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THE SEMINOLE WAR: ITS BACKGROUND AND ONSET *

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(I) INTRODUCTION

The action generally known as the Dade Massacre is an event which cannot be adequately understood if viewed by itself, since it was but one aspect of an explosion occurring in the winter of 1835-1836 which rocked the Territory of Florida. The explosion was the culmination of the mounting tension between the whites on the one hand, and red and black on the other, whose origins antedated the acquisition of Florida by the United States. This crisis must be viewed in the perspective of, and against the background formed by the forces from which it developed. It is attempted here to sketch this background in a detached manner, though limitations of space preclude presentation in detail. The tale is a narrative of harshness, with many sordid aspects. In view of the pressure of settlers for lands, the solution of the problem through emigration of the Indians was probably the best which could be devised, and it is to be regretted that the advantages of removal were not more patiently and attractively presented to the Indians before a determination to resist removal arose among them. When this sentiment had crystalized, the climax was the wholly natural reaction of a simple, bewildered, wronged and liberty-loving people; who, subjected to inexorable pressure, saw no other dignified solution or avenue of relief. The

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outburst itself consisted of four major sanguinary events of nearly simultaneous occurrence and, as is so often the case, many of those who felt its impact had little if any responsibility for its production.

(II) THE SEMINOLES OF FLORIDA

The original Indian population of Florida, with the possible exception of the Calos or Caloosa, was largely if not altogether eradicated by the English instigated Creek raids during Queen Anne's War, 1701-1714 (see Boyd, Smith and Griffin, *post. Sources*), although evidently in decline prior to this time as a consequence of epidemic infections acquired from white sources. While the raids resulted in much loss of life, depopulation was more thoroughly effected through the enforced evacuation of the survivors. These were relocated by the English on lands in and adjacent to the Province of Carolina. The English, however, became increasingly oppressive and high-handed in their dealings with these captives and their earlier allies. Indian resentment found expression in a widespread compact among the tribes, which had as its objective the expulsion of the English. The resulting brief struggle known as the Yamassee War occurred in 1715. It nearly attained the desired result, but suddenly collapsed owing to the defection of the Cherokees. The defeated Indians scattered from the vicinity of Carolina, most Yamassees returning to Florida, but others, including the Creeks, returned to the old dwelling sites on the banks of the Chattahoochee river. Here they were sought out by English, French and Spanish emissaries, the former not to inflict chastisement, but to compete with the others for Indian support in an anticipated continuation of intercolonial strife. While the Spaniards found adherents in certain factions, others, probably finding English trade or presents more satisfactory, sided with the latter. The Spaniards encouraged their partisans to return to Florida and repopulate Apalachee. While successful in inducing several bands from the

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Chattahoochee river villages to make this move, the numbers were insufficient to repopulate the region as it once had been. The meager references to these bands make their ultimate fate uncertain, nor do they appear to have contributed significantly, if at all, to the final Indian repopulation of Florida. In 1767 only one town, Talahassa or Tonaby's town, was located in ancient Apalachee. (Gauld-Pittman map). The Stuart-Purcell map also speaks of several other small villages, dependencies either of this or Mikasuky.

By the time of the cession of Florida to Great Britain in 1763, certain Indian bands were established in the upper part of the peninsula, who were referred to as Seminoles (Semenolas, Siminoles, Seminolies, Seminolys). The word is said to be derived from the Muskogee *Ishti Semoli* (Brinton), variously rendered as meaning separatist, runaway or vagabond. It more particularly expressed the non-participation of these bands in the councils of the confederation. While in a broad sense it is now common to refer to all of the later day Florida Indians as Seminoles, the term was originally applied only to the Hitchiti speaking Oconee, the earliest immigrants to preserve their identity.

It will be shown that with the exception of a few insignificant remnants of the original Florida tribes, the immigrants were composed of bands identified or affiliated with the Muskogee or Creek Confederacy. The tribes composing the confederation were not, however, homogeneous. Thus along the eastern periphery of the territory which came to be dominated by this organization, were a number of tribes speaking a language known as Hitchiti, a circumstance suggestive of a common origin, who are regarded as the earlier possessors of central Alabama and Georgia. According to Spoehr, the Muskogee and Hitchiti languages are mutually unintelligible, while Hitchiti and Mikasuky are variant but mutually understandable dialects of Hitchiti. The primitive Hitchiti-speakers were finally displaced and dominated by the later arriving Muskogee-speakers, with whom they finally

established a practical relationship, with later affiliation in the confederacy.

It would appear that the language barrier between the races contributed materially to the difficulties between the races which at length led to war. And here the Indians were at a great disadvantage. The number of whites capable of serving as interpreters was always limited, Hambly and Richard being the principal, if not the only ones. Very few if any Indians appear to have possessed the qualifications, as the latter invariably depended on some negro for this service. When the agents or commissioners to the Indians had to depend on some practically unlettered frontiersman, or on a negro versed in only English plantation dialect, to interpret and explain the terms and stipulations of a proposed treaty or agreement expressed in highly precise English, it would appear inevitable that the version gotten over to the Indians, must, at the least, have been highly garbled. It is not known, and the records do not clarify the point, whether the Indians were ever furnished with copies in English of the agreements they executed. Consequently they appear to have been subsequently always dependant on the declaration of the agent as to its stipulations and their significance. Even conceding that the American negotiators invariably had presented to the Indians every clause of a contemplated agreement, who can expect that under the circumstances the interpreters always gave a faithful, adequate and accurate rendering, or that the Indians comprehended, fully and exactly, the commitment they assumed.

To attempt at this late date close analysis of the origin and composition of the Seminole Indians, is a task that can neither be sufficiently comprehensive nor accurate. In the absence of clear tradition and written records on the part of the Indians themselves, such a narrative can only be compiled from brief or fragmentary comments written by whites, who rarely accurately understood Indian pronunciation, and invariably found its uniform expression in English or Spanish orthography an impossi-

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bility. Hence there is wide variation in the spelling and syllabification of these names, some of which variations are reproduced. These difficulties of audition and orthography led to the application of English nicknames to many individuals, while half-breeds were variously identified by the surname of their white father or their tribal name. Indians of rank or distinction were known by their titles rather than by name, while others, probably untried youths, possessing neither quality, were practically nameless.

Among the titles of rank, that of *mico* or *mic-co* was the highest, and by the traders was commonly interpreted as king. The *mico*, according to Hawkins, superintended all public and domestic concerns, received all public characters, heard their talks and presented them for the consideration of the town. He was always chosen from one clan or family. He held office for life, and was usually succeeded by his nephew in the female line. The name of the town was prefixed to the title. The *hinijas* or *enehas* were next in rank and second in command, directed public works and buildings, cultivation of fields, and were in charge of the "black drink" ceremony. Leaders of bands, a position attained as the result of valor in war, bore the title of *amathla* or *emartla* (*imala*), which signified leader or disciplinarian, and by whites were commonly regarded as chiefs. Warriors of recognized prowess bore the title of *tustunnuggee*. In addition, some bore a further title of *hadjo* or *hajo*, which while usually rendered as "crazy," does not imply mental aberration, but rather indicates the exhibition of frenzied valor.

With the recognition of growing prowess, one individual at successive periods of life may have borne various designations. This is illustrated by an example given by McKenney and Hall, who relate that the principal chief of the Mikasukies in 1835, Holata Mico, had been successively known as:

a) Chittee - Yoholo (see portrait under this name in McKenney and Hall), or "Snake that makes a noise";

- b) Chewasti Amathla;
- c) Holata Tustennuggee Hadjo (Crazy Blue Warrior);
- d) Holata Tustennuggee (Blue Warrior).

Confusion may arise over the identity of Holata Amathla and Holata Mico. They are evidently different persons, the former favoring emigration. We presume that Holata Mico was the individual earlier known as Chittee-Yoholo. Holata Mico appears to have emerged after Hick's death.

At the collapse of the Yamassee War, the surviving Timucua with some Yamassees returned to the vicinity of St. Augustine, where they were warmly welcomed. Shortly afterward these Timucuans, for reasons unknown, disappear from view. Their last known settlement was on the Tomoka river, to which their name remains attached. Swanton remarks that the name for a Seminole village of 1823, *Etanie*, recalls the word *Utina*, a synonym for Timucua. The situation of this village is unknown, but Brinton's (1869) mention of *Ettini* as the collective name of the ponds and lakes about Waldo, may indicate that it was in this vicinity.

Bartram relates, when speaking of his encampment on the site of the old Ocone (Oconee) town in Georgia in 1777, that it was evacuated about fifty years before, its inhabitants moving among the Upper Creeks (*sic*: actually meaning the Lower). Some of these, along with the other Lower Creeks as well as Cherokees, become partisans of Oglethorpe in his siege of St. Augustine in 1740 (Alden; Johnson), and others participated in the raid of 1743 (Kimber). Some or all of these Creeks, according to John Stuart, established a village, Latchewie, on the plain of Alachua, under a leader known to the English as Ahaya or the Cowkeeper, which town in Bartram's time was known as Cuscowilla. The Cowkeeper paid an amicable visit to Savannah in 1757, and related that he had been occupied in warring on the Florida Indians, and expressed an unfriendly attitude toward the Spanish (Candler). What appears to be this same individual, the

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Cowkeeper, is named Secoffee by Sprague, without giving authority for his statement. This Oconee immigration appears to have been completed sometime between 1799 and 1832, because in the census of Chattahoochee towns made in the latter year, the name Oconee does not appear. The Cowkeeper and his band were obliged to contend not only with the Spaniards, but with the remnants of the ancient tribes of the peninsula, the Timucua and Yammassee, which were finally vanquished with the aid of further immigrants from other towns of the Lower Creeks. According to Swanton, the Oconee were speakers of Hitchiti (called *Stunkard* by Bartram), and their recruits were from other villages speaking the same language, Sawokli, Tomathli, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, and Chiaha. At the time when Governor Grant negotiated the cession of the small quadrant in northeast Florida, at the Picolata council in 1765, the majority of the Indian participants, twenty-nine, represented eleven Lower Creek towns, while the then Florida bands had only two representatives. This indicates a definite Creek claim to Florida lands. Stuart had paved the way for this council by prior conferences, with the Cowkeeper at St. Augustine (Stuart), and with Lower Creek leaders at St. Marks, in 1764 (Boyd, 1941-42). Although the town of Cuscowilla was represented at the council, its delegate was not the head chief, the Cowkeeper.

However, the Cowkeeper came to St. Augustine some weeks later, and subscribed to the treaty of cession. Whether the reasons advanced for his absence from the council were valid, cannot be questioned, although one may suspect that it may have been due to reluctance to acknowledge Lower Creek sovereignty. Bartram was entertained in 1774 at Cuscowilla. This town was on or adjacent to the site of the present village of Micanopy, and the name is preserved for the adjacent lake as the variant Tuscowilla. Pittman speaks of another town (Lockway) existing in 1767, which may have been the original settlement, as located on the side of a very fine savanna (probably Payne's Prairie).

Bartram describes the town (*i.e.* Cuscowilla) in some detail, and speaks of the chief (*i.e.*, the Cowkeeper) as being waited upon by Yamassee slaves. He observed that these Indians followed many Spanish customs, and he inferred, from crucifixes worn by some, that many were Christians. Perhaps these were descended from inhabitants of the old Apalachian mission village, San Francisco de Oconi. Bartram also visited another town, Talahasochte, situated on the east bank of the Suwannee river near Manatee Spring (Note: This spring is now included in an undeveloped State Park). This may be the Suwannee river town spoken of by Pittman in 1767, although the latter, Sauvanny, was more likely the later mentioned Old Town. Bartram calls the chief of this town the White King. Since Tallachea of the Okmulgees is, in the minutes of the council of 1765, given as headman of the white towns, and since further, according to Swanton, the Okmulgees spoke Hitchiti, we may surmise this was at least another Hitchiti speaking village, and speculate whether it was actually settled by Indians from the Okmulgee town.

The Cowkeeper, in common with the Creeks in general, was ardently loyal to the English during the Revolutionary War, and expressed a desire to depart from Florida with the English. He died in 1785. His successor known as King Payne (Paine), was more likely his sister's son, in accordance with Indian succession, rather than his own. Payne's Prairie (or Alachua Savannah) near Gainesville, and Payne's Landing on the Oklawaha, perpetuate his name. Payne refused to be involved in Bowles' abortive 1788 project against the Panton, Leslie store at St. Marks. The circumstance that James Seagrove, the United States Indian agent at St. Marys, in April 1783, extended an invitation for him to visit the agency, addressed in the unusual style of *Mr. Payne*, is indicative of his consequence. The visit was made in the following month, and *Mr. Payne* expressed assurance of continuing peace with the United States. Later, also as *Mr. Payne* of the

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towns of Lauchiway, he was one of the signatories to the second cession of land to John Forbes & Co., in April, 1810.

Subsequent to the retrocession, the Florida Indians remained aloof and hostile to the Spanish authorities until the province was thrown into a turmoil as a consequence of the intrigues instigated by the United States government, which resulted in the so-called Patriot's War. Upon the outbreak of trouble with England in 1812, the Indians, with negro encouragement, accepted Spanish proposals for participation on the Spanish side, and through attack upon a supply train succeeded in forcing the Americans from St. Augustine, and committed other depredations. Colonel Daniel Newnan, with a detachment of Georgia militia, attempted an operation against the Alachua towns, and in the course of a fight with this force, King Payne received wounds from which he died. The engagement, according to Davis, was near Windsor, Alachua county. ¹ Payne's brother, known as Boleck or Bowlegs (Islapaopaya = Faraway), his lieutenant in this fight, is generally believed to have been his successor. A second American force under Colonel Thomas A. Smith advanced into the Alachua country early in the following February, and found Payne's town (the Loatchaway town, about two miles north of Micanopy: Simmons) deserted, and burned it. Proceeding a short distance westward, he engaged in a skirmish on the 10th near Bowleg's town, in which the Indians were repulsed. Smith reported that he burned 386 houses in the town. According to Simmons, this was ten miles from Micanopy in a southwest direction, and by Davis as eight miles WSW of the same place, and one-half mile south of old Wacahouta in Levy county. ²

According to Williams (1837), however, Payne was succeeded by the eldest son of Solachoppo or Long Tom, who, dying early of a debauch, was in turn succeeded by his younger brother,

1. In the NE 1/4 Sect. 21, T 10 S, R 21 E (Davis).

2. In S 1/4 Sect. 9, T 12 S, R 19 E (Davis).

Mico-an-opa (we follow Gadsden's spelling) (see portrait in McKenney and Hall), previously known as Sint-chakkee. Although not specifically stated, it is presumed Solachoppo's wife was sister to Payne and Bowlegs. Mico-an-opa, shortly after the events of 1813 just related, moved his establishments southward to the sites known as Pelacklakaha (Pilaklakaha) and Okahumpka.³

Mico-an-opa is a title rather than a personal name. It is said to signify "twice a king or governor", or "top-most king". He was also known as *Pond Governor*, probably referring to his earlier name of Sint-chakkee, which, according to the Lieutenant of the Left Wing (W. W. Smith), meant "Pond Frequenter". In 1835 Mico-an-opa was described as being about 50 years of age, fat, lazy, and stupid. He was counseled by an Indian, contradictorily described by Williams in one place as a Greek, in another as a Mikasuky, known as Jumper (Otee Amathla, Onselmatchee), and by a negro, Abraham (Yobly; Souanaff Tus-tenukke), by whom he was completely dominated. Abraham appears to have been one of the slaves removed from Pensacola by the British when they evacuated that city, and was taken to the fort at Prospect Bluff by Nicholls. He escaped from the disaster which befell this installation, and made his way to Bow-

3. Pelacklakaha appears to have been situated in T 21 S, R 23 E, which was surveyed in 1849. Claims for grants of Indian old fields in this tract, under the Armed Occupation Act, provide descriptions which confirm this conclusion. Thus one claim was filed for what was described as Abraham's old town (later the SW 1/4 Sect. 17), and another embraced Abraham's new town (about the middle of the east side of Sect. 22), while a third, on what was later the SE 1/4 of Sect. 32, was described as Jumper's place. An area along the line dividing townships 21 and 22 is referred to as Pelacklakaha Prairie. The houses in Pelacklakaha were burned by the left wing of the army late in March of 1836. The name Okahumpka had a wider application. In T 20 S, R 24 E, is an Okahumpka swamp, in the proximity of the present town of this name. In T 19 S, R 23 E, (surveyed in 1843), is Okahumpka Prairie, which encloses a lake. The name is said to signify **one lake**. The west side of this township was traversed in a north-south direction by the Fort King road, passing from one-half to one mile west of the prairie. Identification for this as the site of Mico-an-opa's town is afforded by the statement of Lieut. Swift (Doc. 147) that his reconnaissance of a canal route from Hillsborough Bay to the Oklawaha, followed the military road as far as the old Indian town Okahumpky. It would appear to have been in sections 20 and 21.

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leg's Town (Porter). Mico-an-opa had a great many negroes in his entourage, and according to Duval, Pelacklakaha town was a negro settlement.

Swanton states that in 1767, a band of Eufallas, who spoke Muskogee or Creek, moved to Florida and settled in a hammock north of Tampa Bay, giving their town the name of Tcuko Tcati, or Red House. These appear to have been the earliest Muskogean immigrants. This appears to be the New Yufala visited by Romans about 1770 in his transit of the peninsula. He describes it as planted in a beautiful and fertile plain. This is the same place spoken of by Young in 1818 as the town of Cheukochatee, which was mainly occupied by Ufallas. This is mentioned by Duval in 1826 as Checuchatty (Chicuchatty),⁴ meaning Red House. Duval states that it was evidently an ancient settlement, and the land was exhausted. This hammock was part of the later mentioned Big Hammock, and closely adjacent to the present Brooksville.

A further wave of immigration into the peninsula occurring about 1778 is described by Swanton, in which immigrants from Kolomi, Fushatchee, Okchai, Tawasa, and Kan-hatki towns, all Muskogee speaking, participated. Since an early chief of Suwannee Old Town was known as Kolomi Mico, he infers (Bull. 137) this settlement may have originated from one or more of these groups. After the destruction of his Alachua village in 1813, Bowlegs may have moved to Old Town, which by 1818 was known as Bowleg's Town. In the meanwhile, he and a party of his warriors are said to have accompanied the British forces in their attack on New Orleans in 1815 (Doc. 65). Cohen's statement that Bowlegs was killed in 1814 seems improbable, in view of documents purporting to bear his name introduced in the trials of Arbuthnot and A(r)mbrister. The population of this place in 1818, was according to Young, a mixture of various tribes. Old Town was the farthest point into Florida attained by Jackson in his campaign of 1818. When the army entered the

4. Checuchatty is located on the plat of T 22 S. R 19 E, surveyed in 1846, as Choocachattie, as lying in the SE 1/4 of Sect. 26.

town, it was found vacated, the inhabitants having been forewarned by A(r)mbrister. It is related that upward of three hundred houses were burned by the army. This Bowlegs was not the individual who, under the name of Billy Bowlegs (or Halpater Mico = Alligator King) emigrated from Florida in 1858 when less than fifty years of age (see portrait in McKenney and Hall).

The Indian bands occupying the territory between the upper St. Johns and Oklawaha rivers at the time of the cession were generally regarded, owing to their very dark complexions, as descendants of the Yamassees (Simmons). The principal band was led by an old chief known to the whites as King Philip or Amathla. He was said to be the son of "Old Philip" and had married the sister of Mico-an-opa. He was one of the signers of the treaty of Moultrie Creek. In 1823 his village is stated to have been called Yalaka, situated on the west side of the St. Johns, 35 miles from Volusia or Dexter. Previous to this he had lived at Wacahouta. By 1835 he had removed to an inaccessible island⁵ in Lake Tohopekaliga (Topkoliky, Tohopekeky, Topchalinky [variants in Cohen]; Tohopekaliga-like, a place of permanent cowpens, alluding to adjacent remains of ancient earth-works [Lieut. Left Wing]), the precise location of which was then unknown to Americans. By the latter date Philip was about 60 years of age, and according to Sprague, more inclined to avoid the whites than to resist them. This may account for his withdrawal to Tohopekaliga. Philip's son, Coacoochee, on the other hand, was war-like and bellicose, and became a conspicuous leader of the Indians on the eastern side of the peninsula. A negro, known as John Caesar, was established in much the same relationship to Philip as that of the negro Abraham to Mico-an-opa.

5. The island in Lake Tohopekaliga is probably that now known as Jernigan's island.

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Closely associated with Philip or his son Coacoochee, was a band of Uchees, whose leader was known as Uchee Billy. About 1818 they had been located close to the Mikasukys in Middle Florida, but by 1822 their village, ten miles distant from Volusia, was known as Tallahassee or Spring Garden. They later moved to an ill-defined site southwest of the St. Johns. Uchee Billy, according to the Lieutenant of the Left Wing (Smith), was also known as Billy Hicks, and was the son of the John Hicks later discussed. The same authority says he was killed late in March, 1836, while attempting to impede the left wing of the army from landing on the west bank of the St. Johns opposite Volusia. Before the war Billy is said (Williams) to have had not more than eight to ten followers, but at its commencement, he went among the Chattahoochee bands and persuaded a hundred or more to return with him to Florida.

About the middle of the 18th century new villages of Hitchiti speaking people appeared along the banks of the Flint river and the adjacent portion of central (Middle) Florida, as colonies of the Hitchiti and Chiaha towns on the Chattahoochee river. An offshoot of the Chiaha, the Mikasuky, are known to have been settled in the vicinity of a large lake in northern Florida which still retains their name as early as 1767 (Pittman). Swanton regards this derivation of the Mikasukys as more plausible, since they apparently were Red Sticks, than another which would derive them from the Sawokli (Sabacola). Their principal town, Mikasuky, or New Town, appears to have been on the southwestern margin of the lake, while an important dependency developed on the site of the present Monticello (Pasco). Swanton (Bull. 137) suggests this name may be derived from the Muskogee *miko* = chief, and the Hitchiti *suki* = hog. One of these new towns, situated in southwestern Georgia, was early known as *Totalosa Talofa* or Fowl Town, and the latter name, for reasons now unknown, became applied by the whites to a group of six towns in the general region, including Mikasuky,

whose inhabitants presumably spoke Hitchiti. In 1778 the chief was Senethago. They were regarded as surly, and under Kenhagee, prevented Andrew Ellicott from running the international boundary between the forks and the St. Marys in 1799.

Some light on their relationship to each other and to the Seminoles is afforded by the cessions of the lands in the so-called Forbes Purchase. The land cession to Panton, Leslie & Co., made in indemnification to that firm for losses sustained in the Bowles raids of 1792 and 1800 on their St. Marks store, effected at Cheeskatalofa (Chickatalofa), May 25, 1804, was granted by twenty-four Indian signatories, who with the exception of one recognizable representative from Totalosa Talofa, came from towns on the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola. To a further deed, confirming the first, executed at Achackwaithle, on the Apalachicola on the 22nd of the following August, to which there were thirty three signatories, the former mentioned Fowl Town representative, Hopoy Hacho (Hadjo), made his mark first as great speaker of the Seminoles, and also signed on behalf of Capixty Mico (Cappichimico: ?) of Mikasuky. A further deed, enlarging the boundaries of the prior cession was given to the firm's successor, John Forbes & Co., at Cheeskatalofa on the Chattahoochee, in April, 1810. Among the signatories were Hopoi Hadjo, and Capitchy Mico of Mikasuky, and *Mr.* Payne of Lauchiway. While, as noted, the Lower Creeks appear to have been the principal participants in the first Bowles instigated raid on the St. Marks store, the Mikasukys appear to have been major participants in the second raid in 1800, when the fort itself capitulated. Although the fort was soon retaken by a Spanish force, Bowles and his followers connected with the "State of Muskogee" withdrew to the Mikasuky town (Mekkesuky), from whence Bowles continued to foment turmoil until his seizure by the Creeks in 1803, by whom he was delivered to the Spanish authorities (Corbitt and Lanning).

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The Mikasukys became greatly disgruntled as a consequence of the large land cession in Georgia adjacent to the Florida frontier, exacted from the Creeks by General Jackson, at the close of the Creek War of 1813-14. For some time prior to 1818 their chief was an Indian known as Kenhagee (King Hadjo or Capichimico), and their war-chief was Cochetustennuggee. Definite hostilities in this quarter were initiated in 1817 by Major Twiggs' attack on the principal Fowl Town east of Fort Scott, after its chief, Innematla, had ordered American troops to abstain from cutting wood on the east side of the Flint. It is surmised that this chief, Innematla, is the same individual called Nehe Marthla by Woodward, who, he says, was chief of the Fort (an obvious misprint for Fowl) Town, and the Neamathla later discussed. If correct, this explains why Neamathla was rated as chief of the Mikasukies. It was rumored that a large body of Indians were congregated at Mikasuky for an attack on Fort Scott if this order was disregarded.

