

LIKE BEADS ON A STRING:  
A CULTURE HISTORY OF THE SEMINOLE INDIANS  
IN NORTH PENINSULAR FLORIDA

By

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is ironic that when I first became interested in Southeastern ethnohistory as a young undergraduate at the University of Florida in the early 1970s, I developed no interest whatsoever in the Florida Seminole. This despite authoring several term papers and a departmental honors thesis in which Creek and Cherokee data were used, and despite having taken a class or two with the late Charles H. Fairbanks.

Thinking back on it, there are several reasons why I neglected the topic with which I have become so intimately acquainted over the past several years. I, quite wrongly, perceived the Seminole to be too "new," too "traditionless" to be of real anthropological interest. Of course, ignorance is my only defense with respect to this position.

Second, my tenure as an undergraduate preceeded somewhat the publication of Fairbanks' (1978) synthesis of Florida Seminole culture history, a work that would be one of the last of his long and productive career. In the early 1970s, Seminole history had the appearance of a jumble of facts and dates; anthropological perspectives

were conspicuous by their absence. For this reason, the present study would not have been possible had Fairbanks not gone before, and, although I never had a working relationship with Dr. Fairbanks, a debt of gratitude is owed.

I wish I could claim that this study proceeded in a systematic, deductive fashion, but in fact it did not. The pattern to my thinking expressed in these pages took shape in bits and pieces over a period of several years, and like a piece of Seminole patchwork, required a handy bit of tailoring to achieve a satisfactory finished product. In point of fact, this study developed out of the search for a single archaeological site, known as "Powell's Town," or the village site occupied by Osceola and his band of Seminoles during the Second Seminole War.

Early in 1983 Donald Sheppard, Dan Edwards, and William Goza met with Florida State Museum archaeologist Jerald T. Milanich to discuss the possibility of some archaeological reconnaissance on Edwards' "Flying Eagle Ranch," located southeast of Inverness, Florida, where Sheppard had located the Osceola site on the basis of information contained in an 1837 military diary. Edwards concurred with Sheppard's estimation; Goza, President of the Wentworth Foundation, was willing to provide initial

funding, and Milanich went in search of a graduate student to become an assistant on the project.

I had recently returned to graduate study at the University of Florida, after a long and curious interlude in the non-academic world. After my first semester in school, I had failed to attach myself to any ongoing program, or even commit to an area of study. Would I be willing to tackle the Osceola site, and possibly parlay it into a dissertation study? With almost no hesitation I accepted Milanich's offer, and commenced research in preparation for the Wentworth-funded expedition in May, 1983. I was somewhat astonished at the throng of reporters that greeted my first trip to Inverness; not being a native Floridian it was only later that I was to appreciate the role of Osceola in local folklore and legend. I must have managed to deport myself tolerably well despite my ignorance, because I have enjoyed a positive relationship with the press throughout our study.

My first perspective on the Seminole study was ecological in flavor; had it remained so this work would never have been written, at least in its present form. For it was with Seminole culture that I became fascinated, and with the role of history and ideas in the shaping of the Native American society that has survived to this day.

This project has, of course, not been strictly an individual endeavor. Many individuals and institutions deserve special mention for their roles in its evolution. First, the original band of conspirators--Sheppard, Milanich, Goza, and Edwards--deserve either praise or blame for putting me on the right track. My early fieldwork in the Inverness area would not have been possible without the steadfast support of Don Sheppard, whose friendship I have also come to cherish over these past several years. Milanich is owed a special debt for demonstrating rare wisdom in guiding my graduate studies; his unique ability was in allowing me to make the appropriate mistakes necessary to encourage my professional growth. The other members of my doctoral committee--anthropologists Barbara Purdy, Michael Moseley, and Allan Burns, and historian John Mahon--deserve credit for helping the final revision of this manuscript take shape.

The efficiency and productivity of the fieldwork phase of this project were greatly enhanced by the efforts of the Withlacoochee River Archaeology Council, a fine group of avocational archaeologists from the Inverness area first organized by Sheppard and me to assist in the Powell's Town search. The Council has collectively braved extremes of

environment, personality, and patience, all in the name of archaeology.

Funding sources for the project have been diverse. In roughly chronological order, the following institutions are to be credited: the Florida State Museum, the Wentworth Foundation, the Inverness Rotary Club, the Florida State Museum Associates, the Florida Department of State's Division of Archives, History and Records Management (now the Division of Historical Resources), and a benefactor of Citrus County archaeology who wishes to remain anonymous. Finally, the production of this manuscript was eased and improved by my receipt of the 1986 John M. Goggin Memorial Fellowship, awarded by the Department of Anthropology, University of Florida.

The eventual completion of the project demanded a great deal of legwork, which was expedited by the cooperation of many landowners in the Inverness and Citrus County area. The Edwards family, Mr. Phil Zellner, and Lloyd and Shirley Newman deserve special mention. From 1984 through 1986 much of our fieldwork occurred on property held in the Inverness area by the South Florida Council of the Boy Scouts of America. Mr. George Preston, of the South Florida Council, facilitated the conduct of our project on their property. After Mr. Preston's

retirement, his position was filled by William Ortt, who has continued to extend the Council's support and hospitality for our benefit.

Another Scout employee, Mr. Paul Anderson, deserves recognition for actions above and beyond the call of duty, and has made integral, "nuts and bolts" contributions to the success of the project. I thank Paul for his friendship, his tow chains (used on more than one occasion), and for inspiring in me a deep respect for the Withlacoochee woods. Guy Prentice drafted several of the figures and offered much needed technical advice as to the production of the others.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and dear friends, who tolerated what could only have appeared at times to be sheer nonsense, and who trusted that eventually some sense would come.



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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School  
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Chairman: Jerald T. Milanich  
Major Department: Anthropology

The contemporary Seminole Indians of Florida are a visible and important minority of the state's population. Various observers have commented that Seminole culture is conservative yet flexible in nature. There are anthropological and historical grounds for this observation; the history of the Florida Seminole is the net cultural product of the complex interaction between antecedent cultural patterns set in the late prehistoric

Southeast and the historical circumstances of the colonial Southeastern frontier. Seminole culture history can be developed through archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic means. Previous syntheses of Seminole culture history have stressed the importance of ecological factors in shaping the Seminole culture of the ethnographic present, while indigenous cultural and historical processes have been given relatively little attention.

Several elements can be isolated that have influenced the development of Seminole culture. First, the Seminole were heirs to a system of male prestige reckoning and world view rooted in the warrior cults of the late prehistoric Southeast. An emphasis was placed on individual achievement, which in the historic period was expressed through the Seminole's quest for enterprise with colonial traders. Second, the circumstances of the Second Seminole War (1835-1842) promoted renewed emphases on clan bonding, ethnic boundaries, and aspects of traditional belief systems that are still present among the modern Seminole.

Three culture periods are proposed for Seminole history in the study area, based on the presence of the features described above. The Ancestral Creek Pattern is defined and described as the prototype for Seminole culture of the colonization period (1715-1767). The period of enterprise (1767-1821) is characterized by a



decentralization of Seminole society, as individuals engage in commercial opportunities presented them by the British and Spanish. Finally, during the period of revitalization (1821-1841) clan and tribal identities are again stressed and native ceremony and ritual gain in importance in the face of American attempts to remove the Seminole from Florida. Seminole concepts of selfhood are held to be an important factor in their cultural evolution and are discussed with reference to the annual busk ceremony.

CHAPTER I  
PRESENT VIEWS OF THE SEMINOLE PAST

I will begin this narrative by presenting an excerpt from an article by Barbara Billie, entitled "Miccosukee Swearing In Ceremonies Held," that appeared in the Seminole Tribune of December 30, 1985 (Vol. 11, no. 14):

To honor Mr. Billie [the inductee] in a traditional ceremony of gift presentation and wishing, Seminole Chief, James E. Billie, dressed in traditional dress of the long shirt, leggings and turban, poled his dugout from deep in the Everglades to the Miccosukee Reservation where, before hundreds of tribal members, employees, dignitaries and honored guests [were gathered]. Media from all over the state were on hand to cover the historical event. Chairman Jim Billie presented the newly elected Chief with three gifts to demonstrate "power." The first of the three gifts represents "power" as used in the "power of the pen." With that, he presented Chief Billie with a pen. The second gift was presented in the Miccosukee language. Chairman Billie chose not to translate to the public, but reported to the Seminole Tribune that it is the "green power that makes the world go 'round."

The third and most powerful in the eyes of the head medicineman, Sonny Billie [the inductee], was a panther hide. Chief [James] Billie explained that the panther has powerful medicine in the claws and tail, and is used for medicine at the Miccosukee-Seminole Green Corn Dance--the two yearly week-long tribal religious ceremonies held in Miccosukee.

The two chiefs pledged friendship and unity between the two tribes.

The drama of the above scene was no doubt enhanced by James Billie's immediate return back to the swamps via a helicopter.

And so we are introduced to the enigma that is the Florida Seminole, the subject of curious ethnographic comment for over one hundred years. For while qualified ethnographic accounts of the Seminole are not numerous, in fact numbering less than half a dozen over the span of this last century, most accounts in one way or another echo the same conclusions about the last of the Florida Indians: that they are among the least acculturated of extant North American Indian groups, yet they have demonstrated a propensity for selective, directed culture change, and that the Seminole ethos has steadfastly revolved around the dictum that "everyone should be left alone to do what he wants. Neighbor should not interfere with neighbor, and no one should tell anyone else what to do" (Garbarino 1972:99).

To further illustrate this latter point pertaining to the value of individual autonomy in Seminole culture, we can consider the following oral testimony collected from the Seminole by Tom King (1978:18):

One man of the Bear Clan and the other man of the Snake Clan were the first men to get interested in the white man's ways. They joined the soldiers and they were learning how to speak English, but the Indians didn't mind. Everybody had a right to do what they pleased to do, so they didn't care. They were just doing what they wanted to do.

It is my intent in this study to explore the structure of the Seminole past with an eye on the present, that is, to produce a partial culture history of the Florida Seminole wherein those configurations of culture and individual identity by which the Seminole are known in recent times are accounted for in historical and anthropological terms. Most of my interpretations are based on archaeologically-derived data. Needless to say, it is an immense and in some cases nigh incredible leap from the meager material remains to meaningful processual interpretation. Because it is not my purpose to require of my readers a leap of faith in accepting the presented conclusions about the shape and scope of Seminole culture history, this study is also heavily augmented by ethnohistorical sources and historical records. This work is one of historical anthropology or anthropological history, depending on the reader's preference.

In Chapter II I will begin to discuss the major historical trends that have been of lasting consequence in the development of Seminole culture, beginning in the centuries of the late prehistoric Southeast. The Seminole are here described as the heirs of an historical trajectory of societal centrality that was rending apart hierarchically structured aboriginal chiefdoms well before the time of initial European contact (mid sixteenth

century). The immediate cultural outcome of the demise of the elite, or chiefly, sector, and the rise of the "commoners" was what I term here the "Ancestral Creek Pattern." This term will be used to pertain to the historically and archaeologically identifiable configuration of sociopolitical organization, ideology, and economic relations associated with the coalescence of historic Creek Indian groups in the Georgia-Alabama region in the mid to late sixteenth century. The Ancestral Creek Pattern provided the foundation stock from which the dominant attributes of Seminole culture were selected and nourished. My view of Seminole cultural evolution is somewhat distinct from the works of other scholars in that I give considerable weight to the role of internal process as a precedent for culture change. By internal process I mean that historical configurations of culture, the "remembered reality," become for contemporary cultures the template from which strategies and adaptations to present needs are shaped, and are as influential in the formation of what we identify as a "culture" as are technological and environmental factors. In short, this position is close to that held by the "historical materialists," for example, Marquardt (1983:68), who writes that "humans are unlike other animals in that they alone, of all life forms, project culture, in the form of conventional

understandings, onto the physical surroundings, and then act on and interact with this cognized environment".

This thesis will be amplified in Chapter III, where the colonial Seminole are described as both preserving and transforming the Ancestral Creek Pattern in their settlement of the Florida peninsula. During this pioneering era of its history, Seminole culture was decidedly Creek in flavor, and some degree of political allegiance was maintained between these Florida bands and the Creek Confederacy to the north.

In Chapter IV, covering the period from 1767-1821, the development of the qualities of selective acculturation and the emphasis on the freedom of the individual, those features with which the Seminole are today identified are discussed in the context of Anglo-American mercantilist policy and practice. During this period of enterprise the radiation of Seminole bands throughout the peninsula was nearly complete, and through various circumstances their independence from Creek hegemony was effected.

Chapter V, concerned with the years 1821-1841, will be a discussion of the growth of a nativistic element among the Seminole at the hands of conservative individuals, who when faced with the threat and application of American military force to effect their removal, chose in their resistance to reaffirm selected aspects of the Ancestral

Creek Pattern. This is why vestiges of ancient beliefs and practices are alive today among the Florida Seminole.

The Second Seminole War--the conflict that shaped both the nature of Florida Indian society and Indian - white relations for years to come--also had the consequence of stripping away what had remained of the traditional structure of native sociopolitical organization. During the war years the maximal unit of social interaction became the matrilineal clan camp, described by an ethnographer some fifty years later as follows (MacCauley 1887:507): "each of the twenty two camps into which the thirty seven Seminole families are divided is a camp in which all the persons but the husbands are members of one gens [clan]." This is the same form of social organization noted for the Seminole by ethnographers of this century (Spoehr 1941; Garbarino 1972). In Chapter V, archaeological data will be presented from my excavations of Seminole sites in the region of the Withlacoochee River to support a reconstruction of a nativistic, matriclan-based society during this time.

Chapter VI will present a case study in native leadership during the Second Seminole War by focusing on the archaeology of "Powell's Town," the village where the legendary Osceola resided during his reign as war leader of the Seminole during the early years of the war.

Archaeological and ethnohistoric data will be combined to yield a picture of Osceola's leadership based on charisma, tradition, and pragmatism.

Chapter VII will be an exploration of the Seminole world view, as it is knowable through the ethnohistory of the Seminole ballgame and its associated myth and ritual. The intended role of the individual in Seminole society is presented in dramatic, symbolic form, through the play of the game, which is, in fact, a model of the Seminole cosmos. Again it will be argued that notions about the individual and his role in society have had structural consequence for the nature of Seminole culture history.

Chapter VIII will conclude the study and suggest some future directions for the role of archaeology in Seminole studies. The contribution that archaeology may or may not make to the current issue of tribalism among the Florida Indians will be a point considered, as will be concerns with the emerging anthropological study of Florida's Seminole blacks.

First however, we must examine what is currently known of Seminole history and archaeology, and the nature of that knowledge.

#### Approaches to the Seminole Past

Current views on the Seminole past have been shaped by a combination of political motivations, scholarly



attitudes, and no small measure of personal opinion. Political factors have been, and will continue to be, perhaps the most influential factor in determining how Seminole history is researched, and the nature of interpretations derived from such work. In fact, the definitive descriptive study of early Seminole ethnohistory was spawned as the result of a petition filed in 1950 by certain Seminole individuals against the United States, under terms provided in the Indian Claims Commission Act.

The Seminole (although not legally recognized as an incorporated tribe until 1957) sought financial compensation for their lost Florida lands, based on the principle of aboriginal possession. They held that their ancestors had resided in Florida from "time immemorial" and that tribal lands had been lost under duress, either through war or fraudulent treaty. The Seminole plaintiffs claimed that their title to the Florida lands had been recognized by Spain in the treaty terms of her cession of Florida to the Americans in 1819, and that through a series of treaties with the United States, dated September 18, 1823, May 9, 1832, and March 28, 1833 they were dispossessed of their holdings through at best quasi-legal maneuverings.

The claims made in the suit suggested three avenues of ethnohistorical research. First, some determination needed to be made with respect to the Spanish concept of

aboriginal land tenure and their intent with the Americans regarding Indian rights. Second, the case for Seminole antiquity in Florida required examination. Finally, the claim that the Seminole were an organized tribe at the time of the American acquisition of Florida needed scrutiny from a culture history standpoint.

Early in 1957 the Indian Claims Section of the United States Department of Justice entered into a contract with Charles H. Fairbanks, then an anthropologist at Florida State University, for the purpose of producing an ethnohistorical document pertinent to the Florida Seminole claims. The Fairbanks report, sent to the Department of Justice in November, 1957 (now available as a stencil reproduction of Dockets 73, 151, Indian Claims Commission, or as a book entitled Florida Indians, published in 1974 by Garland Publishing, Inc.) complied with the goals of the contract at relatively little expense.

Fairbanks traced the origins of what he dubbed the "proto-Seminole" to the migrations of Oconee Creeks to the Alachua Savannah (Paynes Prairie) as early as 1738, and of other bands slightly earlier in the vicinity of Florida's panhandle. Creek origins and cultural antecedents were clearly implicated in both cases. Raids conducted by these groups and others throughout the Florida peninsula completed the death knell for the native Florida Indians,

already seriously weakened from two centuries of debilitating culture change resulting from the introduction of European diseases and lifeways changes associated with the establishment of the Florida missions. By 1800, in Fairbanks' view (1974:331), the Florida Seminole were functioning as an autonomous tribal unit, partly because their prosperous relations with the British overlords of Florida made their interaction with the Creek polity to the north redundant.

The net result of the Fairbanks report was to highlight the complexity of Seminole ethnohistory and the extent of the cultural plurality that was to coalesce eventually into a Seminole polity: thirty or more bands or towns, two mutually unintelligible languages (Mikasuki and Muskogee), and unrelated migrations spanning a century or more. The Indian Claims Commission found for the Seminole, despite their initial impulse to dismiss the case on the grounds that the plaintiffs were not representative or legitimate tribal spokesmen. The reasoning behind the decision of the Commission is complex, and in addition to the written report submitted by Fairbanks, it undoubtedly found itself influenced by the oral testimony provided by University of Florida anthropologist John M. Goggin, presenting on the Indians' behalf in 1961 (filed under Goggin, John M., 1963, "Before the Indian Claims

Commission," P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville). Goggin's reading of Spanish law suggested that settled, agrarian-based Indians were accorded land tenure rights on parity with all other Spanish subjects, that is, rights to their farms and villages, while hunting territories could not be claimed (Goggin 1963:5,24). In the Commission's view, Spain had recognized at least limited Indian rights to Florida lands, while making no apparent mention of a Seminole "tribe" or political body. Indeed, it was probably their intent to have individual Indians or families receive land title or financial compensation, depending on the circumstance. The Commission certainly realized that the precise genealogical work necessary in order to establish links between the Seminole plaintiffs and the historic Seminole was not, and never would be feasible. Fairbanks' study had established that a semblance of a Seminole polity had been in existence for some twenty years before the Spanish cession of Florida, and so, in the reasoning of the Commission, some compensation should be made to the Seminole Tribe of today. While the path the Indian Claims Commission followed to its eventual decision was circuitous at best and must have followed the logic of political expediency at the expense of historical reasoning, the outcome was not without additional irony. The \$16 million award has not of

this writing been forthcoming to the Indians, because the claim was to be divided between the Florida and Oklahoma Seminoles (the latter being the descendants of the Florida Seminole deported West in the 1830s) with no agreement reached as to the actual disbursement of funds. Goggin foresaw this eventuality as early as 1957 (see his letter to Paul Niebell, March 25, 1957, in the Fairbanks collection in the Ford Library at the Florida State Museum).

Although Fairbanks was not the first to conduct ethnohistorical research on the Seminole in recent decades (we will take up the works of Capron, 1953, and Sturtevant, 1954 in greater detail in Chapter VII) it is a fair assessment that the Indian Claims Commission report heralded the modern era of historical scholarship, and combined inexorably the aims and goals of anthropology with those of a more political nature. In later years Fairbanks was able to complement his ethnohistorical study with an increasing body of information derived from archaeology, and was able to synthesize all available data into an outline of Florida Seminole culture history in which five phases or periods were described (Fairbanks 1978). It is in this work, and in a briefer version that appeared as Chapter Ten in Florida Archaeology (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980) that Fairbanks' anthropological attitudes with regard

to the Seminole were to achieve their greatest clarity. He framed these works within the bounds of anthropological theory prevailing at the time, and wrote of the Seminole as a case study in culture change, with cultural change to new and diverse natural environments as the central issue. Secondary emphasis was placed on the roles of changing socioeconomic factors, ideology, and differential acculturation in terms of drive mechanisms for the process of Seminole culture change through its five stages.

The migrant Seminole of Fairbanks' colonization phase (1716-1763) (Fairbanks 1978:169) occupied a position of isolation with respect to the social frontiers of both the Indians of the Creek Confederacy and the European colonial powers just then vying for control over the human and natural resources of the Southeast. The Florida Indians ceased to build the squareground towns to which they had been accustomed in Creek country because, in Fairbanks' view, their political needs were slight and the council function of these centers was not necessary. Trade relations with the Spanish colonial government quartered in St. Augustine lagged behind the efficient, serious mercantilism of the British frontier to the north; consequently, early Seminole sites in Florida do not display comparable quantities of trade goods to contemporaneous Creek sites in Georgia and Alabama. With the demise of the

centralized, and socially unifying, squareground, Seminole settlements became dispersed and somewhat transitory. This tendency was exacerbated by the demands of a new way of life adopted by the colonial Seminole of the Alachua Savannah--the herding of the free-ranging cattle descended from Spanish stock of the earlier rancho days.

The manufacture of "Chattahoochee Brushed" fired clay pottery (Goggin 1958) remained as a strong link connecting the colonial Seminole (also termed the "proto-Seminole") with the Creek tradition, presumably because this was women's work less affected by the acculturative influences of the colonial deerskin trade. This view was one statement of several by Fairbanks with regard to female conservatism in the aboriginal Southeast (see for example Fairbanks 1962:51).

Because social pressure from neighboring groups was distant and seldom, the most important catalyst for Seminole culture change was in their adaptation to the peninsular wetlands of Florida so different from what their Creek experience in the Appalachian piedmont had prepared them for. In Fairbanks' view, the colonial Seminole could no longer be Creeks, almost by definition, as they adopted new strategies for survival in their new land.

The subsequent Separation Phase (1763-1790) (Fairbanks 1978:171) saw the Florida Indians increasingly

identified as "Seminole" (or various spellings thereof) in the colonial documents, and corresponded with their estrangement from the central powers of the Creek Confederacy. Evidently political centralization was not revived by the Seminole at this time because the traditional Creek style squaregrounds still were not constructed. To Fairbanks, the absence of the squareground signalled as well the decline and simplification of core features of Seminole society, politics, and religion. By 1790 Creek spokesmen could no longer represent the Florida bands in negotiations with the colonists, a situation that even the powerful Alexander McGillivray could not rectify. As the Seminole anchored themselves within the tide of British-established trade networks, the supply of trade goods increased with the exchange of skins and hides, and hence the increased visibility of Seminole sites dating to this period and littered with European-derived items. Women's roles remained relatively static, according to Fairbanks, as pottery continued to be produced in the brushed jar and bowl forms so prevalent among the Creeks.

Social change as the result of external pressures is again the theme of the next phase, termed by Fairbanks "Resistance and Removal" and lasting from 1790-1840 (Fairbanks 1978:178). The major historical events of this period are the retrocession of Florida from British control



back to Spain in 1783, the cession of the territory to the United States in 1819, and the outbreak of the Second Seminole War in 1835. The net cultural consequences of these events for the Florida Indians were that their former prosperity was somewhat diminished, the legal footing accorded them by the European colonists became eroded in the eyes of the Americans, and the experience of the war years saw their number decreased by some tenfold.

On the face of it, the facts of history tend to support the view that the combined consequences of these events for the development of Seminole culture could only be negative. The Resistance and Removal phase was a time of open conflict with a more powerful government; trade networks ceased to exist and the embittered Seminole became increasingly isolated in their "diffuse groups of farm homesteads" (Fairbanks 1978:184). Archaeological sites again shrink to near invisibility, and native religion and politics were in utmost decline (Fairbanks 1978:182). Cultural hardships were also experienced in terms of the ecological constraints forced upon the Seminole as they sought out the most remote, and virtually uninhabitable, Florida lands where they could live without interference from the Americans (Fairbanks 1978:185; Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:259).

The Withdrawal Phase (1840-1880) saw the emergence of a new cultural identity for the Florida Seminole, forged from their cultural adaptations to the subtropical swamps and wetlands of south Florida. The familiar pole and thatch chickee emerges as the primary form of residential construction, the matrilineal clan camp as the residential locus, and sturdy isolationism as the prevailing ethos (Fairbanks 1978:187,188). These traits become crystallized in the last Fairbanks phase, which concludes with the reservation Seminole of the present.

The works of Charles Fairbanks between the years 1957 and 1980 formed the basis for conventional understandings of Florida Seminole ethnohistory, for several reasons. He accepted the Indian Claims work (others had declined) and from it produced the definitive study of Seminole ethnohistory inclusive to the year 1823. Fairbanks maintained strong and lengthy academic positions in Florida, and was able to interest and direct several students in the historical archaeology of Florida's Indians. John Goggin was perhaps more influential in his lifetime, but his untimely and early death in 1963 left much of his research in note and manuscript form. Finally, Fairbanks' culture ecology approach to Seminole ethnohistory found ready acceptance in the anthropological mainstream of the 1970s, and has recently enjoyed a minor

revival at the hands of several of his former students (see for example the work of Dickinson and Wayne 1985).

