to move into the new territory from adjoining states soon after the transfer in 1821.

58 John Lee Williams, Territory of Florida, 151.

59 Ibid., 61.

While the territory had been in the hands of the Spanish from 1783 to 1821 a great deal of Indian trouble had resulted from the laxity of the Spanish policy in dealing with Indian problems. Andrew Jackson's invasions of Florida in 1814 and 1818 had almost caused war between the United States and Spain. But

The determination of the Seminoles to hold forever their lands in Florida, and to live there on an equal basis with the white inhabitants created the biggest single problem with which Territorial leaders had to deal. 60

The acquisition of Florida by the United States opened the lands of the peninsula to settlement by citizens of the republic. As much of the good land of the area was held by the red men, it was almost inevitable that attempts would be made to remove the natives, a custom which had prevailed in North America since earliest colonial days. Within two years of the acquisition of Florida the United States negotiated the treaty of Moultrie Creek with the Indians, providing that the latter move from the lands of Florida between the Appalachicola River and St. Augustine into a four million acre tract in the central portion of the peninsula, fifteen miles from the Gulf and twenty miles from the Atlantic.

60 Sidney Walter Martin, Florida During the Territorial Days, 224.

61 John Titecomb Sprague, The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War; to which is appended a Record of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Musicians and Privates of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, Who Were Killed in Battle or Died of Disease, 24-25. Hereinafter cited as Florida War.

In 1825 the Florida Indian agent petitioned the Indian Bureau in Washington to run a line for

. . . the northern boundary of the Indian territory . . . in order to show a line of demarcation to the white settlers, who are already thronging to the vicinity of the Indian settlements; and some . . . have taken positions near to, if not south of, where the line will necessarily run; and will, I fear, if not expelled, become troublesome, and create disturbances among the Indians, --they are squatters upon the public lands. . . . 62

Writing in 1848, Buckingham Smith declared that the primary source of the Seminole War was the arrangement of 1823, by which the upper Florida Indians were assigned to the region south of Micanopy. He believed, and with reason, that the treaty of that year effectually prevented the settlement of the coast and the interior; that it consolidated the Indians and placed them in the most defensible positions against removal. "Had they been assigned to the western part of the Territory, nearer a dense white population, it is conceived their ultimate removal west of the Mississippi could have been effected without the great delay, vast expense, and bloodshed that ensued."⁶³

The decade from 1823 to 1833 was marked by an almost continuous series of Indian depredations and the white man's reprisals. Agitation to remove the red men reached a head in the signing of the Treaty of Payne's Landing and the

62 John T. Sprague, Florida War, 28.

63 T. B. Smith, "Buckingham Smith Report," loc. cit., 22.

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Treaty of Fort Gibson in the latter year. By these treaties the Indians signified their willingness to migrate to the western territory. Both treaties were probably obtained under duress, and as Grant Foreman wrote: "In the dishonorable record of our dealings with the Indians there is perhaps no blacker chapter than that relating to the Seminole people."

⁶⁴ Regardless of the niceties of treaty-making, the United States government was going to carry out the provisions for removing the redmen. After two years of stalling on the part of the Seminoles, January 8, 1836, was set as the date for embarkation from Tampa.
⁶⁵

But the Indians were unwilling to leave their homes and on December 28, 1835, massacred Major Francis Dade and his band of men who were on a march from Fort Brooke to Fort King. This act of the Seminoles signalled the beginning of warfare. The Seminole conflict was marked by few true battles; rather it was a series of raids, ambushes, and guerilla warfare.
⁶⁶ The largest skirmish was fought on the northern

⁶⁴ Grant Foreman, Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians, 321. Cited hereinafter as Indian Removal.

⁶⁵ W. A. Croffut, editor, Fifty Years in Camp and Field: Diary of Major-General Eathan Allen Hitchcock, U.S.A., 83-85. Cited hereinafter as Hitchcock Diary. Grant Foreman, Indian Removal, 321.