Although the ambush of Lieut. Scott's party while ascending the Apalachicola river to Fort Scott was, according to Young, chiefly the act of a party of Emussees (Yamassees) who had a village on the west side of the river at the forks, under the leadership of Emussee Mico and Ohalluckhija, the circumstance that scalps identified as having belonged to members of Scott's forces were later found in the Mikasuky town, would implicate this tribe in that affair. The Mikasukians appear to have been particularly susceptible to British influence, and were trading with the British agents, Arbuthnot and A(r)mbrister, as late as 1818. The Mikasuky village and other adjacent Fowl Towns were Jackson's primary objective in his campaign of 1818. Although these Indians gathered to oppose his advance, they were repulsed in a skirmish in which Kenhagee was reported killed. They abandoned their houses, which to the number of nearly three hundred, were burned by the army.

Following this disaster, the chastened Mikasukys moved eastward into the present Madison county, establishing their principal town in the vicinity of the present Greenville, with at least four satellite communities to the south and westward. The principal town was known as New Mikasuky, of which Tuskeheniha was civil chief. Another band of Mikasuky went to the Alachua plains and established a village known as John Hicks' Town, west of Payne's Prairie, or Alackaway Talofa (Bell, in Morse: Neamathla, Doc. 51), of which Tookosamathla was chief. Assuming that Tookosamathla and Tuckose Amathla are the same person, this band appears to have moved back to the vicinity of New Mikasuky before 1824. Tuckose Amathla (Ground Mole warrior) (See portrait in McKenney and Hall), was better known to the whites as John Hicks or Hext. According to Williams journal, he was national chief of the Mikasukys, and later attained considerable eminence. On Hicks' removal, the site of his Madison county village was occupied by an early county seat, known as Hicks' Town.

During the Revolutionary War most of the Upper and Lower Creeks were British partisans, an attitude which did not endear them to the people of Georgia when the war terminated under conditions favorable to the former colonists. Furthermore the Georgia Creeks immediately came under steady and unyielding pressure from land hungry settlers. For nearly two decades the Creeks, under the leadership of the half-breed Alexander McGillivray, successfully maintained a difficult position by skillfully playing the American and Spanish interests against each other, with British influence, exerted through Panton, Leslie & Co., and by Bowles as well, thrown in for good measure. British influence was particularly exerted to stirring the Creeks into hostilities during the War of 1812 and thereafter. Subsequent to General Jackson's forcing the British to evacuate Pensacola, a Colonel Edward Nicholls set up a British post at Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola in Spanish territory, with an outpost near

the forks. When the British troops evacuated the lower post, Nicholls turned the whole establishment, complete with arms and munitions, over to a motley group of Negroes and Indians. At the same time he persuaded a halfbreed Upper Creek leader, Joseph Francis or Hillis Hadjo, on whom Tecumseh had conferred the title of prophet, to accompany him to England, where Francis received marked attention.

The occupants of the fort at Prospect Bluff became an intolerable nuisance along the frontier, and as a consequence the fort became the objective of a joint military and naval operation by United States forces in 1816, the military being under the command of Colonel Duncan L. Clinch, who was destined to play a prominent part in later events. Early in the action, a hot shot from one of the naval vessels struck the magazine of the fort, which blew up with a heavy loss of life among the occupants.

The events occurring in the vicinity of Fort Scott led to General Jackson's punitive foray into Florida in 1818, generally known as the first Seminole War, to which various allusions have already been made. Shortly after the start of this expedition, the Prophet Francis had returned to Florida, confident in the early arrival of substantial British aid. Just before Jackson's seizure of Fort St. Marks in 1818, a U. S. naval vessel bearing supplies for his force entered the river flying British colors. As a consequence of this stratagem, Francis, and an old Red Stick, Homathlemico, were enticed on board the vessel. They were immediately seized, and on Jackson's arrival, hanged with promptitude. In passing, mention also may be made of Jackson's capture of two Englishmen on this campaign, of Arbuthnot of Fort St. Marks, and of A(r)mbrister at Suwannee Old Town, who were ostensibly occupied in clandestine Indian trade, but by Jackson regarded as primarily engaged in inciting the Indians to hostilities. They were courtmartialled at St. Marks on this charge, convicted, and executed.

A trivial episode of this campaign related by Woodward may be mentioned, as it introduces a subsequently important character. During the march from St. Marks to Suwannee Old Town, a party of McIntosh's warriors encountered, near the Aucilla river, a band of Red Sticks led by Peter McQueen (Talmuches Hadjo), which resulted in the capture of a number of Indian women and children, and the recovery of a white woman, a Mrs. Stuart, the sole female survivor of the Scott massacre. Among the children was a boy, Ussa-Yoholo or Black Drink (As-se-se-he-ho-lar, Hasse Ola, Assiola, Osiniola, Oeola or Osceola, to show how the latter, the commonly used orthography, evolved from corruption of his Indian name), otherwise known as Billy Powell, destined to later fame or notoriety as Osceola (see portrait in McKenney and Hall). This lad was a grand-nephew of the before mentioned Peter McQueen, and the great-grandson of James McQueen, a remarkable Scott trader in the Creek country between 1716 and 1811, dying in the latter year at the age of 129. Billy's mother, Polly Copinger, was grand-daughter of James. Billy's father was, according to Woodward, the "little Englishman [William] Powell". According to both Woodward and Sprague, Billy was born in the Creek country (Alabama), about 1804. Jackson agreed to the release of these women and children on the promise that they would return to the Upper Creeks. Although they agreed to this condition, they were not subsequently heard from.

British intrigue among the Creeks was believed to have played an important part in provoking the Creek War of 1813-14. After Jackson defeated the hostile party of Upper Creeks, known as the Red Sticks, at the Battle of Horse Shoe Bend on the Tallapoossa river, many Upper Creeks left their old territory in central Alabama, removing to the Apalachee area and elsewhere in Florida, and the lower reaches of the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola rivers, in order to get away from United States control. Space does not permit an attempt at an enumeration of these

villages, but several will be subjects of later reference. Among these immigrants were some unreconcilable Red Sticks, such as Neamathla, who sought flight from United States territory, while others were Indians who, although friendly to the United States in the late struggle, found it unpleasant to live in proximity to sullen and vanquished Red Stick neighbors. Among the latter was John Blount (Blunt) or Lafarka, who settled on the Apalachicola. He had served as Jackson's guide in the campaign of 1818.

An early allusion was made to the Calusa, who probably should not be regarded as a component of the Seminoles as previously described. From such meager fragments of their language which have survived, it is surmised to have had an affinity with that of the Choctaws. When the Calusa felt the impact of the Creek raids early in the 18th century, some at least sought shelter on the Florida keys. Romans relates that on the cession of Florida to Great Britain in 1763, the surviving 80 families removed to Havana. Those removing may have been the key-dwellers, but others, nevertheless, maintained an existence on the mainland, in relative isolation, toward the extremity of the peninsula. These, known as Muspa or Spanish Indians, appear to have had considerable contact with Spanish fishermen or traders, but with little or no association with their Hitchiti or Muscogee neighbors to the north. It is likely that their principal town was the Caloosahatchee of Bartram and of Hawkins, presumably situated on the river of the same name, although none of their settlements can be identified on the town lists later mentioned. However, the Choctaw settlement south of Tampa Bay, mentioned by Bell, was probably Calusa. Whether from geographical isolation or deliberate aloofness, they do not appear to have participated in the councils at Moultrie creek or Payne's Landing. Nor do they appear to have been involved in the early stages of the war we discuss, although some years after its onset they attacked Colonel Harney in 1839, and Indian Key (Perrine

massacre) in 1840. Apparently their participation was a consequence of contact with, or pressure from, fugitive Seminoles sheltered in the Everglades. The circumstance that in the spring of 1836 the Spanish fishermen at Charlotte Harbor detained a Spanish half-breed, who had been engaged in smuggling powder to the Indians, by whom he was delivered to a naval cutter and taken to Tampa, indicates the Calusa was probably not devoid of news of events to the northward. From him it was learned that Indian refugees were congregating at the head of Peas creek, while he gave a report on the Indian losses at the skirmish near Okahumpka on March 30, 1836.

Enslavement of war captives was a well established practice of the Seminoles, and in the course of time a considerable negro element accumulated in their midst, which probably originated more from harborage afforded runaway negroes than from either purchase or capture. The idea among negro slaves that a haven was to be found in Florida, may, in part at least, have been a folk tradition derived from Governor Zuniga's proclamation of 1704 (Boyd, Smith and Griffin), offering harborage to runaways. However it is not likely that many negro runaways reached Florida prior to the colonization of Georgia. The negro element among the Spanish in Florida in either of the colonial periods was small, and probably most enforced labor on public works was exacted either from Indians or convicts. The earliest negroes possessed by the Creeks appear to have been presents from the British government, but later many were acquired through purchase. With active expansion of the Georgia frontier subsequent to the Revolution, the escape of negroes to Florida appears to have been encouraged and abetted by the Indians. In the case of hostile raids, the negroes were encouraged to escape and return to the Indian villages with the raiders. The condition of these refugees in Florida partook but slightly of the characteristics of slavery under the whites, but rather was of vassalage to the chief whose protection they enjoyed. Most appear to have

lived tranquil and independent lives in villages apart from the Indians, although expected to contribute a share of the produce of their own fields to the stores of their protector and patron, rather than to labor in the fields of the latter. Many intermarried with the Indians, the knowledge of English or Spanish possessed by others caused requisition of their services as interpreters, while the more astute attained positions of confidence and became valued councilors of wide influence. Negro males also fought as warriors alongside of Indian braves. The protection the runaways enjoyed among the Indians largely consisted in shelter from the pursuit of slave-hunters.

From the character of the events related, regardless of whether they occurred on the soil of the United States or in Spanish Florida, it can hardly be expected that news of the cession was welcomed by the Florida Indians, while to the minds of the more sagacious, it must have brought foreboding of difficult days to come.

(III) MOUNTING TENSION

Although the acquisition of Florida had been a long cherished objective of the United States, few Americans had any acquaintance with the territory, and these, only superficially. The vicinity of Pensacola and the northeastern sector to a short distance south of St. Augustine were relatively well known, but the interior, except for the region traversed by Jackson's army in 1818, was wholly unknown (See Young). The same applies to the coastline. Neither was information on the number and the location of its Indian inhabitants available, nor did the government, prior to later military operations, initiate or sponsor any systematic topographical exploration, aside from the slow progress of the land surveys. Florida was generally recognized as subtropical, possessing many new and unfamiliar characteristics. When cession was finally effected, the government was largely unprepared for the responsibility, and General Jackson was in-

stalled as provisional governor over Florida, empowered with the authority formerly exercised by the Spanish Captain-General of Cuba. Although Jackson resided at Pensacola, the Spanish administrative division into East and West Florida was preserved, though the former provinces were reduced to the status of counties, and Pensacola and St. Augustine shared honors as regional capitals. Not until members of the Legislative Council had personally experienced the difficulties of travel from one to the other, was the desirability of a central capital location appreciated, a circumstance which led to the appointment of Dr. Wm. H. Simmons and John Lee William as commissioners to select a site in the region midway between the Spanish towns. Their decision resulted in a proclamation by Governor Duval in 1823, establishing the capital at Tallahassee, which derived its name from the adjacent Indian old fields.

Rumors of dispossession soon began to circulate among the Indians. Verification was sought of Jackson by a deputation of chiefs from Middle Florida, including Neamathla, John Blount (Lafarka), and the Mulatto King (Vacca Pechassie). In a talk held with them on September 18, 1821 at Pensacola, Jackson told them that it was necessary they be brought together, either within the bounds of their old nation (*i.e.* the Creek), or at some other point. On the same occasion, Neamathla, at Jackson's request, listed twenty two Indian villages as known to him. The locations of the eleven peninsular (below the Suwannee) villages are vaguely given, suggesting they were only known to Neamathla by hearsay. The old chief appears to have refrained from disclosing his own community. In a letter written shortly afterward to the Secretary of War, Jackson expressed the opinion that the only appropriate area for Indian concentration would be the territory adjacent to the Apalachicola river, which would be sufficiently remote from the towns (Doc. 51). An Indian agent, J. A. Peniere, had been appointed for East Florida, and apparently began to function even before the exchange of

flags. In a report dated July 15, 1821, he relates that he had attempted to hold conferences, but with poor attendance (Morse). He reports the Indians along the St. Johns as mistrustful and having little love for the Americans. Peniere died shortly after and was succeeded by Captain John R. Bell of the St. Augustine garrison. In a report of the following year, Bell added the names of thirteen peninsular towns to the foregoing list and recommended relocation of the Indians between the Apalachicola and Suwannee rivers. Both Peniere and Bell recognized the influence exerted by the Indian negroes. Bell formed the opinion that the Indians would not object to living compactly together, but were unwilling to leave their country (Morse).

In 1822 Jackson left Florida, and his successor to the governorship, Wm. P. Duval, was constituted *ex officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Colonel Gad Humphreys was appointed Indian agent. In April 1823, the Secretary of War appointed Colonel James Gadsden and Bernardo Segui, with Duval *ex officio*, as a commission to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. In a conference with Mico-an-opa and Jumper, it was agreed to hold the council in September, at the crossing place on Moultrie Creek,⁶ south of St. Augustine, and messengers were sent to the leaders of the various bands inviting their attendance. The Indians arrived about the first of September, and on the 6th of September, 1823, the first session of the commissioners with more than seventy Indians was held. Glenn describes how the council opened in the presence of numerous curious civilian visitors from the neighboring St. Augustine. After the preliminaries, Jumper announced that at an Indian council held the day before, Neamathla had been designated head of the Florida Indians, which was assented to by those present. Negotiations continued until the 18th, when the terms of a treaty were agreed upon and

6. According to Coe, the council ground was on the S 1/2, SE 1/4 Sect. 2, T 8 S, R 29 E.

signed by the commissioners, and the marks of thirty-two chiefs affixed.

The salient terms were as follows:

(1) The Indians ceded all claim to the whole territory of Florida except as to such lands subsequently allotted them;

(2) The Florida tribes will be concentrated and confined within the following bounds - *"Beginning five miles north of Okehumke, running in a direct line to a point five miles west of Setarkey's settlement, on the waters of the Amazura, (or Withlachuche river), leaving said settlement two miles south of the line; from thence, in a direct line, to the south end of the Big Hammock, to include Chickuchate, continuing in the same direction for five miles beyond the said Hammock, provided said point does not approach nearer than fifteen miles the seacoast of the Gulf of Mexico: if it does, the said line will terminate at that distance from the sea coast; thence south, twelve miles; thence in a south thirty degrees east direction, until the same shall strike within five miles of the main branch of Charlotte river; thence, in a due east direction, to within twenty miles of the Atlantic coast; thence north, fifteen degrees west, for fifty miles; and from this last to the beginning point;"*

(3) The United States will afford them protection against all persons whomsoever, provided they conform to the laws of United States, and refrain from making war; will, as soon as concentrated, furnish implements and livestock to the value of six thousand dollars, and an annual sum of five thousand dollars for twenty years;

(4) The United States guaranteed peaceable possession of the district assigned, and to prevent intrusion;

(5) As compensation for losses or inconvenience consequent to removal, the United States will furnish rations of corn, meat and salt for twelve months from February 1st next, and to indemnify for abandoned improvements to the amount of four thousand five hundred dollars;

(6) An agent, sub-agent and interpreter shall be appointed and a school established, and a gun and blacksmith provided;

(7) The Indians bind themselves to apprehend and deliver absconding slaves and fugitives from justice;

(8) A commissioner shall be appointed to run and blaze the line of the reserve;

(9) If, in the opinion of the agent and commissioner, after the examination of the territory embraced by the reserve, it shall be considered insufficient for the support of the Indians, then the north line may be removed northward until it embraces a sufficient quantity of good tillable land. (see Ind. Aff. II, and Sprague, [latter for names of signatories], for complete text).

On the following day an additional article was appended at the solicitation of six of the chiefs by which they were provided with special reservations in Middle Florida. Thus Neamathla was given four square miles on Rocky Comfort creek, embracing the Tuphulga village site vacated by Emathlochee, and three reserves on the west bank of the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee

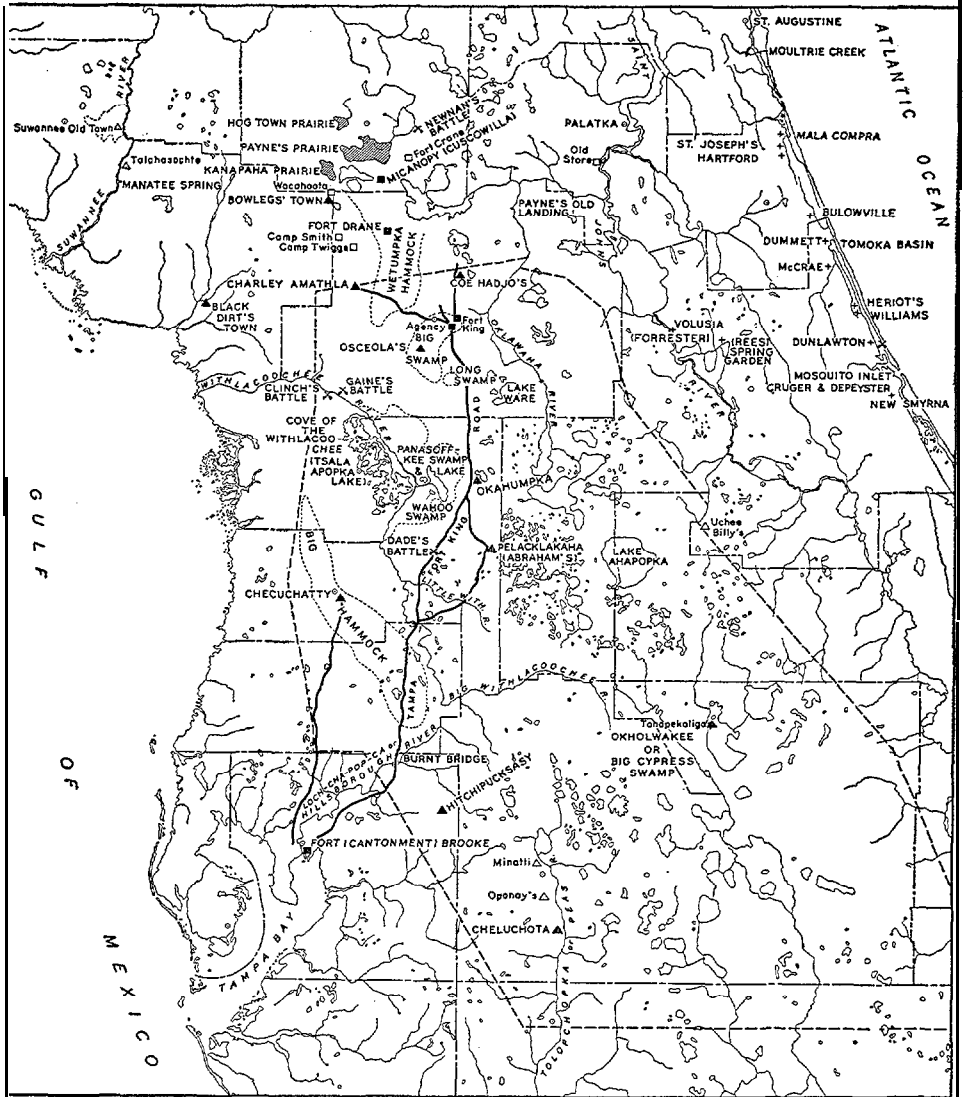
rivers were granted to Blount and Tuski-Hajo, to Mulatto King and Emathlochee, and to Econchati Mico, respectively.

On the 16th the chiefs submitted a list of the Florida towns, numbering 34, with their approximate location and the names of their chiefs. Between errors of orthography and typesetting, the names of only seventeen of the town chiefs (Doc. 74) can be certainly identified among the treaty signers. Neamathla gave a return of the Indian population as totalling 4,883. He objected to disclosing the number of negroes.

In reporting their accomplishment, the commissioners related that the Indians desired a northern location, but objected to the limits suggested by Jackson. The commissioners would not concede a location in this region, as plans were under way for the location of the capital in Middle Florida, and Burch was engaged in surveying a road between the principal towns. The Indians objected to the extreme southern location on the basis that the country south of Tampa did not have a sufficiency of good land. The commissioners also stated that the creation of special reserves was necessary to get the support of the indicated chiefs to the treaty. They furthermore suggested the establishment of three military posts, one of which should be at Tampa Bay, to prevent the exercise of foreign influence. The considerations guiding the commissioners were later discussed by Gadsden (Davis, 1929).

The Senate ratified the treaty early in 1824.

In attempting to fix boundaries for the reservation, the commissioners were seriously hampered by the meager topographical knowledge of the interior of Florida. This is revealed by the Vignoles map of 1823, which may have been available to the commissioners, on which the Amazura (or Withlachuche [Withlacochee]) river is represented as running south to discharge into the Gulf east of the Anclote Keys, by the mouth of the actually insignificant Anclote river. Vignoles was similarly confused in the case of Charlotte river. He represented Charlotte



INDIAN RESERVATION IN CENTRAL FLORIDA

- scale in miles
0 10 20 30 40
- LEGEND**
- Boundaries according to the Swift map of 1829
 - County boundaries 1951
 - Outlines of hammocks and swamps
 - Roads or trails
 - o County seats 1951
 - x Battlefields
 - + Plantations
 - White establishments
 - △ Indian or Negro towns
 - Site closely identified

Harbor as an extensive bay into which the drainage of Lake Macaco (or Okeechobee) was discharged, while his Coolasa-hatchie (Caloosahatchee) river is an insignificant stream unconnected with the lake. The Vignoles map was the precursor of the series of Tanner maps on which these errors remained uncorrected as late as the issue of 1825, and on Searcy's as late as 1829. The boundaries described in the treaty for the northern line deal with a course running from positions determined by landmarks, those on the west, south, and east, are mainly compass courses running from one undefined point to another defined with equal vagueness. In an effort to minimize clandestine contact with aliens, the boundaries were fixed so as to confine the Indians in a tract remote from the seacoast, which gave the reservation an elongated irregular outline, the long axis of which was roughly parallel to that of the peninsula. Gadsden ran first a northern line in accordance with the terms of the treaty, and later a second northern line above the first, extending from the Oklawaha to the Withlacoochee, and also the western boundary, which he extended southeastward to an unidentifiable stream shown as discharging into Charlotte Harbor, but which was likely an eastern tributary of the present Peace river, perhaps Prairie creek, where he encountered wet treeless prairies which made further blazing of the line impossible. It was probably marked by blazes rather than by monuments. Although the reservation boundaries were represented on maps in contemporaneous atlases, as well as in the work of Royce, it is noteworthy that they were not shown on the later series of military maps, excepting the Poinsett map. While doubtless the northern and western lines were clearly defined in the minds of Gadsden and the leading Indians, the circumstance that they were run through previously unexplored and unmapped country, and that the reservation was abandoned before the slow progress of the land survey approached its boundaries, deprives us of any reasonably

exact indication of their position in terms of accurate topography. Sites of some of the former Indian towns are shown on the later township plats, but that of Setarky's settlement cannot be closely fixed at this date. Gadsden himself may have discovered the error with regard to the Withlacoochee river when running the western line. Lacking knowledge of the intent of the negotiators, and assuming that by Charlotte river they may have meant the largest stream discharging into Charlotte Harbor, the location of the southwest corner would have been controlled by the position of Peas (Tolopchopka, erroneously Peace) river.

In view of these circumstances, in the preparation of the accompanying map, we have not followed Royce, and have not attempted to locate the original northern or western line, or the first extension of the northern line, but have attempted a fit of the boundary as given on the Swift map of 1829 which is based on Coffee's survey (on which the course of the Withlachochee river was corrected) to the topography of a modern map, with the southern line based on the above interpretation of Peas river.

Before the end of 1823 Colonel Gadsden had been commissioned to mark out the bounds of the reservations. He was at Tampa Bay, ready to begin, on the arrival of Colonel Brooke at that place. The War Department acted promptly on the suggestion to establish a post on Tampa Bay. Early in 1824, Colonel George M. Brooke arrived on the bay with four companies of the 4th Infantry, and selected a site just east of the mouth of the Hillsborough river for the post. From this he displaced Robert J. Hackley, son of Richard S. Hackley, claimant of the fabulous Alagon grant, who was living in a comfortable dwelling erected four months before. One of the companies was commanded by Captain F. L. Dade. Colonel Gadsden remained long enough for an exchange of compliments with Colonel Brooke, Gadsden naming the installation Cantonment Brooke, and Brooke naming the point of land dividing the bay Gadsden point. Colonel Brooke remained at this post until 1828, and was succeeded

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by Colonel Duncan L. Clinch, of the same regiment, who commanded it until 1831, who in turn was followed by Brevet Major McIntosh. One of the officers of this detachment, the then Lieutenant George A. McCall, has left a vivid account of the landing of this force and of subsequent life at the post.

Duval related to the Secretary of War that after the Moultrie Creek council, he returned overland from St. Augustine to Pensacola, visiting all the Indian towns on his route and holding talks with the leaders. He learned that Neamathla's Indians began to kill settler's cattle within two days after the garrison had been withdrawn from the fort at St. Marks. From these interviews, he believed he could depend on the friendship of all the chiefs excepting Neamathla.