Fairbanks is remembered today as an outstanding historical archaeologist, thus it is a curious irony that his work with Seminole ethnohistory is essentially ahistorical in perspective. The historical events of the colonial period are accounted for in great detail, but in the main the culture history of the Florida Seminole is reconstructed relatively shorn of its aboriginal Southeastern roots, as a curious addendum to Southeastern ethnohistorical studies rather than as the culmination of the net interaction between indigenous cultural traditions and the vagaries of historical circumstance. Ultimately, this perspective would contribute to the crippling lack of problem orientation in Seminole studies, because the trajectory of their cultural development was seen to make sense in the context of Florida while perhaps being anomalous in the larger case of the Southeast. The Fairbanks taxonomy of Seminole ethnohistory rested heavily upon the documentary verification of political events, and essentially this was the scope of his initial Indian Claims work. The picture to emerge of the Florida Seminole was that of a culture disintegrating under the combined weight of its participation in a non-Indian directed economy and the inability to control its own destiny. The Seminole had

no history other than that attested to in the colonial documents simply because there was no other history that required writing.

A complementary view of Seminole ethnohistory, and one fuller from a culture history standpoint, is the perspective provided by the work of William C. Sturtevant. In a piece appropriately entitled "Creek Into Seminole" (Sturtevant 1971), he takes the long view of Seminole culture, embedding it firmly within the Creek tradition and the aboriginal Southeastern culture pattern. Sturtevant suggests that the Creek settlement pattern of outlying homesteads unified via a centralized squareground (known as talwa) for civic and ceremonial purposes persisted among the Florida Seminole through the 1820s, in contrast to the opinion of Fairbanks discussed previously. As the talwas eventually disintegrated under the pressures of increased American aggression, Sturtevant suggests that a new form of social organization, the busk group, emerged; each one centered on a sacred medicine bundle and the individual who was entrusted with its fortunes and well-being. Thus, the central importance of religion and spirituality in the Southeastern Indian cosmos was kept alive.

Sturtevant places less emphasis on the socioeconomic effects of cattle herding on the Seminole than does Fairbanks, and instead recognized that the economic and

political conditions the Seminole found themselves in in Florida--the skin trade and receiving diplomatic gifts from the Spanish and British--had precedent in events that they had experienced in their Creek homeland. In Sturtevant's view, the major break by the Seminole with Creek tradition occurs about the time of the First Seminole War, when Spanish Florida was invaded by the Americans. After 1818, that which had been Creek now became Seminole, and in the face of a second, and then third, military conflict with the United States, a fully Seminole pattern of dispersed family homesteads and busk group ceremonialism was to develop.

A third approach to the Seminole past is presented in the work of Craig and Peebles (1974) entitled "Ethnoecologic Change Among the Seminoles, 1740-1840." The authors define Seminole culture in ecological terms, asserting that the marked characteristic of the Seminole is their "remarkable ability to accomplish a swift succession of successful ethnoecologic changes" (Craig and Peebles 1974:83) as they distributed themselves across the Florida landscape. Their use of the word "ethnoecologic" suggests that in their interpretation ethnic definition and ecological adaptation are inseparable and perhaps mutually defining. Their reading of the ethnohistorical record as combined with the then scanty archaeological data (most

notably the Oven Hill site, see Gluckman and Peebles 1974) suggested to the authors that Seminole culture had proceeded through four distinct ethnoecological shifts in the first one hundred years of its history. All four shifts were, presumably, away from "Creek-ness" and towards "Seminole."

The first shift occurred as the Seminole integrated the limited raising of stock--cattle, hogs, and horses--with the mixed farming and hunting economy typical of the Creeks. Through time the reliance upon stock became greater as the Seminole participated in the barter and cash economy afforded by the European desire for skins.

With the looming American presence on the Southeastern frontier the skin trade declined, and the Seminole took to a gardening subsistence, growing crops in small family plots. This was the second shift, and, after 1818, this way of life was supplemented by a new emphasis on hunting, foraging, and collecting of coastal shellfish and other previously unfamiliar food resources. Settlements of this period, between the years 1818 and 1850, were temporary and shifting in nature; religion, politics and social organization were diminutive. The fourth shift was the adaptation of the Seminole to the subtropics of south Florida, where they were to assume the reclusive lifestyle with which they have been associated in recent times.

The Craig and Peebles approach to Seminole culture history can perhaps be called a "duress" model of culture change. The central question of their study is "why were these Indians able to change their ethnoecology so often when other tribes failed" (Craig and Peebles 1974:91)? The answer: they were simply forced to do so upon threat of cultural extinction. Secondly, the authors credit the numbers of runaway blacks then living in Florida with literally saving the lives of the Indians (a view shared by an early chronicler of the Florida Indian wars, see Woodburne Potter 1836:45) because they were willing to share with the Seminole their skills and knowledge of how to survive in the swampy wilderness. Indeed, a peculiar kind of vassalage did develop between Indian and negro, and this was to become a major factor in the outbreak of the Second Seminole War. However, as we will see in the following chapters, the Seminole were themselves uniquely preadapted to Florida living by the full repertoire of the Creek experience.

The impression gained of Seminole culture from reading Craig and Peebles is one of a society steadfast in its ability to survive, yet virtually devoid of social complexity. It is a culture defined primarily by its aptitude in adapting to new and varied environments; it is a culture marked by flexibility. For this reason the

authors are puzzled by the conservative nature of the contemporary Seminole personality (Craig and Peebles 1974:88). As we will discuss, whatever uniqueness Seminole culture may have lies not in its ability to change, or in its ability to stay the same, but in how the combination, synthesis, and expression of these two processes has structured the nature of the Seminole past.

Table 1 provides a summary comparison of chronology and culture history as interpreted by the different authors discussed in this chapter. In general, it is agreed that the early proto-Seminole were essentially Creek migrants into Florida beginning shortly after 1715. The early moves were in response either to perceived economic benefit or in retreat from a hostile and unpredictable frontier. Proponents of the culture ecology model of Seminole history (Fairbanks, Craig and Peebles) suggest that the early Seminole quickly divested themselves of traditional Creek institutions and lifeways in response to new environmental challenges. Maximum Seminole acculturation occurred during the British period in Florida (1763-1783) (Craig and Peebles 1974:86), and building on this era of prosperity and good feeling the Seminole possessed something of a unified polity by or around the year 1800 (Fairbanks 1974:331). All authors are in agreement that the decades after 1814 were characterized by cultural upheaval, friction, and resistance, as the interests of the Seminole



and those of the new American proprietors of the Florida territory came into conflict. This was a period of cultural disintegration and the decline of native social institutions. The few Seminole able to survive the wars and avoid deportation developed a subtropical adaptation in the remote wetlands of south Florida; here the chickee, the clan camp, and the hammock garden came to characterize the reclusive bands of Indian refugees. The foundations of modern Seminole culture were complete.

#### A Note on Geography

Archaeological data included in this study will be derived from sites found within an area bound on the west by the drainage of the Suwannee River, on the east by the St. Johns River, on the south by a line extending from Tampa Bay east to the St. Johns (approximately 28 degrees north latitude), and on the north by a line east--west across the peninsula at approximately 30 degrees north latitude. For the purposes of this study, this area comprises the north half portion of north peninsula of Florida (Figure 1). Consequently, the area of the Florida panhandle and the regions of south Florida including the Big Cypress and Everglades swamps will not be discussed from an archaeological perspective in any detail. Seminole archaeology in the panhandle is sufficiently unknown and in south Florida sufficiently complicated to

Table 1. A comparison of Seminole culture histories.

Year	Fairbanks	Craig/Peebles	Sturtevant	BRW
1880	modern crystalization		new ethnogenesis	
1870				
1860			isolation	
1850			subtropical adaptation	
1840	withdrawal			
1830		foraging	warfare, separation	revital- ization
1820				
1810		hamlet farming		
1800	resistance, removal			
1790				
1780				
1770	separation			
1760				
1750				
1740		pastoralism		
1730	colonization		proto-Sem	colon- ization
1720				
1710				

Sources: Fairbanks (1978); Craig and Peebles (1974); Sturtevant (1971)

merit separate studies of both areas. A series of reports are published by the Southeast Archaeological Center (National Park Service) (see for example Ehrenhard, Taylor, and Komara 1980) that pertain to Seminole archaeology in the Big Cypress National Preserve, and it is hoped that eventually these studies will serve as the basis for processual studies of Seminole culture history from 1840 until the present time.

The study bounds are selectively arbitrary, and perhaps best reflect the area in which most Seminole archaeology has been conducted. Fortunately, previously known sites and locations excavated in the course of my own fieldwork together form a chronological continuum from which inferences can be drawn with respect to the development of Seminole culture history between the years 1740 and 1840. In this sense, the geographical bounds are also of cultural significance.

Previous prehistoric archaeology in the north peninsula has been neatly summarized by Milanich and Fairbanks (1980:24-26,28-33), who have divided the region into four prehistoric culture areas. The last aboriginal occupation in all areas but the central peninsula Gulf coast is that of the historic Seminole, whose migrations into the region are reflected in an archaeological discontinuity with the earlier remains. Important

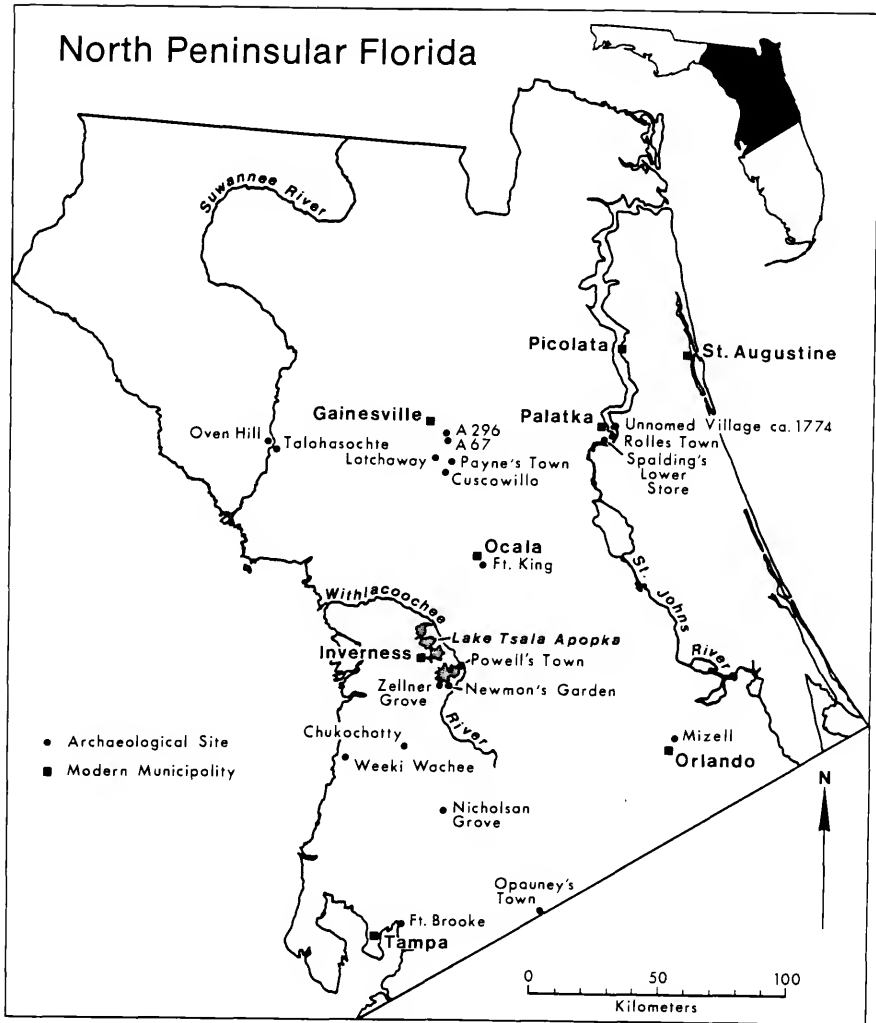


Figure 1. Location of the study area.

historical and cultural developments in the north peninsula are summarized in Table 2.

Two of the three major rivers in the province--the Withlacoochee and the Suwannee--empty into the Gulf of Mexico, and thus they formed major river routes for the establishment of important Seminole commerce with Spanish Cuba. The St. Johns River provided an important locus for early Seminole trading activities in the peninsula because it served as the major highway to the interior for British colonial entrepreneurs; Denys Rolle, James Spalding, and others.

Much has been made by Fairbanks and others of the cultural effects on the Creek migrants of the geographical differences between the well-drained fertile uplands of Georgia and Alabama and the sandy lowlands of Florida. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the first proto-Seminole settled the fingers of uplands that do occur in the north peninsula. South of the Alachua area, the first settlements were located on what is known as the Brooksville Ridge, a narrow spine of highland trending north-northwest from present-day Brooksville (Hernando County) to the Withlacoochee gap at Dunnellon (Marion County). Settlements in the Alachua area probably occurred in the oak-hickory forest uplands (Atlas of Florida 1981:66) extending from the vicinity of present-day

Table 2. Important historical events in north peninsular Florida through 1765.

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1765	Treaty of Picolata, Indians cede territory east of the St. Johns River to the British.
1740	Cowkeeper assists Ogelthorpe in attack on Spanish St. Augustine. Beginnings of Alachua Seminole.
1710	Creeks use peninsula for slave raiding and as hunting ground.
1702	English and Creek raids destroy Florida missions.
1690	Florida missions in decline.
1656	Timucuan rebellion against Spanish missions.
1607- 1655	Proliferation of Spanish (Franciscan) missions, dramatic change in aboriginal lifeways.
1565	Pedro Menedez de Aviles explores the St. Johns River south to Lake George.
1564	Intertribal warfare among Timucua aided by Frenchman Laudonniere.
1539	Soto entrada travels overland through heart of peninsula. Decline of aboriginal populations.
1528	Landing of Panfilo de Narvaez, Tampa Bay.
1000- 1528	The development of aboriginal Timucuan chiefdoms. Alachua Tradition and Safety Harbor archaeological cultures.

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Gainesville to the area of the Santa Fe River. In Chapters II and III we will examine how Indians living in these areas were able to preserve their Creek lifeways virtually intact.

In the Alachua Savanna area (known today as Payne's Prairie) known Seminole sites are shallow, single component sites in the vicinity of prehistoric Alachua Tradition or Potano Indian settlements; south of the Withlacoochee towards Tampa Bay their locations are often near sites attributed to the late prehistoric Safety Harbor culture (see Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:23 for prehistoric culture periods). Seminole sites do not often occur as the upper components in prehistoric shell or refuse middens (exceptions will be described), which in the main reflects the difference in cultural emphasis between the prehistoric Floridians and the historic Seminole. Seminole sites can also be distinguished from those of the later American pioneers because the Seminole did not abandon the manufacture and use of fired clay pottery until their ultimate move into the south Florida glades, and sherds of this brushed pottery will often be found on Seminole sites.

Seminole sites are subject to the same destructive agents--vandalism, construction, farming--as are all archaeological sites in Florida. However, because they are often of low density in archaeological terms, and occur on

or just below the surface, little effort is required to remove them permanently from the archaeological record. Hence, the total sample of Seminole archaeological sites is small, and will likely only increase through the use of the direct historical approach in areas that have seen little development. Unfortunately, the time, labor, and money needed to locate Seminole sites in this manner have perhaps prohibited greater attention from being paid them.

Consequently, Seminole archaeology in Florida is still in its infancy. The Seminole themselves have not at present perceived it to be a priority to investigate their past via archaeological means, although this may change as tribal affluence and cultural awareness increase through the next several decades. Scholars of Seminole studies should be aware that their research may hold important implications for future land claims disputes, for issues of tribal identity, and for how Indian youth in the future may be educated about their past.

In Chapter II we will begin our consideration of Seminole culture history by examining the Southeastern Indian tradition from which it developed.



CHAPTER II  
ANTECEDENTS: THE ANCESTRAL CREEK PATTERN

In large measure the foundations of contemporary Seminole culture lie in the sum of a combination of historical forces in the aboriginal Southeast; a cultural legacy inherited from the Creeks of Georgia and Alabama and a trajectory of historical process with roots deeper in the events of the prehistoric Southeast. This chapter will be a study in both form and process; form in the sense that traits and beliefs were configured and reconfigured by the Creeks and then the Seminole into a recognizable whole (or what is called "culture") and process meaning the flow of events from which cultural configurations are constructed. We will see in this chapter that there can be no anthropology of the Seminole without history, and no history without anthropology.

Our first consideration will be with processual concerns, in determining the nature of culture change in the aboriginal Southeast before the coming of the Europeans, before the formation of the Creek Confederacy, back into the developments of the late prehistoric era known as the "Mississippian."

The Mississippian period in Southeastern archaeology has been defined in a number of ways; in adaptational terms wherein Mississippian societies are those practicing flood plain agriculture adapted to fall line ecotones (B. Smith 1978:481); in more social terms as those societies affluent enough to require high standards of living (Brain 1978:364), or from a religious perspective in which Mississippian societies are those that share a core set of beliefs about the earth, as expressed in the periodic rebuilding of large, earthen platform mounds (Knight 1981). Most investigators concur that the temporal bounds of the Mississippian period are the years A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1600, that Mississippian life was supported by maize agriculture, and that societies were organized into chiefdoms (Brown 1985:93,94).

Regional chiefs presumably resided in civic-ceremonial centers, organized around a complex of mound and plaza construction, and here they reaped tribute in the form of agricultural products from subsidiary chiefs residing in smaller centers and from families living in small, scattered farming hamlets. It is the chiefs, or "elites" that give the Mississippian period its unique flavor, in the archaeological sense, because it was at their hands that a rich and esoteric body of iconography was created, its full sacred meaning carefully guarded and manipulated by the special few.

The symbolic nexus of elite power centered on the ancestor shrine (atop a platform mound) which included a cult figure sculpted in wood or stone and "skull and bone" motifs presented in a variety of media (Brown 1985:105,108). The ancestor shrine had dual religious and political meaning because it was here that the chief would periodically propitiate the spirits of the dead and revered ancestors, and implore their favorable intercession into the world of the living. The practice of ancestor worship in its full form persisted in some areas until the coming of the Europeans in the early sixteenth century (Garcilaso de la Vega 1951:438).

In coexistence with the ancestor cult were the warrior cults and a core of beliefs centered on the importance of the earth and fertility (Brown 1985:103). These latter cults were those of the common man. Earth and fertility and the warrior cults were given expression in calendrical "rites of intensification" (Chapple and Coon 1942:55) and in these events, possibly the prototypes of what became known in the historic period as busk ceremonialism, serpent, panther, and for the warriors, falcon, symbolism was used by the participants to express their connection with the cosmos. These annual or semi-annual ceremonial events were quite distinct from chiefly ritual, which centered on the construction of platform mounds (Knight 1981).

The interests of the public and elite sectors in Mississippian society were not entirely complementary, in fact the masses were interested in a degree of independence that was antithetical to the wishes of the elite (Brown 1985:129). Between the years A.D. 1300 and A.D. 1500 ancestor figures of clay, wood, or stone decrease in frequency in the archaeological record, and after A.D. 1500 rattlesnake and piasa (a composite snake, bird, and panther figure) images dominate Southeastern iconography (Brown 1985:102). Clearly the elite had loosed its grip upon the masses, apparently several centuries before the effects of European diseases would again rock the foundations of aboriginal life in the Southeast. Indeed, in the long view the kinds of chiefs that could command the authority to construct, for example, the mounds at Etowah held sway for a short period of time. In the broadest of thematic terms, the direction of aboriginal leadership in the Southeast appears to be quite in the opposite direction, that is, away from permanent, inherited positions of centralized authority.

The process of sociopolitical decentralization is evident in the archaeological record, especially in local sequences where good chronological controls are available. One example is at the site of Tukabatchee on the Tallapoosa River of central Alabama, where the Mississippian period

opens with a settlement attributable to the Shine phase and containing a nucleated settlement with a single platform mound (Knight 1985:53). In the succeeding Atasi phase (A.D. 1600-1715) the area covered by the settlement increased in size and the mound fell into disuse. In the Tallapoosa phase (A.D. 1715-1836) domestic occupation along the riverbank became increasingly dispersed, with individual sites being separated by approximately 200 m. During this phase it is likely in the investigator's view (Knight 1985:118) that individual households were organized around the courtyard plan noted by Bartram (in Swanton 1946:393) for the historic Creeks.

The social, political, and economic correlates of the archaeologically determined settlement patterns are as follows. During the Shine phase, society was hierarchical, with priest-managers controlling a redistributive, agrarian economy and skimming for themselves prestige goods (copper, shell) that served as symbols of rank and exclusion (Knight 1985:173). In the Atasi phase, European goods enter the domestic scene as an "economics of ostentation" takes hold, with individuals striving to acquire prestige goods as they themselves act as free agents in commerce in a world now peopled with missionaries, merchants, and the colonial military. Native political authority in the personage of chiefs is on the wane, as their honored symbols of exclusion become redundant in the face of a virtual flood

of exotica from European sources (Knight 1985:174-176,179). The trend towards individual enterprise accelerated during the Tallapoosa phase, with the coming of a mercantile economy associated with the deerskin trade. At this time we see the rise of a new type of native leader, the "medal chief" (see the many examples portrayed in Fundaburke 1958) whose ability to lead was based on proven skill in acting as an "information broker" with the outside world (Knight 1985:178-179).

If we refer now to the dates for the Creek settlement of the Florida peninsula (the middle decades of the 1700s) it is evident that the first proto-Seminole were fully imbued with an ethos of consumerism, with individuals striving for symbols of status and prosperity via the deerskin trade. Even before the advent of the deerskin trade in the Southeast, the Mississippian warrior cults also stressed individual achievement, in the taking of scalps. A warrior who proved himself successful in this endeavor could become upwardly mobile and eventually achieve a position of esteem. Thus the Seminole were not cultural strangers to the concept of reward for achievement, which in their case became readily adapted to their dealings with the Europeans. With respect to the commonly held view that the Seminole became dependent on trade goods (for example, Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:257)

we must ask, dependent in what way? Southeastern Indian tradition had already developed the behavioral prototype in which it was deemed socially favorable to acquire foreign exotica, and this is most certainly expressed in the Creek sequence. Hence the Seminole culture that took shape in the peninsula of Florida assumed its commercial flavor not strictly by European design or by an Indian "weakness" for European baubles but as the historical consequence of Indian-derived patterns of behavior.

I also suspect that the noted "cultural flexibility" of the Florida Seminole (demonstrated for example in the relationships with the Florida blacks) had an important historical precedent in the formation of the so-called Creek Confederacy in the last third of the seventeenth century (M. Smith 1984:190).

The Creek Confederacy was an amalgam of formerly disparate tribes, depopulated chiefdoms, and entrepreneurial natives who together formed an united front in the face of European slaving expeditions and imperialism (M. Smith 1984:190,192,199). Although the degree to which the Confederacy actually impacted the daily lives of the Indians is debatable (Sturtevant 1971:96), its internal success was dependant on a native-based model of acculturation in which, for example, towns of different linguistic affiliation (Muskogee, Hitchiti, Alabama,

Koasati) assumed a *lingu franca* (Muskogee) to facilitate inter-tribal communication.

A curious historical example of what might be termed "internal acculturation" comes, again, from Tukabatchee, a Muskogee-speaking town of some importance in the Confederacy. Here, shortly after 1675, a band of refugee Shawnee Indians from the north were offered asylum by the Tukabatchee Creek. They settled in the town and formed a ceremonial alliance with its residents, sealed by gifts from the Shawnee including calumet (peace) pipes, wampum belts, and the famous Tukabatchee plates, pieces of sheet copper interred at the site by prehistoric Indians and perhaps excavated by the Shawnee during house construction (Knight 1985:25,26). These gifts were invested with a special meaning by the people of Tukabatchee and were incorporated into their busk ceremonialism (Swanton 1928b:575, 1946:185; for related phenomenon see Nunez 1958:14). The Seminole were to act in similar fashion with respect to other groups in the course of their history, as will be discussed in Chapters III and V. Their ability to do so, I suggest, was part of the behavioral baggage carried by the Creeks on their migrations into Florida.

#### The Seminole as Southeastern Indians

It is clear that vestiges of Southeastern Indian traditions and customs have survived with the Florida



Seminole. The Seminole of today speak two languages of some antiquity in the Southeast; Muskogee or "Creek" spoken on the Brighton Reservation northwest of Lake Okeechobee, and Mikasuki, spoken on the Big Cypress, Hollywood, and Tamiami Trail reservations (the latter a reservation of the Miccosukee Tribe). Both languages belong to the Muskogean language family, along with Choctaw-Chickasaw, Apalachee, Alabama, and Koasati (Haas 1971:50). Muskogee remains the lingua franca of the Florida groups, although English is becoming increasingly important (Garbarino 1972:31). Mikasuki speakers use words of Muskogee origin for personal names and for their curing songs (Sturtevant 1971:113), and most of the Indian place names in use in Florida are Muskogee (with several notable survivals from the Timucuan of the prehistoric Florida Indians, for example the present day city of Ocala named after the aboriginal province of Cale).