⁶⁶ "Climaxing a decade of misrepresentation and misunderstanding between Washington and the Indians, it marked the inception of the longest, costliest, and bloodiest war in United States history. To congressmen at the capital, this war would mean an appropriation of thirty million dollars. To fifteen hundred soldiers, death; to Zachary Taylor, a tortuous path to glory, and the brevet of brigadier." Holman Hamilton, Zachary Taylor, Soldier of the Republic, 122.

shore of Lake Okeechobee on Christmas day, 1837, between the American forces under Colonel Zachary Taylor and the Indians. Taylor had moved out from Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay the previous week. He had with him eight hundred regular troops, one hundred and eighty Missouri Volunteers, and seventy Delaware Indians. The Seminoles were well concealed in a dense hammock surrounded by a swamp which separated them

. . . from the enemy, three quarters of a mile in breath [sic], being totally impassible for horse, and nearly so for foot, covered with a thick growth of saw-grass five feet high, and knee deep in mud and water, which extended to the left as far as the eye could reach, and to the right to a part of the swamp and hammock we had just crossed, through which ran a deep creek.

The soldiers were obliged to proceed on foot through this swamp to a disastrous engagement with the Indians who had skillfully planned the setting for it. The loss of the attacking force was twenty-six killed and 112 wounded, a large portion of whom were officers. The bodies of ten Indians were found and it was learned four others had been killed. 67

Taylor and his men succeeded in routing the Seminoles, who fled to the deeper recesses and more isolated spots of south Florida.

In the span of the years from Dade's massacre in December of 1835 to the cessation of hostilities in August of 1842 the Indians were gradually hunted down; the majority of the Florida red skins were sent to the western lands; the remainder escaped and fled into the areas south of Lake

67 New York Observer, January 20, 1838, quoted in Grant Foreman, Indian Removal, 356-357.

Okeechobee and the Caloosahatchee River. General Thomas S. Jesup wrote the Secretary of War in February of 1838 of the foolishness of seeking to transfer Indians from one wilderness to another, from lands not required for agricultural purposes, ". . . when they were not in the way of the white inhabitants, and when the greater portion of this country was an unexplored wilderness, of the interior of which we were as ignorant as of the interior of China."⁶⁸

Criticism of the army's conduct of the long drawnout Florida war spread from a local territorial concern to the national arena, and even caused some international comment. Captain Frederick Marryat, in his diary published in 1840, traced the causes and course of the Seminole War to the end of 1837. He cited American papers estimating the loss of men as high as three thousand, and the cost at \$30,000,000, all to subdue two thousand Indians who had held out against the American government and managed to subsist against an army four or five times their number.⁶⁹ But those who criticised were not well aware of the circumstances, as General Jesup pointed out. He said:

I, and my predecessors in command,⁷⁰ were not only required to fight, beat, and drive

⁶⁸ John T. Sprague, Florida War, 201; see also Joshua Giddings, The Exiles of Florida, 182-183.

⁶⁹ Frederick Marryat, A Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions, 289-290.

⁷⁰ The list of army commanders is long and imposing. It is as follows: Edmond P. Gaines, Duncan Clinch, Winfield

the enemy before us, but to go into an unexplored wilderness and catch them. Neither Wayne, Harrison, nor Jackson, was required to do this; and unless the objects to be accomplished be the same, there can be no just comparison as to the results. 71

The general knew whereof he wrote, for in January and February of 1838 he led an expedition down the east coast from the head of navigation on the St. Johns River. On January 25 Jesup and his men engaged the Indians at the headwaters of the Loxahatchee River in the middle of the swamp of the same name. Theodore F. Rodenbough, a member of the Second Dragoons of the Second Cavalry, had vivid memories of the encounter. He wrote:

All I can say is that it is a most hideous region, in which nothing but serpents and frogs exist. The Indians themselves say that they cannot live here after March. While you are freezing we are melting with the heat, which equals that of July in New York. 72

Jesup ordered his men into camp at Jupiter Inlet for rest and rehabilitation after the long march from the St. Johns and the Loxahatchee battle. The men were almost naked and a third of them were without shoes. ⁷³ Operating up and down

Scott, Richard Keith Call, Thomas S. Jesup, Zachary Taylor, Alexander Macomb, Walker Armistead, and William J. Worth.

71 John T. Sprague, Florida War, 196.

72 Theodore F. Rodenbough, From Everglade to Canon with the Second Dragoons, an Authentic Account of Service in Florida, Mexico, Virginia, and the Indian Country, including the Personal Recollections of Prominent Officers, 30. Cited hereinafter as From Everglade to Canon.