From the treaty stipulation that the issue of rations would begin on February 1, 1824, this date, from the lack of any other date specifying when removal within the reserve should begin, might be regarded as having this significance, but various delays incidental to letting of contracts for rations, and meeting other conditions, led Duval to conclude that removal could not begin before September 1824. It was estimated rations should be provided for 1800, the number of Indians believed to be living outside the reserve.

The treaty was essentially a complete surrender of the freedom which the Indians had enjoyed, and an unrestricted cession of the lands of the territory. It was evident that the terms of this agreement would result in drastic changes in the status of the old Florida Indians, and in the case of later Creek immigrants, subject them to the same conditions experienced by their tribesmen who remained at home. Although the guardianship of the United States government was accepted, they were to find that the promised protection was insufficient to prevent annoyance, and the assistance provided was on an inadequate scale. They were to find also that charges of negro harborage would be a source of constant irritation. They were destined to

be subjected to relentless pressure to comply with all demands made upon them, with uncertain and inadequate attention paid to their own complaints.

The selection of Neamathla as head man must have been a tribute to his dominating qualities. Duval described Neamathla as a man of uncommon capacity, but unable to submit to a superior nor endure an equal; and later, when it was contemplated to send him on a visit to Washington, described him to Calhoun as "the greatest man you have ever seen among the Indians, who controls his warriors with as much ease as a colonel his regiment". Humphreys did not realize his good fortune when he expressed regret that Neamathla was located at such a distance from the rest of the Indians that he could exert but little influence. Duval's opinion of Neamathla quickly deteriorated, with consequences to be described. Williams described Neamathla in 1823, as chief of the Fowl Towns. The allusion is confusing, as it is not clear whether these are the villages known by this name in 1818, or what his relation may have been to the Mikasukys. Although Mico-an-opa's displacement was likely due to the influence of the most recent Creek immigrants, he apparently accepted this demotion with tranquility.

Even before Duval's removal to the new seat of government at Tallahassee in 1824, he had received reports of further and repeated insolence of Neamathla's warriors toward the settlers, with accounts of heavy purchases of powder and lead by the Indians. This change in attitude was doubtless Neamathla's reaction to the news, received from Williams, of the purpose of the commissioners to locate the capital site in Middle Florida. Williams related that when the capital commissioners called on Neamathla at his town in October, 1823, and informed him of the nature of their mission, Neamathla stated that this was not in accordance with what he had been told by Duval, and could give no consent to the activities of the commissioners. He finally relented, but warned them not to inform anyone that they op-

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erated with his consent. According to a list of the Fowl Towns given by Williams in the *Pensacola Gazette*, Neamathla's town was known as Cahellahatchee, or as Cohowofoochee according to Neamathla, otherwise as New Tallahassee; and was situated on the head springs of the west branch of the St. Marks river, two miles above the lake of Tallahassee (Lake Lafayette). Old Tallahassee, under the control of Chefixico Hajo, lay spread out on the south side of this lake.

In view of these reports, Duval requested the commanding officer at Pensacola to reestablish a garrison at Fort St. Marks. A company of the 4th Infantry under Captain Lear was sent over, although without discretionary authority to leave the post, and, to Duval's disgust, not subject to his orders. The troops remained from July to October, 1824. Duval arrived at St. Marks on his way to Tallahassee about July 1st, and found that the reports of Neamathla's conduct were not exaggerated, and that he was actually threatening to drive out the white settlers.

Neamathla ignored an appointment made for a meeting with the governor. This convinced Duval that trouble might be expected unless the trend of events was checked. He summoned the settlers to rendezvous with arms at the capital, and called the friendly Indians from the Apalachicola to gather in the vicinity. This move surprised the Tallahassee and Mikasuky Indians, which induced their chiefs to appear and promise to respect Duval's authority. On the following day, Duval, with an interpreter, went to Neamathla's town, where he found congregated about three hundred warriors, many armed, and gave them a strong talk in the square yard, finally ordering them to appear at a council to be held at St. Marks on July 26th. On the appointed day about six hundred Indians were in attendance. Duval took it upon himself to revoke the action of the Moultrie Creek council, where Neamathla had been elected head chief, and boldly (and probably illegally as well) deposed Neamathla from office, appointing John Hicks or Hext (Tukose

Amathla, Tuckasee Amathla), a chief of the Mikasuky's, to lead the Indians within the reserve. These events, under the title "The Conspiracy of Neamathla", were dramatically retold by Washington Irving in the *Crayon Papers*. As a consequence of this loss of face, Neamathla left Florida before the end of the year, and rejoined the Creeks without ever occupying his special reserve. The Indians were peremptorily ordered by Duval to be on their reserve by the first of October 1824, at which time the issue of rations would begin. The others assembled at Hicks' Town and departed for Tampa early in December. As a result of this episode, the War Department placed the force at St. Marks at Duval's disposition.

In 1824 a contract was made for the issue of rations at two points, Hamly's (Hambly's) Old Store on the St. Johns near the mouth of the Oklawaha, and at Tampa Bay. Both lay outside the limits of the reserve. Each ration was to consist of 1 1/4 pounds of beef or 3/4 pound of salt pork, and one quart of corn, or one pound of flour, with one quart of salt per 100 rations. The issues on the St. Johns were originally fixed to continue for twelve months from October 10, and for ten months at Tampa, counting from the same date. Supplies sufficient to permit of the issue of 400 per diem at Hamly's and 600 per diem at Tampa were to be provided. In addition to the foregoing, rations were to be issued for two months to the Indians assembling at St. Marks. Duval hoped that by payment of a bonus for the construction of canoes, many would be persuaded to travel from St. Marks to Tampa by water. As nearly as may be judged from the confusing correspondence on the subject of rations, the number of Indians entitled to support was evidently grossly underestimated, and through an error in judgement arising either from motives of economy or a belief that scanty support would stimulate the Indians to establish plantations, an order was issued to restrict them still further. The refusal of many Indians to go to Tampa caused an unexpected demand for

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issues at Hamly's, with a resulting shortage and consequent distress and disturbance. Actually it was found necessary, in order to allay distress, to distribute rations on a scale nearly fifty per cent greater than the original estimate.

In order not to split the settlement of Setarky, Gadsden extended the northern line five miles beyond its original position, a decision which received presidential approval. However Humphreys reported that he had made a transit of the reservation from Tampa northward in July, 1824, and that in his opinion, the country he saw was wretchedly bad. From the tenor of an interview he had with Mico-an-opa and Jumper shortly afterward, he felt certain that the Indians would insist on a further extension of the northern boundary. Evidently in a desire to anticipate such a demand, both Humphreys and Duval recommended extension to the Indian Office. Owing to confusion over the identity of localities known as the Big Hammock and the Big Swamp, this was not cleared up until late in 1826, when the Secretary of War awarded the Big Hammock to the Indians as a right under the terms of the treaty, with permission to occupy the Big Swamp by courtesy until it should be required for settlers. This brought the boundary up close to the Alachua frontier. The extension received presidential approval in 1827, and was surveyed by Major Coffee.

Meanwhile the exodus of the Indians from Middle Florida was dragging, and many who had reached the reservation were complaining of the inconvenience of being obliged to go to distant distribution points for their rations. Some, impeded with herds of cattle were making slow progress toward the reserve, others who reached its limits became dissatisfied, and were drifting back. In February, 1825, parties of Indians were lingering in the vicinity of Natural Bridge on the Santa Fe, and even as far west as the Aucilla. The band of Chefixico of the Tallahasseees was reported as halted at the Suwannee as late as September. When finally his party was persuaded to move on to Tampa

they were so much overdue as to miss the regular period of ration issue. Finding the supplies furnished inadequate, the party broke up and many drifted back. These Indians, with others to the number of three hundred, recrossed the Suwannee late in the year. In October, Acting Governor Walton employed Edmund Doyle, an old trader of Prospect Bluff days, residing in Tallahassee, to collect all of the Indians on the Aucilla, supply them with rations, and conduct them to the reserve. Walton pointed out that since the lands around Tallahassee had been surveyed and in part sold, friction with whites would be inevitable, as complaints were already being made of depredations on corn fields and live stock. However, until the end of 1825 it had proven impossible to effect the removal of all to the reserve and several bands continued to roam in Middle Florida.

Early in 1825, evidently believing concentration would proceed according to schedule, Duval directed Humphreys to observe the following instructions in the execution of the potentially most troublesome stipulations of the treaty:

- (1) When it is believed that owners can identify runaway slaves among the Indians, the agent was to seize these and deliver them to the U. S. Marshal, so that a Federal Judge can determine the right of property;
- (2) In all cases in which an Indian claims ownership to a disputed slave, such slave shall not be surrendered except on order of the Federal Judge, in which case, if the agent believed in the justice of the Indian claim, he was to defend this claim before the court;
- (3) At his discretion, the agent was to remove from the reserve all free negroes or other persons who may attempt to reside there without permission;
- (4) When any white person holds forcible or fraudulent possession of any slave or other property belonging to an Indian, the agent was directed to employ counsel and take all legal measures to obtain justice for the Indian;
- (5) Existing trading licenses are to be voided, and none issued in the future except to traders who with their goods shall reside in the nation, under control of the agent, and the goods of unlicensed traders shall be seized;
- (6) All spirituous liquors must be kept out of the nation, and it is the agent's duty to prosecute any individual selling or trading such to the Indians in federal court; and
- (7) White men are not to visit the Indian towns, and any in transit on the high road established by Congress, are not to quit the road to examine the lands without the agent's permission.

While Humphreys may have succeeded in preventing the sale of liquor within the reserve, both he, and Thompson later, found

themselves unable to control various "low grogeries" set up adjacent to the boundaries, whose proprietors made stealthy sales to Indians of which no evidence could be secured, while the Indian purchasers were frequently grossly defrauded, and bitterly resentful when subsequently sobered. Both agents related they had frequent dangerous encounters with drunken Indians.

With the passage of years the claims for slaves allegedly harbored among the Indians became increasingly numerous and vexatious. These not only involved actions for the recovery of recent runaways, but claims for the descendants of slaves who absconded a generation before. The Indians on the small reserves along the Apalachicola were especially annoyed in this manner by groups of armed white men who entered their reserves, disarmed the Indians on the excuse of recent threatening conduct, and absconded with the slaves. Nothing could have raised the apprehension of the negroes among the Indians more than these claims. The negroes consequently exerted their recognized influence with the Indians to obstruct, as much as possible, the efforts of these claimants, engendering ill will on both sides. These incidents were so numerous that with our limitations of space, it is impossible to notice any. Suffice it to say that by 1826 and subsequently, claimants of slaves were making demands of the Secretary of War, and even approaching the President, for aid in recovery of negroes. Pressure from high sources was exerted on the agent through McKenney of the Indian Office, largely annulling Duval's instructions. It was alledged that Humphreys was inattentive to complaints, and he was peremptorily directed to surrender negroes to claimants, under bond, pending adjudication. Duval counselled the agent that delivery in all cases was not obligatory, since the policy as stated was not extended to slaves held by whites which were claimed by Indians.

The presence of roving Indians irritated the white settlers. Many whites took it upon themselves to apply personal chastisement for their alledged misdeeds to those encountered. An inci-

dent of this character occurring in 1825 was particularly serious. Sometime early in the year a party of three young Indians left the reserve, and their absence was prolonged to such a length that their friends feared for their safety and another party of six set out to determine their fate. These in the course of their wanderings came to the plantation of a Mr. Solana on the St. Johns, by whom they were accused of using insolent language, and of making threats of revenge on the whites if their friends were not found. Solana reported the incident to the commander of the post at St. Augustine, who, on June 21 sent out a detachment under Lieut. Canfield, to find these Indians and ascertain the facts. Led by Solana, the soldiers surprised the Indians encamped in Cabbage Swamp, about twenty-eight miles from the city. As Canfield and Solana approached in advance of the troops, the latter imprudently ordered the interpreter not to explain their errand. On detecting their visitors, the Indians attempted flight, when, in disregard of the lieutenant's order, Solana discharged a pistol. On hearing the discharge the soldiers in the rear fired a volley, supposing a fight had begun, and as a consequence two Indians were wounded and captured, the others escaping. One of the captives was sent to inform these that the firing was accidental. The Indians were found in possession of four rifles, a quantity of skins, as well as of passes from the agent. While all of the Indians were immediately released, they naturally received the sympathy of their tribesmen, and threats of retaliation upon the settlements were freely made on their return to the reserve. This news brought alarm to the settlers, who congregated for safety.

The above affair occurred at a time of ration shortage and consequent discontent. In view of the restlessness, Humphreys requested the commandant at Fort Brooke for a military demonstration, who sent two companies of infantry, under Captain Dade and Lieutenant McCall, on a march through the reserve. While the appearance of the troops seemed to increase the

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tension among the Indians, fortunately just as the situation became critical the three missing youths returned unharmed. Their presence, with promise of indemnity to those injured at Cabbage Swamp, settled the affair to the great relief of the agent.

Evidence that the Indian leaders were observing treaty responsibilities is shown by an episode occurring early in 1825 when Hicks, on his own initiative, reported to Humphreys that a white man named Swearingen had been murdered by an Indian near Hamly's. Humphreys sought advice from Mico-an-opa, who declared the murderer subject to Indian vengeance. The latter ordered out a party of Indians to pursue and execute the murderer. The party was, at the request of the Indians, accompanied by a white man detailed by Humphreys to observe the fulfillment of the order. When news of the murder reached Acting Governor Walton he was not informed of the Indian action and excitedly called on the commandant at Fort Brooke for troops to apprehend the perpetrators. However, it does not appear that these were furnished.

The claim of Mico-an-opa to the hereditary chieftancy had been spontaneously disregarded by the Indians in 1823 when Neamathla was chosen head chief. The office was vacated in 1824 when Duval, as described, deposed Neamathla, Cohen relates that Humphreys, at a council held in 1825, persuaded the Indians to continue to fill the vacancy by election. It is not known whether their choice was influenced by the agent, but be that as it may, John Hicks of the Mikasuky band, was elected. He exerted wide influence among the Indians, and was well regarded by the whites. According to McCall, the tension among the Indians previously mentioned, which required the presence of the troops at the agency, developed between the supporters of Mico-an-opa on the one hand, and the Tallahassee and Mikasuky adherents of John Hicks, on the other, in the contest for the principal chieftancy of the Seminoles. McCall describes the ceremonious installation of Hicks in this office.

Duval returned from leave late in 1825 and expressed great surprise at the status of Indian affairs. He proposed to the Secretary of War the establishment of a military post on the southern frontier of Alachua and suggested that the Indians might be willing to remove west if the Creeks were to remove. Humphreys decided to locate agency headquarters in a salubrious spot in the northern part of the enlarged reserve, in the Big Swamp (actually a hammock), and in 1826 submitted plans for a building and a council house. Next year the post of Fort King was established nearby. Duval decided that affairs required a personal investigation. He toured the reservation from the agency to Tampa and return, and was poorly impressed by the lands. A council was held on February 24 and 25, at which a talk was given, to which Hicks replied.

Duval reported that he found the chiefs to be well disposed, but that the Indians in general lived in great fear of the obstreperous Mikasukys whose lawlessness extended alike to white and Indian, and that these had made three attempts on the life of their own chief, (the Tuskiheniha). While at the agency Duval received from the Office of Indian Affairs a copy of a petition submitted to the President by certain citizens of Alachua complaining of a murder, and of the agent's laxity in permitting Indians to roam outside the reserve. He held a public hearing on the subject. It turned out that the murder complained of was that of Swearingen, previously noted. The availability of the white witness whom Humphreys had accompany the avenging party, readily disposed of that subject. No evidence was adduced that the agent had ever permitted the Indians to leave the reserve for any other purpose than to search for missing livestock. Duval concluded that the people of Alachua were disgruntled because they believed the agent had not exercised a supposed authority to call out the militia. In April Humphreys accompanied a delegation of chiefs, headed by Hicks, to Washington. Here the Secretary of War proposed to them removal west of the Mississippi,

and suggested that a delegation of chiefs might be sent west to inspect the lands. The portraits of a number, some of which are reproduced in McKenney and Hall, were made while they were at Washington.

The Congressional Act of 1824, authorizing the opening of the Pensacola-St. Augustine road, contemplated the divergence, at the Suwannee river, of a southern branch to Cape Sable by way of Tampa. This was confirmed by an act of 1825. Captain Burch pointed out the impracticability of this proposal, and advocated a road from Cantonment Brooke to Wanton's (Micanopy), from whence northeast and northwest branches could intercept the east-west road. His views were accepted, and the road (120 miles) south of Wanton's was built by troops in 1826 under the supervision of Captain Clark. An extension to Black creek was constructed by troops from whence it was later extended by contract to Coleraine. Captain Yancey was in command of one and Lieutenant McCall in command of the other of the two companies which cleared a twenty foot way and bridged the streams. McCall in his letters describes building the bridges, as well as other episodes of the assignment.

A severe drouth in 1826 destroyed any expectations that the relocated Indians would become self-supporting during the year, and the Indians themselves petitioned for a continuance of rationing. Early in the same year a Major Phagan was employed as subagent, and Duval sent him to look after the western reserves on the Apalachicola.

Middle Florida was the center of considerable excitement in December, 1826, from the murder by Indians of several members of a Carr family living in Jefferson county, near the residence of Achille Murat. General Call, with a company of volunteers from Gadsden county, and thirty Apalachicola Indians under Cochran, went in pursuit. He found that a small party of six to eight vagabond Indians were responsible, of whom two were killed. About a week later, the Adams family of the same neigh-

borhood were molested, but none injured, Other Indian troubles in Jefferson county are sketched by Pasco. In an effort to prevent straggling Indians from recrossing the Suwannee river, Brevet-Major Dade of the army was stationed on that stream, to arrest and disarm those attempting its passage.

Several acts of the Legislative Council, approved early in 1827, directly reflect public opinion induced by these events. First was the passage of a general militia act, creating a skeleton organization, which remained inactive until the situation became critical in 1835. Those serving volunteered for specific limited periods of service. Another, dealing with roaming Indians, authorized any person to apprehend and seize any adult male Indian encountered outside of his reservation and carry him before a justice of the peace. If examination of the Indian showed he was unprovided with a written permit from the agent to do some specific act, the justice was empowered, and directed at his discretion, to have not exceeding thirty-nine stripes laid on the bare back of the Indian, and cause his gun to be confiscated. Permits for hunting outside the limits of a reservation were not to be, recognized. A further act, approved in 1831, extended the operation of all general as well as penal laws of the territory to each and every Indian settlement. An act of 1832 provided similar punishment to those convicted of selling, bartering, or giving spiritous liquors to Indians, and prohibited citizens of the territory from trading with the Indians. The same act confined negroes and mulattos residing within the reservations, with the exclusion of slaves of whites, to the limits of the reserve, with a penalty of thirty-nine lashes for those apprehended outside.

In an effort to coerce the Indians to surrender runaway negroes, the Indian Office suspended the payment of the annuity provided by the treaty, and the issue of rations was greatly restricted. In a very temperate talk given at the agency in August, 1828, Hicks remonstrated forcibly against the injustice

of this action, as well as the manner in which claims for negroes were being pressed. Duval took the attitude that Humphreys had been derelict in his duty in not impressing the chiefs with the necessity of complying with orders for the delivery of slaves, and reaffirmed that the annuity would be withheld until these orders received compliance. He also informed Humphreys that he would not issue further orders on Indian affairs until he heard from the War Department. Humphreys protested his inability to secure more effective compliance unless a military force was placed at his disposal.

The complaints and animosity of the settlers finally found expression in a memorial the Legislative Council addressed to Congress, in which, after a recital of the settlers' grievances, it was recommended that a new treaty be negotiated stipulating the removal of the Indians to the west of the Mississippi. Colonel Joseph M. White, Territorial delegate to Congress, took a hand in the matter, and held a council with the Indians in May, 1827. The Indians refused to consider his proposal to remove. On October 19, 1828, after Duval's expressions to Humphreys had convinced the agent that he had virtually lost the superintendent's confidence, he held another council with the chiefs at McKenzie's Pond, at which Humphreys earnestly besought the Indians to refrain from hostilities; or, as an alternative, to consider removal to the West. After thorough deliberation the chiefs decided to send, with the approbation of the government, a deputation to the West in the following spring to examine the country, provided the government would defray the expense; that the group would be accompanied by the agent, and that the nation would not incur any obligation to remove as a consequence, unless of their own free will. This proposal was unheeded at Washington, whether from procrastination or deliberate slight cannot be said. The delay, at any rate, induced the Indians to reconsider their stand, and they withdrew their offer.

In January 1829 the chiefs requested a council in which to

present a final appeal to the President for protection and justice. The talk, presented by Hicks, is a pathetic recital of killings of Indians unredressed by white law, of demands for, or seizures of, negroes that they regarded as legally their own, of unpaid annuity, of payments to white men of sums deducted from Indian funds for reasons to them unknown, and closes with an expression of reluctance to remove.

The demands on Humphreys previously related correctly forecast his removal, which was not done until March, 1830. McKenney was also dismissed from the Indian Office in August, 1830. It is likely all of these changes were the consequence of General Andrew Jackson's assuming the presidency in 1829. Humphreys was succeeded by Major John Phagan, the sub-agent, and the willing instrument of the new administration's policies. The Indians quickly observed that he did not champion their interests. He was finally dismissed on undisclosed grounds in August, 1833. Subsequently, Acting Governor James D. Westcott, Jr. discovered evidences of irregularity and fraud in his accounts. His successor was General Wiley Thompson, a Georgian.

For reasons now unknown, the garrison was withdrawn from Cantonment Brooke in 1831 or 1832, and the post abandoned, although by presidential order in 1830, a military reservation sixteen miles square embracing the post, had been created.

The procrastination of the government on the question of removal appeared to end, when, early in 1832, the Secretary of War appointed Colonel James Gadsden with discretionary powers, to negotiate a treaty with the Florida Indians providing for their removal to the West and amalgamation with the Creeks. In the spring he held a conference with Mico-an-opa, and it was agreed that the Indians would assemble on May 1, at Payne's Landing on the Oklawaha river.⁷ On the 9th the desired treaty was signed

7. Payne's Landing is situated on the west bank of the Oklawaha river in T 12 S, R 24 E, about one quarter mile north of the east-west line separating sections 18 and 19.

by fifteen chiefs, among whose names are those of Holata Amathla, John Hicks, Jumper, and Mico-an-opa (see text in Sprague). In an introductory paragraph it was stipulated that certain named chiefs, the interpreter Abraham, and the agent, Phagan, should, as early as convenient, be sent at the expense of the United States, "to examine the country assigned the Creeks, west of the Mississippi river, and should they [*i.e.*, the delegation] be satisfied with the character of the country and of the favorable disposition of the Creeks to unite with the Seminoles as one people," the articles of the treaty should be binding. The most important articles of the treaty provided:

(1) For the relinquishment to the United States of all claim to the land they occupy in the territory of Florida, and agreement of the Indians to emigrate to the Creek country, where they will be received as a constituent part of the Creek nation;

(2) In consideration of the foregoing relinquishment, and compensation for improvements, the United States is to pay the sum of \$15,400.00 to be paid on their arrival in the new location west;

(3) For a distribution of clothing on their arrival west;

(4) In addition to the annuities provided by the treaty of Camp Moultrie (sic), the United States agrees to pay \$3,000.00 annually for fifteen years, beginning when removal is complete, said payments to be added to the Creek annuities;

(5) The United States will take the Seminole cattle on appraisal, payment in money being made on arrival west, or the equivalent in cattle furnished them in the west;

(6) In order to be relieved of demands for slaves, the United States agrees to have the same properly investigated and to liquidate such as may properly be established, to an amount not exceeding \$7,000.00;

(7) Removal will be within three years after ratification, the expenses being at the cost of the United States, and subsistence shall be furnished for a term not exceeding twelve months after arrival. This article further provided that the Indians occupying the Big Swamp and other situations outside the reservation should move in 1833, the remainder, in about equal proportions, in 1834 and 1835.

The Indians on the Apalachicola were not included in the treaty, as it had been decided, probably to avoid Indian travel through a settled region, to negotiate separately with these.

The members of the stipulated delegation expressed themselves prior to departure as averse to emigration and amalgamation with the Creeks, despite the circumstance that most were signatories to the treaty. The party set out in September in company of the agent, Major Phagan, and devoted the months of

January, February and March, 1833 to their inspection. The season was not propitious for a favorable impression. When on the point of returning, they were met at Fort Gibson, Arkansas, by a party of presidential commissioners, who had been negotiating with the Creeks for an assignment of territory to the Seminoles, and who, in some manner (believed by many, including the Indians, to have involved chicanery) secured the marks of the delegation to an additional treaty accepting an assignment to the Seminoles of a tract of land lying between the Canadian river and the north fork thereof, and pledging the delegation, on behalf of their nation, to be well satisfied with the tract, and that their removal should begin as soon as the government may make the necessary arrangements. A point leading credence to the claim of chicanery, is a further paragraph laudatory of Major Phagan, and requesting that he be placed in charge of the removal. The date of March 29, 1833 was affixed to this document. This, as well as the treaty of Payne's Landing, was ratified by the Senate on April 8, 1834, nearly two years after the signing of the latter treaty.