The most interesting continuity between the Seminole and the Southeastern aboriginal tradition is in the practice of busk ceremonialism, or the so-called Green Corn Dance of the Seminole (Capron 1953, Sturtevant 1954). Green Corn ceremonialism, in the Creek area referred to as the busk, from the Creek (Muskogee) posketa meaning "fast" (Witthoft 1949:52), was a widespread cultural phenomenon in the Eastern woodlands associated with agricultural

peoples. The Creek busk was an annual event, typically lasting four (but sometimes two sets of four, or eight) days, and was timed to celebrate the ripening of the young, or "green" corn. The Scotch-Irish trader James Adair furnished a substantial description of a Creek busk in the 1740s (Witthoft 1949:53; Adair 1986:105); from his description and others scholars have suggested that similar ceremonies took place in perhaps grander form in the Mississippian period temple mound centers (Waring 1968:57,63). In its original form, chiefly, earth/fertility, and warrior cults all would have played a role. The kindling of the sacred fire during the busk may have indeed been prefigured in certain aspects of prehistoric mound ceremonialism, to judge from the buried ash lenses at the Citico mound in Tennessee (Thomas 1894:374) and elsewhere.

The lighting of the sacred fire was perhaps the most ritually charged of all busk events, and involved a great deal of scrupulous preparation (Witthoft 1949:53,58). Lighting the new fire and placing it in the hearth symbolized the triumph of purity over pollution and a sense of social solidarity. Members of a Creek talwa, or community, were "people of one fire;" when a group fissioned from the main, "their fire had been put out" (Swanton 1928b:235,246).

In the Seminole busk the central position of the sacred fire is preserved (Sturtevant 1954:47). The four fuel logs are oriented in the four cardinal directions atop a circular mantle of clean sand, replicating the well-known circle and cross motif of the late prehistoric Southern Cult complex, depicted at that time on shell, copper, pottery, and cloth (Waring and Holder 1948:3,4,12; Brown 1985:143). The circle and cross motif is most often interpreted as the cosmic, or world, symbol of the Southeastern Indians, with the north, south, east, and west of the cross each holding unique and often contrasting values in the minds of the Indians (Hudson 1976:122). Directional symbolism is of pan-hemispheric distribution in the Americas, which undoubtedly attests to its great antiquity. Among contemporary Seminole, this symbolism finds expression as the "four corners of earth" (Florida Folklife Programs 1984).

Partaking of the "black drink" by the Florida Seminole also indicates their connection to practices of great antiquity in the Southeast. The use of the black drink tea, brewed from several species of holly, or Ilex and other herbs, may date back to the earliest of Southeastern religious complexes, just after 100 B.C. (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:87,88). In the Green Corn ceremony of the Seminole and elsewhere in the Southeastern busk, its emetic

properties promoted the desired state of purity for those who drank it.

The black drink also had an important role in Indian councils; here again it induced a clarity of mind and fostered a sense of companionship with one's fellows (see LeMoyné, in Lorant 1946:93, for a particularly graphic example among the sixteenth century Florida Timucua). The chief first received the brew, contained in a conch shell drinking cup, and then it was passed among the men according to rank. The naturalist William Bartram recorded a similar use of the black drink among the Talahasochte Seminole of the Suwannee River in 1774 (Bartram 1955:200):

Our chief [meaning the white trader in the town] with the rest of the white people in town took their seats according to order: tobacco and pipes were brought; the calumet was lighted and smoked, circulating according to the usual forms and ceremony; and afterwards black drink conclude the feast. The king conversed, drank cassine [black drink], and associated familiarly with his people and with us.

Later accounts indicate the use of the black drink among the Seminole through the mid 1800s (Young 1934:90; Rowles 1841), and by 1880 it was clearly associated with the Seminole Green Corn Dance (MacCauley 1887:522). The south Florida Seminole of recent times no longer used Ilex species in their black drink, but the "big gathered medicine" continued to play an important part in the celebration of the annual busk (Sturtevant 1954:52).

The Mississippian period temple/mound complex, mentioned previously, is clearly the archetype for the Creek squareground town and the square constructed by the early Seminole. The historic Creek and Seminole squaregrounds contained four buildings or benched cabins grouped around an open plaza; here the chief and his advisors would sit in one cabin, warriors in another, visitors, women, etc., in another, and conduct important community affairs. It is quite reasonable to suppose that the four fold division of the squareground evolved from the four partitions or rooms of the Mississippian temple, as recorded by early European chroniclers (Waring 1968:54-58).

The panther and snake figure prominently in the symbolic pantheon of the Seminole, as we might expect with the rise of earth/fertility cults and the demise of the elite ancestor cults in late prehistoric times (Brown 1985:126-127). Beaded diamondback designs are prominent among Seminole motifs ornamenting shoulder pouches (Goggin 1951:2-17) and garters (Piper and Piper 1982:223), while the contemporary hunting dance is performed in a configuration representing the movement of a snake. The symbolic role of the panther among the Seminole has recently been brought to attention with the 1983 arrest of Tribal Chairman James Billie for killing an animal, classified as an endangered species, on the Big Cypress Reservation. In his defense, Billie cited the ritual and

curative properties ascribed by the Seminole to the panther, including the use of the claws and tail to alleviate muscle disease and increase strength and endurance. Southeastern Indian tradition (Adair 1986:33) and recent observations among the Seminole (Spoehr 1941:16) suggest that the medicine men or spiritual leaders were selected from the Panther clan, and it will be remembered from page one of the present study that James Billie presented a panther skin to newly elected Miccosukee Tribal Chairman and esteemed medicine man Sonny Billie (the meat was served to a visiting delegation of tribal chiefs at James Billie's hunting camp in the Big Cypress). The panther has also figured in Seminole cosmology as part of a composite underwater monster, the Water-Cougar (Hudson 1976:146), strikingly reminiscent of a class of underwater monsters described in historic Cherokee tradition and depicted in Mississippian art.

On the level of individual behavior, a number of parallels exist between the Seminole and their Southeastern antecedents. Consider for example the similarities in the headdress depicted by Bartram (Bartram 1955:184) and worn by the Seminole "Long Warrior" in 1774 and the archaeological reconstruction of a headdress excavated at the late prehistoric site of Cemochechobee in southern Alabama (Schnell, Knight and Schnell 1981:221) (Figure 2).

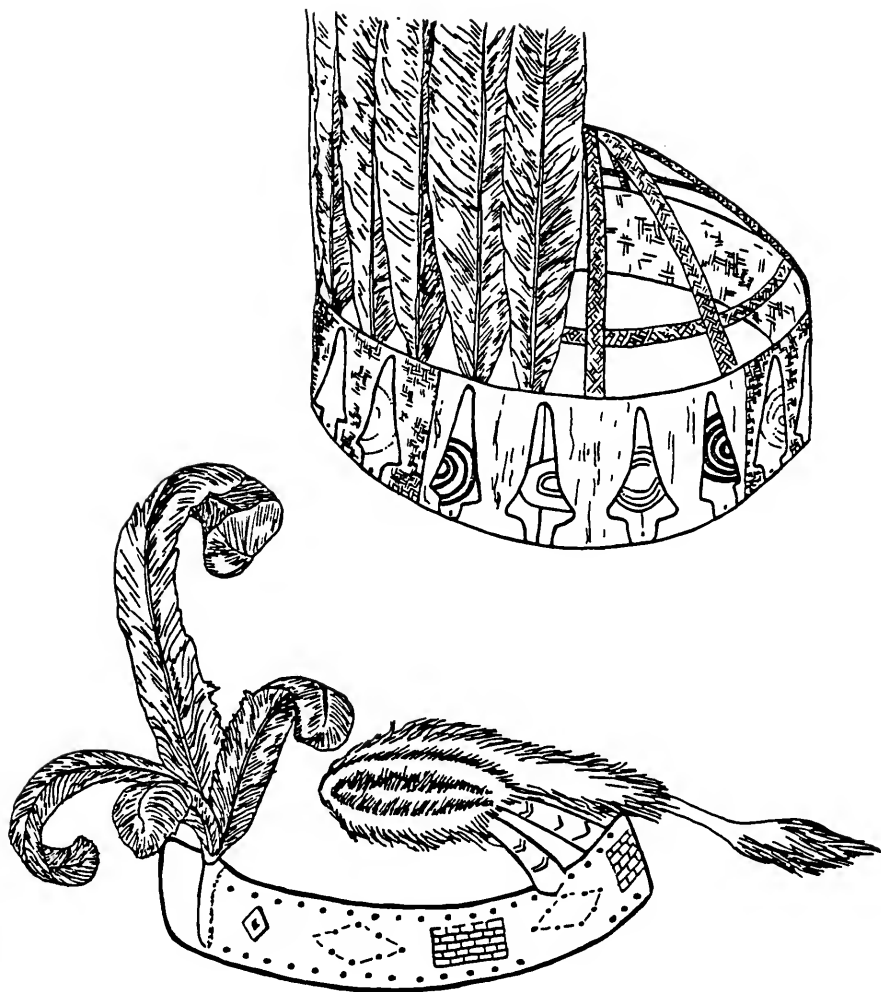


Figure 2. Comparison of archaeological and historic Seminole headresses. Top, after Schnell et al. 1981. Bottom, after Bartram 1955.

The cacique, or chief, of the town of Tascaluca in 1540 when the de Soto expedition reached the site was described as "full of dignity; he was tall of person, muscular, lean, and symmetrical" (Gentleman of Elvas 1904:87), while the White King of the Talahasochte Seminole in 1774 impressed Bartram with his "lofty and majestic countenance," his sense of dignity and magnanimity (Bartram 1955:200-201). These individuals likely thought of themselves in comparable terms, despite the change in the nature of chieftancy in the aboriginal Southeast between the years 1540 and 1774.

What has been written above was not intended to suggest that scholars of Southeastern studies have been unaware of the relationship between the historic Seminole and prehistoric aboriginal cultures in the Southeast. With few notable exceptions, however (Sturtevant 1954, 1971), culture change and continuity between the prehistoric and historic eras of the Indian past have not been investigated with respect to the Seminole. A direct historic approach through which prehistoric beliefs and practices may become illuminated by comparison with Seminole materials has not been applied, nor do the Seminole receive much attention in the literature other than as tropical curiosities. These factors are both causes and reflections of the lack of problem orientation in Seminole studies. For instance, despite the current interest in the role of depopulation as



an agent of culture change in the postcontact Southeast, the known depopulation of the Seminole between the years 1835-1855 has been overlooked as a source for modeling depopulation events and their sociocultural implications. Similarly, I know of no studies in which the cultural adaptations of the Seminole to the subtropics of south Florida and the presumed development of complex aboriginal social institutions in the same area are compared. Seminole studies and studies of late prehistoric Mississippian societies and groups inhabiting the early historic Southeast have rarely been mutually informative, despite the many cultural continuities linking the Seminole with the earlier Indians. The wisdom of MacCauley's (1887:495) observation on the Seminole has not diminished over the past century: "so strong has the Creek influence been in their development that the Creek language, Creek customs, and Creek regulations have been the guiding forces in their history."

#### The Ancestral Creek Pattern

The archetype for the development of Florida Seminole culture was contained in the culture pattern exhibited by the late prehistoric and early historic period Southeastern Indians. Specifically, they were the bearers of what I term the Ancestral Creek Pattern, the cognitive blueprint from which the colonial Seminole constructed their Florida

lifeways. It is important for us to recognize the main elements of the Ancestral Creek pattern, because in the eventual transformation of key relationships embodied within the pattern the Seminole were to create a cultural identity uniquely their own. We will now consider these features of the Ancestral Creek Pattern, in the realms of domestic economy, political organization, ceremony and ritual, and subsistence.

For the Creeks, the smallest meaningful unit of social interaction was the nuclear family, and this was also the minimal residential group. Women of several families who were linked together through matrilineage resided close by with their families and formed a small community known as huti (Swanton 1928b:170-171). The huti controlled important functions of domestic economy, for example the ownership and stewardship of land and buildings, distribution of foodstuffs, and child rearing (Knight 1985:119). The everyday axis of the Creek world revolved around family and huti.

Each domestic compound (the residence of a nuclear family) consisted of buildings organized around a squareground; in essence the domestic counterpart of the public squaregrounds described earlier. Striking archaeological evidence for household squaregrounds comes from excavations at the Tallapoosa phase (A.D. 1750-1800)

Tukabatchee site in central Alabama (Knight 1985:109, 117,118) where the patterns of recovered artifacts suggest the presence of special purpose buildings and a sexual division of labor. Women were skilled in the fiber arts, the crafts of pottery and basket making, and in activities associated with agricultural production (Swanton 1928b:384). Some farming took place on family plots (Swanton 1928b:443) evidently allocated by the huti, and in a community or town field presided over by the town chief, or mico (Swanton 1928b:443,278). Important produce included the famous "American trilogy" of corn, beans, and squash, as well as pumpkins, potatoes, and later, introduced crops such as watermelons and peaches (M. Smith 1984:172-175). Animal husbandry probably developed after 1770 amongst the Creek (Fairbanks 1962:54,55; M.Smith 1984:171; Knight 1985:120,121), by which time the Florida Seminole were also herding cattle on the Alachua Savannah and elsewhere.

Men were ostensibly occupied hunting and warring, endeavors which would confer upon them societal status if they were successful. Aboriginal warfare was not primarily imperialistic in motive or result, but was advanced in the hopes of taking scalps. Strings of scalps were trophies that indicated a warrior's prowess and enabled him to climb in prestige in the eyes of the other men (Swanton 1928b:424).

The main game target was the white-tailed deer (although of course many other species were taken), and the skins of these animals were to figure prominently in the European trade that was to develop by the late 1600s. Hunting and warring were activities that took men far from home for extended periods of time (see Weisman and Milanich 1975, for limited review). Creek hunters traveled the Florida peninsula in search of game, with the likely result that they became familiar with the territory as far south as the present day Everglades (these activities are mentioned in the records of the British Colonial Office, see letter from Governor Grant to Board of Trade, January 1772; see Swanton 1946:263 for related activities elsewhere). During these absences the women were on their own, to the degree that Swanton was able to elicit oral testimony in this century (Swanton 1928b:384) to the effect that "in ancient times men and women were almost like two distinct peoples." However, the fundamental relationship for both men and women in Creek society was with the nuclear family.

Independent huti were organized into a larger community known as talwa, the civic center of which was the squareground town (Sturtevant 1971:93). Members of a talwa were considered to be "people of one fire" (Swanton 1928b:246), thus the talwa was the fundamental unit of

shared community ritual and political authority. The unifying influence of the talwa became increasingly important in the face of Eurocolonial imperialism, and it is likely that the strength of this institution facilitated the eventual development of the Creek Confederacy.

Talwa leadership was in the hands of a chief, who was selected more on the basis of his clan affiliation than on strict principles of hereditary descent. At council meetings and busk festivities the chief and his henihas or advisors generally sat in the western cabin at the squareground, facing east. The cabin to the south was generally occupied by the warriors, who had at their head the tastanagi, or war leader, and whose authority existed in complement to the civic and peacetime duties of the town chief.

The number of Creek matriclans contained in the talwa were divided into moieties, based on the primary red/white symbolism common throughout the Southeast. White clans were associated with the sun, prosperity, and "society" (hence the mico and henihas were from white clans); opposed to them were the red clans associated with death, warfare, and "nature" (see Knight 1981, for a fuller discussion of red/white symbolism and the nature/society dichotomy). The tastanagis were selected from the red clans. Talwas as well followed the red/white division, with the red towns pitted against the white in war or more

often the "little brother" of war, the aboriginal ballgame (Hudson 1976:408).

The red/white affiliations of towns was not to survive among the Florida Seminole because it was often families, not towns, that migrated, but the dynamic tension created by the moiety system on the talwa level was to have important consequences for the early development of Seminole society in Florida. In fact, as we will see in Chapter III, the so-called "Indian troubles" that occasionally plagued the colonial authorities had their cause in the eventual disintegration of the native system of moiety.

Above the level of the talwa there existed for a time an entity known as the Creek Nation or the Creek Confederacy. In my estimation, the history of the Confederacy is inseparable from the biographies of a few key individuals like the "Emperor" Brim and Alexander McGillivray. Anthropological perspectives on the Confederacy suggest that it was a response by depopulated aboriginal chiefdoms to external pressures brought about by the development of the slave and deerskin trades in the Southeast, after c. 1670 (M. Smith 1984:192). The colonial authorities understood the workings of the Creek Confederacy (indeed it was similar to contemporary Anglo-American systems of government), but they

mistakenly assumed it to be a model of native self government that also pertained among the Florida bands. Although for a time, especially under the leadership of McGillivray (1783-1794), some semblance of a Creek "nation" did exist, his power was never consolidated over the Florida Indians, nor were they inclined to follow his example. Cowkeeper, chief of the Alachua band of Seminole, emerges from the documents as being particularly obstinate in this regard; his disdain of the Spanish was matched by his display of Spanish scalps, while his relations with the British authorities were calculated and somewhat aloof (see Covington 1961:39). It is clear that the situation did not improve in the next century; indeed the Indian Claims case of recent years stemmed in part from the fact that common representation was lacking among the mid nineteenth century Seminole.

The Ancestral Creek Pattern included a body of religious beliefs that were to find expression among the historic Seminole. Core beliefs centered around the concepts of purity and balance (Hudson 1976:336). There were a number of ways an individual could become unclean, for instance by handling or being in proximity to the dead, and by stepping outside of the normal social order. Ritual steps were then taken to restore the desired state of purity; on a large scale this was the central principle of the busk ceremonialism, while on a daily basis practices

such as ritual bathing were maintained. Purity to the Indians primarily meant the adherence to a rigid folk taxonomy in which animals, humans and human actions, and inanimate objects were placed into categories not intended to mix. The Seminole busk and mortuary practices will be described in more detail in later chapters, and there it will be clear that the Seminole too were concerned with avoiding conditions of impurity. The account provided by MacCauley (1887:521,522) of a Seminole funeral in 1881 indicates that even by this relatively late date the Seminole adhered to standards of ritual propriety when dealing with the dead (fires were also kept burning nearby to prevent "evil birds" from fouling the corpse), and the vestiges of earlier Southeastern Indian burial practices are in evidence (Figure 3).

Turning now to considerations of subsistence, we will remember from Chapter I that several authors defined Seminole culture on the basis of new subsistence strategies adopted by them in the course of their colonization of the Florida peninsula. The points have been made that the role of animal husbandry and the utilization of aquatic and marine habitats necessitated cultural adaptations on the part of the Seminole, adaptations upon which their ethnic identity was to become based.



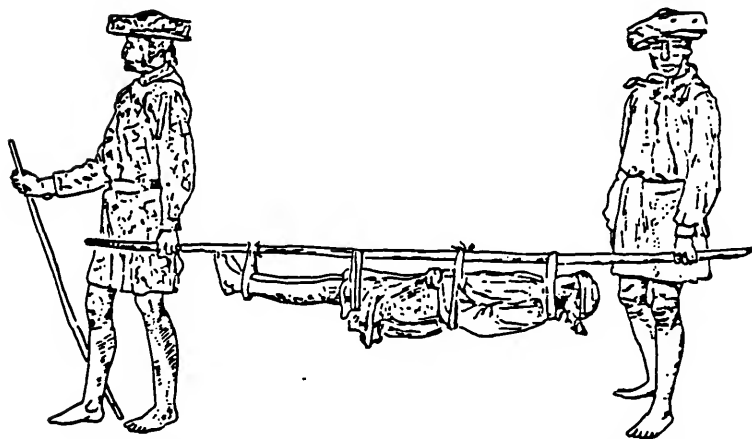
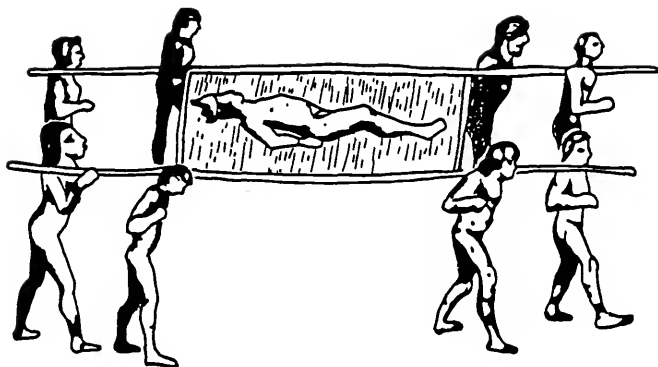


Figure 3. Comparison of Natchez (top, c.1750s, after Hudson 1976:333) and Seminole (bottom, c.1870s, after MacCauley 1887:520) burial customs.

It is clear, however, that Creek subsistence strategies included more than just an emphasis on flood plain agriculture and fall line resources. Creek pottery has been found at the Stallings Island site on the Savannah River in Georgia, suggesting their use of the site to procure riverine resources (Fairbanks 1942:227). Archaeology at Atasi Phase (A.D. 1600 -1715) house sites in central Alabama demonstrates that a wide range of plant and animal species were utilized, including freshwater mollusks, several species of turtle, fish, squirrel, raccoon, opossum, white-tailed deer, hickory nuts, and wild fruits (Knight 1985:78-81). In the subsequent Tallapoosa phase (A.D. 1715-1837), contemporaneous with the Seminole settlement of Florida, the interest in collecting wild foods does not appear to diminish (Knight 1985:151-153). At the site of Nuyaka, in central Alabama, the excavation of trash pits attributable to the historic Creeks (c. A.D. 1777-1813) (Dickens 1979:171) has yielded remains that indicate a similar broad spectrum of resource exploitation, including bird, fish, reptile, and at least four species of wild plants. In fact, in the words of an earlier excavator at the same site, the historic Creeks "were using a more varied range of environmental resources than they had during the prehistoric period" (Fairbanks 1962:55).

Documents are also useful in reconstructing the less widely known features of the Ancestral Creek subsistence complex. Bartram reports the use of a fire-hardened harpoon for spearing fish in Georgia (in Swanton 1946:338). Fish were also taken with the aid of plant poisons introduced into the water (Swanton 1946:341-343).

It is clear that the adaptive complex carried by the Creeks into Florida contained all the variability necessary to cope with the range of environmental challenges presented in their new homeland. Adaptations to the ecological conditions of Florida could have been accomplished without major shifts in Creek lifeways or social institutions; in fact, animal husbandry did not hold for these early colonists the major importance it would assume in the next century. Bartram's description of beef consumption among the Seminole in the 1770s suggests that this meat was eaten primarily at special feasts, and then from animals culled from the herd of the chief. The husbandry of cattle at this time does not suggest an involvement serious enough to cause correlated changes in settlement patterns, or ultimately, social organization (Fairbanks 1978:169,175).

From a comparative perspective, cattle pastoralism is of itself insufficient cause of either dispersed settlement patterning or social divisiveness, as examples drawn from

Africa illustrate (Evans-Pritchard 1940:63-65; Hodder 1982). In the Creek case, cattle become important in the domestic economy after the turn of the nineteenth century, without dramatic ramifications in the social sphere (Knight 1985:181). Finally, while Bartram (1955:167) does remark that the well proportioned steers of the Alachua Savannah rivaled the finest of the American colonists in Pennsylvania, there are no indications that the Seminole ranged their cattle over large expanses of territory. In considering the idea that cattle pastoralism as a male activity promoted a schism between men and women because women could not accumulate goods on par with the men, two arguments need mention. First, cattle husbandry was successful among the Seminole (and Creek) to the degree that cows were able to replace, or supplement, deer in the skin trade. Cattle ownership was eventually to promote the recognition of wealth differences among men, the "haves and the have-nots," a situation that exists among the cattle-owning Seminole of this century (King 1978). Second, and as we will discuss in Chapter III, Seminole women were not to be outdone, and they developed a number of goods and services with which they could acquire for themselves those items they desired.

The seasonal subsistence round that was the lifebeat of the Creeks--fall and winter hunting and foraging for

the men, spring and summer gardening for the women--provided for the Seminole all the precedent that was needed for strategies of adaptation to the Florida environments. The developments that took shape in Seminole culture were not the result of a society pitted against new environments and unfamiliar resources, but because economic, political, and social conditions in the Florida colony fostered the full expression of a process of self adaptation begun by the Southeastern Indians some five hundred years before. In Florida, individuals were permitted to chart for themselves the course of their own destiny, a course that was in many cases to involve the vigorous, and shrewd, pursuit of enterprise on the part of the Indians.

CHAPTER III  
COLONIZATION: 1716-1767

In this chapter we will consider the colonial Seminole in light of their cultural relationship to the Ancestral Creek Pattern. Our primary concern will be with the years between 1716 and 1767, although it is not my intention to conflate, beyond necessity, these dates with cultural reality. The beginning date is convenient because it corresponds to the Pena expeditions among the lower Creeks through which they became interested in settling the Florida lands (Boyd 1941; Goggin 1963:41; Fairbanks 1978). The ending date serves as an appropriate opening for the subject of the next chapter, the period of enterprise; here we will see the Seminole climb to the height of their prosperity during the British rule of Florida. In the most general of terms, Euro-Creek relations before 1767 were characterized by ceremonial gift exchange between the two parties, while after this date these transactions became decidedly more commercial in nature.