73 Ibid.; John T. Sprague, Florida War, 193.

the coast from Jupiter, Jesup captured 678 Indians in February, the news of which caused a band of 360 more to surrender to Taylor on his trip through the central portion of the state. Jesup reported he had taken 1,955 Indians, while 33 escaped and 35 were killed between September, 1837 and May, 1838.⁷⁴

On April 24, 1838 Colonel William S. Harney with a detachment from Jesup's command had a sharp skirmish with a group of Indians twenty miles below Biscayne Bay, but the Indians fled to the Everglades before the Americans could catch any of them.⁷⁵ By May of 1838 the Seminoles had been driven south to the environs of Lake Okeechobee and the Everglades, and the remaining four years of the war were fought in this remote region.⁷⁶

Major General Alexander Macomb, commanding general of the army, came to Florida in April, 1839, hoping to bring an end to the strife. It was thought his high command and rank would impress the foe. Macomb released the Indian prisoners on hand and sent them to find their remaining tribesmen with offers of peace from the army. After a series of conferences the Indians agreed to retire to the region below Peace Creek, and on May 18 Macomb issued an order that the war had

74 Grant Foreman, Indian Removal, 363.

75 T. F. Rodenbough, From Everglade to Canon, 34.

76 Charles H. Coe, Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles, 35-40.

77 terminated. One of the stipulations to the agreement was the establishment of a military post and a civilian trading house at Charlotte Harbor on the Caloosahatchee River. Colonel William S. Harney with a detail of thirty-two men was sent to the Caloosahatchee to set up the post and act as a guard for the white traders.

The usual vigilance was relaxed with the cessation of the fighting, and before dawn on July 23 eighteen soldiers were killed and six captured. Harney and the rest managed to escape the murderous band. 78 Strangely enough this outrage was not the product of Seminole cunning; rather, it was committed by a group of Spanish Indians under the leadership of Chikika, an intelligent chief of a group of about a hundred warriors. 79 John Lee Williams, who had traveled in the Charlotte Harbor region in 1828, described these Indians as follows:

. . . [they] never appeared at the agency to draw annuities, but lived by cultivating their fields, hunting, trading at the Spanish ranchos, bartering skins, mocking birds, and pet squirrels for guns, ammunition and clothing, and sometimes assisting in the fisheries. This race

77 John T. Sprague, Florida War, 228-229; Joshua Giddings, The Exiles of Florida, 257-258.

78 T. F. Rodenbough, From Everglade to Canon, 36-38; John T. Sprague, Florida War, 233-236.

79 John T. Sprague, Florida War, 99-100; Grant Foreman, Indian Removal, 373; T. F. Rodenbough, From Everglade to Canon, 36.

of Indians would have remained peaceable to this day had not an order been issued . . . ordering them all to remove. 80

These Spanish Indians took no part in the Seminole War until the Seminoles, driven from central Florida, moved in to the region below Lake Okeechobee. The Spanish Indians, as they are called in the accounts of the nineteenth century, had made no treaties regarding removal and had remained unnoticed in their coastal haunts, carrying on their commerce with Havana. The Seminoles quickly made friends with the Caloosa descendants and induced them to aid in the fight for their homeland on the peninsula.⁸¹ "Their knowledge of the country and their long connection with the Spanish traders and fishermen afforded perfect facilities for supplying the Seminoles with arms and munitions of war. . . ."⁸²

That the Spanish Indians had a just grievance against the United States government is made clear in the breakdown of the number of evacuees from Florida in New Orleans in May of 1838, waiting transportation to Arkansas. Foreman gives the figure as approximately 1,200, of whom nearly one-third were Negroes who had been raised among the Seminoles." "Among those who have gone up are about 150 Spanish Indians or Spaniards who have intermarried with the Seminoles."⁸³

80 John Lee Williams, Territory of Florida, 242.

81 John R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, 344-345.

82 John Lee Williams, Territory of Florida, 242.

83 Arkansas Gazette, May 30, 1838, quoted in Grant Foreman, Indian Removal, 365.

Seven Spanish Indians who were in the group at New Orleans protested against further relocation and were left on their promise not to return to Florida until the close of the war.

The massacre at the post and trading house on the Caloosahatchee in July of 1839, close upon the Macomb-Fort King proclamation of the previous May, resulted in renewed criticism of the prosecution of the war by the army. The Seminole leaders hastened to report their innocence of this July crime, but the affair reopened a campaign that lasted for two years.⁸⁴ Determined to track the red men down, the army dispatched an agent to Cuba to secure trained man-hunting bloodhounds. The dogs subsequently arrived on the scene of action; however, the experiment ended in failure because of the hot weather and the amount of swamp and overflowed land of the Everglades and Big Cypress.⁸⁵

The struggle with the Indians dragged on through 1839 although operations were considerably limited by the hot weather of the summer and the attacks of yellow fever in the autumn. When General Walker R. Armistead relieved General Taylor in April of 1840, the army had five thousand officers and men at the various forts in south Florida of whom almost six hundred were on the sick list.⁸⁶ The man hunts continued through the spring of 1840 with the capture

⁸⁴ Grant Foreman, Indian Removal, 373.