Various indications, in the absence of definite information, suggest that by 1832 John Hicks may not have been chief of the nation, and at the least, that his influence must have been waning. First, that Gadsden arranged for the council with Mico-anopa rather than with Hicks; second, that the mark of Holata Amathla is first of those appended to the treaty while that of Hicks is ninth; and third, that Hicks was not originally included in the delegation designated to inspect the western lands. Hicks however, did make the trip and made his mark on the Fort Gibson treaty as the representative of Sam Jones or Arpeika, Holata Amathla signed both documents. Potter states that Sam Jones of the Mikasukys, living at Okahumpka, was fourth in rank of the Mikasuky war chiefs. In later years, after Osceola disappeared from the scene, Sam Jones was regarded as the principal chief of the Mikasukys in Florida.

The old chief, John Hicks, died late in 1833. Drake makes the statement, which we have not found confirmed by other authorities, that he was killed for advocating emigration. At any rate, his passing removed the Indian most influential in restraining the turbulence of the Mikasukys.

When the delegation returned to Florida and reported to the nation their unfavorable opinion of the western lands, and when furthermore the agent declared to them that these men had signed a treaty binding the nation to emigration, the Indians were dumfounded. The members of the delegation denied their awareness of the significance of the paper to which they had affixed their marks, and the Indians in general denied that the delegation had been empowered with authority to commit the nation. The prestige of John Hicks diminished, and the aroused Indians turned to the reluctant Mico-an-opa for leadership of the opposition. Most of the influential chiefs determined to disavow the allegation of the government that the terms of the treaty of Payne's Landing were now binding on them. In a council with the new agent, General Thompson, they flatly refused to move to the West, alledging that they had not understood the text of the treaty as interpreted. The principal member of the former delegation to express himself in favor of removal was Charley (Chalo = Trout) Amathla (Itolase Amathla), of the Wetumpky band, whose life as a consequence was threatened. There were, however, a few other chiefs, among them Holata Amathla, a brother of Charley (then living at Setarky's Town), Foke-luste Hadjo (Black Dirt), and Otulke Ohala (Big Warrior), both then of Chicuchatty, who, appreciating the desperation of the Indian situation, were willing to emigrate.

When Jackson in 1818 captured the women and children of Peter McQueen's party, of which Billy Powell was a member, these did not, as promised, return to the Creeks. They are said to have made their way to the vicinity of Okefenoke Swamp, and later went southward, to the vicinity of Fort King (Sprague),

or of Peas Creek (McKenney and Hall), where young Powell grew up. He married a Creek woman, Che-cho-ter (Morning Dew), according to Sprague, by whom he had four children, and is elsewhere (Cohen) stated to have had two wives. He was early distinguished by his self-possession, and an independence bordering on recklessness. Although devoid of any claim to hereditary leadership, his personal qualities early gave him a following among the more audacious Indians, particularly among certain Mikasukys. As he felt his influence broaden, he became more assertive in council, and his open declarations of opposition to removal gained admiration and support.

It became apparent to the United States authorities that removal would require use of force. Colonel Gadsden recommended, in 1833, the reoccupation of the post at Tampa Bay, and a reinforcement of the garrison at Fort King, suggestions which were accepted, and their execution is later described. Duval also recommended a garrison at Tampa, particularly to control the unlicensed traders, who, he states, were constantly inciting the Indians.

When the Indians were to receive their annuity in the fall of 1834, General Thompson called a council, which convened at the agency on October 23. He presented a talk in the name of the President, in which they were admonished to abide by the terms of the treaties, and asked their wishes as to:

- (1) Their action on the invitation of the western Creeks;
- (2) Whether they preferred to exchange their cattle for money, or for other cattle to be delivered in the west;
- (3) Preference for a journey west by land or water;
- (4) Preference for the next annuity payment in money or goods.

The Indians returned no answers to these questions, and the meeting was occupied with protests from Mico-an-opa, Holata Amathla, Charley Amathla, and Jumper. The former alledged that he had not signed the treaty, Charley Amathla stated they signed the treaty of Payne's Landing under duress. All argued that they were actually still bound by the treaty of Moultrie

Creek which they claimed still had seven years to run. Thompson challenged the statement of Mico-an-opa, by claiming he actually did touch the pen. The agent argued that nothing in the treaty of Moultrie Creek prevented them from making another treaty, and pointed out that the twenty year stipulation in that agreement related only to the duration of the annuity. He pressed the determination of the government to have them move, and described the vexations they would continue to face in Florida. Mico-an-opa, prompted by Osceola, flatly declared that he did not intend to move. Osceola participated in the discussion, and, according to Sprague, in anger plunged his knife through a copy of the treaty lying on a table, declaring at the same time, "The only treaty I will execute is with this." The episode is not mentioned in the official account, and its authenticity appears doubtful. Neither is there unanimity among those who mention the incident, of the council at which it was supposed to have occurred. Others place it at the council of the following April.

The council closed upon an ominous note; the agent declared himself convinced the Indians were disposed to be entirely dishonest in their engagement to the President. Thompson's report of the council evoked a talk from the Secretary of War, peremptorily ordering the Indians to be prepared to remove in the following spring (1835). Thompson related that the Indians were observed to purchase an unusual quantity of powder and lead after receiving their annuity. He later ordered the sale of these items discontinued. In commenting on Thompson's report, Cass, on November 24, 1834, expressed the government's rejection of the Indian position, and a determination to overawe any who might meditate hostility by an increased military force to be placed under the command of Colonel Clinch, with suspension of annuities pending compliance.

Subsequent to the council, Holata Amathla and Foke-Luste Hadjo informed the agent that their lives were threatened, and

requested protection. The agent resolved, should necessity arise, to permit them, pending removal, to temporarily occupy the former reserve of Blount on the Apalachicola river.

Late in 1834 the office of agent to the Florida Indians was discontinued, and Thompson was appointed superintendent of emigration, and at the end of the year the agency was closed.

When Governor J. H. Eaton, who had succeeded Duval in 1834, learned of the proposal to move all Indians in the spring of 1835, he expressed the opinion that the delayed ratification tended to invalidate the treaty, and pointed out that the employment of the military to enforce an invalid treaty would be an act of war. Eaton's views were submitted to the Attorney General, who ruled them erroneous and declared that despite the delay in ratification, it could with propriety be effected during the three years following ratification. Both Generals Clinch and Thompson, however, urged removal of all at the same time and their view prevailed.

A further council was held at the agency on December 26, 1834, which covered much the same ground as the October meeting, with no change in the position of the participants. On this occasion, Osceola made some remarks the agent regarded as inflammatory, but on the whole, the meeting closed on amicable terms.

With the later noted reinforcement of the military posts, the greater part of these commands were, during the winter of 1834-35, occupied in the patrol of the country adjacent to the reservation boundary to keep the Indians within their limits and guard trading houses near the border. Apprehensions were expressed that Cuban vessels along the coast were clandestinely engaged in supplying the Indians with munitions and removing contested negroes.

The delay in the ratification of the treaties had a serious effect on the Indian economy, particularly of those residing in the Big Swamp, who, in anticipation of early removal, had not

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planted during the season of 1834. The crop of 1833 had not been bountiful, and the harvest of those who did plant in 1834 was scanty, so that the general hardship was sharpened to hunger in the Big Swamp. Although the government belatedly authorized a limited distribution of corn, the amount made available only relieved the direct suffering. Stimulated by hunger, many Indians indulged in pillaging both within and without the reserve.

Further irritation was evoked by the agent's seizure of liquor in the actual possession of Indians, an action stated to have been at least contributory to the friction which developed between Thompson and Osceola.

Another assembly was called by General Clinch in the absence of Thompson. It was held on March 27 and 29, 1835, its purpose being to consider a letter from the President. According to Bemrose (in Stafford), the dignity of the council suffered from the collapse of the platform upon which the participants were seated. Although the letter was read, consideration was postponed a month at Indian request, to permit the attendance of absentees. When the meeting reconvened on April 22, several hundred Indians were present. The treaty of Payne's Landing, and the President's message were reread, the latter promising removal by force if necessary. Jumper, on behalf of the chiefs, reiterated Indian opposition to removal, yet indicated an aversion to hostile resistance should the United States use force to oblige them to go, and his expressions were supported by others. Then they were addressed by Thompson, who upbraided them for infidelity. This produced exchanges and the meeting became an uproar. This was silenced by General Clinch, who stated that he had been sent to enforce the treaty, that he had warriors enough to do it, and would do it. It was a question of whether they would go of their own accord or by force. The council reconvened on the following day, from which the absence of Mico-an-opa was conspicuous. Thompson, knowing that Mico-an-opa controlled a number of the other leaders, asked Jumper

whether Mico-an-opa intended to abide by the treaty, to which Jumper reluctantly admitted he did not. On this admission, Thompson injudiciously declared the names of five chiefs, the principal leaders of the opposition, including Mico-an-opa, Jumper, Holata Mico, Arpeika or Sam Jones, and one other (the accounts are conflicting), stricken from the roll of chiefs, and would no longer be recognized as councillors. The council, thus purged of objectors, was continued. Foke-Lustee Hadjo was perhaps the strongest supporter of emigration. Sixteen chiefs finally pledged on the 23rd that they and their bands recognized the treaty, and would assemble at Tampa Bay for embarkation by January 16, 1836. They expressed reluctance, however, to be incorporated with the Creeks. This date was selected in order to permit the complete gathering of crops, and to utilize the fall round-up for the collection of cattle, and, in addition, would permit of arrival on their new grounds in time for spring planting.

The decisions based on the outcome of the last council kept Lieut. Harris fully occupied in effecting what proved to be futile arrangements for the assembly by mid-January in Tampa Bay of a fleet of transports for conveyance of the Indians to New Orleans, and of river steamers to carry them to the mouth of the Arkansas river.

The Indians appear to have finally become convinced of the determination of the government to enforce emigration, in which most might have acquiesced if one desired concession could have been secured. This was brought out in a council held at Fort King with army officers on August 19, 1835, at the request of the Indians, at which Holata Amathla was spokesman. He expressed a willingness on the part of the Indians to remove, provided the Seminoles were not incorporated with the Creeks, and had their own agent. It was apparent they were apprehensive of the numerical superiority of the Creeks, and anticipated disputes over the ownership of negroes. The government returned a peremptory refusal to the petition. It is likely this action caused the

defection of most of the sixteen chiefs who had promised to remove.

It has been mentioned how Powell or Osceola had been the mentor of Mico-an-opa in opposition to the treaties. Osceola and most of his Mikasuky adherents lived in or adjacent to the Withlocko or Big Swamp, and were frequent visitors at the agency.⁸ On various occasions Osceola's deportment to the agent had been regarded as deliberately offensive. Late in May, 1835, Osceola came again to the office of the agent at Fort King, and used language which General Thompson regarded as insulting. As a consequence, Thompson ordered him arrested. This was effected after a scuffle, and he was confined in irons. On the following day Osceola offered to append his mark to the agreement of April 23, if for so doing, he would be released. This Thompson refused to do without surety. Osceola sent for some friendly Indians, Charley Amathla being among their number, who interceded for him. Thompson then informed Osceola that he would release him on his promise to return in five days and subscribe to the agreement in the presence of the friendly chiefs. Osceola assented to the proposal, and promised to bring others with him. He returned on the appointed day, with a party of 79, including women and children, and redeemed his pledge. Thompson thought he had made a convert, but the resentment aroused in Osceola over his humiliation was to produce an unexpected outcome. After this incident, few Indians visited the agency.

According to Giddings, this outburst of Osceola was provoked by the seizure of a wife of Osceola as a slave, while on a visit to Fort King. Porter (1947) attempted to verify this allegation,

8. L. Funck applied for a grant under the Armed Occupation Act, which, when the area was subsequently platted in 1843, was distinguished as the NW 1/4 Sect. 11, T 16 S, R 21 E. In the description of his location, it is stated to be "one mile west of Osceola's town, near the land of the Reinhardt's". This would place Osceola's residence in Sect. 12 of the same township. Unfortunately the Reinhardt's applications do not mention this landmark.

without success. Osceola and family were captured on October 21, 1837. Following capture, they with other prominent Indians were temporarily confined at Fort Moultrie, Charleston, where Osceola died of an acute illness, aged 34, on January 30, 1838. According to Coe, his two wives were present at his death bed. These women and his two children presumably left Charleston with the party of Seminoles who were embarked for New Orleans three weeks later. Coe attempted, without success, to trace the after movements of Osceola's immediate family.

Apalachicola Indians

While the distance between the irresistible force and the immovable object was steadily diminishing in the peninsula, the Indians along the Apalachicola river, though remote from this vortex, were nevertheless experiencing their full share of similar troubles from disputes over the ownership of negroes, as well as being victimized by robbery. A treaty providing for the surrender of their reservation and an indemnification of \$13,000.00 was negotiated October 11, 1832 at Tallahassee by Governor Duval with John Blount, Davy (Elliott) or Osaa Hajo (successor to Tuski Tajo, deceased) and Cohathlockco (or Cochrane), by which they were to emigrate before November 1, 1833. Somewhat similar treaties were negotiated June 18, 1833 by Colonel Gadsden, at Pope's with Mulatto King and Tustenuggy Hajo of Emathlochee's town (the latter evidently deceased), in the one case, and with Econchati Mico and his warriors in the other. Both treaties offered to patent to each of the Indian parties certain tracts of land they then occupied, but if such patents were accepted, the Indians would become subject to the laws of the territory. However the Indians were alternatively permitted to sell these grants and remove to the West at the expense of the United States, as the other Seminoles were expected to do. All treaties were ratified by the Senate. Blount and his band removed in the spring of 1834, and it appears that some at least of

Emathlochee's town (Yellow Hair) accompanied him. Econchati Mico and his band went to Tampa Bay, prepared to emigrate in January, 1836.

An affair occurring in June, 1835, together with its consequences, illustrates the temper of both races. It appears that a party of eight Indians had evaded the patrols along the boundary of the reservation, and went out in pursuit of game, and had committed some depredations on live stock. When this was discovered, another party of seven Alachua settlers, members of the Spring Grove Guards, a body of independent militia, led by Major Llewellyn Williams, set out in pursuit. On the 18th they encountered six of the Indians at a place called Hickory Sink, said to be near Kanapaha Pond, adjacent to the Hog Town settlement (an Indian townsite on or near the present Gainesville). These Indians were disarmed, and while being flogged with cattle-whips, the two absent Indians returned. These, observing what was going on, opened fire on the whites. In the subsequent exchange, three whites were wounded, and one Indian killed and one other wounded. Both parties returned to their homes and told substantially the same stories, except that the whites alledged that from fifteen to twenty Indians participated. On receiving news of the encounter, Thompson immediately demanded the Indian participants from the chiefs, who promptly surrendered six, and promised the seventh when he recovered from his wound. Thompson tendered his prisoners to the civil authorities, but owing to their procrastination in acceptance, and a reluctance to provide subsistence, he released them to the chiefs after taking their depositions, with assurance they would be punished by the chiefs for going out of bounds. The temper of the whites was aroused, and the captain of the Guards threatened to raise a large party and patrol the boundary (Mil. Aff. VI: 77; 558; Potter; Cobb).

General Clinch later reported that the Indians had taken a sanguinary reprisal for the killing of the Indian in the above

affair. According to his account, Private Dalton of the 3rd Artillery was despatched with the mail from Fort Brooke to Fort King on August 11, 1835, mounted on a mule. When about twenty miles from his starting point, he encountered a party of six Indians by whom he was slain, scalped and otherwise mutilated and his body thrown into a pond. These also killed his mount, and robbed the body of the mail and other articles. When news of the murder was received at Fort Brooke, parties were sent in pursuit of the murderers, who although unsuccessful, ascertained that the deed was done by a party of Mikasukys. Dalton's body was recovered and buried. Clinch projected an attack at a large band of Mikasukys who were assembled in the Cove to protect the murderers, after the friendly chiefs were assembled at Tampa, but abandoned the idea when the Secretary of War counseled delay in the use of force until after those willing to emigrate had left.

Sometime during the fall of 1835, the Indians in private council determined to resist removal, and decided that those selling or disposing of property in preparation for removal, should be put to death.

Although it had been rumored that hostiles were threatening to take the lives of any Indians who turned in their cattle, General Thompson advertised a sale of cattle which they were expected to surrender, for December 1, 1835. Charley Amathla, one of the most prominent of those who had agreed to emigrate, brought his drove to the agency, but while on his way back to his village with the proceeds was ambushed and slain on November 26. It was alledged that the deed was done by a party of Mikasukys headed by Osceola. When news of the affair was circulated, the chiefs committed to emigration fled to Fort Brooke. The sale was indefinitely postponed.

Reports began to circulate among the settlers that the women and children of the Indians were being sent to remote situations, and general uneasiness was felt among the whites. Large num-

bers congregated at Newnansville and Fort Crum and began preparations for defense. Fort Crum was apparently in the Alachua area, although the site of this defense work has not been identified. It may have been a private work. On December 17 attacks were made on the plantations of Colonel Simmons near Micanopy, and of Captain Priest of Wacahouta, without loss of life to the defenders, although with damage to property and loss of stock. About 150 of the militia were rendezvoused, under Colonel Warren, at Fort Crum. General Clinch sent these to scout in the raided area on December 18th. On the way to Wacahouta, Colonel Warren, with the companies of Captains M'Lemore and Lancaster, detached his baggage train of three wagons at Kanapaha, and sent it with an escort to Wetumpka via Micanopy. The train was ambushed on the prairie by about eighty Indians, said to have been under the leadership of Osceola, the escort escaping to Micanopy. Shortly Captain M'Lemore's company of about thirty men came upon the scene. The captain ordered a charge, to which only twelve of his men responded, and as a consequence, he was obliged to retreat. This affair, known as the Battle of Black Point, is said by the Lieutenant of the Left Wing to have occurred six miles north-east of Micanopy, a direction wholly improbable from the other localities mentioned. We suspect it to have been southwest. M'Lemore had eight men killed and six wounded, and recovered one wagon which had not been burned. On the 20th another party of militia under General Call and Colonels Parish and Warren recovered, as later described, such of the baggage which had not been destroyed or removed by the Indians.

The foregoing sketch of the worsening trend of events which lead up to the crisis of 1835, may not bring into sufficient relief the role of the frequently mentioned Mikasukys. Many of this band always exhibited a boisterous defiance of restraint, often attaining proportions which their own chiefs could not control. When it became apparent to the Indians that the government

was resolved on their removal, and the restraining influence of Hicks ceased, this element, incited and encouraged by Osceola, became dominant in the nation. This dominancy was founded on a very widespread, though generally passive, reluctance to emigration, which they, through determined methods of intimidation and coercion, transformed into a militant opposition.

The stage was now set, and the appointed actors in the tragedy were waiting to assume their roles in the bloody scenes we shall describe. The circumstance that the initiative in three of these actions lay with the Indians clearly indicates their decision to resist force with force, and a careful preliminary planning of their operations. These bold strokes gave them an advantage which they enjoyed for several months in the ensuing war.

Skipping over the years of the war, to bring the topic momentarily down to date, it may be said that the remnant of Indians who successfully evaded the attempts of the government to remove them to the West from their beloved Florida, are represented in Florida today. Their descendants, who live in the Everglades, compose two bands; one, known as the Cow Creek band, are Muskogee speaking, the other, the Big Cypress band, are Hitchiti speaking Mikasukians.

(IV) A SUGAR EMPIRE DISSOLVES

During the British possession of East Florida large grants of coastal lands, mainly rich swamps and hammocks between St. Augustine and New Smyrna, were made with liberality. Their agricultural exploitation by British planters was largely confined to the culture of cotton, rice and indigo, with the exception of the Oswald and Turnbull estates, where, according to Forbes (1821), a limited amount of sugar-cane had been planted. With the retrocession of Florida to Spain, most of the British colonists withdrew and these estates were abandoned.

About the turn of the century Spanish immigration policy became more liberal, and numerous loyalist refugees who had removed to the Bahamas, where the land was found to be poorly adapted to agriculture, were induced to return. Subsequently successive Spanish colonial governors regranted most of the coastal lands but in different tracts. Other grants were made near Spring Garden, on the east bank of the St. Johns river above Lake George. After the cession of Florida to the United States, most of these grants were confirmed. Although a few were retained by the original grantees or their heirs, many were placed on the market and were soon acquired by investors, confident that the innovation of sugar-cane culture on these rich lands would be highly profitable. These individuals in general were already men of substance, mainly Bahaman immigrants or their descendants, Carolina planters, and a few northern merchants. By the early thirties substantial steam-powered sugar mills, many housed in stout stone buildings, had been erected on several of these estates, so that the economic development of this short stretch of the upper east coast exceeded that of any other part of the territory, not excepting Middle Florida. In some instances, at least, these developments were undertaken with borrowed funds, and the Union Bank was the creditor in at least one case. General insolvency of the proprietors followed the destruction of the Indian raids, a situation which may have contributed materially to the failure of the Union Bank.

Not all of the grants had been improved, but at least the following, adjacent to the old King's Road, had been developed into actually or potentially productive estates by 1835. Information is meager, and neither time or space permit an analysis of the intricacies of early ownership of these ancient grants. Identification is by name of estate, or owner, or of both if known. Information relating to the Tomoka and Musquito areas is either derived from Ormond, from Marie Boyd, or from unpublished data gathered by John W. Griffin, Florida State Archeologist.

Identification in some cases is tentative. Proceeding south, in the Matanzas area, adjacent to St. Augustine and south of Moultrie creek, there were:

John Hewlett and Theodore Flotard
Pellicer
Buen Retiro (A. DuPont)
Mala Compra (General Hernandez)
Mathew Long
St. Joseph's (General Hernandez)
Hartford.

In the Tomoka area, west of the Halifax and Tomoka rivers, there were:

Bulowville (John J. Bulow)
Damietta (James Ormond III. Apparently not in operation in 1835)
Rosetta (Marquis de Fougere, former French consul in Charleston. It was also known as (John) Darley's, from whose estate it was acquired by the marquis. It is not known whether it was in operation in 1835)
Colonel Thomas H. Dummett (The colonel was an immigrant from Barbados. The property was distinguished by the cultivation of drained salt marsh rather than hammock land. Dummett appears to have had his home at New Smyrna.)

Carrickfergus (M'Crea brothers)
George Anderson (relinquished by his sons after his death in favor of Dunlawton. Apparently inactive in 1835. This individual may have been the person of the same name who earlier was Richard Oswald's manager)

In the Musquito area, beginning at the mouth of the Tomoka river, west of the Halifax, there were:

Mount Oswald (Part of a 20,000 acre grant to Richard Oswald in British days. Oswald, a retired Scotch merchant, was one of the British commissioners who negotiated the treaty by which independence of the revolted colonies was attained. Part of the tract was later granted to Gabriel Perpal. It may later have passed to James Darley, by whom, Ormond suggests, it was traded for Rosetta. Operation in 1835 uncertain)

Henry Yonge (In description mention is made of "Three Chimneys", a ruin, as a land mark. Operation in 1835 uncertain. The village of Ormond covers the site)

Hernandez (A small tract lying on the river front, owned by the widow of General Sam Williams who later married General Hernandez. Mention is also made of "old chimneys" in the description. Operation uncertain in 1835.);

Major Benjamin A. Heriot
Samuel H. (and John) Williams (Step-son(s) of General Hernandez. The city of Daytona (Beach) occupies the site of this and the preceding estate)

Dunlawton (George and James Anderson. Adjacent to Port Orange);
Stamp and Hunter;
Cruger and Depeyster (This property had just been placed in operation with negroes purchased from the Ormond estate. This and the preceding, were adjacent to New Smyrna.)

David R. Dunham (South of New Smyrna).

When it became apparent that the worsening relations with the Indians were becoming critical, Brigadier General Joseph M. Hernandez, commanding the militia (2nd Regiment, 2nd Battalion) in East Florida, represented to the governor as early as October 1835, the probable need for the services of the militia. When his suggestion remained ignored he alerted his force early in December on his own initiative, and finally on his own responsibility called them into service. We thus note an intimation by General Hernandez, and will later observe a similar expression from General Call, that the militia forces under their respective commands were called out on their individual initiatives. Actually, on December 9, the War Department requested the Governor of Florida to place at the disposal of General Clinch, such militia force as he might require. This action may have been determined by a conference with General Clinch who was in St. Augustine the latter part of November. Hernandez also requested of the War Department the issue of 500 muskets for the militia, a request which was honored as far as available and servicable arms permitted. On December 17, Hernandez ordered Colonel Joseph S. Sanchez to assign various units for the protection of the plantations at Matanzas, Tomoka, and Musquito. These units comprised: Company A (St. Augustine Guards) Captain Kingsley B. Gibbs; Company B (mounted) Captain Douglas Dummett; Company C (mounted) Captain John S. Williams; Company D (infantry) Captain James Keogh; and Lieutenant Mathew Solana's mounted detachment, comprising in all, about 125 men. Company G (Florida Rangers, rifle) Captain George L. Philips, was described as a company of gentlemen volunteers. The latter, numbering 53, was stationed at Picolata for an undisclosed period. Companies B, C, and Lieut. Solana's detachment, were assigned to patrol duties in the territory between the coast and the St. Johns, to range from Matanzas to Musquitoes in the east, and as far as Spring Garden in the west. Major Benjamin A. Putnam left St. Augustine on

December 17 with Company A, and proceeding via Mala Compra and St. Joseph's plantations at Matanzas, reached Rosetta plantation on the 21st, where he established advanced headquarters. A supply depot was set up at St. Joseph's. Posts were established at St. Joseph's, Hartford, Bulowville, Rosetta, Carrickfergus and Dunlawton.