In the strictest of ethnohistoric usage, it is incorrect to speak of the Florida Indians of this period as "Seminole." The first recorded use of this term evidently appears in field notes accompanying the surveyor DeBrahm's

map of Florida in 1765 (Goggin 1963:53); his "Seminolskees" is used apparently as a generic term applied to any Indians he encountered in the peninsula during his mapping expedition for the colonial British government. The term "Seminole" appears with some regularity with reference to the Florida Indians in traveler accounts (Bartram 1955:110,206,214) and colonial records of the second Spanish administration in Florida (Zespedes to Galvez, Aug. 16, 1784, in Lockey 1945:254), and the Spanish derivation of the term from "cimarrone," meaning wild or runaway (Fairbanks 1978:171; Sturtevant 1971:105), suggests that it may have been in limited use in the colony during the first Spanish period, prior to 1763.

The term "proto Seminole" has appeared in the ethnohistoric literature as an accurate designation for the early bands of Creek migrants in Florida . While the term is well taken, I find its usage cumbersome and possibly misleading, and will not follow it in the remainder of this work. As an interesting aside, the term "Seminole" has come into common use only of late by the Florida Indians themselves, and this for reasons of political expediency with respect to organizing and incorporating a legally designated tribe. Indians who did not wish to join the Seminole Tribe, Inc., after its formation in 1957, later organized the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians, and were granted Federal reservation lands adjoining the Tamiami Trail,

north of Everglades National Park in present-day Dade County (see King 1978, for related discussion).

The tribal identities and paths of migration of the early Seminole (Creek) bands were the subject of Fairbanks' detailed ethnohistorical report before the Indian Claims Commission (Fairbanks 1974). This work stands as the definitive study of the relationships between the Indian pioneers of Florida and the European colonial authorities, and of the eventual coalescence by 1800 of the disparate bands into what Fairbanks termed (1978:331) the "Seminole nation." However, as was discussed before, little attention was paid in this report (and perhaps not improperly, given the terms of the contract) to the cultural repertoire of the Seminole Indians, especially in terms of how native beliefs, customs, and practices served to influence the development of Seminole culture history. These will be our concerns in the present chapter.

Until such time as key colonial period Seminole villages, for example the town of Alachua (Latchaway) and the Lake Miccosukee settlements, are located and excavated, the main lines of cultural reconstruction must be developed from documentary sources. Two archaeological sites important to our discussion are the locations of Oven Hill (8Di15), on and in the Suwannee River, and A-296, on the eastern margin of Payne's Prairie east of present-day



Gainesville. Important documents include the "humble petition" of the Englishman Denys Rolle, the journals and narratives of John and William Bartram, and records of the British Colonial Office. The combined data of archaeology and the historical record indicate a remarkable continuity between the Seminole and the Ancestral Creek Pattern, and suggest as well the beginnings of significant changes.

There is some indication that the vestiges of the old town moiety system were still alive with the very early Seminole. We discussed how in the Creek area "red" towns were pitted against "white" in the ballgame, and that the related activity of inter-town raiding and warfare were means by which young men could prove their prowess and courage and rise among the ranks of the warriors. In the unsettled conditions of the colonial frontier, groups of men on the move also found themselves to be in the best position for gaining information about conditions in the world at large; information which was conveyed to the mico and other talwa members in the squareground upon their return. Raiding and the ball play along moiety lines were sanctioned activities through which men could gain in prestige, either through acts of bravery or simply by gathering useful information. The desire for prestige was so strong among Southeastern aboriginal males that should there be a breakdown in the sanctioned means for its achievement, we might expect alternative behaviors to develop.

The implications of this above scenario for the nature of Euro-Indian relations in Florida can be illustrated with reference to the account of Denys Rolle (1977), a prospective colonial entrepreneur, who in 1764 set out from the St. Johns River near present Palatka on an overland journey to St. Marks (southeast of Tallahassee) to examine land granted him there by British colonial governor James Grant. Rolle passed through two Indians towns on his route west; the first he called Latchaway (Rolle 1977:48), presumably the "ancient Alachua town" of the later Bartram account (Bartram 1955:169); the second was on the west bank of the "little Savannah" (Suwannee) River and was inhabited by the "Savannah Indians" (Rolle 1977:50, 52). These towns appear to have been the principal locations of the Seminole in the north peninsula at that time.

After crossing the Suwannee, Rolle parlayed briefly with the "White King" of the town, but he had failed to meet with the headmen at Latchaway because they were out on a hunt. On his return trip, Rolle found that men of the Suwannee settlement had gone to Latchaway, for "some diversion of the ball" (Rolle 1977:52). This activity was directed by the White King. Rolle also remarked, in a rather judgemental tone, that the combined group of Indians had consumed some eighteen casks of rum (up to 1800

gallons) in less than two weeks (Rolle 1977:52). Despite the suggestion that the males of these two important Seminole towns were still linked together by means of ritual play and festivity, the Suwannee Seminole were led by their White King, not his red, or war clan, counterpart, as we would expect based on Creek tradition. The clan moiety system within the towns was in the process of collapse, and perhaps in the case of the Suwannee Indians, was only in de facto existence. This disintegration loosed numbers of prestige hungry young men from the grip of social sanction, and already on the Florida frontier there had appeared the troublesome "roving bands of Indians" (Goggin 1963:5) whose transgressions of colonial law ranged from murder (Grant to Board of Trade, Aug. 5, 1766) to horse stealing, plunder, and raiding (Bartram 1955:75,214,216). In Bartram's words, these "predatory bands" (Bartram 1955:214) were composed of young men of "singular elegance, richly ornamented with silver plates, chains, and after the Seminole mode, with waving plumes of feathers on their crests" (Bartram 1955:206). Clearly, these young men were dressed up with some place to go, that is, out to test their skills in the world of opportunity provided by the colonial frontier. That they no longer felt bound to the system created by clan or town moieties is certain, and by the late 1760s we can assume that the system was no longer meeting Indian needs of prestige.

The process of moiety disintegration had been underway in the Alachua area for some time when Bartram traveled to the Seminole settlements there in 1774 (Bartram's observations on the Florida Indians, although made in 1774, are also useful for understanding the colonial Seminole), and his accounts of the Cowkeeper and the Long Warrior provide us with an interesting analog, on the individual level, of what might be termed the "red" and "white" personalities of the time. The rather regal Cowkeeper, by birth an Oconee Creek and the founder of the Alachua band of Seminole, was attended to by Yamassee (Indians from Georgia) slaves who looked upon him with emotions of fear and esteem, because although "his eyes were lively and full of fire," "his countenance [was] manly and placid" (Bartram 1955:164). Cowkeeper's dress was simple, his deportment calm, and he altogether conveyed the ideal image of a traditional Creek town chief, or mico.

The Long Warrior, described in the documents as Cowkeeper's associate or "second" (his red counterpart), presents a contrasting glimpse into Seminole behavior of the time. When the Long Warrior and his trading party of forty men were refused credit by the trader M'Latchee (as indeed M'Latchee was bound to do by colonial law), Long Warrior threatened upon the trader a bolt of lightning

sufficient to turn his store into "dust and ashes," demonstrating his reputed ability to commune with "powerful and invisible beings or spirits" (Bartram 1955:215). The portrait Bartram drew of Long Warrior (see the 1955 edition of his Travels) and the vivid description he provided of the Seminole costume of the era serve to illustrate a further point about the social processes the Seminole were then experiencing. In an atmosphere of wildly fluctuating partisanship, on a frontier increasingly peopled with half-breeds and cunning entrepreneurs, the grand and gaudy Seminole costume (plumes, silver gorgets and the like) served to immediately call out their ethnic affiliation, and indeed, marks of individual personality and achievement.

The traditional clan moiety system was in shambles and in its wake new trends in native leadership were emerging; yet other aspects of the Ancestral Creek Pattern proved more enduring. The traditional talwa plan of settlement was transported in full by the migrant Creeks, and replicated by the Seminole across the Florida landscape. Rolle was entertained by the White King and the Suwannee Seminole in a squareground-like area where they were seated upon "their couches of repose," taking the black drink as they do "when they have a mind to talk" (Rolle 1977:50).

When Bartram visited Cowkeeper's Cuscowilla, south of the present-day Paynes Prairie near Micanopy, a public assembly took place there in the "public square or councilhouse" (Bartram 1955:167), where residents gathered from their domestic squareground compounds, each of "two houses nearly the same size, about thirty feet in length, and about the same in height" (Bartram 1955:168). Likewise, the town of Talahoschte, founded by the White King and his followers on the east bank of the Suwannee sometime after Rolle's visit, consisted of a squareground where (Bartram 1955:200):

the king, war chief, and several ancient chiefs and warriors were seated in royal cabins, the rest of the headmen and warriors, old and young, sat on cabins on the right hand of the king's [to the south] cabin's on the left, and on the same elevation are always assigned for white people, Indians of other towns, and such of their own people as choose.

Evidently the Talahoschte squareground consisted of three cabins around a central plaza. Seating for the king, war chief, and advisors faced east; other important males sat to the right and faced north, while visitors and others sat facing south.

A variation in squareground construction is presented by a Seminole village founded on the St. Johns near present Palatka between the years 1767-1774 (and as far as I know nameless in the documents) which perhaps harked back to a time when Southeastern squaregrounds were

entirely roofed over (Waring 1968:55), being (Bartram 1955:250,251):

a grand, airy pavilion in the center of the village. It was four square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the center, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each almost twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets, curiously woven, of split canes dyed of various colors.

By 1774, the towns of Cuscowilla, Talahoschte, and the Palatka town were clearly the formal nuclei of sociopolitical integration; important events were presented and arbitrated here as had been done in the Creek centers; no sign of the so-called dispersed or diffuse pattern of settlement (Fairbanks 1978:175) is indicated. Given the growing complexity of Euro-Indian relations to which colonial documents attest, it is to be expected that the Indians would maintain some formal means wherein information could be processed in regular, socially meaningful ways. Hence the squareground did not decline in importance among the Florida Indians simply because their relationship with the Creek Confederacy became more remote (see again Fairbanks 1978:175 for countering opinion).

Further indications of the talwa system among the Seminole are presented by the existence of family homesteads and the localized residential communities known in the Creek area as huti. Bartram (1955:163) encountered three or four Indian habitations near a prehistoric mound

on his approach to Cuscowilla from the east, and just north of the Alachua Savannah he also passed through another small village, containing four or five habitations. Its residents had left their dwellings and well-stocked corn cribs behind, and were encamped in tents on a hunting trip by the banks of a stream some miles to the north (Bartram 1955:180,181). Based on Bartram's account, the Cuscowilla settlement pattern can be reconstructed to include the squareground town itself, with thirty or more habitations, and at least two outlying settlements, each containing up to five households (it is clear from Bartram's description of Cuscowilla that his use of the word "habitations" refers not to dwellings but to what he recognized as households).

A-296--A Colonial Period Seminole Household

It is ironic that the town center of Cuscowilla has not yielded to archaeological discovery, while the remains of its seemingly less visible satellite communities have come to light (Mykel 1962). The site of A-296 (State of Florida archaeological site file number) is of special interest because it may represent a portion of the hamlet noted by Bartram north of Cuscowilla on the northern margin of the savanna (Bartram 1955: 180,181). According to Bartram, the site was located on a sandy ridge, as is the site of A-296 (Sears 1959:25; Mykel 1962); the "large creek of excellent water" (Bartram 1955:181) where its people were then camping is probably the Santa Fe River.



Sears' (1959) excavations at A-296 delimited a midden stain 6 m in diameter and six post hole features and recovered 679 sherds, 1 projectile point, two fragments of a trade pipestem, and several unidentifiable iron fragments. Most of the sherds are the type Chattahoochee Brushed, first defined by Bullen (1950) on the basis of Alabama collections, and now assumed to be a cultural marker of the distribution and presence of Creek peoples throughout the Southeast (M. Smith 1984:197). Rimsherds are plain, and notched or "angled" on the top of the rim. The notched rims bear a strong resemblance to sherds recovered by Goggin at the Indian trading house of Spalding's Lower Store (Lewis 1969), established in the early 1770s. Further similarities in the paste, or clay composition, of the sherds, as well as other attributes suggest strong affinities between the Seminole components of both sites.

The presumed structure that once stood at the site is of indefinite function. Remembering Bartram's account, corncribs were standing in the hamlet, and this type of construction may have relied upon the posthole pattern noted by Sears. If such a structure collapsed to the north, as is indicated by the plan of the holes (Sears 1959:25,26), its spilled contents (corn or other produce)

could have produced the midden stain. If this is in fact what happened, then the southern row of posts may have been beyond the limits of Sears' excavation. The excavator suggests that the structure was temporary in nature, but a look at known temporary buildings of the Seminole (MaCauley 1887:502; Sturtevant 1962:77) indicates they use fewer posts than are present at A-296.

Two important observations about the material culture of the site are that trade goods are few in number, and , modes of lip and rim treatment on the pottery are of limited variability. Trade activities, such as they were, were centered in the squaregrounds, and were more the concern of people living there. Some trading did occur between the mobile "flying camps" of the Seminole (Bartram 1955:110) and colonial traders, but it is not known if such groups normally resided in the squaregrounds or in hamlets. I suggest however that there was increasing social distance between the more far-flung members of a Seminole talwa and the residents of its squareground, exacerbated by differences in wealth accumulation between the two groups, and with the eventual outcome that the talwa system would pull apart along these lines.

Pottery sherds recovered from A-296 indicate seven to nine vessels present at the site, including both bowls and jars. Jars had rims either "lip-notched" or plain, while notching just below the lip appears only on the bowl. Both

vessel forms included brushed and plain surface treatments. The limited repertoire of rim decoration suggested to Sears (1959:29) that rim styles of Seminole pottery may prove to correlate with some unit of cultural reality; knowing what we know of antecedent Creek social organization it is likely that this unit is the huti, or the community formed by a group of related women. In this view, these women would manufacture pottery with a rim style (or styles) unique to their clan affiliation; pottery would be a decorative marker of clan membership. Thus we would not expect to find many different styles of rim decoration present on sherds from the same Seminole site (which is in fact the case, as we will see in Chapter V). In the case of the lip-notched sherds from A-296, the only other Florida occurrence of this style is at Spalding's Lower Store, mentioned previously. It is from the huti of the colonial Seminole that the more familiar matrilineal clan camps of the ethnographic present (MacCauley 1887; Spoehr 1941) were to develop.

#### Colonial Seminole Domestic Economy

Archaeology at A-296 only provides us with a partial picture of Seminole domestic economy of the colonial period, and again we must refer to the narratives of Rolle and Bartram. Their observations suggest that the

conceptual axis of the Ancestral Creek Pattern--the separation of male and female activities and duties--was still very much an organizing principle of early Seminole life. Males were often absent from their villages hunting, trading, or in pursuit of recreation (Rolle 1977:48,52,53; Bartram 1955:95,214,251). Herding cattle and other activities that could be accomplished from horseback were also rapidly figuring in the reckoning of male prestige, as horses became an important wealth (and status) item (which is no doubt why saddles figured prominently, and expensively, on the early English gift lists; see Grant to Board of Trade, Jan. 13, 1766). Men of the Alachua band did, however, assist in some agricultural duties: clearing fields to be planted, and at night patrolling the corn to frighten away marauding animals (Bartram 1955:170).

Women were often observed tending fields, less often "modestly showing their faces" from the dooryard (Bartram 1955:181), and perhaps were engaged in a number of duties not often observed by the early chroniclers. This is not to imply that Seminole women of the era were merely cultural bystanders, or lacked the desire to bring about a perceived betterment of their lives. As early as 1764 the Englishman Rolle (1977:12) was visited by Seminole women in canoes bearing him gifts, and it was probably these women that a decade later transported canoe loads of

oranges, watermelons, and other produce to Spalding's Lower Store (Bartram 1955:251). Further, with the increased presence of Anglo traders on the Florida frontier, certain women were not long in loosing their charms among them, especially if gain could be had by them or their families. For their part, the traders often appear to have been desirous of such unions, because they would promote needed alliances between themselves and the Indians. However, the consequences of these alliances were not always positive, as Bartram recounts in a woeful tale of a trader who got more, or less, than he had bargained for (Bartram 1955:110):

He is at this time unhappy in his connections with his beautiful savage. It is but a few years since he came here, I think from North Carolina, a stout genteel well-bred man, active, and of a heroic and amiable disposition; and by his industry, honesty, and engaging manners, had gained the affections of the Indians, and soon made a little fortune by traffic with the Seminoles; when unfortunately meeting with this little charmer, they were married in the Indian manner. He loves her sincerely, as she possesses every perfection in her person to render a man happy. Her features are beautiful, and manners engaging. Innocence, modesty, and love, appear to a stranger in every action and movement; and these powerful graces she has so artfully played upon her beguiled and vanquished lover, and unhappy slave, as to have already drained him of all his possessions, which she dishonestly distributes amongst her savage relations. He is now poor, emaciated, and half distracted, often threatening to shoot her, and afterwards put an end to his own life.

Gender-prescribed roles continued to be important among the Seminole as among the Creek (hence Rolle, 1977:12, comments on his surprise when several warriors

brought their wives with them to dine at his table), while the other important orientation for Seminole socioeconomic life was provided by the nuclear family. I have already made the suggestion that Seminole hamlets of the period were in essence Creek huti, or neighboring households of clan-related women, and that the huti formed an essential unit of land tenure and labor. However, it appears that trade activities, perhaps initially mediated in the squareground through the office of the chief, were to eventually be conducted by nuclear families, essentially acting as their own agents.

Bartram (1955:205) recalled meeting a Talahoschte man, with his wife and children, on the trail leading a string of fine packhorses laden with barbequed meat, hides, and honey. On another occasion, he visited the "White Captain" and his family in their encampment near the store of a St. Johns River trader (Bartram 1955:110). Ten years earlier along the St. Johns the Indian Philoki, with his wife and two sons, repeatedly visited the traders Rolle and Spalding, seeking their favor (Rolle 1977:30). Even the venerated Alachua chief Cowkeeper preferred to travel with his family and retinue to St. Augustine to meet privately with Governor Grant, while shunning the formal Anglo-Indian congress at Picolata in October 1765.

The British, however, preferred not to treat with individual Indians, and in several instances Governor Grant became alarmed at the closeness developing between Spalding and Philoki (Grant to Rolle, March 21, 1764, in Rolle 1977:20). Grant correctly perceived the dangers to his colony of an uncontrolled frontier, governed only by the desires of entrepreneurs to line their pockets. Consequently his trading policy contained the stipulation that each Indian town would be within the territory of only one licensed trader, to prevent competition and factionalism. Among the traders, however, competition was keen to secure rights to new and "uncaptured" towns; among the Indians, incentive was provided to found new towns via a fissioning process. The implications of this process for Seminole culture history will be further explored in Chapter IV.

#### Colonial Seminole Beliefs and Ritual

The documentary record allows only a fleeting glimpse of Seminole belief systems during their colonial period, but one substantial enough, I think, to temper the suggestion that Seminole religion was diminutive compared to what had gone before (Fairbanks 1978:174).

The black drink continued to be of sacramental importance, as did smoking tobacco in the calumet, or ceremonial pipe of peace (Bartram 1955:200). Busk ceremonies are not described in detail (see however mention

by Grant, in Covington 1962:46), but the practices of the residents of Cuscowilla with respect to scrupulous village cleanliness and trash disposal suggest some concern with the annual purity rites (Bartram 1955:169). The Seminole concern for purity is also demonstrated by the observation that they kindled new fires in the squareground to herald special events (Bartram 1955:200), preserving the ancient Southeastern association between fire and renewal. The ballgame mentioned earlier between the Alachua and Suwannee Seminole (Rolle 1977:52) occurred in May 1764; the twelve day visit by the Suwannee Indians to Alachua for the occasion suggests that additional ceremonies may have been involved.

An occurrence in the Indian town of Alachua (Latchaway) in 1764 indicates the far-reaching effects that the purity/pollution dichotomy held for everyday Seminole life. In a drunken rage, Neatohowki, a nephew of Cowkeeper, grabbed a glass bottle (allegedly obtained from Spalding) and quite literally knocked out the brains of another Indian. Neatohowki dragged his victim a short distance into the woods, where he lay unburied because the Indians were "much afraid of the spirits of these victims sacrificed to their passions" (Rolle 1977:48). The villagers would not handle the corpse, and soon moved their houses some distance away from where it lay.



The Seminole world was one inhabited by a panoply of powerful, but invisible, spirits. Men like the Long Warrior (Bartram 1955:215) commanded respect because of their ability to communicate with the spirits and summon them up on the individual's behalf. The white man's God was made more palatable to the Indian soul by describing him as the one "who thundered" (Rolle 1977:13). A precarious balance between good and evil existed in the Indian world; bringing harm to certain creatures like the rattlesnake was forbidden because such an action might incite its fellows to seek revenge (Bartram 1955:220). In the "sympathetic" perspective of the Indians, an individual that interacted with powerful forces himself became more powerful, sometimes dangerously so. Thus when the naturalist William Bartram killed a large rattlesnake that had crawled into the Indian camp, they desired to bleed him to restore his former mild nature, and were alarmed when he refused their treatment (Bartram 1955:218,219).

The Seminole invested their everyday behaviors with ritual or religious dimensions that were foreign to the European experience; what was secular business to the European colonists for the Indians at times held religious or sacred meaning. One such instance occurred at the Congress of Picolata, a meeting between the British and the Indians held on the banks of the St. Johns between November 15 and November 18, 1765.

During the Fall of 1765 Governor Grant summoned the "headmen and warriors" (Grant to Board of Trade, Dec. 9, 1765) of the Upper and Lower Creek towns (the latter including for his purposes the Florida Seminole) to a congress in the hopes of gaining from them boundary concessions with respect to lands east of the St. Johns. Further, Grant hoped to demonstrate the benevolence and good will of his new colonial administration by distributing presents should things go well and the Indians accept his terms (the goods were conveniently stored just offshore on the East Florida Schooner until such an outcome was assured). On hand for the occasion were some fifty Indians (excepting Cowkeeper, who, as mentioned, waited until the following month to pay Grant a personal visit) and the naturalist John Bartram accompanied by his son William, who was to travel again to Florida ten years later and write his famed narrative. The following account of the Picolata Congress is reconstructed from John Bartram's observations, entitled "Remarks on Ye Congress Held in a Pavilion" (J. Bartram 1942:51).

At the pavilion grounds the Indians assembled in two columns, facing at some distance Governor Grant and the Indian Superintendant John Stuart, seated inside the building. Six Indians in one of the columns carried in

column, a chief carried the calumet pipe hung with eagle feathers, and another carried a rattle box. These two individuals, probably Captain Aleck of a red Yuchi town and Tallachea of the white "Ockmulgies" (see Fairbanks 1974:149-152) were accompanied by an interpreter. Both columns advanced towards the pavilion in a timed, halting step, occasionally dancing, singing, and shouting. Within twenty paces of the pavilion, the procession halted for about five minutes, and suddenly, the two chiefs carrying the pipe and rattle broke from the ranks and danced rapidly alone towards the English. The faces of Grant and Stuart were stroked with the eagle feathers from the calumet, and then the chief returned to the waiting columns of Indians. After speaking briefly with them, he returned to the pavilion, shook hands with the English, and presented them with the skins. The calumet pipe was lighted and smoked by Grant, Stuart, and the two chiefs, and the ceremony was concluded.

The result of the proceedings was that the Indians acquiesced to the boundary terms and presents were distributed. The gifts included quantities of beads, ammunition, kettles, items of cheap hardware, and several saddles. Indian concerns for propriety had been met; their war and peace leaders had been met by men of similar position among the English. Further, the Indian portion of

the ceremony had served native purposes well because it took the English presence and defined it in their own terms. For example, the faces of Grant and Stuart were stroked with an eagle feather, a practice reminiscent of the Creek naming ceremony wherein a boy would don a feather on his head and become like a man (Swanton 1928b:571). The combined presence of the symbolic calumet (Hall 1977:502) and eagle feathers (Hudson 1976:163) further indicated the Indians' desire for peace and for establishing a world in which some semblance of their own order prevailed. The Picolata account and other narratives of the period suggest that at this time the Indians were willing to accommodate the Europeans into their cosmos, whose order was based on dichotomies of purity, balance, and similarity. For a time, the white man found himself on the favorable hand of the native taxonomy.