⁸⁵ T. F. Rodenbough, From Everglade to Canon, 44; John T. Sprague, Florida War, 240-242.

⁸⁶ John T. Sprague, Florida War, 243, 277.

of 220 Indians in March and 200 in May.

On August 7, 1840 the Spanish Indians under Chikika again made their presence known when they attacked Indian Key, one of the chain south of Cape Florida. The Indians went ashore and proceeded to pillage and burn a small white settlement. Dr. Henry Perrine, a noted botanist, was among the whites murdered by the redskins. A former United States consul at Campeachy, Yucatan, Dr. Perrine had secured a township in the Biscayne Bay area in 1838, where it was his intention to experiment with the introduction of tropical

⁸⁷ crops. The scientist was residing on Indian Key with his family, who miraculously escaped murder by hiding under a wharf. Perrine had been waiting for the cessation of hos-
⁸⁸tilities in order to occupy his grant.

With the arrival of cooler weather in the fall of 1840, General Armistead ordered the resumption of operations against the fugitive enemy. Colonel William S. Harney and others led their commands from headquarters at Fort Pierce on the east coast,

. . . south and west, extending from the coast to Lake Okeechobee, thence through the Everglades, and. . . laid open the country, disclosing large fields once cultivated by the Indians; but the approach of troops had driven them still deeper into their fastnesses. 89

87 William T. Cash, The Story of Florida, I, 333-334.

88 Senate Documents, Reports of Committees, Number 242, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 33; John T. Sprague, Florida War, 243-246.

89 John T. Sprague, Florida War, 261.

Entering the Everglades at the headwaters of the Miami River on December 4, 1840, Colonel Harney and the ninety men in his command followed a southwest course along the eastern shore of the grassy waters. They traveled in canoes, using individual paddles to ensure silence. The party pitched camp each night on the nearby islands, looking all the while for recent Indian signs. On the fourth day out the group reached Cochickeehadjo's Island in the southwestern glades, where they captured eight Indians, two of whom were warriors. These latter Harney summarily disposed of by hanging to a tree.⁹⁰ On December 8, Harney proceeded to Chikikai's Island in the early evening in hope of a night surprisal, but the guide got lost and it was late the following morning before the party made a landing.

Harney was not to be denied revenge for the Caloosahatchee massacre of part of his command in 1839. His detachment surprised a small group of Indians on the island, shot one warrior and captured two others and a number of squaws and children. Chikikai was wounded and fled, but was overtaken and killed.⁹¹ Remaining in the area until the sixteenth Harney hanged nine warriors and killed an equal number in skirmishes. Reaching Shark River the party went down to the Gulf and from thence to Indian Kay, Ft. Dallas, and Ft. Pierce.

90 T. F. Rodenbough, From Everglade to Canon, 507.

91 Ibid., 507.

A second trip into the Everglades made by Harney and a detachment in January, 1841, was important because of its disclosure of the nature of the Seminoles and their habitat. Leaving Ft. Dallas on New Year's Day with four large canoes and fifty men, the party went up Little Miami River to the edge of the glades where it spent the night and waited for sunset of the following day. "We then moved forward swiftly and noiselessly, at one time following the course of serpentine channels opening out occasionally into beautiful lagoons, at another forcing our way through barriers of saw-grass."⁹²

After paddling several hours the party moved up on Chitto-Tustenuggee Island, an island some twenty acres in extent with soil two feet deep and very rich. The center of the island was cleared with the circumference protected by a wide fringe of live oak, wild fig, and wild mangrove trees. The Indians had located two towns, two dancing grounds, and a council lodge there in former times. All were now overrun with pumpkin, squash, and melon vines, occasional lima beans, and Cuban tobacco. Signs showed that the natives had been gone at least two weeks.⁹³ On a nearby island the soldiers found patches of green corn and sugar cane in addition to the usual vegetable vines.

⁹² Silvia Sunshine [Abbie M. Brooks], Petals Plucked from Sunny Climes, 247. Cited hereinafter as A. M. Brooks, Sunny Climes.
⁹³ Ibid., 248.