These activities were not relished by some of the planters. It is related that Joseph J. Bulow, who had maintained particularly friendly relations with Philip and Coacoochee, fired a blank charge from a cannon at Major Putnam's force in an effort to deter them from entering his premises. Bulow appears to have believed that if defense of his property became necessary, he could do it successfully with his 300 slaves. (For a sketch of life at Bulowville, see Ormond; and Audubon (in Stanton)).

When Putnam sent a small detachment to Dunlawton plantation, the Anderson brothers were endeavoring to place the estate in a condition for defense by erecting a stockade. These efforts were terminated by the impressment of the brothers into service with the detachment. Although the mounted companies presumably were actively scouting in the subsequent days, it is not recorded that anything significant came to their attention. This tranquility at Musquito (New Smyrna) was soon broken. On the evening of December 24, a servant of Mrs. Sheldon, wife of the manager of the Cruger and Depeyster property, went to a Christmas dance of the negroes on the Hunter place (Stamp and Hunter), and on the following morning she related to her mistress that several painted Indians were observed lurking about the Hunter premises. The next day the Indian negro John Caesar tried to lure Mr. Hunter from his dwelling by the ruse of an offer to trade for cattle, but Mr. Hunter, having heard the news, refused to come out. The Indian party, estimated at from 80 to 140 in strength, was identified as from Philip's band, and was accompanied by a few Uchees and Indian negroes.

A SUGAR EMPIRE DISSOLVES

This day the Indians plundered the plantation of Stamp and Hunter and that of Cruger and Depeyster, and also occupied, plundered and burned the house of David R. Dunham. That afternoon the Hunters, Sheldons and others crossed over the Halifax river to Colonel Dummett's house. The following night the Indians burned all the houses in New Smyrna, and after daylight, fired all the buildings, including the sugar mills, on the Cruger and Depeyster, and the Stamp and Hunter plantations, sparing only the corn houses on both properties. They secured 60 of the Depeyster negroes, but only 3 of Hunter's. A party of eleven Indians crossed the river and set fire to the Dummett house, which did not burn, and that of Radcliff to the north, and destroyed the meager possessions of the New Smyrna refugees, who had taken shelter on an anchored schooner. The Indians also broke and destroyed the lantern at the inlet light-house. The refugees started for Bulowville in a small boat by way of the Halifax river (Mrs. Sheldon). Their journey to Bulowville, where other refugees had congregated, appears to have been uneventful. On the fourth day of these occurrences, the Indians proceeded up the river to Dunlawton (George and John Anderson) and plundered the place. At Samuel H. Williams' (step-son of General Hernandez), they burned the dwelling but left the sugar-house, while on Major Heriot's place all, including the sugar-house, was fired and 75 negroes were carried away.

Probably as a consequence of these events, Putnam withdrew his force from Rosetta (or Darley's) to Bulowville. Word was received of the murder of Henry Woodruff on the 25th while traveling on the road between the plantations of Volusia and Spring Garden. A patrol was sent to Spring Garden (see description in Audubon), which reported the complete destruction of the sugar estates in that quarter, with the loss of 160 negroes to the Indians. Bulow was loath to see his place occupied by Putnam's force, and was so rude and uncooperative that it is reported he was placed in confinement. At the later evacuation

all of his wagons and draft animals were seized for militia use and he was not permitted to remove any personal belongings. On occupation of Bulowville, Putnam immediately set about the fortification of the dwelling site. A stockade was erected in front of and adjacent to the house and connected with it by a palisaded way, and a breastwork of cotton bales thrown about the whole. The garrison consisted of Company A and Lieut. Solana's detachment, together with an undisclosed number of refugee planters, their families and negroes. It was later reinforced by Company D. All available nearby outbuildings were occupied as quarters. The post was visited by General Hernandez and staff, with an escort of eleven sergeants under Capt. Philips. He reconnoitered as far as Rosetta and Bulowville before returning to St. Augustine, Companies B and C came in between scouting forays, which appear to have been devoid of action, at least recorded.

The supplies forwarded from St. Joseph's being inadequate for the number at Bulowville, Major Putnam determined, after the arrival of Company D, on a foray to Dunlawton to secure the corn at the place. He set out on January 17 with Companies A and B in one boat and two canoes for Dunlawton, and after a brief stop at Dummett's, which had been badly damaged but not burned, they reached their destination after dark. The buildings were blazing ruins, and finding a pen-full of cattle, they concluded the Indians were still about. The men were placed to ambush the Indians coming to get the cattle on the following morning (18th). Although the ambush succeeded, the firing attracted a large party of Indians from the sugar-house, from whom, after a brisk exchange of fire for half an hour, Putnam's force was obliged to retreat. Their craft at the time were not only some distance from shore, but also aground. Efforts were directed to getting the canoes alone afloat, during which interval the men were exposed to a fire they could not return, since the locks of most of the guns became wet while wading. Most

casualties were received during this embarkation, and one negro of Mr. Anderson's was killed in the water. One of the canoes later grounded near Pelican island, and when the men went overboard to lighten their craft, a panic stricken youth fled to the island. He could not be induced to return and was left behind to an unknown fate. The canoes reached Bulowville by mid-afternoon. The wounded included Major Putnam, nine of Company A (of whom two died), and five of Company B, as well as a negro guide. The house at Bulowville was turned into a hospital.

When informed of the situation at Bulowville, General Hernandez directed the withdrawal of the militia and refugees, white and black. The militia retreated to St. Joseph's on January 23. It is likely the Indians burned Bulowville shortly after their departure. At this time Colonel Sanchez ordered withdrawal of Putnam's force to St. Augustine, and on February 2 Sanchez similarly retired, and the country to the south of the city was abandoned to the Indians. On withdrawal from Bulowville the white refugees made their way to the city, and on the evacuation of St. Joseph's, the negroes from Bulow's, Williams', DuPont's and Hernandez' plantations, numbering about 300, were brought to the city, and at the direction of the authorities, landed on Anastasia Island. They were doubtless obliged to provide makeshift shelters for themselves and suffered severely in the unusually severe cold of this winter. Shortly after the evacuation, the buildings at St. Joseph's were burned by the Indians (see Cohen; Doc. 36; Doc. 58).

It is related that a reconnaissance made in the Matanzas area as late as February 17, found that the plantations of Howlett and Flotard, Pellicer, DuPont, and Long, adjacent to St. Joseph's, were uninjured, while the buildings on Hartford had been destroyed. At Tomoka, the buildings of Carrickfergus were found intact, and the Williams mill was undamaged. Subsequent to the arrival of the South Carolina regiment of militia (Colonel Brisbane) in mid-February, plantation posts at St. Joseph's,

Bulowville, and Carrickfergus were reoccupied. As these forces pushed southward to Tomoka late in the month, the Dummett mill was found destroyed and the ruins of Carrickfergus were still smouldering. After this force moved on to Volusia for incorporation in General Eustis' division which formed the left wing of General Scott's army, the Indians remedied their oversight and completed the destruction. The generally current impression was that the Indians first destroyed the places which had been militia posts. However the original militia occupation, and successive occupations to which several were subjected, resulted in extensive losses, whether from the consumption of provender and forage from the plantation stocks for men and beasts, alterations to make a position defensible, or sheer vandalism on the part of individual soldiers, caused extensive damage, approaching in degree that produced by the Indians. These losses, whether due to Indians or military, resulted in numerous claims against the United States government and several bills for the relief of claimants passed Congress. Among these, including some whose interests lay in other areas, were Joseph M. Hernandez, estate of J. J. Bulow (Bulow died a few weeks after these events), James Williams, Malachai Hagan, Philip Weadman, John McIntosh, Gad Humphreys, Duncan L. Clinch, Moses E. Levy and Alex Watson.

While the militia was scouting from Matanzas to Mosquito, south of St. Augustine, a party of about 30 Indians, said to have been under the leadership of the son of John Hicks, otherwise known as Uchee Billy, murdered a member of the Llenovar family in January on the Baya plantation twelve miles from St. Augustine. This resulted in a general movement from the countryside for refuge in the city which attained panic proportions, and a vision of famine threatened the inhabitants. At public meetings held on January 9 and 10, the Florida delegate to Congress, Joseph M. White, was petitioned to secure Congressional authorization for the feeding of the needy from the public stores,

payment of the militia for their services, and indemnification for losses. This memorial was published in Charleston and Savannah papers, and resulted in prompt and sympathetic material aid from these cities.

Philip's warriors or confederates were ranging far afield. On January 6 a party of Indians attacked the Colee family at New River, twelve miles from Cape Florida, and killed five. The inhabitants of the area, numbering 50 to 60, took refuge on Key Biscayne near the lighthouse, but lacking means of defense and supplies, went on to Key West for protection. The lighthouse was, a few months later, attacked and burned by the Indians.

Efforts were made long afterwards to revive the old type of agriculture on some of these properties: at St. Joseph's in 1848, at the Rees plantation at Spring Garden in 1854, and at Dunlawton as late as 1856. Because of the beautiful arch work exhibited by several of the ruins, some individuals, thinking of the opulent California missions, have argued that these structures were the remains of cloistered Spanish missions, despite the persistence of iron work, fragments of rolls, gearing, and kettles. However as late as 1870, Dr. Hawks (in Adams) of Port Orange, admitted that "the ruins of steam (sugar)-mills are still there and the fields marked by the cane rows all covered with a dark forest of nearly forty years growth."

Several of the sugar-mill ruins survive. Two are under the custodianship of the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials. The southernmost of these, lying just west of New Smyrna, is that of the Cruger and Depeyster mill. According to a mortgage foreclosure filed in 1846, this mill was built as a steam sugar and saw mill. The property belongs to the inactive Florida State Historical Society, which surrendered it to the above board on a long term lease in 1949. It came into possession of the society as a donation from Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor, who was personally convinced the structure was the ruin which she identified as *Jororo de Atocuimi*. The ruin of the Dun-

lawton mill lies just west of Port Orange and is in private hands. Two mills were within the limits of the former city of Daytona (Daytona Beach since 1926). That of Heriot was near the grounds of Bethune-Cookman College, that of Williams on the grounds of a residence on Ridgewood Avenue.

The core of the Tomoka State Park, acquired by the Board in 1937-38, lies on the extremity of the peninsula between the Halifax and Tomoka rivers, which, in British days, was granted to Richard Oswald, who gave the property the name of Mount Oswald.

The ruins of the M'Crea mill on Carrickfergus plantation, which bear a stone inscribed 1832, lie on the west side of the Tomoka river, a short mile from its mouth in the Tomoka basin. About one-half mile northeast from the mill ruin, is a small tract owned by the Park Board, on which is situated a stone structure, locally known as the **block-house**, which is surrounded by a moat and earthen embankment. Investigations by Mr. Griffin have identified this as the remains of Fort M'Crea, a stockade built in March, 1836, which although but briefly occupied, experienced one Indian attack. The stockade was built about the detached stone kitchen of the M'Crea dwelling, which at that date, had already been destroyed. About two miles to the northeast of the ruin of Carrickfergus mill, a short distance east of the old Dixie highway, are the remains of the Thomas H. Dummett mill which, according to surviving legal papers, was built in 1826. It has been fancifully identified as a mission, **San Antonio de Anacape**. Both ruins are in private ownership. The most imposing of all, and the northernmost, is the two story ruin of the sugar mill at Bulowville, the site of which was acquired in 1945 by the Park Board. This, according to the date on a carved stone, recently removed by vandals, was built in 1831 (Studies of Griffin reported by Davidson).

Fragments of the Spring Garden mill, which was operated by water-power furnished by the spring run, have been recovered

THE MURDERS AT FORT KING

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from the spring in which they were dumped by Federal raiders in 1864. The spring is now known as De Leon Springs.

(V) THE MURDERS AT FORT KING

Fort King, the military post adjacent to the Florida Indian Agency, was established in March, 1827⁹. It was occupied by Captain Glassell and a company of the 4th Infantry until the following year, when for reasons unknown, the force was withdrawn, and it remained unoccupied during 1829, 1830, and 1831. When regarrisoned in 1832, it was occupied by another company of the 4th Infantry under Captain Graham. Reoccupation was apparently in compliance with an 1832 resolution of the Legislative Council. After various vicissitudes it was finally abandoned as a military post in 1842. The first settlement in Marion county grew up around it, which under this name was the county seat until superseded by the newer settlement of Ocala.

At the time that three companies of artillery were directed to take post at Fort Brooke (November 24, 1834), the company of the 2nd Artillery (Captain Drane), stationed at Fort Marion, St. Augustine, was ordered to join the garrison of Fort King, then consisting of one company of the 4th Infantry (Captain Graham), and Brevet Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch was assigned to the command of the United States troops in Florida. As soon as Clinch had appraised the situation, he requisitioned six additional companies. The subsequent accounts of the number and distribution of company units in Florida during 1835 are conflicting. In compliance with Clinch's request, four (or five) companies of artillery from Fortress Monroe, under Brevet

9. Fort King was situated in the NW 1/4 of Sect. 14, T 15 S, R 22 E, about one mile southeast of a commemorative marker erected at the entrance to the Highlands Club on the Ocala-Silver Springs highway.

Lieutenant Colonel A. C. W. Fanning were ordered to Fort King early in 1835. These appear to have been drawn from the 1st and 3d Regiments. Clinch was also authorized to draw in the company of infantry (Brevet Major Dade) stationed at Key West. In October, Clinch was further authorized to bring in four companies of artillery from western posts. These arrived at Tampa Bay late in the year.

According to the army return for November 30, 1835, there appear to have been at Fort King six (or seven) companies (12 officers, 303 men), at Fort Brooke three companies (9 officers, 133 men), and at Key West, one company (one officer, 47 men). During December, four companies arrived at Fort Brooke, and the company at Key West had been transferred to this post. However during the month, two companies were lost in Dade's battle. The return for December 31, gave five companies (204) at Fort Brooke, one company (48) at Fort King, and six companies in the field near the Withlacoochee. Of the force reported at Fort King at the end of November, two or three companies had been transferred, early in December, from Fort King to Clinch's private work, Fort Drane.

Subsequently to the murder of Charley Amathla by Osceola, the Indians no longer frequented the agency at Fort King. The tranquility of the post held an ominous foreboding. Although General Clinch had ordered Major Belton at Fort Brooke to reinforce the garrison at Fort King with two companies from that post, communications from that direction were suspiciously lacking, neither had the expected reinforcements from that quarter arrived. Three of the four companies remaining at Fort King were ordered up to Fort Drane, for which they departed on December 27 under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Fanning. This left one company, 48 strong, with two officers at Fort King, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Ichabod Crane.

THE MURDERS AT FORT KING

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Murder of General Thompson

On December 28, 1835, General Wiley Thompson and a companion were murdered from ambush by an Indian party believed to have been led by Osceola. A circumstantial account of the events of that afternoon is given in a letter of Lieutenant Joseph W. Harris, Disbursing Agent for the contemplated emigration, to General George Gibson, Commissary General of Subsistence, U. S. Army, Washington, who was almost an eye-witness. (*Am. State Pap., Mil. Aff.* vi, 561) It is dated from Fort King, December 30. From this we quote extensively:

Sir: I have the honor to report to you my arrival at this post, which I reached on the evening of the 30th instant, having been delayed by unavoidable detainures upon the road several days beyond the time I fixed upon for the accomplishment of my journey.

I regret that it becomes my first duty after arrival here to be the narrator of a story which it will be, I am sure, as painful for you to hear as it is for me, who was almost an eye-witness to the bloody deed, to relate to you. Our excellent superintendent, **General Wiley Thompson, has been most cruelly murdered by a party of the hostile Indians**, and with him Lieutenant Constantine Smith, of the 2d regiment of artillery, Erastus Rogers, the sutler of the post, together with his two clerks - a Mr. Kitzler, and a boy called Robert. [Robert Suggs, **Potter**].

This occurred on the afternoon of the 28th instant, between three and four o'clock. The troops, with the exception of Captain Lendrum's company of the 3d artillery, had been withdrawn on the 26th to reinforce General Clinch, at Lang Syne plantation, preparatory to his striking a blow at the families of the Indians supposed to be concealed in the swamps and hammocks of the Withlacoochee river, with the hope of bringing on a general engagement. The departure of the detachment had rendered precaution more necessary, and all of those attached to the fort or agency had been required to move within the picketing. General Thompson slept within the defences, and passed the greater part of the day at the agency office, about one hundred yards beyond the works. The sutler had moved his goods into the fort, but was in the habit of eating his meals at his home, some six or eight yards [*sic*] off skirting a thick hammock to the northwest of us. His clerks ate with him. [Potter says about six or eight hundred yards off.]

On the day of the massacre Lieutenant Smith had dined with the General, and after dinner invited him to take a short stroll with him. They had not proceeded more than three hundred yards beyond the agency office when they were fired upon by a party of Indians who rose from ambush in the hammock, within sight of the fort, and on which the sutler's house borders. The reports of the first rifles fired, the war-whoop twice repeated, and after a brief space several other volleys more remote and in the quarter of Mr. Roger's house were heard, and the smoke of firing seen at the fort.

Upon the first alarm Captain Lendrum drew in his men, who were for the most part busily engaged without the pickets securing and strengthening the defenses, expecting an assault from the hammock immediately fronting and flanking the fort, and not then knowing of the absence of General Thompson and the others, thinking the firing was but a feint to draw him out to be cut off. Shortly, however, the fact was made known

to him, and about the same time several whites and colored people, who had escaped from the sutler's house came running in and apprised Captain Lendrum that Mr. Rogers, his clerks, and themselves had been surprised at dinner, and that the three former had, in all probability, fallen into the hands of the Indians.

It was at this moment that Lieutenant Colonel Crane, of the army, and myself, with an escort of six mounted militia upon jaded horses, arrived at the fort by the rear of the hammock from which the ambush arose. A command was instantly despatched to succor and pursue, if not too late. But the butchery had been as brief as it was complete, and the last whoop that had been heard was the signal for a precipitate retreat, and the savage perpetrators were already beyond the reach of our small force.

The bodies of General Thomason, Lieutenant Smith, and Mr. Kitzler were soon found and brought in; those of the others were only discovered this morning. That of General Thompson was perforated with **fourteen bullets**, and a deep knife wound in the right breast. Those of Lieutenant Smith and Mr. Kitzler had each received two bullets, and the head of the latter was so broken that the brains had come out. The bodies of the two found to-day were most shockingly mangled; the heads of each very much broken; the body of Mr. Rogers was penetrated by seventeen bullets, and that of the boy by two. All, saving the boy were scalped. The remains of these unfortunates were decently and properly interred to-day.

The cowardly murderers are supposed to be a party of the **Mikasookee** tribe of forty or sixty strong, under the traitor Powell, whose shrill peculiar war-whoop was recognized by our interpreters and one or two friendly Indians we have at the fort, who know it well.

Two expresses, soldiers, were despatched upon fresh horses on the evening of this horrid tragedy with tidings of it to General Clinch; but, from our not hearing from him or them, we are apprehensive that they were cut off. We are also exceedingly anxious for the fate of the two companies which had been ordered up from Fort Brooke, and which should have been so a week ago, of whom we can learn nothing. Our communication with Tampa is cut off.

Two companies have been daily expected at this post from Fort Brooke for some time past, and four in all are now hourly looked for. It is strange they have not arrived before. I was ordered by General Clinch to accompany Lieutenant Colonel Crane to this post with the hope of finding this reinforcement already here, and to aid in bringing it up to form a junction with the combined forces of himself and General Call upon the Withlacoochee. . . .

Accept, sir, etc.,

JOSEPH W. HARRIS, LIEUT., DIS. AGENT,
FLORIDA INDIANS.

Potter, who was at Fort King a few weeks later, adds some further particulars (Late Staff Officer, p. 111) desirable to present:

An old black woman, the cook of Mr. Rogers, concealed herself behind some barrels under the counter of a back room which had formerly been the store, and she stated that Assiola (Osceola) came into the room, battering down the furniture and whatever else chanced to be in his way, and expressed great disappointment on discovering that Mr. Rogers had removed his goods. In a few moments after she heard him give a shrill yell, when the whole body of the Indians immediately retreated. It was the opinion of those who escaped, that the party consisted of fifty or sixty **Micosukees**, under the command of **Assiola**, and two other chiefs whom

FIRST BATTLE OF THE WITHLACOOCHEE

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they did not know, but whose attire denoted them to be leaders. The peculiar and shrill war yell of *Assiola* was distinctly heard and recognized by two or three friendly Indians at Fort King.

Lieutenant Harris wrote again to his chief on January 17, 1836, mentioning that the route to Fort Brooke remained closed, and that not a word as yet received from the troops who were to have come from thence, about whom they were more than ever anxious. Under the circumstance he proposed to proceed to Tampa Bay on business connected with emigration, by way of St. Marks, chartering a small vessel at that port. He stated that perhaps more than one-half of Clinch's then available regulars were employed in the transportation of provisions, and that the balance was hardly strong enough to defend itself within its picketing.

(VI) THE FIRST BATTLE OF THE WITHLACOOCHEE**(Outhlacoochee) RIVER**

A conviction had become general that the greatest number of recalcitrant Indians were harbored in a little known area called the Cove of the Withlacoochee, a region of lakes and swamps lying adjacent to and mainly southward of that river, the northern portion of which is encircled by a big bend in the river to the westward. The principal part is today known as Lake Tsala Apopka. A witness of General Scott in his subsequent court-martial, a Captain Thurston, testified that "I have heard, from individuals in Florida, that no white man was ever known to have been admitted into what is termed the cove of the Withlacoochee". It appeared that a sufficient concentration of Indians in this area would afford opportunity for a decisive battle with consequent subjugation.

Perhaps to while away the tedium in the early days on this assignment, General Clinch, who was an active land speculator, personally occupied a tract of unsurveyed land about eight miles

south of Micanopy, where he began the cultivation of sugarcane. To this place was given the name of Auld Lang Syne plantation. Its extent is unknown, but it occupied all, at least, of Section 1, of the later surveyed Tshp. 13 S, Range 20 E. On this tract, Clinch established the post known as Fort Drane, which was about twenty miles northwest of Fort King. According to Bemrose (in Stafford) the enclosure was of pickets twelve feet in height, erected by Captain Drane. In June 1836 the regulars were withdrawn from Fort Drane to Newnansville, and the post was abandoned. It was shortly thereafter burned by the Indians. In the following October, the site was occupied by the Tennessee Volunteers under General Call, who drove out the occupying Indians. As then described by Hollingsworth, it was said to occupy an elevated position on the northern side of the plantation, which occupied from 4-500 acres of cleared land, all of which had been planted to cane. The stockade surrounded Clinch's dwelling. The destruction of the Indians embraced the dwelling, out-house, sugar-house, and negro quarters. Camp Lang Syne, if not identical with Fort Drane, must have been closely adjacent.

Some time during December, 1835, three of the six companies at Fort King were sent to Fort Drane.

With the alarm of Indian incursions on the frontier Brigadier General R. K. Call of the Florida militia raised a force, mainly from the region west of the Suwannee river, and Colonel John Warren of the same organization, another from the vicinity of Jacksonville, both of which proceeded to Alachua county. Call overtook the force of Warren on the 19th and assumed command of the whole. Something of their activities is described in a letter from General Call to President Jackson, dated December 22, 1835, which we quote (Message, Doc. 278, p.29; Mil. Aff. vi, 217):

Headquarters, Florida Volunteers,
Camp near Fort Defiance, December 22, 1835

Sir: Having heard of the distress and alarms on the frontier, occasioned by Indian depredations, I raised a detachment of two hundred and fifty

FIRST BATTLE OF THE WITHLACOOCHEE

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volunteer mounted-riflemen from my brigade, and, under the orders of the acting governor, proceeded to this border, where I found about the same number of men under the command of Colonel Warren, of the East Florida militia. I have assumed command of the whole, making my force about five hundred men. They were raised, however, for only four weeks, and many of them are badly armed and equipped. The services of these troops have been tendered to General Clinch, and accepted, for the purpose of defending the frontier. I can, sir, securely, give you an adequate description of the frontier inhabitants: The whole country between the Suwanee and the St. John's river, for the distance of fifty miles above the Indian boundary, is abandoned; the frontier inhabitants shut up in a few miserable stockade forts, and the Indians traversing the country at will, burning and destroying wherever they appear. Before my arrival, a number of skirmishes had taken place, in which the Indians were invariably successful. A few days since, a detachment of Colonel Warren's command, while on their march in the margin of the Alachua savannah, was attacked by a party of Indians; his baggage guard was defeated, and his baggage captured. Two days after, I marched on the same ground, recovered one wagon, a carryall, and the greater part of the baggage. I had intended to camp that night at a house within one mile of Fort Defiance, formerly called Micanopy, where there was a supply of corn and fodder. When my spies and advanced guard approached, they observed a house on fire ¹⁰; they pressed forward, and found the trail of a small party of Indians leading into a thick hammock; they gave pursuit, and drove them into a pond in which there was a thick undergrowth and a number of trees, in which the Indians were concealed. The volunteers, led by Colonel Read, the brigade inspector, gallantly entered the water and fought most bravely, at half pistol shot, as long as an Indian or the flash of his gun could be seen. When the fight was over, we found but four of the enemy killed—my loss was four wounded; among these were Captain Lancaster, of the first regiment, and George Johnson, of the second regiment of volunteers, while fighting bravely in the front of the action. They are all doing well, except one of the privates, whose wound, I fear, is mortal.