#### Oven Hill - An Early Seminole Town

Referring again to the talwa system of the colonial Seminole, we will remember that the site of A-296 was interpreted as the remains of an outlying family homestead, whose nucleus was the town of Cuscowilla. Previous to the founding of Cuscowilla in the early 1770s, the main Seminole towns in the area were Alachua or Latchaway, the mother town of Cuscowilla on the border of the Alachua savanna, and the town of the White King on the west bank of the Suwannee. This town was visited in May 1764 by Denys

Rolle (1977:50), accompanied by an Indian interpreter and a trader named Barnet who was then operating a store on the outskirts of Cowkeeper's Alachua settlement. The small party crossed the Suwannee (what Rolle called the "little Savannah") in an Indian canoe, and then travelled one quarter of a mile overland (the river distance, according to Rolle, was one mile) to the town of the White King and his Savannah Indians. Three years later the site was again visited by a Lt. Pittman, of the British service (Fairbanks 1974:161). It is the remains of this town that were identified in an underwater component in the Suwannee by John Goggin in 1958, and described briefly as the Oven Hill site (8Di15) in a later article (Gluckman and Peebles 1974:25). Thus, archaeology at the Oven Hill site complements our reconstruction of the Seminole talwa by providing a look at the material culture of an early Seminole town.

Collections from Oven Hill have long been famous among students of Florida archaeology because they contain the largest sample of Seminole pottery vessels known, most of which were recovered from the bottom of the Suwannee by Goggin and his student SCUBA divers. Vessel forms are diverse, but typical of those found in late prehistoric domestic assemblages throughout the Southeast (Hally 1986:282-284). Globular jars are the most common form, and

are either round or flat-bottomed. Of twelve jars examined for various attributes (see Table 3 for measurements taken from 16 complete or near complete vessels) the largest had an orifice diameter of 37 cm and was probably used for storage (see Hally 1986:285, for discussion using late prehistoric collections from Georgia). The remaining eleven jars have orifice diameters in range from 11 to 18 cm and were probably used to cook small portions of food. Ten of twelve jars had brushed exteriors, and two were plain. Jars are the only vessel form at Oven Hill to have brushing. There does not appear to be a significant correlation between rim style, surface treatment, or orifice diameter in jars. Rim styles include notched (n=3), notched fillet (n=2), punctated (n=1), and plain (n=6) (Figure 4). These rim styles can be identified in the late prehistoric and historic Lamar series pottery associated with Creek peoples in Alabama (Dickens 1979; Knight 1985). Because the Oven Hill remains are attributable to a town center and not a family homestead, we can expect a greater variability in rim styles present, as members of a number of different clans undoubtedly resided in or around the squareground.

Bowls are small (< 17 cm diameter) and rounded or large (> 28 cm diameter) and carinated. Four of the sixteen vessels examined were bowls; two rounded (one a flat bottom, flaring rim form, and one with a round

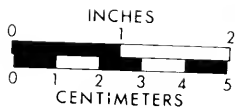
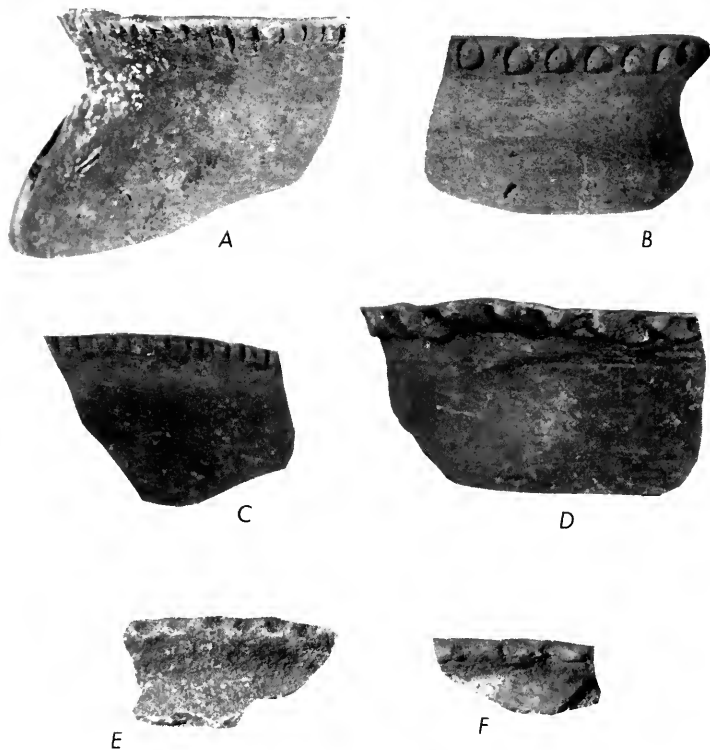


Figure 4. Selected Seminole rimsherds. A-D, Oven Hill; E, A-296; F, Spalding's Lower Store.

bottom), and two carinated. These four vessels had undecorated rims and smoothed surfaces. An additional large sherd from a carinated bowl bears incising clearly of the Lamar Incised type (Knight 1985:125,158,189) (Figure 5); again emphasizing the cultural connection between the Seminole and Creek tradition. The function of the rounded bowls can be inferred from Rolle's (1977:50) comment that he was served a bowl of china-briar root (Smilax spp.) soup during his visit to the "little Savannah" (Oven Hill) settlement. He was also served a dish of venison dressed with bear's oil, which he perhaps consumed in a large carinated bowl. Such bowls were also used to heat foods over a fire, to judge from the fire-clouding present on vessel exteriors.

Bottles comprise the third form class of the Oven Hill pottery. Orifice diameters of 8 cm and 10 cm were recorded for two bottles, both with complete orifices and portions of the shoulder intact. Rims are undecorated and vessel surfaces smooth. Oven Hill bottles, while few in number, are large in capacity, and were probably used to store honey, bear's oil, and other commodities shipped by the Suwannee Seminole to Cuba (Bartram 1955:194).

The classification of the Oven Hill pottery as to type raises taxonomic issues that have been little discussed with respect to Florida Seminole collections (Goggin 1958;



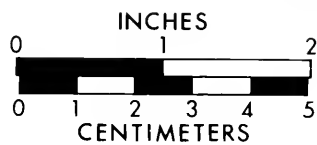


Figure 5. Seminole incised pottery. Top, from Spalding's Lower Store; bottom, from Oven Hill.

and Lewis 1969). A binomial, or type variety, system has recently been proposed for Creek ceramics in Alabama under the rubric of the Lamar series, in which attributes of paste and surface treatment serve to key out the different types and varieties (Knight 1985). Most of the incised, plain, brushed, and roughened (at least one sherd has a cob-marked exterior) sherds from Oven Hill can be comfortably grouped in the Lamar series, and should be done so. Thus, taxonomy and real cultural relationship are most closely expressed. A minority of sherds at Oven Hill suggest in their rim styles some affinity with the Florida mission period Leon-Jefferson series (Willey 1949:490), an indication that potters of this latter tradition may have been assimilated by the Seminole. Further relations between mission and what were to become Seminole populations are indicated by a nearly complete vessel found near the Potano mission site at Fox Pond, Alachua County, bearing a Leon-Jefferson style notched rim and a brushed surface (the site of A-272, FSM Acc.# A-1868, and see Mykel 1962). However, the combined qualities of vessel form, surface decoration, and stylistic treatment evidenced in the Oven Hill pottery suggest ceramic and culinary conservatism with respect to late prehistoric domestic pottery elsewhere in the Southeast; and in its diversity and quantity the collection conforms to what we would expect of a village or town assemblage.

Table 3. Attributes of Selected Oven Hill pottery.

FSM#	OD	H	T	RS	ST	VF	F
00027	13	14	s/ls	notched	brushed	jar	storage?
00002	18	21	s/ls	notched	brushed	jar(r)	storage?
00006B	37	24	s/ls	notched	brushed	jar	storage?
00019	12	17	s/ls	plain	smooth	jar	cooking?
2073	11	10	s/ls	plain	smooth	jar	?
00001	18	19	s/ls	notched	brushed	jar(f)	storage?
00020	12	8	s/ls	plain	smooth	jar(f)	?
"Dil15R"	11	19	s/ls	plain	brushed	jar(f)	storage?
00010	14	14	s/ls	plain	brushed	jar(f)	storage?
00004	16	17	s/ls	plain	brushed	jar(r)	storage?
00012	18	19	s/ls	punctate	brushed	jar(r)	?
00009	16	12	s/ls	notched	brushed	jar(f)	?
00021	11	10	s/ls	plain	smooth	bowl(r)	?
00017	32	12	s/ls	plain	smooth	carinated bowl	cooking/ serving?
00029	17	6	s/ls	plain	smooth	bowl(f)	?
00024	29	12	s/ls	plain	smooth	carinated bowl	cooking/ serving?

All measurements are in centimeters. OD = orifice diameter. H = height. T = temper. s/ls = sand and limestone tempering. RS = rim style. ST = surface treatment. F = vessel function, as indicated by presence of interior pitting and/or exterior sooting (cooking?), and fire clouded exteriors with smoothed interiors and no pitting (cooking/serving?). VF = vessel form; (r) = round bottom, (f) = flat bottom.

European items are not common at the site, but do suggest that the Seminole of the 1760s possessed the means to become consumers on the Florida frontier. Domestic goods include Spanish olive jar sherds and English ceramics, while the underwater recovery of a ceremonial "spontoon" tomahawk (Lien 1986, see also Bartram's depiction of the Long Warrior) indicate that native symbols of office were known to the Europeans and had become an element in their trade. Further contact with the colonial authorities is indicated by the presence of British military buttons, razors, knives, and gun parts--all items that appear on the list of gifts prepared by Governor Grant for distribution at the Picolata Congress (see Covington 1962).

Articles of personal adornment--buckles, silver cones, earrings, barleycorn beads--and items of horse tack (Gluckman and Peebles 1974:27) indicate a degree of wealth at the site possibly correlated with its increasing importance in colonial trade and politics. That the White King and other residents of the town appreciated their position of potential power and prosperity on the frontier is illustrated in this curious anecdote recounted by Rolle (1977:50). At the time of Rolle's visit there in May, 1764, the town did not have a resident trader, as did the Latchaway settlement. The White King appealed to Rolle not

Latchaway settlement. The White King appealed to Rolle not to continue his journey to St. Marks, perhaps to settle instead among them after obtaining his license. Barnet, the Dutch trader from Latchaway who accompanied Rolle during this leg of the trip, quickly abandoned his companion in their camp near the Indian village and went to town to strike his own deal with the Seminole. His purpose must have been to attract the Suwannee band to his trading store at Latchaway, since he was prohibited by law from establishing himself in two towns. After hearing him out, several of the Indians visited Rolle's camp uninvited and proceeded to rifle through his bag of supplies; thinking fast, Rolle drew a map in the sand depicting the St. Johns and the location of his prospective settlement and store and encouraged the Indians to bring their goods to him. Clearly, this is the very sort of intrigue Grant wished to avoid, but in which the Seminole delighted. However, with the increased ability of individual Seminole to deal with the likes of Rolle and Barnet came the demise of Indian leaders the likes of the White King and Cowkeeper. For while the traditional office of town chief was slow to be extinguished, the growing Seminole interest, and opportunity, in commercial enterprise was to greatly erode the foundations upon which traditional chieftancy was based.

CHAPTER IV  
ENTERPRISE: 1767-1821

During the period of enterprise there was a significant disarticulation in the Ancestral Creek Pattern among the Seminole as the nuclear family became increasingly autonomous from the community at large with respect to economic activities, the accumulation of wealth, and obligations of inheritance and descent. This process was given some impetus by the British "one trader-one town" policy, which placed a premium on the founding of new towns by ambitious individuals and their families. Hereditary chiefs had little role to play in this new social order. Thus, the Seminole with which the Americans were to come in contact in the early 1800s were in reality (although not always in title) steered by a new breed of leader, individuals who possessed proven skill in negotiating in their own self interest. Because by the second and third decades of the 1800s there were a plurality of Indian interests abounding in Florida, no single individual emerged who was qualified in the Indian minds to speak for all. Indeed, as was mentioned in Chapter I, this was not the Seminole way.

The archaeological correlates of the period of enterprise are the proliferation of sites across the Florida landscape as the Seminole radiate in search of advantage and opportunity; and, the visibility of such sites, littered with showy European porcelains, utilitarian earthenwares, colored glass beads, gun flints, pipestems, and a complete inventory of metal tools, utensils, and containers (Figure 6). With the period of enterprise we have our first substantive look at the Seminole quotidian, while, unfortunately, our knowledge of the cosmological suffers some eclipse.

The signal events opening the period of enterprise are the founding of the towns of Talahasochte, Cuscowilla, the Palatka town on the St. Johns River, and the settlements in the vicinity of Chukochatty (near present-day Brooksville, Hernando County), all between the years 1767-1772. By 1774 there were nine major Seminole towns dotted across the peninsula (Bartram 1955:367); by 1821 this number had increased fourfold (Fairbanks 1974:245).

Talahoschte has been mentioned previously in connection with Bartram's entertainment there by the White King in 1774. At that time, the settlement was located on the east bank of the Suwannee (Figure 1), north of Manatee Springs in the vicinity of Clay Landing (Levy County). Ten years previous the White King was residing in the

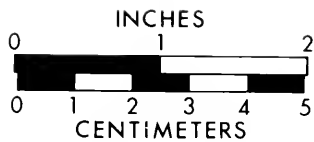
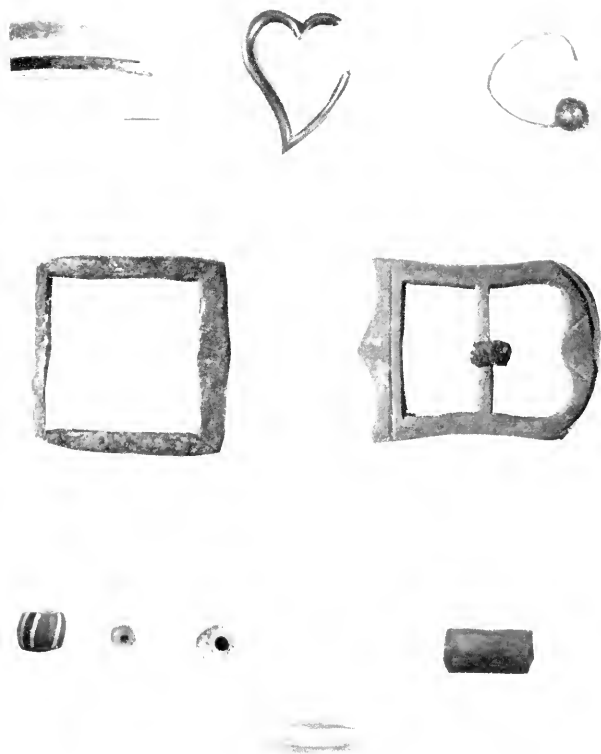


Figure 6. Enterprise artifacts. Top, banded pearlware (Nicholson), silver brooch, earring (Spalding's). Middle, iron belt buckles (Spalding's, A-296). Bottom, glass beads (Nicholson).



"Savannah" village on the west bank of the river, somewhat upstream from the 1774 location and in the vicinity of the Oven Hill archaeological site (8Di15). The White King was visited here by Rolle and Barnet in 1764, and again by Lt. Pittman in 1767 (Fairbanks 1974:161). Between the years 1767 and 1774 the west bank site was abandoned by the White King in favor of the Talahoschte location, where he and his people constructed their village following the traditional Creek squareground plan (Bartram, in Harper 1958:200).

It will be remembered from Chapter III that before moving to Talahoschte the White King did not have a trader residing in his town, and that some intrigue was stirred between Rolle and Barnet by the Indians. The White King was successful in attracting a resident trader to the Talahoschte town for a time, but this individual retreated to the relative safety of the St. Johns River when a traveler by the name of M'Gee was murdered by a band of Indians and tensions mounted in the colonial hinterlands. Bartram accompanied this man on his return to the village in 1774, to reestablish ties and to reclaim his string of pack horses left behind in his flight (Bartram 1955:201). Upon his return, the trader found his former quarters occupied by a Seminole family. Through the means of a council and a treaty, the White King reconciled his people with the trader, assuring him that "every possible means

should constantly be pursued to prevent any disturbance in [the] future on their part" (Bartram.1955:201). The White King's role as mediator of town affairs is clearly demonstrated, but, again, it is important to realize that his authority, such as it was, did not extend much beyond the limits of the square.

With an eye toward trade, some conjecture can be advanced as to the reason behind the move of White King's Seminoles from the west to the east bank of the Suwannee. Traders, and Indians wishing to trade, traveled overland at that time in packhorse trains. Crossing the broad St. Johns River was made possible in several places by licensed ferry operations, but such transport was not available at lesser rivers like the Suwannee. Here, travelers crossed by means of Indian canoes left on the banks for that purpose (both Rolle and Bartram were conveyed across the Suwannee in this fashion). For traders whose primary supply outlets were in the St. Johns River depots, transferring quantities of goods from pack train to canoe would prove to be inefficient, time consuming, and even perilous. The same situation would pertain for Indians desiring to transport goods to the St. Johns River, as we know they did. Because the St. John's stores (for example, Spalding's two ventures) were located on the west, or "Indian shore" (this designation came into common usage after the Indians granted lands east of the river to

the British at the Picolata Congress of 1765), trading could be conducted easily between these points and locations in the interior, provided the latter were east of the Suwannee (see Figure 1). With these conditions in mind, it is conceivable that the White King and his prospective trading partner hit upon a plan to resettle the Indians on the east bank, on the site that came to be known as Talahoschte. Inconveniences of the move would be minor compared to the potential benefits of freer, easier enterprise with the colonists, while the lucrative maritime commerce engaged in by the Seminole with the Spaniards of Cuba (Bartram 1955:193,194) would not be hindered.

At about the time of the founding of Talahoschte, the original Latchaway village was abandoned by Cowkeeper's Seminoles and the new village of Cuscowilla was constructed, several miles to the south of the former town and near the present site of Micanopy. Upon his visit to Cuscowilla in 1774, Bartram (1955:169) learned, probably from Cowkeeper himself, that the "ancient" site had been abandoned due to the "stench of putrid fish" and the nuisance created by droves of biting mosquitoes. The location of Latchaway is uncertain, although several lines of evidence suggest that it may have been along the southwestern margin of the Alachua savanna, or what is now called Paynes Prairie. It will be remembered from the

Rolle account of his visit to Latchaway (to my knowledge, the only extant description of this village) that the trader Barnet had established himself in the vicinity by 1764; Barnet's post may have been the "former store" noted by Bartram and depicted by him on a map of the Alachua area (Bartram, in Harper 1958: plate 21). In the area of the store shown on Bartram's map is the archaeological site of A-362 (Mykel 1962), where Seminole pottery, sherds of English creamware (the most popular English trade ceramic in Florida in the last third of the eighteenth century, Lewis 1968:164) and kaolin pipe fragments were found in surface collections.

However, by 1774 trade with the Indian centers of Talahoschte and Cuscowilla had been interrupted as the result of certain "Indian troubles" in the north peninsula at that time, as were mentioned earlier. Grievances between the whites and the Seminole had just been redressed at a treaty held in St. Augustine, and normal relations were to be reestablished with the traveling delegation that included Bartram, traders, and colonial representatives. Feasting, drinking the black drink, and smoking the pipe of peace took place in the town squares of both Cuscowilla and Talahoschte.

To understand why Cuscowilla was founded at about the same time as Talahoschte (assuming it was not related to the incident described by Rolle following the murder in

Latchaway), we must consider the locations of the interior Indian towns with respect to the trade routes inland from the St. Johns, and fluctuations in the water level of the great Alachua savanna. First, with the establishment of Talahaschte, the most desirable route between it and the St. Johns River (in the vicinity of present day Palatka) would be the most direct; this path would cross the margin of the Alachua prairie itself provided the prairie was dry. In fact, by Bartram's time the road diverged just east of the prairie, with one fork traveling around to the south and through Cuscowilla, the other crossing the southern margin of the prairie, and by, I think, the original site of Latchaway. However, if changing water levels in the prairie made this latter passage difficult, or unpredictable (and Cowkeeper's references to dying fish and droves of mosquitoes hint at some perturbation of the norm) the residents of Latchaway may have found themselves in danger of being bypassed by packtrains eager to make for the Suwannee, and may have found their own travel becoming less and less convenient (although by Bartram's visit in 1774 the prairie road was again passable). Even within the last century the prairie has filled to become a lake sufficient to float paddlewheelers, and drained again to form its present condition. Thus, in 1764 when Cowkeeper desired to parlay with Rolle and the trader Barnet not in

the town of Latchaway but at a point one mile distant on the road to St. Marks (Rolle 1977:53), the move away from the Latchaway center may have already been underway. Whatever the specifics, the founding of the Seminole towns of Talahoschte and Cuscowilla c. 1770 cannot be understood apart from political and economic considerations as the Indians understood them.

A third Seminole town to be established during this time was located on the west bank of the St. Johns, near Palatka in what is now Putnam County. Bartram provides a picturesque description of the site, as viewed from the river (Bartram 1955:95,96):

There were eight or ten habitations, in a row, or street, fronting the water, and about fifty yards distant from it. Some of the youth were naked, up to their hips in the water, fishing with rods and lines; whilst others, younger, were diverting themselves in shooting frogs with bows and arrows. On my near approach, the little children took to their heels, and ran to some women who were hoeing corn; but the stouter youth stood their ground, and, smiling, called to me. As I passed along, I observed some elderly people reclined on skins spread on the ground, under the cool shade of spreading oaks and palms, that were ranged in front of their houses .

Around the village were several hundred acres of cleared ground, including plantings of corn, potatoes, beans, squash, melons, and a carefully pruned orange grove. Melons and oranges were popular produce of the Indian trade, and as was discussed earlier, became something of the female equivalent of the male furs and skins. Bartram was later to visit this town by land (Bartram

1955:250,251), where he was entertained in a centrally located, raised and canopied pavilion, decorated with dyed, split-cane mats.

This village was located some twelve miles north of Spalding's Lower Store (the latter identified as the archaeological site of 8Pu23, near Astor) in the vicinity of Rollestown, where Denys Rolle was to establish himself tenuously between the years 1765-1770. To judge from Rolle's account (1977) and from records of the British Colonial Office, there was no major Seminole occupation in the area prior to Rolle's settlement; again, principal dealings were with the Alachua and Suwannee bands of Seminole. However, Rolle's presence on the St. Johns provided the gravity necessary for attracting Seminole settlers to the area; in particular one Philoki and his family who evidently hoped to install themselves in the graces of both Rolle and Spalding. Their particular items of commerce were more the product of the field than of the forest, hence the extensive area of cultivated land surrounding the new town.

Thus by the year 1770 three new Seminole towns emerged in the north peninsula whose foundings quite literally reflect Indian moves in the direction of enterprise. Native society, as it had been experienced by the colonial Seminole, was however undergoing a profound re-ordering. By 1774 the Seminole towns in the north peninsula were in

little formal or ritual contact; the British realized that important policies (for instance, the Treaty of St. Augustine) could only be disseminated by visits paid to individual towns. There would be no more solemn expressions of pan-Indian religion and cosmology for European eyes as had occurred at Picolata in 1765. It is likely as well that the ballgame was no longer played between teams from opposing towns. Traditional clan and moiety affiliations now had less determination of social success and prestige than did individual initiative and shrewdness: witness Philoki's moves on the St. Johns with respect to the traders Rolle and Spalding. Further, with the increased ability of the Seminole to accumulate personal wealth, the traditional Southeastern Indian descent system of matrilineal inheritance (a man's rights and property could be transferred to his sister's son upon his death) may have declined some in practice (see Gough 1961:631 for cross-cultural examples of this process). Thus, by 1820 it was possible for Opauney, a Seminole residing east of Tampa Bay in the vicinity of Winter Haven (Polk County), to leave his vast real estate holdings and accumulated possessions (including cash) to his son, while his houses, orchards and fields were destroyed in keeping with Creek custom (Dexter, in Glunt 1930:281).



The archaeological record indicates that grave goods were still furnished the Seminole dead, as had been the case with the Creeks and other Southeastern Indians well back into prehistory. At the Zetrouer site (8A66) just east of the Alachua Savanna (near the present site of Rochelle, Alachua County), excavators uncovered the remains of a single Seminole male, flexed on his left side, head facing east, with an iron trade tomahawk and iron knife on top of his chest and a glass mirror tucked just under his knees (Goggin et al. 1949). In front of his legs were the remains of three probable pouches, two containing shot and flints and one containing powder. Around his waist had been a leather, buckled belt (Figure 6). Just above the heels was placed an inverted brass kettle; other of his possessions, including two additional brass buckles, several coils of copper wire, red and yellow paint, an iron knife, file and rasp, two pocket clasp knives, and a gun lock, were placed at his back. Conspicuously absent however are glass beads, so common a component of later domestic and mortuary assemblages, and the musket the individual must have possessed.

This man was probably a resident of an outlying hamlet associated with Cuscowilla; the burial goods compare favorably with trade items excavated at the site of Spalding's Lower Store, operating between c. 1763-1783 on

the St. Johns (Lewis 1968). It is likely that the individual buried at Zetrouer had commerce either directly with Spalding (remembering that Seminole sherds from the nearby 8A296 site excavated by Sears were stylistically similar to sherds recovered at Spalding's) or with the resident trader of Cuscowilla. Some idea of his relative wealth can be gained from Table 4, based on information translated by Joseph Lockey from the Spanish AGI:PC Leg 2360 (available in the Lockey Collection, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, under "Tariff For Trade With the Creek Nation, Pensacola, June 1, 1784"). A pound of skins equals 18 ounces, and the measures of cloth are in Spanish yards. Figuring only those items that appear both on the trade list and with the burial, we can estimate that this individual was buried with the trade equivalent of at least 34 lbs. of skins, although this figure is undoubtedly conservative.