After spending several days in scouring the islands along the eastern edge of the glades north from the Miami headwaters, the party reached a small island on which they flushed a party of four warriors, five squaws, and two children. Three of the warriors were shot on the spot, and three squaws and a child taken, "the other [child was] drowned by its mother to prevent its cries leading to her detection."⁹⁴ Harney and his command reached the headwaters of the New River at sunset on January 10 and were at Ft. Lauderdale by midnight.

On the last day of May, 1841, General Armistead was relieved by Colonel William J. Worth. Sprague estimated there were but two hundred and twelve Indian warriors remaining in the state, and yet the war was to drag on for another year. This number was reduced by almost twenty with the capture of Coacoochee, or Wildcat, and a party of fifteen in the middle of June.⁹⁵ Worth, seeking to bring the seemingly futile struggle to a close, worked on Coacoochee to bring his people in for the trip to the west and thus end the war. Rodenbough places the date as the Fourth of July, 1841, when the Indian, hearing a salute in honor of the day replied, "Yes, the white man is free, but he would make the red man his slave!"⁹⁶

94 A. M. Brooks, Sunny Climes, 248.

95 John T. Sprague, Florida War, 297.

96 T. F. Rodenbough, From Everglade to Canon, 511.

Coacoochee's full reply to Worth: "'I was once a boy,' said he, in subdued tones. 'Then I saw the white man afar off. I

By 1841 the Seminole War was being fought on Lake Okechobee and in the Everglades. In a report to the Secretary of the Navy dated January 24, 1841, Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin, commanding the Florida Naval expedition, recited the part played by his command of ninety seamen from the barges Ostego and Wave and the schooner Flirt. The Naval unit had cooperated with Colonel Harney in the latter's January trip into the eastern area of the glades near Miami and Ft. Lauderdale. ⁹⁷ Leaving Harney near the headwaters of the New River, the McLaughlin command skirted the eastern edge of the Everglades on a southwest course, searching all the islands for Indians and arriving at the Gulf

hunted in these woods, first with bow and arrow, then with a rifle. I saw the white man, and was told he was my enemy. I could not shoot him as I would a wolf or a bear; yet like these he came upon me. Horses, cattle, and fields he took from me. He said he was my friend. He abused our women and children, and told us to go from the land. Still he gave me his hand in friendship. We took it. Whilst taking it he had a snake in the other. His tongue was forked. He lied and stung us. I asked but for a small piece of these lands, enough to plant and to live upon, far south--a spot where I could lay the ashes of my kindred. This was not granted me. I was put in prison. I escaped. I have again been taken. You have brought me back. I feel the irons in my heart.' At this moment the battery of a government vessel at anchor fired a salute in honor of the day. The council recessed briefly and then reformed after the salute, when the chief asked what it meant. The interpreter, with some hesitation replied that, 'On that day many years ago the white people gained their rights as free men, and became their own masters.' As he listened the chief's eye flashed and he involuntarily clutched the handcuffs and turned to Colonel Worth, who for the first time in his life felt like 'going home,' and exclaimed bitterly, 'Yes, the white man is free, but he would make the red man his slave.'

⁹⁷ Senate Documents, Number 242, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 106-108.

of Mexico through Harney River on January 19.

Joint operations, of the army, navy, and marines, began in earnest in the fall of 1841. A joint expedition moved in October from Ft. Dallas, crossed the lower glades to the pine woods near the west coast, and thence to Punta Rassa. Leaving the Ft. Myers area on the second of November the expedition moved up the Caloosahatchee and into Lake Okeechobee and from there to the Loxahatchee and the east coast. The armed force saw a half dozen Indians on the whole trip but was not able to effect a capture. ⁹⁸

As illustrative of the peculiarity of the service to which these various corps were subjected, there was, at one time to be seen, in the Everglades, the dragoon in water from three to four feet deep, the sailor and marine wading in the mud in the midst of the cypress, and the soldiers, infantry and artillery on the land, in the water, and in boats. . . . Here was no distinction of corps, no jealousies, but a laudable rivalry in concerting means to punish a foe who had so effectually eluded all efforts. Comforts and conveniences were totally disregarded, even subsistence was reduced to the lowest extremity. Night after night, officers and men were compelled to sleep in their canoes, others in damp bogs, and in the morning cook their breakfast over a fire built on a pile of sand in the prow of a boat, or kindled around a cypress stump. 99

98 John T. Sprague, Florida War, 333-335; Senate Documents, Number 242, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 109-112.