I have this moment received an express informing me that the Indians have crossed the Suwanee river, and are now burning and destroying at Old Town. Many of my men are drawn from that quarter, and a short distance beyond it. They feel much alarm for the safety of their families, and I much fear many of them will leave me tonight. I assure you, sir, the country requires immediate protection, and it cannot be given too promptly.

Yours, respectfully, &c.,
R. K. CALL,
General, Commanding Florida Station

The PRESIDENT of the United States

Call's militia force joined the regulars of General Clinch at Fort Drane on the 24th, and a movement against the Indians was planned. In anticipation of this operation, three further companies from Fort King under Lieut. Col. Fanning were brought up to Fort Drane, making at that post a battalion of six com-

10. Hargan's house.

panies, about 283 strong, with 13 company officers. The details of the subsequent operation are best presented in the words of the official report (*ex* Cohen, p.83; *ex* Drake) of General Clinch, dated Fort Drane, January 4, 1836:

Sir---On the 24th ultimo, Brigadier General Call, commanding the volunteers called into service by order of his Excellency G. R. Walker, Acting Governor of Florida, formed a junction with the regular troops at this post, and informed me that his command had been raised to meet the crisis; that most of the terms of service would expire in a few days, which made it necessary to act promptly. Two large detachments were sent out on the 15th, to scour the country on our right and left flank. Lieut. Col. Fanning, with three companies from Fort King, arrived on the 27th; and on the 29th, the detachment having returned, the Brigade of Mounted Volunteers, composed of the 1st and 2nd regiments commanded by Brigadier General Call, and a battalion of regular troops commanded by Lieut. Col. Fanning, took up the line of march for a point on the Outhlacoochee River, which was represented by our guides as being a good ford. About 4 o'clock on the morning of the 31st, after leaving all our baggage, provisions, &c., protected by a guard commanded by Lieut. Dancy, we pushed on with a view of carrying the ford, and of surprising the main body of Indians, supposed to be concentrated on the west bank of the river, but on reaching it, about day-light, we found, instead of a good ford, a deep and rapid stream, and no means of crossing, except in an old and damaged canoe. Lieut. Col. Fanning, however, soon succeeded in crossing; the regular troops took a position in advance, whilst Brig. Gen. Call was actively engaged in crossing his brigade, and in having their horses swam over the river. But before one half had crossed, the battalion of regulars, consisting of about two hundred men, were attacked by the enemy, who were strongly posted in the swamp and scrub which extended from the river. This little band, however, aided by Col. Warren, Major Cooper and Lieut. Yeoman, with twenty-seven volunteers, met the attack of a savage enemy, nearly three times their number, headed by the Chief *Oseola*, with Spartan valor. The action lasted nearly an hour, during which time the troops made three brilliant charges into the swamp and scrub, and drove the enemy in every direction; and after the third charge, although nearly one-third their number had been cut down, they were found sufficiently firm and steady to fortify the formation of a new line of battle, which gave entire protection to the flanks, as well as to the position selected for re-crossing the troops. Brig. Gen. Call, after using every effort to induce the volunteers remaining on the east bank, when the action commenced, to cross the river, and in arranging the troops still remaining on that bank, crossed over and rendered important service by his coolness and judgment in arranging part of his corps on the right of the regulars, which gave much strength and security to that flank. Lieut. Col. Fanning displayed the greatest firmness throughout the action, and added much to the high reputation long since established. Captains Drane and Mellon exhibited great bravery and judgment, and likewise added to the character they acquired in the late war. Nor was Capt. Gates wanting in firmness. Capt. Wm. M. Graham, 4th Infantry, was fearlessly brave, and although severely wounded early in the engagement, continued to head his company in the most gallant manner, until he received another severe wound, when he was taken from the field. His brother, Lieutenant Campbell Graham, commanding adjacent company, was likewise severely wounded early in the fight, but continued with his men, till another wound forced him, from loss of blood, to retire from the field. Lieutenant Maitland, who commanded a

company, contributed much, by his gallantry, to encourage his men. Lieutenants Talcot, Capron, John Graham, Ridgely, (who was wounded early in the action) and Brooks, all displayed great courage and coolness throughout the action. When almost every non-commissioned officer and private exhibited such firmness, it was almost impossible to discriminate between them; but the Com. General cannot withhold his high approbation of the judgment and courage displayed by Serg't Johnson, of H Company, 3d Artillery, on whom the command of the company devolved, after Lieut. Graham was removed from the field; and who, although severely wounded, continued at the head of a company till the action was over. Also, of Sergeants Kenton and Lofton, and Corporal Paget, 4th Infantry - Sergeants Scofield and Potter, D company, 2d Artillery - Sergeant Smith, C company, 1st Artillery, and Corporal Chapin, C company, 3d Artillery. Col. John Warren, Commandant 1st Regiment Volunteers, Major Cooper, and Lieut. Yoeman, of same corps, who had formed on the left flank, were all severely wounded, while leading their little band to the charge; and all behaved with great bravery, as well as Adjutant Phillips. Lieutenant Col. Mills displayed great coolness and judgment during the action, and in recrossing the river with his command. Lieutenants Stewart and Hunter, of the 2d Regiment, with a few men of that regiment, were judiciously posted on the right, and from their reputation for firmness, would have given a good account of the enemy, had he made his appearance in that quarter. Col. Parkhill of the F. Volunteers, who performed the duties of Adjutant General, displayed much military skill, and the utmost coolness and courage throughout the whole action; and his services were of the first importance. Col. Reid, Inspector General, displayed much firmness, but he had his horse shot, and received a slight wound early in the engagement, and was sent with orders to the volunteers. My volunteer Aid, Major Lytle, and Major Welford, Aid to Brigadier General Call, were near me throughout the action, and displayed the most intrepid courage and coolness. Col. J. H. M'Intosh, one of my aids, and Major Gamble, Aid to General Call, both displayed much firmness and courage, and were actively employed on the left flank. I also feel it due to Lieut. Col. Bailey, Capt. Scott, and Lieutenant Cuthbert, to say, that although the action was nearly over, before they could cross the river with a few of the 2d Regiment, they took a judicious position, and showed much firmness. Much credit is also due to the medical department, composed of Drs. Waitman, Hamilton, Randolph and Bradon, for their activity and attention to the wounded.

The term of service of the volunteers having expired, and most of them having expressed an unwillingness to remain longer in the service, it was considered best, after removing the dead, and taking care of the wounded, to return to this post, which we reached on the 2d instant, without the least interruption, and on the following day the Volunteers from Middle Florida took up the line of march for Tallahassee, and this morning those from East Florida proceeded to their respective homes, leaving me a very few men to guard this extensive frontier. I am now fully convinced, that there has been a great defection among the Florida Indians, and that a great many Creeks have united with them, consequently it will require a strong force to put them down.

I also have the honor to enclose you a list of the killed and wounded of the respective regiments and corps.

I am, sir, with high respect,

Your most obedient,

D. L. CLINCH

B. B. Gen'al, U. S. Army, Commanding

R. Jones, Adj't. Gen. U.S. Army

According to Potter, the casualties of this engagement were summarized as follows:

	<i>Regulars</i>		
<i>Killed:</i>	2 artificers and 2 privates	4	
<i>Wounded:</i>	1 Captain and 2 Lieuts.		3
	2 Serj'ts and 4 Corporals		6
	Privates		43
			<hr/> 52
	<i>Volunteers</i>		
<i>Wounded:</i>	Col. Warren, Major Cooper and		
	Lieut. Yoeman		3
	Privates		4
			<hr/> 7
	Aggregate killed and wounded		63

The heavy casualties indicate that this was a hot engagement, as the regulars suffered incapacitation of about 20 per cent of their force. According to Bemrose (in Stafford) none of the wounded received attention until return of the army to Fort Drane.

Bemrose emphasises that the Indian attack caught the troops who had crossed the river by surprise, as the men were at ease with arms stacked. Some twenty were said to have fallen in the first Indian volley. He claimed that Clinch, strangely enough, held his men in formation after their rally.

In a postscript dated January 3 to the Harris letter of December, both cited in the previous section, is mentioned the return of one of the expresses on that date who had been sent to Clinch with news of the battle of the 30th. He relates that few of the militia were in the battle, and conjectures whether their determination to return immediately to their homes was the cause of the precipitate retreat.

Not a great deal of information relating to the Indian participation in this engagement was subsequently elicited. W. W. Smith relates that Osceola led the Indians on this occasion; he was distinguished by several dressed in a uniform coat of our army, and occupied a conspicuous station. Sprague, apparently on the authority of Alligator, states that scouts informed the

Indians on the 29th that troops were heading toward the Withlacoochee. A party of 250 warriors, 30 of whom were negroes, under the leadership of Osceola and Halpatter Tustenuggee (Alligator) set out to intercept them at the ford on the river and lay there in ambush. On the following day they discovered that the troops had crossed two and a half miles below their position and moved down to attack them. Alligator said that Osceola was disabled by a wound on the arm during the battle, after which the Indians retired. Alligator acknowledged Indian losses of three killed and five wounded. Bemrose, however, claims 30 Indians were left dead. Since Clinch's force abandoned the field, this cannot be regarded as a reliable statement.

Pregnant with its unexplained significance as to Dade's fate, is the uniform coat in which Osceola was attired, and Lieut. Harris' relation that a soldier's knapsack was found on the battle ground of the 31st, dropped by one of the enemy.

Whether or not the troops were misguided so that they were not brought to the ford, and as a consequence briefly misled the Indians, cannot be determined, in fact it would appear that they were actually ambushed, with resulting confusion, when their body was divided by the river (Cobb, 1940).

In his annual report (Am.St.Pap.,Mil.Aff. vi, 817) as the Major General of the Army dated November 1836, Major General Alexander Macomb commented on this engagement as follows:

On the 29th of December General Clinch, with six companies of regular troops, amounting to about two hundred men, proceeded from Fort King [*sic*] toward the Withlacoochee, to attack the Seminoles, who were in force on the left bank of that river. In this expedition he was joined by Governor [Note: not at this time.] Call, with between four hundred and five hundred volunteers of Florida.

On the 31st of December General Clinch, with the regular troops under his command, crossed the Withlacoochee. He was here attacked by a large body of Indians, and, after a spirited engagement, the Indians were finally defeated, and fled into the hammocks. In this affair it will appear that the regular troops bore the brunt of the action. Out of the two hundred regular troops who had crossed the river with General Clinch, fifty-seven were killed or wounded, including four officers. Of the four hundred or five hundred volunteers who had joined General Clinch with a view of aiding in subduing the Indians, only twenty-seven men and three officers took part in the action. Why so many remained out of the action

is not explained. Had the same zeal and bravery been displayed by the whole force as was evinced by the regular troops, there is little doubt but that the war would have been terminated with the battle of Withlacoochee.

Whether these disparaging references to the part of the militia are based solely on Clinch's rather equivocal report or were influenced by comments from unofficial sources, cannot be determined. It would appear, however according to Bemrose (in Stafford), that the militia were the target of much unfavorable comment.

A further letter from General Call to President Jackson written from Tallahassee on January 9, 1836, throws some additional light on events following the engagement, which is quoted nearly in full (Message, Doc. 278, p.30):

My Dear General: In my last I informed you of the situation of the frontier of East Florida. I succeeded, with the volunteers under my command, in driving the enemy within his boundary along the whole line between the Suwanee and St. John's. Having accomplished this important object, we united with General Clinch, who commanded the expedition into the enemy's country, the result of which, I presume, has been communicated to you through the Secretary of War.

The term for which the volunteers engaged having expired, I have returned to this place to obtain from the Government the necessary force to prosecute the war. As yet nothing has been done. When I left Gen. Clinch, on the 3d instant, he could not have brought into the field more than one hundred and fifty effective men. Four additional companies were said to be at Tampa Bay, or on their march from that place to Fort King, but no certain intelligence had been received from them. One hundred and fifty mounted volunteers marched from this place a few days since. I ordered the commanding officer to report himself to General Clinch, by whom they will be employed as a protection to the frontier, until we are prepared for a campaign. To put a prompt and successful termination to this war, we require an army of 2,500 to 3,000 men; about one-third of this force can be raised in the Territory, the balance must consist of regulars and militia from the neighboring States. I shall return to the frontier, in some capacity or other, as soon as I can raise a force of any description. I should be highly gratified to command the army, and believe I could soon bring the war to a close. I fear, however, this I cannot do without injustice to General Clinch; he is a brave and good man, but I fear he is too slow in his movements to conduct a war against the Indians.

I had many difficulties to contend with in my late expedition, and, among others, meeting a desertion among my troops; but the examples I have made of the offenders will have a salutary effect hereafter.

The force of the enemy is variously estimated, by those best informed, at from 1,200 to 2,000 warriors, and it is confidently believed that a large number of Creek Indians have united with them. They are well armed; they are urging a war of extermination, and will fight desperately.

Space does not permit of a narration of later events. Suffice it to say that in the subsequent months of 1836 Call succeeded

Eaton in the governorship, General Winfield Scott was sent to Florida to bring the war to a close, General Gaines, as characterized by General Scott, "intruded", and was diverted to other fields, and General Clinch resigned. Command of the army was finally given to General (Governor) Call, who in turn was superseded by General Jesup on December 4, 1836, an event which embittered Governor Call. The extract from McComb's report previously quoted, did not come to Call's attention until some months after he had been relieved of command. In a lengthy letter written to McComb from Tallahassee, August 3, 1837, he refers to McComb's report just cited, and then presents a lengthy defense of the activities of the Florida volunteers and of their part in the battle, part of which is presented for clarification of the subject (Message, Doc. 278, p.125):

On the 6th of December [1835] I received, by express, a petition from the people of Alachua, informing me of their impending danger, and asking for succor. Without a request from General Clinch, and without authority from any one, orders were immediately despatched to the four nearest regiments of my brigade, dispersed over a district of country more than one hundred and fifty miles in extent. They assembled with unparalleled promptness. I invited them to the field, not to make a campaign against the Seminole Indians, but to rescue the defenceless frontier from the grasp of a savage enemy. Temporary, but prompt and immediate relief, until other forces could be ordered by the Government, was all I sought to afford; and I assured them that they should not be detained from their homes more than three or four weeks. Nearly two hundred and fifty men were immediately raised. They were generally without arms; the Government had none with which to supply them; and, on my own responsibility, I ordered such to be purchased as the merchants could supply, which consisted principally of small shot-guns, entirely unfit for the field. By the thirteenth day after I received intelligence of Indian depredations, the troops of Middle Florida, under my command, had been assembled and organized, had performed a march of 200 miles, and had attacked and destroyed a party of the enemy discovered in plundering and burning a house within half a mile of Micanopy.

The volunteers of East Florida, under their brave commander, Colonel Warren, had been raised on the appeal of General Clinch. Many of them were those who had been driven from their homes, and had engaged for no definite time. I overtook and assumed the command of them on the 19th December. The whole force was employed, with great activity, in scouting the country and driving out the enemy, as long as the trace of one could be found. After this duty was performed, there remained yet five or six days unexpired of the time for which the volunteers from East Florida had engaged. I was anxious to employ every moment to the best advantage; and, as the guides spoke with the utmost confidence of finding Indian towns on the Withlacoochee, not more than thirty-five miles from Fort Drane, and represented the river as being shallow and fordable at that

point, I proposed to General Clinch that a rapid and forced march should be made, to surprise and attack the enemy at the point designated. The suggestion was adopted. On the 27th and 28th December the volunteers were recalled from the scouts, and part of the regular troops were withdrawn from Fort King for the expedition. On the morning of the 29th the whole army marched for the Withlacoochee under the command of General Clinch. The volunteers from Middle Florida, having but three days more to serve, left their wagon-train and all their baggage, carrying with them four day's rations, already prepared for use. They were equipped to move with that rapidity so essential to the success of the enterprise; but the regulars were encumbered with a heavy baggage-train, badly appointed and badly conducted; and such was the sloth of the march, that we did not arrive at the Withlacoochee until the morning of the third day, although, upon the plan originally proposed, it might have been accomplished in twenty-four hours. On our arrival, the army was suddenly brought to a halt, and we were greatly surprised at finding a deep and rapid river, presenting a most formidable impediment to our farther advance into the country, instead of the fordable stream over which we might pass with scarce any delay, which the information of the guides led us to expect. On the opposite side an Indian canoe was discovered, and was brought across by two men who swam over for it. The regulars immediately commenced crossing, and, although they only amounted to about two hundred and sixty, it was near noon before they had effected the passage. In the meantime the volunteers had been engaged in driving over their horses; and a raft of green poles had been constructed, on which some of the saddles were carried over; but it was so heavy, and sunk so deep in the water, that it was of but very little service.

So soon as the regulars were over, the volunteers commenced crossing in the canoe, which, under the best management, would carry only from five to seven persons, two of whom were generally found necessary to carry the boat back again; and it required bailing every trip to prevent it filling with water. It is to be remembered that the volunteers had to take their saddles and saddlebags with them in the canoe, and therefore could not cross with the same rapidity as the regulars, who marched in with their knapsacks on their backs.

Superintending the crossing of the volunteers in person, I perceived that, from the slow progress they made, and from the time previously required by the regulars, unless some other means of accomplishing the passage could be devised, it would consume the whole day. On account of my pledge to them that they should be permitted to return the next day, when their term of service would be completed, I was very solicitous to obviate this delay. I accordingly called the attention of General Clinch, already on the south side of the river, to a collection of dry logs, on the point of an island, situate a short distance below the crossing place, and accessible from that bank of the river by means of a ledge of rocks, and suggested that, if they could be got into the water, they would afford the means of speedily constructing a bridge from the north bank to the island. The suggestion was adopted; and General Clinch and his staff, accompanied by several of the volunteer officers, repaired to the island; and while they were engaged in getting the logs afloat, and I with a party of men engaged in drawing them across by the aid of ropes, I heard rapidly reiterated exclamations from the men in my rear—the Indians are coming. Hearing no alarm from the opposite side, and supposing the Indians were on the north bank, I commenced forming the line facing to the rear, in order to receive them. In a few moments, however, the Indians made their appearance on the opposite side, just above the crossing place. The position of the line was changed at that point, and the Indians opened their fire

upon us across the river; the fire was immediately returned, and they fled. All this occurred before a gun was fired at the regulars. They had advanced beyond the river swamp about a quarter of a mile, and taken a position in a small piece of open ground, surrounded by scrub and hammock, which concealed the enemy and gave them a decided advantage in the contest.

When the action commenced, not more than thirty or forty of the volunteers had crossed the river, of whom a large number were officers. Some of them had swam over, and, being unable to carry their guns with them, were in a defenceless situation until supplied from the opposite side. They marched boldly in the fight, and behaved with as much intrepidity as any men on that field. They formed a line extending from the river bank nearly to the left flank of the regulars; and it was owing to their position, and the gallantry with which they fought, that the regulars were not surrounded and cut off by the enemy. During the fight, the volunteers continued to cross as fast as possible and join in the action. Many attempted to swim the river, but in every instance, I believe, it was found impossible to cross in that manner, without getting their arms wet and their ammunition destroyed. At one time I ordered the whole force to mount and charge the river; but it was found impracticable, from the cause just mentioned, and the order was countermanded. Some swam nearly over, carrying their guns above the water, but, from exhaustion, were compelled to drop them.

The regular troops, about two hundred and sixty in number, were four or five hours in crossing. The volunteers, with the exception of some officers who crossed with the regulars, had obtained possession of the canoe not more than thirty minutes before the fight commenced.

I crossed the river during the fight myself, and arrived on the field just after the Indians retreated. It was soon decided that the position occupied by the regulars, in double file, in open ground, within point-blank shot of a dense hammock, with the right flank subject to be turned by the enemy, could not be maintained. The troops were accordingly withdrawn into the river swamp, and formed in a curved line, with a detachment of volunteers on the right and left, resting on the river above and below the crossing-place, securing our flanks, and presenting a front which could not be broken. The Indians soon reappeared, and raised the whoop along the whole line, as if resolved to renew the attack; but they found us prepared at all points for the assault. To retire across the river in the presence of the enemy was considered a difficult and hazardous undertaking. General Clinch and myself differed with regard to the mode in which it should be conducted. He proposed to move from the right flank, which rested on the river very near the point at which we must cross; while I recommended a movement from the left flank, wheeling by files to the left, and passing down the rear of the line to the crossing-place, thus covering the men as they retired by those who remained stationary. The General then asked who should conduct the men across—he or myself. He was greatly exhausted from the fatigue of the fight. I tendered my services, and they were accepted; and he immediately after crossed the river, leaving the fate of the army in my hands. More than two hours were spent in constructing the bridge and recrossing the horses to the north bank. During the whole time, the Indians, by their whoops, gave repeated indications, not only of their presence, but of their intention to renew the attack. At length, having the opposite bank completely manned to cover the retiring line, and the necessary preparations being finished, just before sunset the line commenced retiring. Major Bailey, at the head of about **forty volunteers**, with a firmness and deliberation which would have done honor to the hardest veterans, led the way, followed by the regular battalion; and the rear was brought up by Lieutenant Colonel Mills with a command of **forty-one**

volunteers. Colonel Mills was the last to cross, and before he left the bank the Indians rushed down on the opposite side.

Justice demands - that the names of those brave and patriotic officers who fought on that occasion should be recorded. Three of them, Colonel Warren, Colonel Read, and Major Cooper, were wounded - the first and the last dangerously, Colonel Parkhill, Lieutenant Colonel Mills, Major Bailey, Major Welford, Major Gamble, Captain Fisher, Captain Parish, Captain Ross, Lieutenant Floyd, Lieutenant Hunter, Lieutenant Steward, Lieutenant Wilder, Lieutenant Dell, Lieutenant Chaires, and others whose names are not now recollected, crossed the river before or during the action, and were among the foremost and bravest in the conflict, another important service performed by the volunteers on that occasion, which saved the regulars from havoc and slaughter. It was by them, under the superintendence of Captain Wyatt, of Middle Florida, that the bridge of logs was constructed, which enabled the troops to retire with safety in the presence of the enemy. Had there been no other means of recrossing provided but the canoe, no one will pretend to say that the movement could have been performed without great loss.

A candid examination of the facts does not justify concurrence with either General Macomb's statement that the Indians were defeated or that the Florida militia did not participate as actively as circumstances permitted, while it is clear that the extrication of the regulars was largely due to their activities and management.

Duncan related in his diary, under date of March 27, while with Gaines' army, that ". . . push on till within 2 miles of W(ithlacoochee) come to Ind. Town which we burn, march on to the river, see Gen. Clinch's breast work bodies of his slain had been disinterred and scalped. . . ."

(VII) DADE'S DEFEAT

Brevet Major Francis Langhorne Dade, the central figure of the tragedy we are about to relate, was a native of Virginia, and was appointed to a commission in the army without having been trained at West Point. His original commission as a 3rd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry, was dated March 29, 1813. He transferred to the 4th Infantry in 1815, and attained a brevet majority on February 24, 1828, because of ten years service in the next lower grade. He was in Pensacola with General Jackson at the time of the cession, 1821, and was ordered by Jackson to effect the ar-

rest of the Spanish Governor Callava. His service there probably provided the opportunity to court and marry a Pensacola girl. His widow lived in Pensacola after the Major's death. After experiencing extreme indignity, she was finally given a Congressional pension in 1850. Amanda, the widow, died July 7, 1867, and was buried in Pensacola. A daughter, their only child, died in 1848. We have already mentioned the presence of Dade on the peninsula during some of the events described.