The skin trade was not the only enterprise open to the Seminole entrepreneur. After the demise of the British plantation system and their retrocession of Florida to Spain in 1783, there developed a real need for an interior breadbasket to provide food for the Spanish colonists. Coinciding with this need was the move just north and east of Tampa Bay of a new wave of Muskogee-speaking Upper Creek settlers (Swanton 1922:403). In this region of fertile, well-drained soils and ample savanna lands, a series of

Table 4. Trade items and their value in skins.

lbs. of skins	items
one lb.	1/2 lb. powder, 40 bullets, 4 lbs. wool binding, 5 strings barley grain seeds, 5 strings common beads, 10 strings white enameled beads
1-3 lbs.	knives, according to size
1-5 lbs.	looking glasses, according to size
1-6 lbs.	hatchets, according to size
2 lbs.	silver earbobs
2-3 lbs.	silver broach, 1 yd. white linen, handkerchiefs, 1 yd. baize cloth
3-4 lbs.	1 yd. of finer linen
4 lbs.	1 yd. stroud fabric
4-5 lbs.	gingham shirt, 1 yd. chintz fabric, plain bridle
4-6 lbs.	plain shirt
6 lbs.	blanket with one stripe
6-7 lbs.	double bridle
6-8 lbs.	black silk handkerchief
8 lbs.	stroud blanket
8-10 lbs.	white ruffled shirt
16-18 lbs.	ordinary trading gun
30-60 lbs.	riding saddle

Measures of cloth are in Spanish yards. One lb. = 18 ounces.

Source: Lockey n.d., AGI:PC Leg 2360

Seminole plantations developed at the hands of these Creeks; plantations that were to bring their owners no small measure of prosperity by the time Florida became an American territory in 1819.

The most informative account of these villages is provided in a letter sent to Territorial Governor William P. Duval by Horatio S. Dexter in 1823. Dexter, by vocation a trader and merchant and one-time representative of the speculative Alachua Company, was also something of a frontier diplomat and was employed by Duval to inform the peninsular Indians of an upcoming council at Moultrie Creek. Transcriptions of the letters filed with Duval by Dexter as a consequence of his mission appear in Glunt (1930:281), Boyd (1958), and in DeVane's Early Florida History (Vol.2, 1979).

Dexter traveled from St. Augustine to Volusia, then on to the Indian settlement of Okahumpka, where Micanopy, nephew of the late King Payne of the Alachua Seminole and now their leader, resided. Twelve miles south of Okahumpka was Pilaklikaha, where Micanopy's 100 black slaves were settled. This location is between the present sites of Bevilles Corner and Center Hill, Sumter County. Here, 100 acres were under cultivation in corn, rice, and the "ground nut" or peanut. Leaving Pilaklikaha, Dexter traveled 28 miles southwest to the settlement of Chukochatty (various

spellings), also known as Red House, Red Town, or New Eufala, settled by migrants from the Creek town of Eufala in central Alabama as early as 1767 (Swanton 1922:403) (near the modern town of Brooksville, Hernando County). At the time of Dexter's visit, Simaka was the town chief, and owned three slaves, 160 head of cattle, 90 horses, and a number of hogs. The prosperity of this settlement was so marked that two years prior to Dexter's visit 60 black slaves residing there were lost in a Creek raid from the north.

Twelve miles south of Chukochatty Dexter entered a village on the border of a lake where corn, pumpkins, and watermelons were grown. Four miles further was the settlement of Tomahitche, a series of dispersed hamlets so situated as to take advantage of the savanna pasturage in the area. The hamlets shared a common field planted in corn and rice. These settlements were just southwest of the present-day Dade City (Pasco County), on the highlands west of Lake Pasadena. From here Dexter continued south, crossing the Hillsborough River and entering the village of Hechapauka, or Hich-a-pue-sesse (Fairbanks 1974:246). Its inhabitants had previously dispersed to the villages of Chocochatty, Tomahitche, and Tophokilika (the latter presumably near the central Florida lake of the same name).

Peach and "Pride of India" trees flourished in the vicinity of Hechapauka.

Traveling south and southeast, Dexter then crossed Alafia Creek (noting that the peninsula south of this point was regarded as Indian hunting territory) and reached Opauney's plantation (Figure 1) on the west side of Lake Hancock. Here Opauney had lived much in the manner of a proper planter. His two story frame house was surrounded by a corn house, dairy, stable, and other outbuildings. Also on the site was a "physic" house, containing sacred war medicines for use only by a medicine man. The presence of this building suggests that despite its outward resemblance to, perhaps, an English or American plantation, Opauney's settlement held vestiges of its native roots. The extensive plantings were of corn, potatoes, an orchard of peaches, and rice. Opauney maintained a thriving rice export business with Spanish St. Augustine, and had managed to accumulate \$7000 in cash by the time of his death. After touring the vicinity of Opauney's town, Dexter returned to St. Augustine via Pilaklikaha, Okahumpka, and Volusia.

Nicholson Grove; A Seminole Site From the Period of Enterprise

Archaeology of Seminole sites of this period indicate that domestic consumption was nothing short of

ostentatious. At the Nicholson Grove and Hawes sites (what I take to be Dexter's Tomahitche) west of Lake Pasadena in Pasco County (Figure 1) the plentiful surface collections of trade artifacts suggest that here Seminole enterprise was at its zenith. Both sites, on adjacent knolls in long-cultivated orange groves, are defined by a surface scatter of artifacts some 150 m in diameter. Systematic collecting has been conducted on the sites over the past several years by Mr. William Dayton of Dade City, who graciously guided me to their locations and allowed me to photograph artifacts in his possession.

The most striking aspect of the Nicholson collection is the quantity of European glass trade beads present (Figure 7). The quantity (at least fifty) and variety of the Nicholson bead sample present a dramatic contrast to domestic assemblages from earlier and later periods of Seminole history, and is only equaled by collections made from Seminole living sites of this century in south Florida (for example, the type collection assembled by John Goggin and now curated at the Florida State Museum). Easily identifiable beads include the familiar red over green "Cornaline d'Aleppo" (type IV A2 in the Brain 1979 taxonomy), which also occurs on Creek sites dating to the eighteenth century (Sears 1955:143,144). Cornaline d'Aleppo beads are of drawn glass, and occur throughout the Southeast on sites dating between 1600 and 1836, with a



Figure 7. Glass beads from Nicholson Grove.



mean date of 1727. Varieties of monochromatic faceted beads that become popular after the turn of the nineteenth century (Smith, in Dickens 1979:170) are also found at Nicholson. Another Nicholson specimen that appears in the bead literature is a round, drawn polychrome bead (see Figure 6) described from French-influenced sites in the Southeast (Gregory and Webb 1965:33-39, Brain 1979:107; his type IV B7). These three types of beads evidently remained popular among the Seminole through the 1830s and appear both as items of personal adornment included with Seminole burials at the military post of Fort Brooke c. 1836 (Piper and Piper 1982) and, probably, as components of the colorful, multi-bead necklaces drawn by the artist Catlin in his portraits of the Seminole (see Fundaburke 1958).

Quantities of European tablewares are also present, including featheredged (at Hawes) and transfer print (Nicholson) pearlwares, and banded wares (Figure 6). European red and green glazed earthenwares are also included in the collections. At least one ceramic teapot was in use at Nicholson, and Mr. Dayton estimates that one complete tea setting is represented by the collected sherds (Figure 8).

Native pottery is represented by Chattahoochee Brushed sherds, and specimens of a plain, sand tempered ware. One shoulder sherd from a cazuela bowl bears gash-like

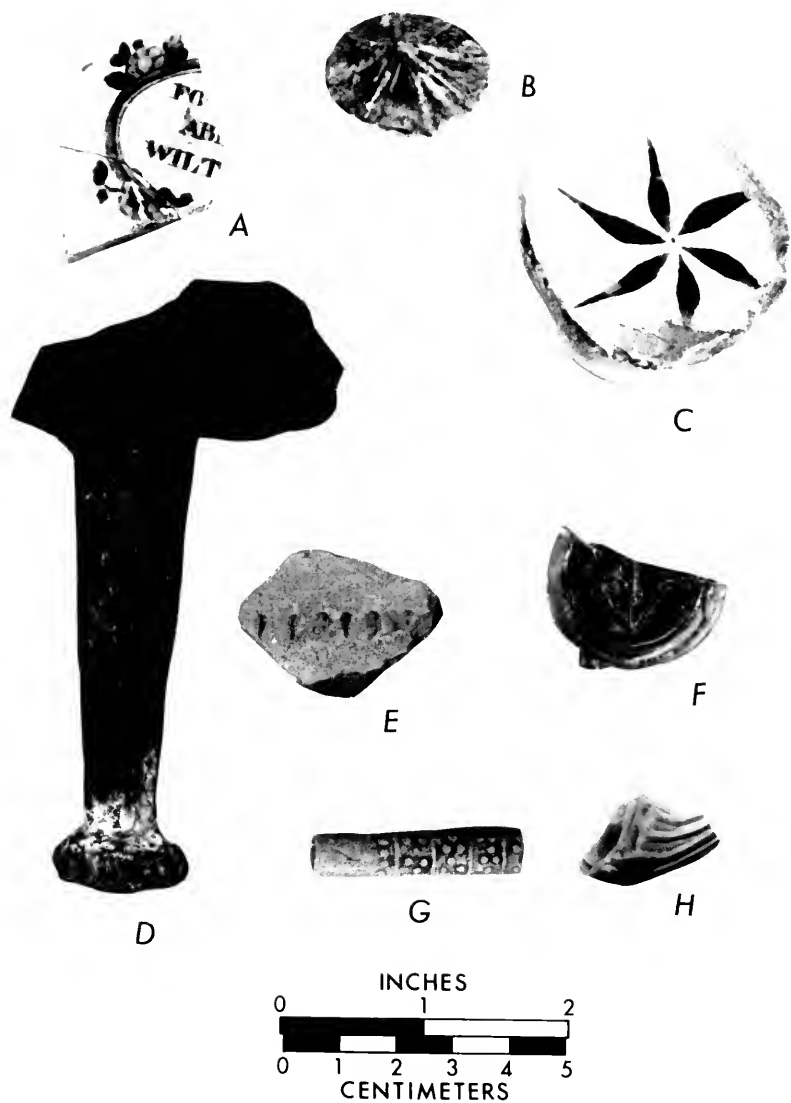


Figure 8. Nicholson Grove artifacts. A-C, European ceramics; D, kettle leg; E, pottery; F, bottle seal; G-H, clay pipe fragments

punctations identical to treatments appearing in historic Creek collections (Dickens 1979:122,131). Thus far, punctated, incised, or notched fillet styles of rim treatment are not known from Nicholson; however the strong and direct continuity between Creek and Seminole pottery traditions is clearly expressed.

Fragments of kaolin smoking pipes are abundant, including one stem portion (Figure 8) also identified in Florida State Museum type collections as being Spanish-derived with an early nineteenth century date. A single leg of a three-legged cast iron cookpot (Figure 8) was also recovered at Nicholson, and again, this find suggests the previous French contact held by the Seminole (then Creek) in south central Alabama. Here, at the site of Fort Toulouse and in collections on display in the State Capitol in Montgomery, are cast iron vessels similar to the one from Nicholson (see also Brain 1979:135); which, curiously, are distinct from British iron pots then arriving in Florida through the St. Johns stores (Lewis 1968:82, Weisman 1986b:14).

Numerous bottle sherds occur at the sites, including a green glass bottle seal with an anchor motif (Figure 8). Bottle glass sherds chipped for use as tools are also in the collections, and would have been useful in skinning large animals such as cattle and deer. Hunting activities

are further indicated by a number of gunflints collected by Mr. Dayton from Nicholson.

The combined assemblage from Hawes and Nicholson Grove (although the specific relationship between the two sites is not clear) illustrates two important points about the Seminole of the period of enterprise. First, the Florida peninsula was still perceived as a land of opportunity as late as the third quarter of the eighteenth century; families and in some cases towns of Creek immigrants, bearing with them a Creek material culture, positioned themselves in their new homes with respect to their commercial interests. Second; prosperity was forthcoming for these peoples, as their produce and products were packed off to Spanish St. Augustine (Griffin 1957), to the St. Johns trading houses, to the Spanish store at Apalachee (Fairbanks 1974:126), or bartered to subsidiary traders or peddlers mentioned in the Spanish documents of the time (Zespedes to Galvez, Aug. 16, 1784, in Lockey 1945:254). Spanish goods were still at times sought out in Havana by Indian and trader alike, because of their relative inexpensiveness. Comparing the Nicholson and Hawes sites to the Dexter manuscript, it is evident that the Seminole here had an economy based on plantation crops grown in part for export (for instance, peaches and rice), complemented by animal husbandry for the same

purpose. In exchange for Seminole goods, items were obtained in the hopes of demonstrating personal wealth and success (beads and pipes) and even a degree of household luxury (tea servings). The actual preparation and consumption of foods within the household probably remained conservative in nature, thus the continued presence of traditional Creek pottery on Florida Seminole sites.

#### Further Radiations of the Seminole

Other Seminole sites of the period demonstrate the extent of Seminole participation in the atmosphere of commerce provided by the British and Spanish colonial governments. The Mizell site (8Or14), located in an orange grove overlooking Lake Mizell in Winter Park, contains numerous sherds of transfer print and blue featheredged pearlwares, plain whitewares, banded wares, brown glazed earthenwares, and kaolin pipe fragments. The Seminole pottery type Winter Park Brushed was named and described based on collections of aboriginal pottery from this site (Goggin 1958); the distinction between it and Chattahoochee Brushed rests on the small quantities of limestone included in the Winter Park paste. Presumably the latter type is a Florida variant of the Creek brushed pottery tradition; however, the brushed "Winter Park" sherds included in the Mizell collection at the Florida State Museum (Acc.# A-

3036) closely resemble samples of Chattahoochee Brushed. This suggests that the type Winter Park Brushed needs some reevaluation, and perhaps can simply be included with Chattahoochee Brushed. Although documentary references to the Winter Park Seminole are lacking, the Mizell site demonstrates the use of the central Florida lake district by the Seminole, again in a situation favorable to plantation agriculture and animal husbandry.

Agriculture and animal husbandry were key economic practices of the Seminole, but along the Florida Gulf coast other bands were developing different strategies for gaining access to the avenues of enterprise. As early as 1774 one group settled at "Caloosahatchie" on the "bay of Calos" (Bartram 1955:194,367) (near present day Fort Myers and Pine Island Sound, Lee County) for the purpose of trading skins and furs to Spanish fishermen who cured and salted their catch on the beach before returning to Cuba. Between the years 1774-1823 the coastal islands from the area of Tampa Bay south to the vicinity of Charlotte Harbor became nested with bands of Indians, "Spanish Indians" (Sturtevant 1953, Neill 1955:43), and the so-called Seminole negroes, all jockeying for position with respect to Spanish trading and fishing vessels working the lower coast (Hammond 1973). The activities of these traders were not for the most part sanctioned by the British Colonial Board of Trade during the British period, and after 1784 served

to undermine the efforts of the Spanish-sanctioned Panton, Leslie, and Company to bring the coastal Indians within the sphere of Euro-Indian relations. From this spirit of separatism, in terms of attitudes with regard to both the interior Seminole and the seat of colonial authority in St. Augustine, were to develop individuals the likes of the legendary Mikasuki Sam Jones, or Arpeika, whose small band of intransigents survived two wars waged against them by the United States to become one of the founding populations of the modern Seminole.

By 1822, a curious state of affairs existed on the central and southwest Gulf coast. Spanish maritime trade with the lower peninsula was by now an established and lucrative enterprise, and had led to the development of bands of middlemen--well armed and near piratical blacks--who lived on the outer islands and interrupted free trade between the ships and the interior Indians. From the inland Seminole--probably Opauney and others--they acquired cattle, which they gave in exchange for Spanish goods obtained at the boats. Such activities alarmed Dexter, and he reported their danger to Governor Duval with great concern. What Dexter did not report, probably to save face as a self-styled Indian expert and diplomat, was that by this time the coastal bands included not only blacks, but Seminoles, Spaniards, and the so-called

"Spanish Indians" of mixed parentage. This second front of opportunity provided by the Indian presence along the coast was not lost on several independent English entrepreneurs, who opened stores in the vicinity of Tampa Bay and points north. The most important of these operations, conducted by Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Armbrister, sought to recruit Indians to their allegiance and thereby undermine the established channels of the Florida Indian trade, now in the hands of John Forbes and Company. By 1818 Arbuthnot and Armbrister had introduced an uncertainty into white - Indian relations that threatened to disturb the peace, and they were captured and summarily executed in Spanish Florida by General Andrew Jackson of the United States Army (Fairbanks 1974:221-232).

One archaeological site attributable to the coastal Seminole is found on the Weekiwachee River, north of Tampa Bay (Figure 1). Here, in the upper component of a shell midden also containing remains from earlier Safety Harbor, Weeden Island, and Deptford archaeological cultures, Spanish olive jar sherds, sherds of Staffordshire china and feather-edged pearlware, smoking pipe fragments, faceted blue glass necklace beads, red and blue "seed" or embroidery beads, and bottle glass shards were recovered (Ferguson 1976). The olive jar sherds suggest seaborne trade with Cuba, as they do not occur in any number on inland Seminole sites. The European pearlwares and the



blue faceted beads combine to suggest at least an early nineteenth century occupation at the site by the Seminole. Seminole pottery again indicates a Creek heritage, with the recovery of a brushed jar and a cazuela bowl with "ticked" decorations at its shoulder (see similar treatment at Oven Hill, Figure 5; for a Lamar example in the Creek area, see Dickens 1979:179).

The trade items found at the Weekiwachee site indicate that the bands of coastal Seminole were able to parlay either goods or services into desired goods, and that this was perhaps most easily accomplished through a maritime exchange with Cuba. The American policy of containment recognized that control over the Florida Indians could only be effected when and if unrestrained use of the Gulf waters could be prevented; thus the Indian reservation created by the Treaty of Moultrie Creek (1823) had its bounds not closer than 25 miles to any coast (see Mahon 1967:endpiece). The exact fates of many of the coastal-oriented Seminole once American control came to Florida are not known. Arpeika and his band eluded capture through two wars and settled deep within the Everglades. The painting of his camp there done by Seth Eastman (see Swanton 1946: plate 79) indicates that an early form of "chickee" housing was then being constructed; the prototype of this familiar Seminole house form may have been constructed in Arpeika's

coastal settlement north of Tampa Bay before the outbreak of the Second Seminole War. Other preadaptations to the south Florida wetlands on the part of the peninsula Seminole may have been forged in the small coastal settlements as well.

#### The Demise of the Alachua Seminole

Upon the death of Cowkeeper in the 1790s, the control of the Alachua band passed to his son, known to history as King Payne. Payne evidently abandoned the site of Cuscowilla and founded Paynestown (8A1366), approximately two miles to the northeast of the former location and within the bounds of what is now Paynes Prairie State Preserve.

Archaeological survey (Mykel 1962) and excavations (Mullins 1978:78-80) at the site of Paynestown suggest that this was not the formal squareground center that Cuscowilla had been, but was constructed plantation-style, as we discussed for Opauney's settlement east of Tampa Bay. The site of Payne's house was defined by a concentration of English ceramics, smoking pipe fragments, glass shards, glass necklace beads, gun furniture, and Chattahoochee Brushed pottery. English ceramics include banded and transfer-print pearlwares, salt-glazed stoneware, and lead-glazed earthenware, and together indicate occupation at the site c. 1790-1820 (Mullins 1978:78). The absence of the large blue faceted beads that become so popular with

the Seminole early in the nineteenth century suggests that the terminal occupation of Paynestown was well before 1820, and probably coincides with Payne's death at the hands of an invading Georgia militia in 1812.

Around Payne's house were various outbuildings (or refuse pits), evidenced by smaller concentrations of European goods (including additional glass beads and a silver earring) and Chattahoochee Brushed pottery (misidentified as Winter Park Brushed and Plain in the site report). Payne was clearly a man of some wealth; however, to judge from the archaeological survey results, he did not place himself or his residence at the center of a town the likes of Cuscowilla (see Bartram 1955:168). Presumably other members of the Alachua band were scattered in hamlets throughout the southern hammocks of the prairie, and thus perhaps by c. 1812 the diffuse or dispersed pattern of settlement so often discussed with regard to the Seminole (Fairbanks 1978:175; Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:254, Dickenson and Wayne 1985:5-11) was coming to be. By the close of the period of enterprise, new circumstances were acting to exacerbate the noted trends of social fission and reorganization among the Seminole. With the incursions of the Georgians and the death of Payne following a pitched battle near the eastern shore of Newnan's Lake, the

nucleus of the Alachua Seminole was smashed. Cowkeeper's descendents dispersed to the corners of the peninsula, from the flight of Bowlegs' (Payne's brother) family west of the Suwannee to the far reaches of south Florida where Payne's family was to settle. A large group of blacks once associated with Sitarkey of the Alachua Seminole moved south and west to the remote banks of the Withlacoochee, where Dexter was to supply them with sugar cane plants in 1821.

The prosperity of the Seminole was to ultimately spell their demise. The efforts of the industrious Seminole demonstrated that the Florida sands could be husbanded to fruitful, and profitable, advantage. In areas once considered too remote or infertile by the early European colonists, the Seminole were successful in developing an export economy based on agro-pastoralism. They provided an example that was to appeal to the new breed of American pioneer, who hoped to return a decent living from the land with little or no capital outlay. It was difficult for these men to consider a life of economic competition with the Indians, although the Indians did not object at first to the settlers' presence as long as they could engage with them in trade.

The conspicuous Seminole prosperity in Florida created a tempting target for both white and Indian raiding (for

instance, the Coweta Creek raid on the Seminole town of Chukochatty in 1819 in which numerous cattle, horses, and blacks were carried off); actions that provoked a cycle of troubled, unstable border conditions when the Seminole sought, on occasion, to retaliate. This atmosphere was not conducive to American plans for the Florida territory, thus designs for a formal Indian policy had as their parameters concepts of containment and removal.

Add to these factors the burgeoning of the Florida Seminole population, some tenfold since Bartram's day, such that the possibility existed in the American minds that they would have to coexist with a strong, sovereign Indian nation operating according to their own wishes on American soil. This the Americans were not prepared to do. But Florida continued to act as a magnet of perceived opportunity for the Southeastern Indians, with significant migrations occurring as late as 1814 (Sturtevant 1971:106).

A comparative look at contemporaneous Creek (at Childersburg, see DeJarnette and Hansen 1960) and Seminole (Zetrouer, 8A66, see Goggin et al. 1949) burials from the third quarter of the eighteenth century suggest that Indian perceptions had some foundation in fact--personal wealth could be accumulated by the Seminole perhaps at levels beyond the means of their northern neighbors. The

implications of this trend were evident to the Americans; consequently the end of the period of Seminole enterprise was to coincide closely with the coming of American control to the Florida peninsula. Seminole enterprise did not entirely cease, for commercial activities with Spanish Cuba were to continue through the years of the Second Seminole War and beyond. Government sanctioned Indian stores were maintained at military posts after the creation of the Indian reservation in 1823; here limited trading and even cash sales were permitted. But the Americans were, literally, not as hungry for Indian goods as had been the Europeans, and saw less need to keep the peace.

Seminole Society at the Close of the Enterprise Period

Between the years 1767-1821 significant transformations by the Seminole of the Ancestral Creek Pattern were underway. Leadership became very local in scope, and was increasingly based on ability, not inheritance. As traders and trade opportunities proliferated through the Florida peninsula, so did Seminole towns, founded by individuals and their families who fissioned from the traditional talwa pattern of settlement organization. The real authority of the chief was undermined as people found they could strike deals on their own.

Women's roles were enhanced as they too could produce items of commercial value, especially crops such as watermelons, corn, rice, peaches, and oranges. Their bonds with other women of their clan were perhaps reinforced by such activities, and in some cases the huti were undoubtedly functioning as socially independent, economically autonomous units. Seminole women themselves achieved value in the eyes of both Indians and whites because they were one means through which important trade alliances could be established.

The traditional practice of matrilineal inheritance was undergoing revision, especially when large amounts of wealth were at stake. In the event of the death of Opaaney, it was his son who packed off 300 head of cattle, 100 packhorses laden with rice and other articles, and \$7000 in currency, despite Dexter's assertion that Opaaney's nephew should properly, by custom, inherit.

Some syncretism had occurred between Christianity and native religion, perhaps because the Seminole had on occasion assimilated Indian survivors from the earlier Spanish missions in their midst. The crucifix-wearing, Spanish-speaking Indians resident among the Cuscowilla Seminole (Bartram 1955:164) were, presumably, descended from mission Indians. By the early 1800s the Seminole believed in a Supreme Being, an entity of good, who existed

in opposition to an evil spirit who beckoned men to do wrong. Wrong-doers were banished after death to a nether world of eternal fire (Dexter, in Boyd 1958). Such beliefs existed as an overlay to traditional beliefs and practices, where annual busk ceremonialism and the powers of the medicines prevailed. The Seminole cosmos was sufficiently plural in nature to accomodate a diversity of, at times, contrasting, beliefs, and it remains that way to this day.