99 John T. Sprague, Florida War, 354. A day by day account of a sixty day naval expedition into the Everglades, Lake Okeechobee, the Kissimmee River, and Lake Tohopekaliga is found in George Henry Preble, "A Canoe Expedition into the Everglades in 1842." Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, V (1946), 30-51.

Reporting to Abel P. Upshur, Secretary of the Navy, on April 29, 1842, Lieutenant McLaughlin was able to state that "every portion of the Ever Glades and water courses of the interior, from Lake Tohopkeliga south, have been visited by [various detachments] . . . and examined and large fields and settlements broken up and destroyed." ¹⁰⁰ McLaughlin reported that one of the detachments had, with the exception of twenty days, been employed without intermission in their canoes since October 9, 1841. The ships Flirt and Wave put in the Hillsboro River in May, gave chase to two Indians to the head of Snake Creek, where Indian fields of sugar cane, corn, and bananas were in cultivation. The command was divided into two scouting parties: one entered the country between the Miami and New Rivers, and the other into the glades. The second scout, composed of marines, was compelled to return to the post for want of water.

The fatigue and privation undergone by this detachment was so great that private Kingsbury fell in his trail and died from sheer exhaustion.

The waters of the Everglades had fallen so low that it was necessary to track the boats at all times; and at some to make ways of the boats' seats for miles and miles to slide them over. ¹⁰¹

President John Tyler informed Congress on May 10, 1842, that he had authorized Colonel Worth to declare the

¹⁰⁰ Senate Documents, Number 242, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 116.

¹⁰¹ John T. Sprague, Florida War, 389.

hostilities against the Indians at an end when the military commander deemed it expedient. "He is instructed to open communications with those yet remaining, and endeavor by all peaceable means to persuade them to consult their true interests by joining their brethern at the West. . . ."¹⁰²

Tyler estimated there were only two hundred and forty Indians left in Florida, of whom only eighty were capable of bearing arms. In order to relieve the federal government of further expense for protection, the president suggested certain inducements to settlers in the form of land, arms, and subsistence to families settling the Florida frontiers.

"Making a virtue of necessity, General Worth agreed that several hundred Seminole Indians might remain for the present in Florida upon conditions to which the Indians paid little attention."¹⁰³

General Order number 28, issued by Colonel Worth on August 14, 1842, announced the Indian hostilities had ceased and put the few Indians in Florida within certain limits, roughly the section of Florida south and west of Lake Istokpoga and a line drawn through the middle of the mouth of the Kissimmee River at Lake Okeechobee to the Gulf of Mexico.¹⁰⁴ Sprague estimated there were three hundred

¹⁰² James D. Richardson, A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897, IV, 155.

¹⁰³ Grant Foreman, Indian Removal, 384.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 407; John T. Sprague, Florida War, 486.

and sixty Indians in Florida in 1845, of whom one hundred
 and twenty were warriors.¹⁰⁵

Among the significant results of the Seminole War were the removal of the majority of the Indians to the western lands and the consequent opening of the peninsula of Florida to white settlement. The reports brought back by the men in the armed services regarding the hitherto unknown lands and waters of south Florida served, in some measure, to acquaint the public at large with the territory. Army troops had garrisoned forts on both coasts and in the interior and military roads had been blazed throughout the whole section. Naval and marine units had cruised the inshore waters and carried out expeditions through the inland waterways.¹⁰⁶ Engineers had mapped and charted the area and all of the "exploring" soldiers and sailors had observed the fertile islands of the Everglades. Many of the islands were covered with a very rich soil and had been intensively cultivated by the Indians, producing crops of corn, beans, sugar cane, pumpkins, squash, melons, bananas, and tobacco.¹⁰⁷ Many of the men who fought in the Everglades, among them the Florida volunteers, remained in the state and undoubtedly remembered the primitive gardens on the little islands.

¹⁰⁵ John T. Sprague, Florida War, 512.

¹⁰⁶ Joseph Christmas Ives, compiler, Memoir to Accompany A Military Map of the Peninsula of Florida South of Tampa Bay, 1-42.

¹⁰⁷ A. M. Brooks, Sunny Climes, 247-248; T. F. Rodenbough, From Everglade to Canon, 507-508; John T. Sprague, Florida War, 389.