On the same date that General Clinch was ordered to assume command of the United States forces in Florida, three companies of artillery were ordered to reoccupy the site of Cantonment Brooke, which henceforth was known as Fort Brooke, on Tampa Bay. These companies probably arrived in due course early in 1835, and were under the command of Major Zantsinger. On November 30, 1835, this force, under the command of Brevet Major F. S. Belton, comprised 133 men. On the initiative of the War Department, two companies of artillery from Forts Morgan and Pickens were placed under Clinch's orders on October 15, 1835, and shortly after two more companies from Forts Wood and Pike were similarly placed at his disposal, thus anticipating a request later made for reinforcements. He had been previously authorized to draw in the infantry company (B, 4th Infantry, Brevet Major Dade) stationed at Key West. This arrived at Fort Brooke *via* the schooner *Motto*, on December 21, 1835. The additional companies from the west arrived on November 27, and December 12, 25, and 28, 1835.

Subsequent to the murder of Charley Amathla (Itolase Amathla) on November 26, the chiefs who were willing to emigrate fled precipitately to Tampa Bay, arriving with their bands, totaling from 450 to 460 Indians, early in December. The bands represented were those of Holata Amathla, of the deceased Charley Amathla, Foke-Luste Hadjo (Black Dirt), Conhatkee Mico of Hitchipucksasy, Otulke Ohala or Amathla of Chicuchatty, Econchatti Mico from Tocktoethla (the northernmost of the

western reserves) and Fushutchee Mico. They arrived in a destitute condition, and on order of Major Belton, were subsisted on rations from the fort and supplied with blankets. Their encampment was established west of the Hillsborough river.

Belton planned to execute on December 16 an order from General Clinch, which directed him to send two full companies to Fort King, but owing to a report of a strong Mikasuky force in the intervening territory, and the excessive depletion which would result in his own command as a consequence, he suspended the order. However upon the arrival of Dade's company, 39 strong, he decided that compliance was practicable. Consequently he readied Company C, 2nd Artillery, Captain G. W. Gardiner, and Company B, 3rd Artillery, Captain Upton S. Fraser, for the march. Both companies were, according to Belton, fitted out as infantry, and made up to a strength of 50 men each by details from companies remaining at the fort. Although the total, exclusive of the eight officers, is stated by Belton to have been one hundred men, they were not, according to the roster preserved in the West Point monument, more than 99 in strength. This roll, however, omits one name given by Sprague, so we may accept Belton's figure. Different published unofficial accounts of the command vary in their statements of its strength, from 108 including officers, to 139. The last appears based on a belief that C and B were made up to 50 men each from the original garrison, and that Dade's entire company was included. The latter is clearly erroneous, and 108 appears correct. Hitchcock later stated that 106 bodies were buried on the field. Since three are known to have reached Fort Brooke, this would imply that 109 were present at the action. This suggests that the subsequently mentioned servant was also a casualty, and that the body of De Courcy, although unmentioned, was recovered. Belton speaks of the companies as of fifty bayonets each, which would indicate that they left equipped as infantry. They were supplied with one of the two 6 pounders of the post, drawn by four oxen specially

purchased, one light wagon, and ten days provisions. It has been stated that the wagon was drawn by one horse. The morning of the 23rd was set for their departure.

It appears that there were two supernumeraries. One, Luis Pacheco, to whom we will return, was employed as a guide or interpreter, and one of the officers was accompanied by a servant (Potter).

The roster of the command, as preserved in the West Point monument, is given here in an appendix.

Captain George Washington Gardiner, who, as we shall see, barely missed command of the detachment, was a native of the District of Columbia, and was admitted to West Point September 2, 1812. He entered the artillery corps as 3rd lieutenant March 11, 1814, passing through successive grades to a brevet captaincy, to become captain November 3, 1832. He had served with the 2nd Artillery since 1821.

On the evening of the 22nd, the arrival of three Tallahassee Indians, bringing a professedly peaceful talk from *Inicanapa* (*sic*) (*Mico-an-opa*) caused consternation in Holata Amathla's camp. While these were in council with Amathla's warriors, Belton caused their arrest from fear that they either were spies, or that they might attempt the assassination of Holata Amathla, Black Dirt or Big Warrior, as had been done in the case of Charley Amathla. Belton detained two of these Tallahassees as hostages, and attempted to use the third as a runner with despatches for Generals Clinch and Thompson, through the hands of *Inicanopa* (*Mico-an-opa*) as no communication had been had with the Florida headquarters for then nearly three weeks. The letters of course, Belton stated, revealed many details, but all numbers and facts, to guard against treachery, were stated in French. The time allotted for the return of the runner was exceeded by two days, and the reply he bore, instead of being from headquarters, was from the negro Abraham, and Hitchiti Mico (Broken Sticks), who jeeringly said that the talk was good, and

they might be expected on the 30th. From this it was inferred these Indians expected to be participants in an attack fixed for Christmas week.

It was later related by Lieut. B. Alford of Dade's company, that Capt. Gardiner was originally assigned to the command, and at reveille on the morning of the 23rd, he was mounted at the head of the detachment, ready to start. Mrs. Gardiner was at the post seriously ill, and it was believed she would not live if her husband left her side. Major Dade proposed to Major Belton that he take Gardiner's place in command, to which proposal Belton assented, and Dade left with the detachment. Belton's report as printed in the Jacksonville *Courier*, stated that the detachment departed at 6 o'clock (A.M.?) on the 24th. All other accounts, including that of General Macomb, give the 23rd, which we follow. It is believed that the 24th as given in the *Courier*, is a misprint. Gardiner learned that the schooner *Motto* was shortly to return to Key West, to bring back various stores. Since his children were already in that city in the care of their grandparents, he arranged for Mrs. Gardiner to sail on the *Motto*. This matter attended to, he thereupon departed from the fort to overtake the detachment, and on coming up with them, did not attempt to supersede Dade in command.

On the night of the 24th, Belton learned that the transport with Major Mountfort and company was in the bay. This reinforcement landed about noon on the 25th. The transport bearing Capt. Legate's company under Lieut. Grayson (2nd Art.) got into shallow water in the wrong bay. This company was finally landed four miles from the post on the east side of Old Tampa Bay late on the 28th, but the transport itself, did not get around to the post to land the baggage, including that of Mountfort's company, until the 30th. It had originally been contemplated to send Mountfort's company to effect a junction with Dade, and it was actually ready to march on the 26th, but the delay inci-

dental to the landing of the baggage, eliminated all hope of the likelihood of a junction.

For two days the detachment was in communication with Fort Brooke. Dade's first halt was made early in the day at the Little Hillsborough river ¹¹, seven miles out. The locality had been reconnoitered by Indians of Holata Amathla's band the day before at Belton's order. From this camp, Dade wrote Belton, asking him to expedite the forwarding of the six pounder which he had been obliged to abandon four miles from the fort, owing to the failure of the ox team. Belton purchased three horses and harness, had the gun picked up, and transported to Dade's camp, which was reached about 7 P.M. Thereafter it appears that these horses, with the one originally on the wagon, were assigned to the six pounder, and the spans of oxen drew the wagon.

Dade's halt on the 24th was near the bridge ¹² over the Big Hillsborough river, which he found burned. He informed Belton of this occurrence by a courier, Private Jewell of C Company, 2nd Artillery, who arrived uneventfully at Tampa. On arrival at the fort, Jewell volunteered to be the bearer of a return message from Belton, advising Dade of the arrival of Mountfort's company, and that every effort was being made to push forward about 13,000 rations on pack-horses, with such ammunition as could be spared. Jewell probably left the fort on the morning of the next day, and rejoined Dade about 11 P.M. on the 25th. On the 26th, Belton sent off duplicate copies of these messages by an Indian runner, who becoming lame, could not overtake the column, and consequently returned to the fort. Dade was occupied on the 25th and part of the 26th in crossing the river. It was Belton's later opinion that Dade probably did not make

11. This site, not today identifiable under this name, appears to be at Harney, where some of the drainage from Harney Flats discharges into Hillsborough river (U. S. Route 301).

12. This site, still known as Burnt Bridge, is where U. S. Route 301 crosses the Hillsborough river. This route from Tampa to Bushnell, does not deviate much from the course of the old Tampa-Fort King road.

over six miles on the 26th, and crossed the Big Withlacoochee river on the 27th, and to the site of the battle ground of the 28th, he had covered 65 (more likely 59-60) of the one hundred miles to Fort King. The camp of the 27th was from three to four miles north of the Little Withlacoochee river.

Of ominous import was the return to Fort Brooke on an unspecified date of Captain Gardiner's dog, wounded in the neck. Its significance was soon learned, when on the afternoon of the 29th, a date hardly credible considering the distance to have been covered, Private John Thomas of Belton's company, who had been temporarily transferred to C Company, returned to the fort with a thigh wound, and news of the disaster which had overtaken Dade on the 28th. He related that he had purchased his life for six dollars from an Indian for whom he had done a favor at Fort Brooke. On the 31st Private Ransom Clark (in some accounts spelled Clarke) of the same company, badly wounded (shot in thigh, arm, back, shoulder, temple grazed) also arrived and with greater particularity, confirmed the report of John Thomas. A third man, Private Joseph Sprague of B Company of the 3rd Artillery, wounded in the arm, came in on the morning of January 1. He was the bearer of an undated note from Captain Fraser to Major Mountfort, which he had found in a creek, fastened to a cleft stick. This note was supposedly written on the 27th, and related that the command entrenched every night, and at each encampment had been beset by Indians.

Little of the subsequent history of John Thomas and Joseph Sprague has been encountered, although Potter in 1836 speaks of Clark as the only present survivor. The interview with Clark published in the *Boston Post*, copied in Niles' Register of June 17, 1837, quotes Clark as stating that the two other survivors joined another expedition (probably that of Gaines) two months later, before their wounds were healed, and soon died of them.

Clark, having received an honorable discharge in May, made his way to Washington via New Orleans, arriving in June, 1836.

He was destitute, and suffered incapacitation from an open shoulder wound, from which fragments of bone were frequently discharged. He was granted a pension of eight dollars a month, evidently effective from his discharge, but not available until September, and in the meantime was dependent on charity. It would appear likely that during the balance of his life he depended upon charity, as the pamphlet *Narrative of Ransom Clark* (Binghampton, 1839), the existence of which was called to my attention by Kenneth W. Porter (not seen), is highly suggestive of such recourse. According to Roberts, he died in November, 1840, in York, N. Y.

Clark's Narrative

Versions of the narrative of Ransom Clark were recorded by both Cohen and Barr, and interviews were published in the *Charleston Courier* (noted in Niles' Register of August 20, 1836), and the *Boston Post*, already mentioned. The following description of the tragedy of December 28th is synthesized from these accounts:

On the morning of the 28th the command breakfasted before daylight and was soon on the march. It was formed with an advance guard and rear guard, the six pounder being attached to the latter. When three or four miles from camp, the road approached a point where a small pond lay just to the east or right. They were marching in column of route (*i.e.*, in double file), with the advance guard about a quarter-mile ahead of the main body. About 8 o'clock Major Dade rode toward the head of the column, encouraging the men in his passing with the promise of three days rest on arrival at Fort King. Clark heard a rifle shot in the direction of the advance guard, which was followed from the same direction by the report of a musket. Without an appreciable interval these shots were followed by a heavy volley poured upon the column from the front and left flank. Major Dade was in the act of turning when both he and his horse

fell. Captain Fraser, Lieut. Mudge, the interpreter Luis and the advanced guard fell in the first or early volleys. The first fire of the Indians killed or disabled half of the force. Clark looked about him and thought that he appeared to be the only one in the right file still standing. Although the soldiers were taken by surprise, some being so flustered they fired into the air, they soon became cool enough and took positions behind trees and opened a sharp fire. Clark could not see an enemy until after the force had received several volleys, when he could sight heads peering from the grass or behind trees.

The Indian ambush occupied a selected position, their line forming a crescentic curve with both ends touching the pond. They remained concealed and quiet until the main force reached the concavity of the crescent. Lieut. Basinger had the six pounder brought up and fired several rounds of canister at random, whereupon the Indians withdrew half a mile or more over a slight rise to the left. During this respite a dozen of the men went to gather cartridge boxes and weapons from the dead and succor the wounded, while Captain Gardiner ordered others to fell trees and construct a small breast-work of logs. This had barely been raised to knee height, when after a half to three-quarter hour intermission, large numbers of Indians were seen advancing from the left. Captain Gardiner gathered the survivors within the breastwork. Captain Gardiner, Lieut. Basinger and Dr. Gatlin were unhurt by the first attack. Lieut. Henderson, although wounded, could fire, while both arms of Lieut. Keais were broken. The Indians advanced boldly until within a long musket shot of the work, and then spread from tree to tree until the group was surrounded. Firing of the cannon was resumed, and on loading for the 50th discharge, which would have exhausted the ammunition, their match went out. The surviving soldiers lay down to load, and kept up a constant fire until about 2 or 3 P.M., which only ceased when all in the enclosure were killed or wounded. Lieut. Basinger, wounded, was the last sur-

living officer, and ordered Clark, then wounded, to feign death. Clark recalled earlier seeing Dr. Gatlin behind the breastwork, wounded, but with two double barreled guns, and saying, "Well, I have got four barrels for them!" He also recalled hearing Captain Gardiner cry out to the men after being wounded, "I can give you no more orders, my lads, do your best!"

At this point a heavy Indian, believed to have been Mico-anopa, ordered a charge. There being no resistance, the Indians were soon within the breastwork, and offered no indignity to either the dead or wounded, but stripped the bodies of accouterments, gathered up the arms and retired in the direction from which they came. Shortly after the Indians withdrew, from 40 to 50 mounted negroes rode up, tethered their horses, and began to savagely cut, hack and kill the wounded, and strip the dead of clothing and valuables. One negro detected that Clark lived, and proposed that he be bayoneted, to which another objected, saying it would be preferable to allow him to suffer before death. One, nevertheless, deliberately shot him in the shoulder at short range. After the negroes left, one Wilson of Captain Gardiner's company, who seemed to be scarcely wounded, arose and invited Clark to escape with him. Clark, feeling that such a move was premature, refused. Wilson, however, had scarcely cleared the breastwork, before he was shot down by a lurking Indian.

Clark remained until darkness and rainfall favored escape. In groping his way out over the corpses, he found a less severely wounded companion, D. Cony (De Courcey), who appeared to be the only living soul besides himself. They would have gone to Fort King had they known the way. They got along well until noon of the next day, when they saw an armed and mounted Indian coming down the road. They separated, going to either side of the road, Clark to the right. The Indian first pursued De Courcy. While Clark lay concealed in the palmettoes he heard two shots. The Indian began beating about in search of Clark, but gave up the pursuit and left hurriedly. Clark made a circuit

before returning to the road, and that night was much annoyed by pursuing wolves. One account states that he reached Fort Brooke on the 31st, another on the fifth day after the battle, alledging that he had covered two-thirds of the distance on his hands and knees. He travelled at night and in the forenoons, crawling into the brush at mid-day to sleep.

Cubberly reproduces facsimiles of the documents deposited in the West Point monument erected by the regimental companions of the fallen. These include an engrossed roster, together with an account of the combat and a sketch map of the field, not likely to have been drawn on the spot, which were drafted by G. Goldsborough Bruff, the well-known draftsman of the first map of the *State* of Florida. The account is anonymous, but states that the writer accompanied the detachment to their first encampment. Some particulars are given which are not found in the accounts definitely attributed to Clark. Their writer stated that on departing from the detachment, he received directions from two officers to settle their affairs in case they did not survive. It is stated that at the conclusion of the first attack, which was led by the chief Jumper, but 30 of the command were still alive. On withdrawing the Indians, Jumper informed them they had killed enough for one day. However on the arrival of Alligator with a large accession of Indians, the attack was resumed about 11 A.M. and continued until the entire detachment was killed or wounded. Two privates, Thomas and Sprague (B Company 3rd Art.) escaped during the first engagement and reached Tampa on the 29th and 30th (*sic*). This account also states that two others, Ransom Clark and Edward De Courcey, who were shockingly wounded and left as dead, started to return the next morning. Clark escaped pursuit and reached Tampa on the afternoon of the 31st. He recovered and gave a very connected account of the conflict and its termination.

McCall, now a Captain and assistant Adjutant General to General Gaines, returned to Fort Brooke with the latter's force.

DEFEAT OF DADE

He related, on the authority of Clark, that the advance guard consisted of Captain Fraser and eight (*sic*) men, who were a full two hundred yards in advance of the main party. The sight of Dade's riderless horse was the first intimation Gardiner had of the proportions of the impending disaster.

Roberts in his excellent sketch of this battle states, on unexpressed authority, that until the Withlacoochee was passed, Dade habitually employed an advanced guard and flankers, but on the morning of the 28th, having passed the heavy hammocks considered most favorable to an ambush, the flankers were omitted. He also states that the morning was chilly, and the men wore their overcoats buttoned over their cartridge boxes. The consequences of the severity of the temperature are, however, confirmed in a statement Clark made to Akins (Parrish).

Halpater-Tustenugee, known to the whites as Alligator, gave an account of the battle, perhaps to Sprague himself, and likely at the time of his detention at Tampa Bay following his capture, March 24, 1838. As reported by Sprague (p.90), Alligator's account is as follows:

We had been preparing for this more than a year. Though promises had been made to assemble on the 1st of January, it was not to leave the country, but to fight for it. In council, it was determined to strike a decided blow about this time. Our agent at Fort King had put irons on our men, and said we must go. **Oseola** said he was **his friend, he would see to him**. It was determined that he should attack Fort King, in order to reach General Thompson, then return to the Wahoo Swamp and participate in the assault meditated upon the soldiers coming from Fort Brooke, as the negroes there had reported that two companies were preparing to march. He [evidently Osceola] was detained longer than we anticipated. The troops were three days on their march, and approaching the Swamp. Here we thought it best to assail them; and should we be defeated the Swamp would be a safe place of retreat. Our scouts were out from the time the soldiers left the post, and reported each night their place of encampment. It was our intention to attack them on the third night, but the absence of **Oseola** and Micanopy prevented it. On the arrival of the latter it was agreed not to wait for Oseola, as the favorable moment would pass. Micanopy was timid, and urged delay. Jumper earnestly opposed it, and reproached the old chief for his indecision. He addressed the Indians, and requested those who had faint hearts to remain behind; he was going, when Micanopy said he was ready. Just as day was breaking we moved out of the swamp into the pine-barren. I counted, by direction of Jumper, one hundred and eighty warriors. Upon approaching the road, each man chose his position on the west side; opposite, on the east side, there was a pond. Every warrior was protected by a tree, or secreted in the high palmettoes.

About nine o'clock in the morning the command approached. In advance, some distance, was an officer on a horse, who Micanopy said, was the captain; he knew him personally; had been his friend at Tampa. So soon as all the soldiers were opposite, between us and the pond, perhaps twenty yards off, Jumper gave the whoop, Micanopy fired the first rifle, the signal agreed upon, when every Indian arose and fired, which laid upon the ground, dead, more than half the white men. The cannon was discharged several times, but the men who loaded it were shot down as soon as the smoke cleared away; the balls passed far over our heads. The soldiers shouted and whooped, and the officers shook their swords and swore. There was a little man, a great brave, who shook his sword at the soldiers and said, 'God-dam; no rifle-ball could hit him.' As we were returning to the swamp, supposing all were dead, an Indian came up and said the white men were building a fort of logs. Jumper and myself, with two warriors, returned. As we approached, we saw six men behind two logs placed one above another, with the cannon a short distance off. This they discharged at us several times, but we avoided it by dodging behind the trees just as they applied the fire. We soon came near, as the balls went over us. They had guns but no powder; we looked in the boxes afterwards and found they were empty. When I got inside the log-pen, there were three white men alive, whom the negroes put to death after a conversation in English. There was a brave man in the pen; he would not give up; he seized an Indian, Jumper's cousin, took away his rifle, and with one blow with it, beat out his brains, then ran some distance up the road; but two Indians on horseback overtook him, who, afraid to approach, stood at a distance and shot him down. The firing had ceased, and all was quiet when we returned to the swamp about noon. We left many negroes upon the ground looking at the dead men. Three warriors were killed and five wounded.

News of this disaster, probably from deficiencies of communication, belatedly reached Florida headquarters. Although the report of Major Belton, printed in the *Courier*, is dated January 1, 1836, what is evidently a covering letter for this report, dated January 9, 1836, is given in Doc. 271. It does not appear that Belton's report was published in any of the congressional documents of the period, although it appeared in the contemporary press. We have followed the version given in the Jacksonville *Courier* of February 11, 1836. Roberts, in a footnote, makes the statement that a letter from Major Mountfort, dated January 1, to Putnam P. Rea, which appeared in the *Florida Herald* of St. Augustine on February 6, was the first published account. It relates the return of three soldiers from the battlefield, all horribly wounded. In the covering letter above mentioned, Belton states that Mr. (Augustus) Steele, Deputy Collector of Customs at Tampa, who was leaving for St. Marks on the vessel carrying Belton's despatch, went for the purpose of carrying the news to Governor

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Eaton. In what appears to have been a handwritten news or information bulletin posted or released at Fort Drane, E. F., on January 22, 1836, which is preserved in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, a concise summary is presented. It is of interest to note that this bulletin says that word of the disaster did not reach Tampa Bay until after the lapse of six days. This bulletin carries a notation that Steele reached Tallahassee on the 17th, and that Eaton sent an express to General Clinch with the news on the 18th. Thus Clinch was probably not informed until the 20th at the earliest.

In Belton's report of January 1, he relates that he had caused to embark on board the return transport to New Orleans, several families made widows and orphans by the fatal battle of Withlacoochee (Dade's battle, not Clinch's). These were recommended to the kindness of the commanding officers. It was probably this vessel which bore the news which came to the attention of General Gaines.

News of Dade's disaster reached Major General E. P. Gaines on his arrival in New Orleans on January 15, while on a tour of the southern part of his district. The territory of the United States was then divided into Eastern and Western Military Districts, by an imaginary right line beginning at Cape Florida and running northwestwardly to the western end of Lake Superior. Consequently Florida fell within the jurisdiction of both districts. Gaines with great promptitude organized a force of eleven hundred regular and volunteer troops at New Orleans, with which he sailed for Tampa Bay, where his force arrived on February 10th. He left for Fort King on the 13th, and reached Dade's battleground on the 20th, where the remains of the dead were honorably buried. Time and space do not permit of a consideration of Gaines' campaign, it is merely mentioned to introduce the report made at Gaines' order by Captain E. A. Hitchcock of his staff. News of Dade's battle reached the War Department on January 21, which placed Major General Winfield

Scott in charge of the operations in Florida. The before mentioned limitations prevent consideration of the complications which arose from the simultaneous presence of both major generals in the Territory.

Belton, in his letter of January 9, stated that no attack had as yet been made on his post (Fort Brooke), although constantly expected as the enemy was around and, as was supposed, in force. In his report of the 1st, he stated that the Indians who kept the post under observation were members of the Peas creek band, numbering about one hundred, who were led by a negro named Harry, an intimate of Abraham. Their communications with the Mickasukians were effected by bands of Eufallas and Alafiers under Little Cloud and Alligator. Belton also stated that the Indians were audaciously stealing horses and cattle close to their picket, six horses had been taken on the 8th, as well as a negro from whom they would doubtless get what information they wanted. Attention was given to the strengthening of the picketing, including the building of a redoubt, which was named after the fallen Fraser. An anonymous correspondent, also writing on the 9th, described Fort Brooke as consisting on that date of two block houses built at the end of a street of four or five barracks and quarters on each side. These were strengthened by the Fraser redoubt, a triangular stockade with two block houses situated about 100 yards from the barracks, overlooking a plain. Since the battle of the Withlacoochee, the gorge, or third side, which was open to the bay shore, had been enclosed, with a 6 pound battery flanking it and making a cross fire upon the salients of the gorge. Two 12 pounders were also available for further armament. Barr speaks of the fort as a triangle, the base resting on the sea, with block houses at the apex, the whole surrounded by a palisade.

In fear of attack on his post, Belton could not spare a further detachment from Fort Brooke for the purpose of interring the remains of Dade's command. In the meanwhile the corpses lay

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where the men had fallen, subject to ravishment by scavengers of land and air, their requiem the wind sighing through the tops of the Florida pines.

Hitchcock's report has been widely quoted (Sprague, p.108, Cohen p.74, Crofutt, p.89, etc), an example which we will follow:

Western Department,
Fort King, Florida, February 22, 1836.

General:-Agreeable to your directions, I observed the battleground six or seven miles north of the Withlacoochee River, where Major Dade and his command were destroyed by the Seminole Indians on the 28th of December last, and have the honor to submit the following report:

"The force under your command which arrived at this post to-day from Tampa Bay encamped on the night of the 19th inst. on the ground occupied by Major Dade on the night of the 27th of December. He and his party were destroyed on the morning of the 28th of December, about four miles in advance of that position. He was advancing towards this post, and was attacked from the north, so that on the 20th inst. we came upon the rear of his battle-ground about nine o'clock in the morning. Our advanced guard had passed the ground without halting, when the General and his staff came upon one of the most appalling scenes that can be imagined. We first saw some broken and scattered boxes; then a cart, the two oxen of which were lying dead, as if they had fallen asleep, their yokes still on them; a little to the right, one or two horses were seen. We then came to a small enclosure, made by felling trees in such a manner as to form a triangular breastwork for defence. Within the triangle, along the north and west faces of it, were about thirty bodies, mostly mere skeletons, although much of the clothing was left upon them. These were lying, almost every one of them, in precisely the position they must have occupied during the fight-their heads next to the logs over which they had delivered their fire, and their bodies stretched with striking regularity parallel to each other. They had evidently been shot dead at their posts and the Indians had not disturbed them, except by taking the scalps of most of them. Passing this little breastwork we found other bodies along the road, and by the side of the road, generally behind trees which had been resorted to for covers from the enemy's fire. Advancing about 200 yards further we found a cluster of bodies in the middle of the road. These were evidently the advanced guard, in the rear of which was the body of Major Dade, and to the right, that of Captain Fraser.