The combined experience of the Florida Indians during their period of enterprise marked their cultural passage from Creek to Seminole. The social and economic contexts of this era placed a premium on individual performance and achievement, attributes that are exhibited in the Seminole personality of the ethnographic present. They were now to face the American presence in their Florida homeland, an experience that would serve to reinforce the value of their received wisdom and traditional lifeways.



CHAPTER V  
REVITALIZATION: 1821-1841

The net cultural effect of the period of enterprise on the Seminole was the development of autonomous bands of self-willed individuals; thus, they experienced a downscaling of traditional authority structures and a lack of singularity in leadership (Fairbanks 1974:265). No individual with the aplomb and savvy of the Creeks' Alexander McGillivray (Green 1980:41) would arise among the Seminole, nor would the Seminole have likely entrusted such power in the hands of one man. Indeed, even McGillivray, whose unique brand of eighteenth century shuttle diplomacy insured for the Creeks at least temporary security on the Southeastern frontier, failed to extend his authority over the Seminole bands in Florida when at the height of his power in 1790.

On the domestic scene, the Americans were attempting, with mixed results, to assess the numbers of Florida Indians and their locations, and at times elicited testimony from native informants for this purpose (Fairbanks 1974:233-254). What the Americans called Seminole towns in reality contained as few as twelve and as many as two hundred and fifty persons (Dexter, in Boyd

1958; Fairbanks 1974:236). Further, it is not clear if in fact the noted population centers were true cultural entities or were instead artifacts of the census-taking procedure. Particularly south of the Suwannee, or within the bounds of our subject area, the documents are not clear as to the nature of the settlement patterns practiced by the Seminole, and, as we have seen, because settlement patterns have much to do with social organization, it is difficult to estimate from historical sources just how the Seminole structured their lives.

In the beginning portion of this chapter we will be concerned with chronicling the development of the so-called clan camp (Spoehr 1941:10,14), or what became for Seminole of recent times the primary ordering principle of their daily lives. The evolution of the clan camp, and the development of a nativistic movement among the Seminole during the years of the Second Seminole War, combine to emphasize one of the major trends in Seminole culture history--their ability to transform antecedent cultural configurations of their own past--and provide the theme of this chapter.

#### Ethnoarchaeology of the Seminole Clan

The prototype of the Seminole clan camp is the Creek huti (Swanton 1928b:171), or the local arrangement of matrilineally-related households. Because residence

after marriage was primarily matrilocal among the Creeks, new household compounds for the married couple would be established in the vicinity of the wife's former residence, and hence her new family would enter into reciprocal and obligatory arrangements with her mother, mother's sisters, and her own married sisters. These women would also be of the same clan, as would all other members of the compounds except the husbands. Combined archaeological and ethnohistorical research in the Creek area suggests the presence of this settlement pattern by the mid eighteenth century (Knight 1985:120), although it may have developed from the Mississippian hamlets of late prehistoric times.

The social history of the Seminole is in a sense the story of how the clan camp evolved from antecedent forms of social organization. To understand this development, we must briefly reconsider the centripetal and centrifugal forces acting on, and being acted on by, Seminole society through the course of its evolution. The early Seminoles who came into Florida were essentially Creeks--in their lifeways, cosmology, and social organization. The primary settlement pattern was a squareground center surrounded by affiliated hamlets. It is likely that the hamlets contained people related through matrilineage and clan membership, to judge from what is known for the Creek area. The hamlets became increasingly autonomous from the squareground centers, because the traders tended to treat

all Indians equally and thus diminished the power and authority of the town chiefs. Further, the hamlets may have fissioned along the lines of the nuclear family as increased opportunities for trade and prosperity presented themselves. The importance of clan membership was perhaps at its lowest ebb during this period, and in fact there was little emphasis on social unity. This was the situation from c. 1780 through the early 1820s.

The American presence in Florida was to alter this atmosphere of good feeling, and the centripetal forces in Seminole society were reversed. Families began to draw together, like "beads on a string" (Spoehr 1941:16); the string being the traditional clan affiliation. Incentives for trade felt under British and Spanish rule vanished with the American policy of containment (although Horatio Dexter and the Alachua Company attempted for a time to keep channels open by distributing gifts to Micanopy and other prominent individuals, see Glunt 1936). The Treaty of Moultrie Creek, drawn up between the Seminole and the Americans in 1823, required the Seminole to move within the bounds of a central Florida reservation, and there, after a time, to become self-sufficient. The prospect of such a lifestyle perhaps reinforced among the Seminole the need to be allied with a group larger than the nuclear family, and led to the reactivation of kinship bonds. In addition, the

continued raiding of Seminole settlements by the Creeks, acting on their own or as mercenaries for other interests, may have suggested to the Seminole that strength did indeed lie in numbers, and that some degree of nucleation was advantageous. The new Seminole towns founded within the Moultrie Creek reservation after 1823 were in reality aggregates of small groups of individuals, bonded through matrilineage. The former situation in which neighboring households contained related women gave way to a residence pattern in which related women lived in the same household. This latter pattern is what is commonly known as the clan camp, of which MacCauley's (1887:507) is perhaps the first explicit description (see Chapter I). Fortunately, data derived from the archaeological excavations of Seminole burials at Fort Brooke and from domestic sites in the vicinity of the Withlacoochee River can be brought to bear on the processes of clan solidarity and clan camp formation, and will now be our concern.

#### Clan Solidarity--The Fort Brooke Cemetery

With the outbreak of the Second Seminole War in 1835, the American attitude towards the Florida Indians became rapidly single minded. All Indians not killed outright in the hostilities were to be caught and deported to Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River. Some individuals and their bands decided not to resist American directives, and cashed in their Florida possessions in preparation for

emigration. In one infamous case, Charley Emathla was returning from selling his cattle at the post at Fort King and was met on the road and killed by Osceola, who discarded the coins in disgust (Charley Emathla suffered a similar fate to the Indian murdered in Latchaway in 1764; his body was left unburied on the road).

Fort Brooke, erected in 1824 to monitor activities on the newly created Indian reservation, became a major depot from which emigrating, or captured, Indians were boated west. The site of the cemetery located near the fort was excavated by the firm of Piper Archaeological Research, Inc., under contract with the City of Tampa prior to the city's construction of a municipal parking garage at the location. Among the burials excavated by the Pipers were the remains of 13 adult Seminole males, 8 adult Seminole females, and 17 sub-adults. Several of the sub-adults had with them relatively large quantities of grave goods and items of personal adornment, suggesting to the excavators that clans were seeking to reinforce alliances between themselves by distributing gifts to deceased youths (Piper and Piper 1982:325, Piper, Hardin, and Piper 1982). In their view, this behavior was a cultural response to stress. While I agree with the Pipers that the clan is the appropriate unit of analysis, the evidence of Seminole ethnohistory suggests the Seminole had for some time placed

a high value upon their youth, and thus the burial riches at Fort Brooke may reflect a practice with greater time depth than the investigators acknowledge. For example, as early as 1764 the Seminole Philoki was noted traveling to a St. Johns plantation with his "two sons well dressed" (Rolle 1977:30), while depictions of the young Osceola Nikkanoochee by Catlin in 1837 (Fundaburke 1958) show a young man dressed with crescentic silver gorgets, strands of glass beads, and the like (see Welch 1977 for an interesting, if slightly fabulous, biography of Osceola's alleged nephew).

However, if we take the excavation plan of the burials as presented by the Pipers, and group the Seminole burials in burial groups or lots (Figure 9), there is some indication that the burial groups are of individuals related by clan. Grave lots were segregated based on two parameters; consistent alignment of graves as to indicate that certain graves were intentionally placed next to each other, and; sets or clusters of graves that met the above criterion and also were composed exclusively of Amerindian (to use the excavators' term) or Seminole remains (for related discussion of ethnic determination at the site, see Weisman 1985). Thus, the burial groups are assumed to represent groups of individuals associated in life.

We must discuss two further assumptions before proceeding on with the discussion. First, because the

burials at Fort Brooke were presumably under military supervision, we must assume that the military respected the Indians' wishes to be buried in their clan lots. In fact, eyewitness accounts of several Indian burials in the cemetery (Piper and Piper 1982:30, Prince 1836: Oct. 13)

suggest that the army was in general conciliatory of their requests. Second, we must assume that the burials were not simply placed in rows consecutively upon death, thus allowing no choice where individuals were to be buried. However, terminus post quem dating based on coins found with persons buried at some distance from one another (burials 27 and 30) suggests that both interments may have occurred within the same period of time. This strengthens the assumption that all portions of the cemetery were in use at any given time.

If, in fact, the burial patterns at the Fort Brooke cemetery do reflect a degree of native influence, rather than factors of convenience or military practice, then they provide a useful cultural datum from which to evaluate the evolution of Seminole behaviors with regard to the dead. In 1764, we learn from the Rolle (1977) document that the Seminole shared the typical Southeastern Indian aversion to the dead; the Latchaway village, or some portion of it, was moved to avoid being near a corpse. Burials at this time were probably attended to by male relatives of the



# FORT BROOKE CEMETERY QUAD BLOCK SITE (8 Hi 998)

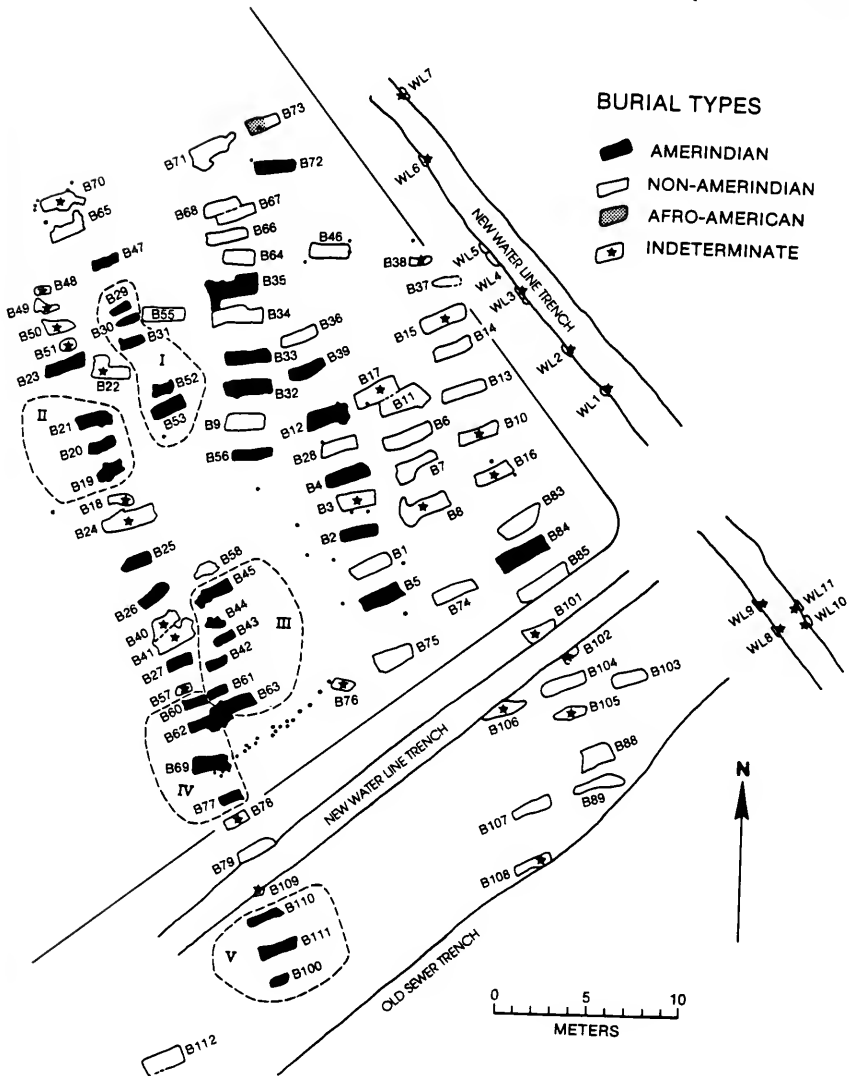


Figure 9. Burial groups at Fort Brooke cemetery.

Source: After Piper and Piper 1982

deceased (Swanton 1928b:391,393), and since many of the Latchaway males were away to south Florida on a hunting trip, it is likely that there was no one present in the village who could properly handle the corpse. The common burial practice throughout the Southeast in the eighteenth century was to entomb the individual below the floor of his house (Swanton 1928b:391-395); with him were included personal possessions that might be useful in the afterlife. In typical circumstances, this is the procedure that must have prevailed among the Alachua Seminole, hence the observed features of the Zetrouer burial (Goggin et al. 1949) described earlier.

However, a different burial treatment existed among the historic Choctaw (then residing in what is now south-central Mississippi), whom, as we will determine, were to have a decided influence on Seminole rites and customs. The Choctaw dead were at first placed, alone, upon a scaffold in the woods, and after some time the bones were collected and cleaned by the infamous "bonepickers." The cleaned bones were then placed in a box, which was placed with other boxes in a mausoleum located in the town (Bartram 1955:403,404).

By 1818, scaffold burial was recorded among the Seminole, as well as another Choctaw practice--the construction of a log pen or stockade around the deceased

(Young 1934:94; Swanton 1946:plate 89). By the 1870s, Seminole graves in south Florida had the appearance of small log houses, and were designated by the word to-hop-ki meaning stockade or fort (MacCauley 1887:521). Even the coffins used to bury the Indians at Fort Brooke were called by them the "narrow house" (Prince 1836: Oct. 13). Scaffold burial was noted among the central Florida Seminole by Dexter (in Boyd 1958) as late as 1822; curiously, local tradition in the vicinity of Dade City describes the location of a scaffold burial ground in a heavily wooded hammock. Below ground burials were still practiced by other groups of Seminole, although after 1818 guns and ammunition were no longer included as burial goods (Young 1934:94). In this light, the clan plots at Fort Brooke exist in striking contrast to the individual nature of earlier Seminole burial customs, and do perhaps signal the changes (stress) then being experienced by Seminole society.

Additional observations about Seminole society of the 1830s can be gained through a consideration of the burial lots at Fort Brooke, as I have designated them (Figure 9, Table 5). The burial lots contain a mix of adults of both sexes and children (with the exception of Burial Group 2) and reflect the expected demographic sample as drawn from a larger population (see Wienker 1982). It is not likely that the burial groups represent family plots, because

several of the groups contain subsets of individuals approximately the same age--not what we would expect in a nuclear family, but what would occur if the sample was drawn from several (and, I hold, related) families. Clearly, the Seminole were fond of children; the quantities of items of personal adornment found with child burials is striking indeed, especially in comparison with adults in the same group (however, see Table 5; some adults were buried with goods). Yet it is not inconsistent with other accounts relating to Seminole ethnohistory that Seminole parents could have simply bestowed seemingly lavish wealth upon their children; from some decades later MacCauley (1887:488) observed that mothers proudly dressed their infant daughters with strands of beads, and again we will recall that Philoki finely dressed his two young sons for a visit to Rolle's plantation in 1764. Beyond the fact that the Seminole were genuinely fond of their children (MacCauley 1887:498; Spoehr 1941:21), children also provided them with additional means to display the wealth of their family, and we have already discussed how important displayed, or wearable, wealth was to the Seminole (see Chapter III). The emphasis on visually communicating importance and wealth through the medium of costume was not likely to decline in the turbulent atmosphere surrounding the Second Seminole War, and indeed

Table 5. Burial Groups at the Fort Brooke Cemetery.

<u>Burial Group #1</u>	sex	age	artifacts
53	female (prob.)	25-35	iron belt buckle, 5 U.S. army brass buttons, 3 smaller buttons, 114 necklace beads
52	?	2-4	1 iron cup, 1 metal spoon, 3 button frags., 1 brass bell, 814 necklace beads
31	?	5-7	2 iron cups, 6 perforated coins (1819-1822; 3 Sp., 2 U.S., 1 G.B.), 2 white metal earbobs, 1 metal bodice piece, 860 necklace beads
30	?	4-6	2 iron cups, 1 iron knife with copper case, 6 perforated coins (1821-1839, Sp. reales, U.S. dimes), 1 metal bodice piece, 1 earbob frag., 2 brass button frags., 102 necklace beads, 226 seed beads
29	?	1-3	19 necklace beads
<u>Burial Group #2</u>			
19	?	2-4	3 cone shaped white metal earbobs, 8 teardrop white metal ornaments, 456 necklace beads, .5 oz. seed beads
20	?	4-6	114 necklace beads
21	?	5-7	794 necklace beads
<u>Burial Group #3</u>			
42	?	2-4	6 coins (5 two reales, 1 one real, 1777-1809), 235 necklace beads
45	?	6-8	39 necklace beads
43	?	2-4	1 brass door knob, 767 necklace beads
61	?	.5-1.5	2 cone shaped white metal earbobs, 2 perforated coins (Mexican 1/2 reales, 1837), 2 white metal bodice pieces, 839 glass necklace beads, .75 oz. seed beads
63	?	17-25	2 pewter 4 hole buttons
44	male (prob.)	25-35	2.5 oz. white seed beads, below knees in diamond pattern
<u>Burial Group #4</u>			
60	?	2-4	2 metal cups, 1 knife, 169 necklace beads, 1 brass military decorationa holder
62	?	2-4	1 white metal crescent gorget, 2 white metal pendants, 2 white metal bracelets, 2 cone shaped earbobs, 187 necklace beads, 5 oz. white seed beads
77	?	9 mo.-3yrs.	1 perforated coin (Sp. 2 reales, 1796), 1 knife with bone handle, 1 white metal bodice piece, 591 necklace beads
69	male (prob.)	17-25	none
<u>Burial Group #5</u>			
100	?	4-6	3 iron spoons, 1 iron bowl, 2 iron cups, 1 iron handle, 1 knife with bone handle, 8 brass buttons, 9 bone, 15 pewter, 2 white metal arm bands, 1 white metal bodice piece, 1 white metal earbob, 2,021 necklace beads
111	male	adult	"pouch": 1 iron arrowhead, bodice piece, gun flint, ramrod frag., copper wire coil, 5 flat copper sheets, 1 whetstone
110	male	17-25	1 white metal earbob with cloth attached

Source: Piper and Piper 1982

we see in portraits of Seminole warriors of the period a great concern with jewelry and colorful, showy garb (see Fundaburke 1958).

With respect to artifacts found with the burials, the coins of Spanish denomination minted before 1813 (Piper and Piper 1982:233-238) are of special interest, and hint at previous Seminole commerce with the Spaniards. The blue faceted glass necklace beads favored by the Seminole are present in some quantity, and bead types found at the domestic site of Nicholson Grove (see Chapter IV) are also included in the Fort Brooke assemblage. The diamond or diamondback motif that is so prominent in Southeastern Indian decorative arts appears at Fort Brooke as a seed bead embroidery pattern on a woolen garter (Piper and Piper 1982:153,223,227) and resembles known ethnological specimens. But perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Fort Brooke collection, from a comparative perspective, is the contrast provided by its entirely European or American derived items with contemporaneous Seminole domestic assemblages, such as we will next consider from the Cove of the Withlacoochee. Here we will again see that the Seminole manipulated their material culture, not to display wealth or personal achievement, but instead to express their sentiments about dominant American society and the value of their own traditions.

Clan Camp, and Nativism in the Withlacoochee Cove

With the signing by some of their members of the treaties of Payne's Landing and Fort Gibson, the Seminole gave all appearances to the United States of having relinquished their Florida lands in favor of a reservation adjacent to new Creek lands in the present state of Oklahoma (Mahon 1967:76,82). Had the Seminole in fact exited Florida en masse following the last of these treaties in 1833, there would have of course been no Second Seminole War (historians refer to Jackson's invasion of the peninsula in 1818 as the First Seminole War). But while some bands did not need undue persuasion to accept the government's terms and leave the territory (for example, Charley Emathla, mentioned earlier, and Black Dirt, Swanton 1928:394, who lived in the vicinity of Chukochatty), other bands determined to resist efforts at their removal.

Osceola, sometimes referred to as Powell (the surname of Osceola's mother husband, see Boyd 1954), had secluded himself and his followers in one of the most remote pockets of the Moultrie Creek reservation, the Withlacoochee River wetlands near where Sitarkey's negroes had settled following the disbanding of the Alachua Seminole after 1814. Beginning in November 1835, from his new stronghold deep in the fastness of the swamp, Osceola was to orchestrate a swift succession of events that were to bring

him and his people into armed conflict with the United States Army and various state militia. On November 26, Osceola killed Charley Emathla on the road near Fort King, for the latter's intent to emigrate. Three weeks later he ventured north to Black Point, on the rim of the Alachua savanna, and there ambushed a baggage train laden with supplies (Mahon 1967:101). Twin strikes were to come on December 28, 1835, when Osceola and a band of warriors killed the Indian Agent Wiley Thompson, his companion, and the post sutler outside the walls of Fort King, while to the south, near present-day Bushnell, Micanopy, Alligator, and Seminole blacks led by Abraham dispatched Major Francis Dade and his command in a surprising hail of gunfire. Unaware of the Dade "massacre" but aware that the Seminole force of resistance was building to the south of the Withlacoochee River, General Duncan Clinch and volunteers led by Richard Keith Call moved against the northern flank of the Seminole on December 31, 1835, in what is called the Battle of the Withlacoochee (Mahon 1967:107-112) (Figure 10). The Second Seminole War had commenced.

The so-called Cove of the Withlacoochee (probably so named because the north-flowing Withlacoochee forms a big bend in this area) was a carefully chosen stronghold for the base of guerilla operations in the opening years of the war. Its 100 square miles of mixed hammock, swampland, and



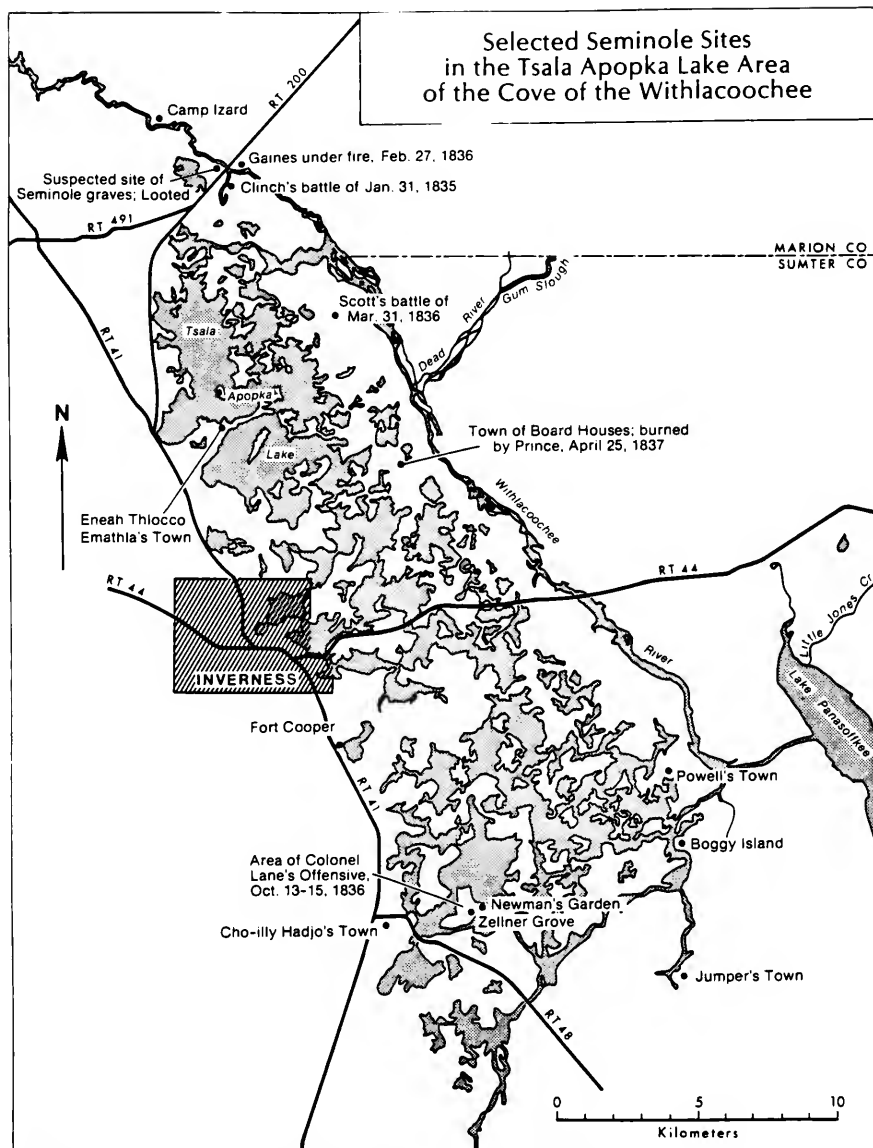


Figure 10. The Cove of the Withlacoochee.

prairie were as unknown to the Americans as they had been to the Spanish and British of earlier times; indeed, accurate maps of the area did not exist prior to 1837. Prehistoric Indians in the area were visited by the conquistador Hernando de Soto in May 1539 on his trek north, and at that time were constituents of the aboriginal province known as Tocaste. Excavations underway at a burial mound attributed to these Indians suggest some aboriginal occupation in the area as late as the early 1500s. The years between then and when Sitarkey's blacks settled in the area c.1814 reflect a cultural hiatus, at least until new data comes to light.