These were all doubtless shot down on the first fire of the Indians. except, perhaps, Captain Fraser, who must, however, have fallen very early in the fight. Those in the road and by the trees fell during the first attack. It was during a cessation of the fire that the little band still remaining, about thirty in number, threw up the triangular breastwork, which from the haste with which it was constructed, was necessarily defective, and could not protect the men in the second attack.

We had with us many of the personal friends of the officers of Major Dade's command, and it is gratifying to be able to state that every officer was identified by undoubted evidence. They were buried, and the cannon, a six-pounder, that the Indians had thrown into a swamp, was recovered and placed vertically at the head of the grave, where it is to be hoped it will long remain. The bodies of the non-commissioned officers and privates were buried in two graves, and it was found that every man was accounted for. The command was composed of eight officers and one hundred and

two non-commissioned officers and privates. The bodies of eight officers and ninety-eight men were interred, four men having escaped; three of whom reached Tampa Bay; the fourth was killed the day after the battle.

It may be proper to observe, that the attack was not made from a hammock, but in thinly wooded country; the Indians being concealed by palmetto and grass, which has since been burned.

The two companies were Captain Fraser's, of the Third Artillery, and Captain Gardiner's of the Second Artillery. The officers were Major Dade, of the Fourth Infantry, Captains Fraser and Gardiner, Second Lieutenant Bassinger, brevet Second Lieutenants R. Henderson, Mudge, and Keais, of the artillery, and Dr. J. S. Gatlin.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, your obedient servant.

E. A. Hitchcock,

Captain 1st Infantry, Act. Insp. General.

Major Gen. Edmund P. Gaines,
Commanding Western Department,
Fort King, Florida.

Croft further quotes from Hitchcock's diary (p.91):

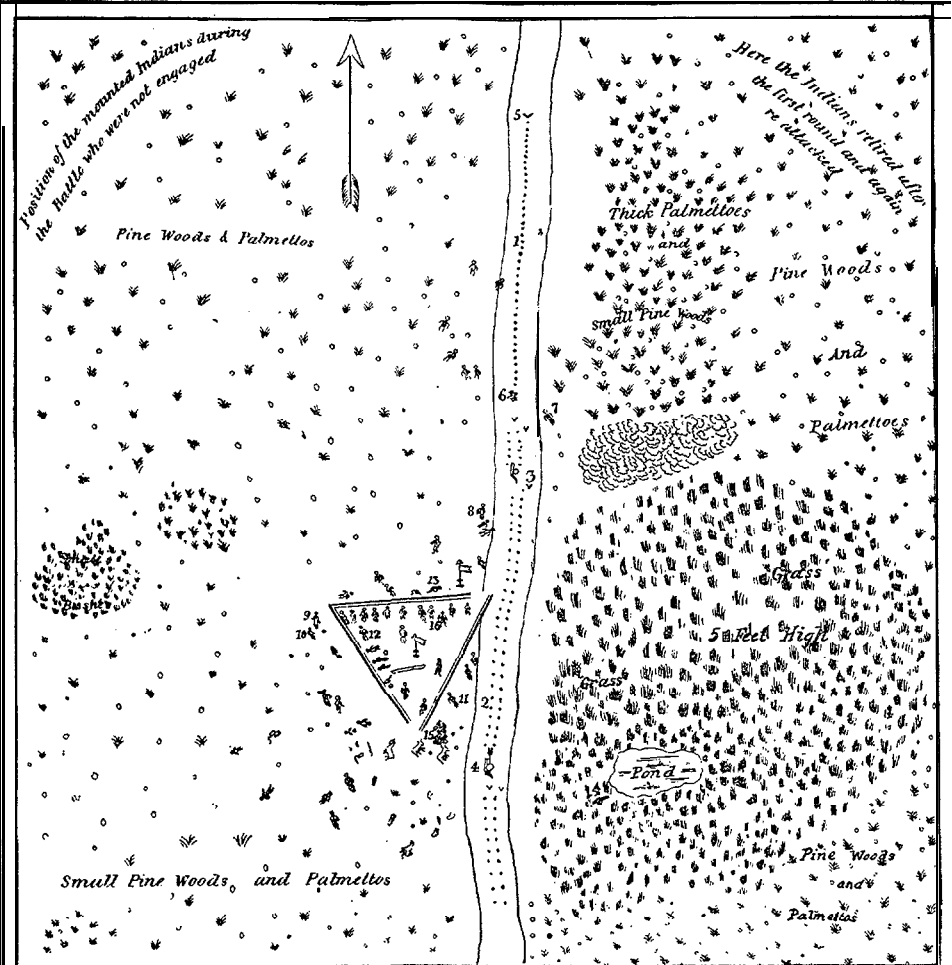
A proof that the Indians had done this deed reluctantly is the fact that very little of the clothing of the men had been removed and few had been scalped--these, probably by the negroes, as Clark recalled their movements. The wolf had not made them his prey: the vultures only had visited them. We buried them all, and, at my suggestion, the cannon, a six-pounder, was placed over the graves. The officers' features could not be discerned, but they were identified by various articles found upon them, which, strange to say, the Indians had left. A breast-pin was found on Lieutenant [*sic*] Fraser, a finger ring on Lieutenant Mudge, a pistol upon Lieutenant Keais, a stock on Doctor Gatlin, a map on Captain Gardiner, and a net shirt on Lieutenant Bassinger. Major Dade and Lieutenant Henderson were known by their teeth. The divisions of our little column were allowed to move up in succession and view the melancholy scene.

Woodbourne Potter, who also accompanied General Gaines' force, has given an account (p.138) of this visit to the battleground. It is accompanied by a sketch map (here reproduced), probably prepared on the spot, and likely the prototype of all others. He states that Gaines forded both branches of the Withlacoochee on the 19th, "and that night a breastwork was thrown up around that which had been occupied on the 27th of December by the ill-fated party of Dade". Their march was resumed at daybreak on the 20th.

" . . . about nine o'clock the appearance of large flocks of vultures foretold the approach of the army to the spot of slaughter. The advanced guard having passed the battleground without halting, the General and Staff came upon an appalling scene A short distance in the rear of the little field work lay a few broken cartridge boxes, fragments of clothing, here and there a shoe or an old straw hat which perhaps had been exchanged for a military cap; then a cart partly burnt, with the oxen still yoked lying

Boyd: The Seminole War: Its Background and Onset

Battle and Massacre Ground of Major Dade and Command Dec. 28th 1835.



- ▼ Officers in position before the battle commenced.
- 1 Advance Guard
- 2 Main Column
- 3 Artillery in Column
- 4 Waggon & Oxen
- 5 Lieut. Mudge wounded
- 6 Maj. Dade & Horse dead
- 7 Cap. Fraser, 8 Lt. Keayes.
- 9 Cap. Gardiner
- 10 Lieut. Mudge dead
- 11 Dr. Gattin, dead
- 12 Lt. Bassinger.
- 13 Position of Cannon
- 14 Cannon when found
- 15 Oxen, Horses, dead
- 16 Lt. Henderson.

Three graves containing the bones of 106 SOLDIERS, buried by Gen. Gaines.
 Note. The Indians were concealed in the Grass and Palmettos on the right of the Road.

dead near it; a horse had fallen a little to the right, and here also a few bones of hapless beings lay bleaching in the sun; while the scene within, and beyond the triangular enclosure, baffles all description. . . . From the position in which the bodies of this devoted little band were found, it was evident that they had been shot down in the faithful execution of their duty; their bodies were stretched with striking regularity nearly parallel to each other, and it is very doubtful whether the Indians touched them after the battle, except to take some few scalps, and divest the officers of their coats. A short distance further, in the middle of the road, was the advanced guard, about twenty-eight in number, and immediately in the rear lay the remains of poor Dade, while a few feet to the right in the rear was that of the estimable Captain Fraser. To guard against surprise, our troops had been immediately formed into a quadrangular line, and soon after a detail of the regulars commenced the pleasing though mournful task of consigning the remains of their mutilated brethren in arms to whence they came. Within the enclosure two large graves were dug, into which the bodies of ninety-eight non-commissioned officers and privates were placed, and outside the north-east angle of the work another grave received the bodies of eight officers, at the head of which, the field piece, which had been spiked and concealed by the enemy, but recovered, was planted vertically. The regular troops, formed into two columns and led by the immediate friends of the deceased officer, then moved, with reversed arms, in opposite directions, three times around the breastwork while the bands played the Dead March" (Late Staff Officer).

Elsewhere Potter states that examination of Lieutenant Basin-ger's body did not confirm that it had been subjected to cutting open of the chest with removal of the heart and lungs, as was related by Clark. Only one corpse was found which had been obscenely mutilated. Although the negroes stripped all of the officers and some of the men of their clothing, many valuables were left on their persons which were discovered by Major Mountfort, and collected for delivery to relatives. All the military stores were carried off (by the Indians) except the field piece, which they spiked and conveyed to the pond (*ibid.*).

Still another account of the passage of the battlefield by Gaines' force, is found in the diary of James Duncan (he is presumed to be the Lieut. Duncan of the 2d Artillery mentioned on page 148 of Potter), an officer of Gaines' command. Under the date of February 20 he wrote:

. . . march on to the battle ground, first indications of our proximity were soldiers shoes and clothing, soon after a skeleton, then another! then another!! Soon we came on the scene in all its horrors. Gracious God, what a sight! The vultures rose in clouds as the approach of the column drove them from their prey, the very breast work was black with them, some **soared** (?) over us as we looked upon the scene before us whilst others

settled upon the adjoining trees awaiting our departure in order again to return to their prey. The interior of the breast work was covered with the bodies of the slain, as they had been left by their savage foe. Broken guns, bayonets and accouterments lay scattered around, a gun here, a bayonet there, a box in this place and a belt in that. The skeletons of the horses lay in the harness as they had died, and the oxen in their yokes. The carriage of the field piece was half burned outside of the breast work. With some trouble the bodies of all the officers were identified, and so also were those of many of the soldiers.

Maj. Dade and Capt. Fraser were killed with the advance guard. Maj. Dade was recognized by his vest, Capt. Fraser by his shirt, and a miniature breast pin found in the bosom of it, it is now in my possession. Lt. Mudge was leading the head of the main column. He was recognized by his pantaloons, his fine teeth, his cap, a chase[d] gold ring upon his finger and a glove by his side. Lt. Bassinger was recognized by his under-shirt, stock, his position and above all by his whiskers.

Lt. Keais was recognized by his pantaloons, shoes, shirt, and a pocket pistol now in possession of Maj. Belton. Dr. Gatlin was recognized by his size, his stock, and his hair and one of his teeth contained gold filling. Capt. Gardiner was recognized by his size, his shirt and his hair which was mingled with grey. Lt. Henderson was identified, partly by his cloth[es] which to a certainty were those of an officer, and all the others were identified. The bodies of Capt. Gardiner and Dr. Gatlin were found close outside the breast work, probably dragged or thrown there whilst the pillaging was going on by the negroes. Two large graves were dug within the breast work into which the remains of 98 of the Gal[ant] though unfortunate band were deposited. Another was dug near though on the outside, which received the officers. The cannon which had been dismounted, spiked and buried a short distance to the right of the breast work, was found and planted with the muzzle downward to mark the spot where the remains of the officers were buried, and serve as an appropriate monument to their memory.

The ground had been burned over since the battle. Several hundred dollars were found, some nearly destroyed by the fire.

The ceremony of paying the last tribute to these our fellow soldiers and friends, was conducted badly, very badly. Maj. B. [probably Belton] proposed to the Gen. that everything that could be done should be done in the best manner possible, that the funeral service should be read and every little ceremony attended to that might come in our power. He represented it, not only as due to the officers themselves, but as due to the feelings of their friends, who could not but be desirous that the last earthly tribute should be paid them. The Gen. concurred fully with Maj. B. and promised him that his request should be complied with. He however entrusted the business to Col. T. [Twiggs, ?] who acquitted himself horribly. The graves were dug, the remains collected, tumbled in their receptacles in the shortest possible time, the whole having been accomplished, and the march resumed, in little more than one hour, although all the off. but one and all the men but ten were of the art. corps, the art. were not invited to participate in the ceremonies. The Infy were led off by the music playing *Bruces address* [?] and Maj. B. assumed the responsibility of joining. This I learned afterward was a mistake but that makes it but little better. Mistakes on such occasions ought not be made and only goes to show how hurriedly the whole affair was conducted. [Here is inserted a sketch of the battle ground]. After we left the battle ground pushed on 8 miles further and encamped. Camp called camp of the warm spring. Saw many signs of Indians on the road.

We are also indebted to Captain McCall for an account of the condition of the breast work. He related that his inspection of the exterior of the logs of which it was composed, revealed that they, on every side, were filled with rifle bullets of small size. Evidence of the stubborn defense was afforded by the dozens of musket balls crowded into the sides of single trees which faced the breast work, behind which individual Indians had taken shelter. The bodies of those within the work, clad in "sky-blue" uniforms, were in posture either kneeling or extended on their breasts, the head in many instances lying on the upper log of the breast work. Both Dade and Gardiner were personally known to McCall, and were readily recognized by him, the hair and beard of the former remaining. He related that the corpse of Major Dade was stripped of coat and shirt. One may speculate whether it was Major Dade's coat which adorned Osceola at the battle of Withlacoochee. McCall stated that although the flesh of the corpses had shrunk, the skin remained whole, dried, smooth, and hard as parchment.

The remains of the members of this detachment interred on the battlefield rested in these graves until nearly the close of the Seminole War. A project was developed for the permanent interment of the Dade command, of other officers who had died while in service in Florida, and of non-commissioned officers and privates whose death occurred while exhibiting exceptional valor, in a National Military Cemetery to be established in the garden of St. Francis Barracks, the one-time Franciscan convent in St. Augustine. Officers and men of the army were solicited to contribute one day's pay to defray the expenses. On Monday, August 15, 1842, the remains of the members of Dade's command were brought to the cemetery with a military escort, and with appropriate services, permanently deposited in three vaults over which three substantial pyramids were subsequently erected. A monument to Dade and his command was also erected on the grounds of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point in 1845

which was subsequently transferred to its present site in the Post Cemetery.

In 1921, largely through the initiative and efforts of Judge J. C. B. Koonce of Tavares, the Florida Legislature appropriated funds for the purchase of eighty acres of land including the battle ground¹³, for preservation as a historic memorial. This subsequently was under the custodianship of a special board until 1949, when the Legislature transferred the responsibility to the present Board of Parks and Historic Memorials.

(VIII) THE SAGA OF LUIS PACHECO

It has been mentioned that when Dade's command left Fort Brooke on the morning of December 23, 1835, it was provided with a guide described as a mulatto named Luis Pacheco. Ransom Clark reported that Luis had fallen at the first volley fired at the troops during the battle, but failure later to identify his corpse led to the conjecture that he had escaped to the Indians, and the speculation that he even might have knowingly and deliberately led the command into the ambush. Of these only the former was, much later, proved to be correct. His extraordinary reappearance more than half a century later is a matter of no little interest. Some details of his biography have been gathered by Kenneth W. Porter, from whose paper the following salient facts are summarized. (see also Giddings; *Florida Times-Union*)

Luis was born a slave in 1800, of pure African ancestry, on the plantation of Francis Philip Fatio, New Switzerland, thirty miles south of Jacksonville. As a child, he had been taught to read and write by the daughter of his master, Miss Susan Philippa Fatio. A brother and sister of Luis were runaways among the Indians, and he himself had married a slave girl belonging to a St. Augustine resident, who later purchased her own freedom. Luis pro-

13. The battlefield lies in the southwestern section of the city of Bushnell, more specifically in the NE 1/4 Sect. 20, T 21 S, R 22 E, and was identified on the township plat, surveyed in 1845.

tracted an unauthorized visit to his wife to such a length that he was regarded as a runaway. When finally located, he was found at Tampa, and probably to avoid the trouble of bringing him back, he was sold to Colonel Brooke, who employed his services as an interpreter. He was sold successively to subsequent commanders at Fort Brooke until finally in 1830 he passed to Antonio Pacheco of Tampa, who had a trading post at Sarasota, where he was mainly employed. On the death of Don Antonio in 1835, Luis was summoned to Tampa, where his mistress, Senora Pacheco, Don Antonio's widow, ordered him to report to military headquarters. There he found that he had been hired to serve Major Dade as interpreter. As the command had already departed he hurried to catch-up and found it at the Little Hillsborough river.

According to the account of Luis, he was standing by Major Dade when the latter was shot, and fell dead from his horse. Luis instantly dropped to the ground, and on two occasions during the battle, was spared by Indians on recognition of his color. Afterwards he expressed to Jumper a desire to return to the whites, a petition which was emphatically denied. He remained among the Indians and was among the band of Coacoochee or Wild Cat when the latter was sent to the West in 1841. Wild Cat claimed him as a captured slave. Since Wild Cat is not known to have been a participant in the Dade action, it is not clear how he became a member of this band which normally ranged more to the eastward. After the lapse of fifty-seven years an aged negro found his way to Jacksonville in 1892 and located Mrs. John Claude L'Engle (nee Susan Philippa Fatio) and convinced her that he was indeed the Luis whom she had taught to read. He remained her protegee, under the surname Fatio, until his death in 1895. If the identification is accepted, he was the last survivor of the participants in Dade's battle.

At this time he vigorously denied complicity in the Dade ambush. While it cannot be denied that he may have had op-

portunity to communicate with Indian scouts either before he joined the command at the Little Hillsborough or at subsequent encampments, as it is pretty certain these continuously dogged Dade's line of march, it is not so certain that he could have communicated information of value. The wheeled vehicles of the command necessarily obliged Dade to follow closely the course of the Tampa-Fort King trace or trail, and there is no evidence that Luis led them to deviate from the route or that Dade permitted it. The destination of the force must have been obvious, while delay resulting from the slow pace of the oxen and the crossing of streams where bridges had been burned, was inevitable. It does not appear that Luis could have contributed materially to the outcome. His disappearance from the battlefield as the only captive, afforded ample opportunity for the circulation of calumny.

(IX) ROLL OF MAJOR DADE'S COMMAND

(From roster preserved in the Dade Monument at United States Military Academy, West Point. New York. After facsimile in Cubberly.)

Brevet Major F. L. Dade, 4th Regiment Infantry, in command.

Detached from Company B, 4th Infantry.

Rank	Name	Birthplace
Serg't	Peter Thomas	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Priv't	John Barnes	Caran, Ireland
"	Donald Campbell	Inverness, Scotland
"	Enoch Gates	Orange, North Carolina
"	Martin Cunningham	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
"	John Doughtey	Dutchess, New York
"	Cornelius Donovan	Cork, Ireland
"	William Downs	Baltimore, Maryland
"	Samuel Hall	Belfast, Ireland
"	Wiley Jones	Wake, North Carolina
"	John Markham	Amherst, Virginia

Second Regiment Artillery

Captain G. W. Gardiner

First Lieutenant W. E. Basinger

Brevet Second Lieutenant R. (H.) Henderson

Detached from Company B

Priv't	Edwin De Courcey	Maidstone, England. (D. Cony)
"		Killed after battle.
"	Edward Boston	Lanarkshire, England
"	Ransom Clark	(Wounded, returned to Ft. Brooke)

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Rank	Name	Birthplace
"	Michael Kenney	Armagh, Ireland
"	Anthony Laughlin	Sligo, Ireland
"	John McWiggin	Monaghan, Ireland
"	James McDonald	Clare, Ireland
"	John McCartney	Longford, Ireland
"	Hugh Peery	Down, Ireland
"	Patrick Rooney	Sligo, Ireland
"	John Thomas	(Wounded, returned to Ft. Brooke)

Detached from Company H

Priv't	Richard R. Bowen	New York, New York
"	Henry Brondon	Hoffendorff, Prussia
"	John Craig	Antrim, Ireland
"	John Kerins	Migow, Ireland
"	Hugh McMee	Tyrone, Ireland
"	John A. Patton	Alexandria, Dist. of Columbia
"	Reuben Phillips	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
"	Thomas Thornton	Kingston, Canada
"	Hiram Taylor	York, Pennsylvania
"	William Wright	Boston, Massachusetts
"	John Stafford	Leicestershire, England

Company C

Serg't	John Hood	Edinburgh, Scotland
"	Philip Cooper	Coburg, Saxony
"	John Lovis	Burlington, New Jersey
"	Thomas Savin	Antrim, Ireland
Corp'l	Michael Ryan	-----
"	Nicholas Clark	Lawrens, New York
"	James Dunlap	Cumberland, Maine
Fifer	William Carney	Londonderry, Ireland
Drum'r	Charles T. Heck	Lancaster, Pennsylvania
Artif'r	George Howard	Trenton, New Jersey
Priv't	William Black	Baltimore, Maryland
"	Richard Bourke	Rathkeale, Ireland
"	Rufus Barton	Ulster, New York
"	Owen Boven	West Meuth, Ireland
"	Thomas Davis	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
"	Robert Green	Baltimore, Maryland
"	Isaac C. Grant	Smithville, New York
"	Alpheus Gillett	Troy, New York
"	John Haltor	Lancaster, Pennsylvania
"	John Hurley	Limerick, Ireland
"	William Holmes	Langford, Ireland
"	Cornelius Hill	Antrim, Ireland
"	Aaron Jewell	Windham, Vermont
"	Thomas Knarr	Lehigh, Pennsylvania
"	Robert Multrahal	Limerick, Ireland
"	William Neely	Derry, Ireland
"	William Robertson	Aberdeen, Scotland
"	Patrick Rafferty	Caimford, Ireland
"	John Riley	Mayo, Ireland
"	Casper Schneider	Hesse, Germany
"	William Taylor	Mole, Vermont
"	Isaac Taylor	Ann Arundel, Maryland
"	Joseph Wilson	Sacket's Harbor, New York
"	Orville Worcester	Windsor, Vermont

ROSTER OF DADE'S COMMAND

Third Regiment Artillery

Captain U. S. Fraser
 Second Lieutenant R. R. Mudge
 Brevet Second Lieutenant J. L. Keais

Company B

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>
Serg't	Benjamin Chapman	Smithfield, Rhode Island
"	John Valing	Germany
"	Austin W. C. Farley	Giles, Virginia
Corp'l	George G. Young	Foster, Rhode Island
"	Philander Wells	Utica, New York
"	Alexander Jones	Salem, New Jersey
Artif'r	Henry Wagner	Berks, Pennsylvania
Priv't	George Bertram	Edinburgh, Scotland
"	Ben C. Carpenter	Latentown, New York
"	Patrick Camasky	Ireland
"	Samuel E. Dodge	New York, New York
"	William Flannagin	Mayo, Ireland
"	John C. Folk	Altona, Pennsylvania
"	George Herlyhigh	Cranston, Rhode Island
"	Jordan Hall	Long Island, New York
"	Samuel Kinkerly	Franklin, Pennsylvania
"	Jacob Kneeland	Baltimore, Maryland
"	Samuel Lemon	Lancaster, Pennsylvania
"	William Minton	Mendham, New Jersey
"	Donald Monroe	Albany, New Jersey
"	John Mulcahy	Waterford, Ireland
"	William D. Randall	Pompey, New York
"	John Schaeffer	Germany
"	Henry Senram	Hanover, Germany
"	Joseph Sprague	(Wounded, returned to Ft. Brooke)
"	Washington Tuck	Farmingham, Maine
"	Richard Vreeland	Bergen, New Jersey
"	Samuel S. Wright	Belfast, Ireland
"	John Williams	Waxford, Ireland
"	Sylvester Welsh	Cumberland, Pennsylvania
"	Daniel Wechsung	Berka, Germany
"	George York	Farnham, England

Assistant Surgeon J. S. Gatlin

Supernumeraries:

Luis Pacheco, Interpreter

An un-named servant (vide Potter)

In the Battle of 28th December, 1835

Killed,	104
Wounded,	3

Aggregate	107
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NOTE: The above roll omits the name of Artificer William McGrew, Company F, Second Artillery, which is given in Sprague, page 531. The inclusion of this name raises the aggregate to 108, the figure given by Major Belton, which does not include the supernumeraries. Deducting the three wounded who escaped to Fort Brooke, there is a balance of killed of 105. Hitchcock says 106 bodies were interred (the count being based, according to another officer, on the skulls). If it is assumed that the un-named servant was also a casualty, the total is raised to 106. However, since it is doubtful if De Courcy's body was recovered, it would appear that the interment probably included one corpse not pertaining to the command.

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