Other factors besides necessary seclusion influenced the Seminole to settle in the Withlacoochee Cove and the area just south and east of the Withlacoochee known as the Wahoo Swamp. The fact that Sitarkey's blacks had already pioneered the area and were producing crops was one draw; in addition the blacks would prove to be valuable allies in the hostilities ahead. It is also likely that a number of the Seminole taking sanctuary in the Withlacoochee Cove, especially Osceola and the Tallasays, had some knowledge or memory of the Creek stand against Andrew Jackson at Horseshoe Bend, Alabama, in 1814; the prophet-directed construction of the warrior's village of Tohopeka in the bend of the Tallapoosa River held in its geographical

setting a remarkable similarity to Osceola's village and other Seminole settlements in the Cove (see map of Horseshoe Bend in Dickens 1979:2, 6, and compare to Figure 10 this chapter). Tohopeka and Powell's Town (hereafter the term used with reference to Osceola's village) may have both had as their model the archetypal Creek town, described by Bartram (1955:400):

An Indian town is generally so situated, as to be convenient for procuring game, secure from sudden invasion, having a district of arable land adjoining, or in its vicinity, if possible on an isthmus betwixt two waters, or where the doubling of a river forms a peninsula.

Other locational factors with respect to the archaeological site of Powell's Town will be discussed in Chapter VI. Spiritual reasons, that is, the influence of the prophets, should not be downplayed, despite their lack of success in stemming the American tide in Alabama. It seems to have made little difference to the followers of a prophet whether or not his powers could stand up to empirical, "real world" tests (see the story of the Creek Prophet Francis, in Nunez 1958, and for archaeological description of the probable site of his "Holy Ground," see Oakley and Watson 1977:397).

Despite the documented importance of the Withlacoochee Cove with regard to Florida history, United States military history, and the culture history of the Seminole, the locations of Seminole sites in the area attributable to

Osceola and others remained archaeologically unknown until 1983. In May of that year, Florida State Museum archaeologist Jerald T. Milanich and I traveled to the Withlacoochee Cove wetland east of present Inverness, carrying with us a diary penned by one Lt. Henry Prince of the United States Army and containing passages and maps relating to his participation in the 1836, 1837, and 1841 campaigns waged against the Seminole in this portion of Florida. Importantly, the diary contained a short description and a sketch map of the Powell's Town site, sufficient enough, we thought, to relocate the site some 147 years after its abandonment by Osceola and his band. Because the Prince diary has proved to be a valuable new source of Seminole ethnohistory and has literally pointed the way to the archaeological discovery of several previously unknown Seminole sites, we will now consider this document at some length.

The Prince Diary--A New Source For Seminole Ethnoarchaeology

The Prince diary was formerly in the possession of a Dr. Charles A. Van Slyke of St. Paul, Minnesota. The connection between Prince and Dr. Van Slyke is at present unknown. Upon his death in 1940, his daughter, the present Lucille Coggeshall of Altamonte Springs, Florida, packed the diary off with her to her residence in New Jersey where it was stored until 1968. At that time, her husband, Ralph

H. Coggeshall, upon his wife's suggestion, unpacked the diary and on rainy days began the process of collating its previously unsequenced pages. By 1979, Mr. Coggeshall had developed an interest in Seminole War history and took the manuscript with him on a visit to Florida. While visiting the Dade Battlefield Park, Mr. Coggeshall was given the name of Frank Laumer (author of Massacre--the history of the Dade battle) as someone who might be interested in learning of the diary. Coggeshall and Laumer met, and during a subsequent visit to New Jersey in 1980, Mr. Laumer arranged for the purchase of the Prince diary (I thank the Coggeshalls for supplying me with the above information) by the Wentworth Foundation, a private, non-profit organization, dedicated to sponsoring research and educational endeavors concerned with Florida history. Its president, Mr. William Goza, presented the diary on the behalf of the Wentworth Foundation to the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, where it is at present curated. Mr. Laumer has recently provided a typed transcription of the diary, also available in the P.K. Yonge Library.

Henry Prince was born in Eastport, Maine, on June 19, 1811, and graduated from West Point in 1835. By January, 1836, Prince was in Florida to fight in the Seminole War, and received the first of his several war wounds shortly thereafter, in the IZARD battle fought on the banks of the

Withlacoochee in March. In 1847, Prince was wounded again, this time at the Battle of Molino del Rey, in the Mexican War, and was disabled from these wounds until 1850. In the Civil War, Prince served as a Brigadier General and was held as a prisoner of war for a time in 1862. In 1877 Prince was serving in the capacity of Deputy Paymaster General, a post from which he retired in 1879. On August 19, 1892, Henry Prince ended his own life in a hotel in Trafalgar Square, London.

Prince's duty between the years 1836-1842 took him from Florida to Nassau to Kentucky. During these years he spent considerable time in the vicinity of the Withlacoochee Cove; experienced two pitched battles there against the Seminole early in 1836, and returned in the spring of 1837 at the command of General Thomas Sydney Jesup to produce an accurate topographical map of the area for the General's files.

Throughout his diary, kept in what must have been similar to a modern surveyor's fieldbook, there appear the flourishes of a poet; consider its first line, on January 10, 1836--"Land of Flowers"--"aim to gather laurels," to his lamentation upon the death of Dade (1836: Jan. 31)--"but Death belongs to the human family ... what is it to die, to be shot in some vital part and suffer no more!" We will begin our account on February 17, when Prince learned

of the Battle of the Withlacoochee (Clinch's offensive of December 31, 1835) while stationed at Picolata. Word in the camp was that "Powel", or Osceola, (Prince maintained the idiosyncratic spelling of "Powel" throughout the diary, which will only be used here in direct citations from the text) had taken two shots in that engagement, but was recovering. On February 18, Prince marched to Fort King, and there learned the story of Wiley Thompson's murder at the hands of Osceola from a Seminole black named Cudjo. According to Cudjo, 60 Seminole warriors had remained concealed in the scrub outside the fort for two days; finally, they "drew T.s spirit" so that he took a stroll in their direction and was subsequently shot down. While at Fort King, Prince learned that the fighting force of Seminoles had recently been joined by 400 Creek warriors.

On February 26, 1836, Prince moved out to the Withlacoochee with General Edmund Gaines, and there was soon to get his first taste of action. Eight miles from Fort King the troops passed a deserted Indian and "negro" town (possibly the Seminole sites located in a recent mitigation survey, see Dickinson and Wayne 1985), and nearing the Withlacoochee, a burial ground. An abandoned town was burned where the command met the river, at a point several miles north of the present Rt. 200 bridge. They then traveled upstream (south), found the bodies of two of Clinch's casualties disinterred, and by the next day were

themselves under fire by the Seminole from positions on the west bank. By February 29, the army stockaded itself behind a log breastwork, named Camp Izard ("Izzard" in Prince's spelling) in honor of Lt. James Izard who fell in action at that place (see Mahon 1967:147). Prince himself was hit by two spent balls, one in the hip and one in the back; Gaines meanwhile suffered the misfortune of having his only tooth knocked out in a similar fashion. The Indians laid siege to Izard, and set fire to the palmettos surrounding the army's position. For an unexplained reason, a white man was seen amongst the Indians that day.

On March 1, a Seminole warrior killed by grape shot was dragged into Camp Izard, and according to Prince, had in his possession a powder horn containing the best quality powder, a leather haversack containing a large quantity of bullets, a supply of flints, and a pick brush and chain for servicing a musket. That night, an Indian could be heard making a loud oration on the opposite bank, closing with the words "momis tah" (Smithsonian ethnologist William Sturtevant takes this to be a declaration in the Creek, or Muskogee, language, meaning "it is so;" Sturtevant, personal communication, August 10, 1986). On March 3, the troops were subject to an Indian ruse, as Seminole dressed in blue army great coats, forage caps, trousers and short blue jackets moved through the underbrush in their hopeful



disguise. Prince learned that Osceola had made a speech to the Seminole on March 1 and had advised "we can't do anything with them here [at IZARD] boys but we'll give it to them when they cross the river" (Prince 1836: March 4).

By March 5 the surrounded soldiers prepared horse head soup, and liked it. On March 6 Osceola, Jumper and Alligator parleyed with the army and warned them not to cross the river. After this meeting, a Captain Hitchcock had this to say about Osceola: "Powel is a very interesting man, small, handsome, of a melancholy cast and a little talkative[;] alluding to the death of Thompson he says he is satisfied and doesn't care what course now is taken by the rest of the Indians." The council was interrupted by the arrival of reinforcements at IZARD, who, misinterpreting the Indian presence at the camp, hastily fired off a volley and killed a Seminole. With this blunder the Indians slipped away, and with them any hopes for an early conclusion to the war. The Indian dead now numbered thirty three.

On March 28, 1836, Prince again arrived at Camp IZARD, this time under the command of General Winfield Scott. On March 30 the troops crossed the river, advanced beyond Clinch's battleground of January 31 and into an open prairie, where they were fired upon by Seminoles concealed in a thick scrub. The soldiers moved on the scrub, but failed to engage the Indians. On April 1 two abandoned

Indian towns located in the northern reaches of Lake Tsala Apopka were burned and Major Mark Anthony Cooper was left with 300 men to establish a post in the vicinity (see Baker 1976 for an archaeological description of this site) (Figure 10) while the rest of the force swept south to Tampa Bay. On April 5, the command arrived at Fort Brooke at the head of Tampa Bay, after passing Colonel Lindsay's northernmost encampment (Mahon 1967:143) south of the present Floral City where they saw that the corpses of several soldiers had been disinterred. They also passed through, and burned, the old settlement of Chocachatty. In the subsequent months there were several other actions in the Withlacoochee Cove (most notably, by Colonel Lane in October) and on November 27 Prince writes that he learned that the Cove had been "thoroughly scoured, and that there were no Indians there."

Our next interest in Prince comes with his foray back to the Withlacoochee region early in 1837. Near the Wahoo Swamp (east of the Withlacoochee in the vicinity of the present Rt. 48 bridge) on January 12 Prince encountered a party of "friendly" Creeks (Creek auxiliaries, see Thurman 1977) who had with them a recently captured "Tallassa" Indian. Tallassa, Tallasay, and Tallahassee are names used to refer to that division of the Seminole that derived from or near the Creek town of Tallasay on the Tallapoosa River,

and who contributed that Muskogee, or Creek, speaking element among the Seminole who were later to congregate northwest of Lake Okeechobee, near the present Brighton Reservation (see Boyd 1955:251 for related discussion). Fortunately, Prince took some care to record his interviews with this individual. Two hundred and fifty men and a number of women and children of his tribe, he claimed, were encamped in near starvation conditions deep within a coastal swamp on "Clear-water Creek" (probably the Homosassa River). They had the previous winter traded deerskins for gunpowder with Captain Bunce, who operated a fishery near Tampa Bay, but now had little powder remaining. Indian "bullets" (shot?) were commonly of their own manufacture. Besides his camp, there were two other villages on the creek, one inhabited by the "Choceochutties" (surely once affiliated with Chukochatty) and the other by the "Eucheas." This man also knew the whereabouts of Powell and the negroes, that group having retreated to the fastness of the Wahoo Swamp (probably Kettle Island, Sumter County). Powell, he claimed, was well provisioned with powder because he had recently confiscated six kegs from the army. This Indian had fought against Prince and the others when Gaines took position at Camp Izard; by his count the Seminole force consisted of 300 Miccasukis, 10 Tallahasseees, a great many negroes, and an unknown number of Topekayligays.

Prince, and the Creek auxiliaries led by Jim Boy, went in search of the Clear-water village and on January 18 encountered two members of the Tallasay band, identified by the captive as "Ista-Jago" and "Woz-wocky." These men, driving a pack pony loaded down with jerked beef, were killed when they resisted capture. The Clear-water camp was reached on January 19, and 5 women, 6 children, and 9 blacks (3 men, 3 women, 3 children) were taken captive. From these prisoners Prince elicited testimony regarding the Indian side of the Clinch, Gaines, and Scott campaigns in the Withlacoochee Cove. During the hostilities the women and children were hidden in the depths of the Wahoo Swamp. Alligator was said to be "very selfish in getting plunder" (Prince 1837:Jan. 21) and had shown further impropriety by driving away with him to Peace Creek cattle that belonged to other tribes. Powell, however, was esteemed as a "good warrior and a gentlemanly Indian, the most gentlemanly Indian in the nation--he don't take white folk's things--he never even has got a horse... he would be a good chief if he had men--but alas the Redsticks are but 8" (Prince 1837:Jan. 21). The Indians also complained that since the death of the Mikasuki chief at Fort Drane (August 21, 1836, see Mahon 1967:177) there had been little unity or leadership amongst them. With the captives, Prince and the Creeks traveled south to Fort

Brooke, passing the town of "Eu-faw Tustenuggy" (Chukochatty?) and the town that Black Birt abandoned upon emigrating to Indian Territory. Prince recorded that the Eufala Indians were now mixed with the Tallasays and were called the "Topkaligay."

The record of Prince's next trip to the Withlacoochee, during the week of April 19, 1837, has permitted the use of the direct historic approach to Seminole archaeology in the Cove, the subject of the remainder of this chapter and the topic of Chapter VI. On April 17, Prince was ordered to make a reconnaissance of the Withlacoochee from Fort Dade to Fort Clinch (virtually its entire run), with the purpose of producing an accurate map of the vicinity in the event that the army would have to mount yet another campaign. Prince was also to be on the watch for any signs of Indians along the river. By April 19, Lieutenants Prince, Brent, and Bowman, with their men and two mule drawn wagons, passed through Cho-illy Hadjo, or Crazy Deer's Foot town, at the south end of Lake Tsala Apopka near present Floral City (Figure 11). The remains of this town were located in my 1984 archaeological site survey of the area (Weisman 1985). Cho-illy hadjo was said by Prince to be a "law maker", or constable, to the Tallasays, a political office created in Creek government by Alexander McGillivray after 1784 (Green 1980:51). Thus, it is certain that Cho-illy Hadjo and his band were of previous Creek affiliation and had removed to



Florida after the reign of McGillivray, probably after the Creek War of 1814. The night of April 19 Prince and his party made Fort Cooper. The following morning Prince attempted to reach the Withlacoochee by traveling back south to Cho-illy Hadjo's town and there turning the east. He could not pass around Lake Tsala Apopka, however, and doubled back to Fort Cooper. Prince then moved out in the direction of Camp Iazard, passing the vicinity of Eneah thlocko Emathla's Town (near the present site of Hernando), which had been burned by Lt. William Foster's right wing advance during Scott's offensive of April 1, 1836.

Accompanying Prince was a black guide by the name of Ansel, captured by the army in the "Pumpkin patch" on January 20, 1837 (Jesup 1837:May 8) and who had been associated with the Seminole during their resistance in the Withlacoochee Cove. Ansel had been with Osceola during Clinch's strike of January 31, 1835 (known to the Indians as the "battle of the spotted lake," Prince 1837:April 21) and reported that the Indian leader had been stunned by a cannon ball passing near him, and was several days recovering. Osceola told Ansel that had Clinch not been turned back, his camp would likely have been penetrated.

After two days at Fort Clinch, on the morning of April 24, Prince, Ansel, Lt. Bowman and seven mounted Georgia volunteers moved back south to explore the Withlacoochee

Cove. That night was spent on property at present owned by Dee River Ranch, north of Turner Camp Road east of Inverness. On the morning of the 25th the party went in search of kindling for their breakfast fire; the abandoned Indian town they encountered (near, I think, the site of the prehistoric Ruth Smith mound), constructed of "Indian boards" (pine) proved ideal for their needs, and at least one house was dismantled for this purpose. Beneath one of the houses was a bark-lined pit containing a powder keg made from green animal hide.

The next passage, combined with the accompanying sketch map, directly sparked the search for Powell's Town that initiated this study, and will be cited in full (Prince 1837:April 25):

At length we arrived at Powel's Town. Here Ansel was acquainted. He pointed out the field, the square, gave situation of the river and everything. All of which I found to be correct upon examination. Powel's Town is on a little oak scrub elevation in a very large opening. There are no trees in sight except those on the hammock islands and on the river--no pine. The cattle pens are built of hard wood.

Across the Withlacoochee was Boggy (now Kettle) Island, where according to Prince (probably learned from Ansel) was a "hiding place but little known even amongst the Indians" (Prince 1837:April 25). In the interior of the island was a field where the blacks would seclude themselves "in time of war." The nameless "negroes" of the Prince account were certainly Sitarkey's blacks formerly from the Alachua



Savanna; their settlement on the banks of the Withlacoochee, as referred to by Dexter in 1822, is certainly Prince's Boggy Island.

After less than half an hour at the abandoned site of Powell's Town and after traveling to the banks of the river to view the approach to Boggy Island, Prince decided to strike a course back to Fort Cooper following his compass on a southwesterly bearing. The bee-line route from Powell's Town to Fort Cooper (approximately 7 air miles) was greatly complicated by the sloughs, swamps, and marshes that are Lake Tsala Apopka (especially in the vicinity of what are today known as the Miley Islands, on the Flying Eagle Ranch), and by 4:30 in the afternoon the party found itself finally on dry land, to the south of their intended course and still some 4 miles from the fort. Here, above the southeast shore of Lake Tsala Apopka, they came upon an abandoned Indian town of board houses, divided in two by a "perfectly black creek" and connected by a footbridge. Passing through this town they proceeded west until they were halted by the lake itself in the vicinity of Duval Island. Here, Prince noted that 30 or 40 green hides had been left on the shore by the Indians for use as boats. Ansel was then sent south to pick out a route skirting the lake, which he did, and by 6:30 P.M. the men emerged on to the Fort Cooper road, south of Cho-illy Hadjo's Town and five and one half miles below the fort. Well after dark,

his horse whinnying with delight at the site of Fort Cooper's lights, Prince, Ansel, and the Georgia Volunteers approached the safety of the fort's stockade. The Prince map (Prince 1837) filed with General Jesup the following month plotted the course of his travels and illustrated the locations of abandoned Indian towns and fields in the Withlacoochee Cove.

Between May 1837 and May 1838, Prince traveled to Havana, Key West, and Nassau, then back to south Florida, where the Seminole War was now centered in the vicinity of Fisheating Creek. During the latter part of May, 1838 Prince scouted in the area of Payne's Prairie (referred to by that name), also Wacahoota, Micanopy, and the Suwannee, where he held that "the spirit of Sam Jones [Arpeika] pervades these woods if perchance he is not here himself" (Prince 1838:May 18). In June 1838 Prince was off to Savannah, and in 1839 was dispatched to the Smoky Mountains, then Kentucky, and other points north.

Diary entries resume on April 5, 1842, with Prince back at Fort Brooke. Here he was asked by Colonel Worth to compile his notes on the Withlacoochee, as part of the colonel's planned clean-up operations in the central peninsula (Mahon 1967:300). On April 11, 1842 Prince was again at Fort Cooper, the next day at Camp Izard, and the following day turning south to penetrate the Cove much as

had done five years earlier. As Prince traveled overland through the Cove, Major William Belknap commanded a fleet of canoes upstream; both parties in search of those few Indians that had heretofore managed to escape death or capture. Prince attempted to access Boggy Island, but failing this, he and his men camped in a hammock known today as Princess Island and feasted on sour oranges (which can still be had at that location). The last entry in the Prince diary was written on April 16, 1842, with Prince on the Withlacoochee and Belknap on Lake Panasoffkee awaiting further orders from Colonel Worth.

#### Anthropology of the Prince Diary

The archaeological value of the Prince diary will become evident in the following sections and chapter. In anthropological terms, the diary provides something of an insider's view of Seminole life during the Florida campaign because of the native testimony elicited and recorded by Prince; further, Prince's own observations can be construed so as to provide insights into the subjects of Seminole society, economy, politics, ethnicity, cosmology, strategy and tactics, and material culture.

It is clear from the account that while the Seminole acknowledged the authority of a few titular leaders (Micanopy for one), the nature of their real authority was neither coercive or unifying. The three major tribal or ethnic divisions of the Seminole at the time consisted of

the Tallasays (various spellings), evidently Upper Creek transplants from the vicinity of the Tallapoosa River (central Alabama), the Mikasukis (various spellings), presumably representing the earliest Seminole elements in the peninsula including the Alachua and coastal bands plus groups that had formerly resided in the panhandle region, and the Topekayligays, a composite group also derived from Upper Creek migrants, with a range across the mid-portion of the peninsula from the present Pasco and Hernando counties east to Lake Tohopekaliga in Osceola County.

Cattle were important as a dietary staple and as wealth on the hoof. To judge from the numbers of animals encountered by Prince and other chroniclers (see, for instance, Potter 1836:94) the Seminole delayed butchering their animals as long as possible, perhaps because they could be hedged for cash as Charley Emathla had done. Jerked beef figured importantly in the Seminole diet, and attempts at agriculture were made. Supplies were to be had by raiding, by capturing military stores, and even, it appears, by trading with merchants in the vicinity of Tampa Bay.

The Indian world was still one where spiritual forces prevailed; the Thompson murder had been accomplished only after his spirit had been influenced to walk in the Indians' direction. The Withlacoochee Cove, I am

convinced, was perceived as something of a "promised land"; the whites were repeatedly enjoined not to cross the river, and the Indians took extreme offense when the army felled the forest in the vicinity of Camp Izard. For their part, the army realized the allure the Cove held for the Seminole, and feared as late as 1842 a rebuilding of Indian forces in the area. The battles fought on the Withlacoochee were of the greatest intensity the seven year war would know, and it was here early on the Seminole perfected the guerilla techniques that would on more than one occasion disable their enemy. The archaeological identification of Seminole battle positions may yield interesting information about native concepts of the conduct of war (for opposing view, see Fairbanks 1978:186). Further ethnoarchaeological implications of the Prince diary will now be considered in greater detail.

#### Seminole Ceremony and Ritual in the Withlacoochee Cove

A fortunate side effect of the Seminole War is that narrative accounts of the Seminole increase; aspects of their social customs, practices, and beliefs again come into a visibility comparable to that of Bartram's day some sixty years previous. Particularly in the realm of religious practice, the Prince diary and other documents (see also Sturtevant 1962) hint at the strong role ritual played in the lives of the Seminole during this era, indeed, as we might expect given the fact that the current

circumstances favored institutions that promoted ethnic identity and group solidarity. In the long term view, the war did not rip Seminole society apart as much as it served to forge for them a strong sense of ethnic identity; its effects were ultimately constructive, not destructive, when viewed from a cultural perspective. Further, a study of Seminole ritual during the Second Seminole War emphasizes the importance that historical, or antecedent institutions, held for the Seminole present, and underscores the quality of cultural plurality that is fundamental to Seminole culture history. The following examples illustrate these points.

"Feu de joie" on the Banks of the Withlacoochee

With reference to the Prince account, we will recall that on February 28, 1836 Prince was with General Gaines and his command on the east bank of the Withlacoochee at the site of Camp Izard. Gaines' intent was to push an offensive into the Indian heartland across the river, as Clinch had attempted to do on December 31. However, he was pinned down by heavy Indian fire and forced, essentially, into a state of siege. On the night of February 27, Prince writes that the Seminole were heard to discharge a "feu de joie" (fire of joy), that he interpreted as some form of native celebration. The following day (the 28th) the

Indians again discharged their guns, and now Prince paid close attention (Prince 1837:Feb. 28):

[A] party on the left gave a distant shout or scream--as soon as they stopped the tribe near our front gave a tremendous reply, of more prententious to the effect than the little whi-yi--the first syllable was shrill long and glided down the octave, the second was a short loud bass guttural sound simultaneously by the whole tribe as if struck from one prodigious instrument. The word appeared to be kirr-wowh! kirr-wowh! kirr-wowh! wowh! wowh! wowh! This ceremony was performed twice over--then both parties fired a rattling "feu-de-joie."

It is useful to compare this account to features of the so-called gun ceremony, as it was practiced by several tribes throughout the historic Southeast. In the 1740s, the Coweta Creeks, upon the death of one of their fellows, would "immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbors [the souls of the departed]: all adjacent towns also on the occasion whoop and halloo all night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed place, till they return at some certain time, to repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their territorial paradise" (Adair, in Swanton 1928b:391). The use of guns in burial ritual persisted among the Creeks through the 1830s and was noted for them following removal to Indian Territory (Swanton 1928b:393,394). These groups may have also incorporated the firing of guns into their annual busk ceremony, as a "gun dance" (Swanton 1928b:567,587). Gun ceremonialism was

also present among the Chickasaw (Swanton 1928b:512). A related association between the Withlacoochee ceremony and native death rites is found in the gutteral "wowh" repeated by the Seminole, which resembles that used in the death song of the Southeastern Indians (Swanton 1928b:421).

Because the gun ceremony is not known for the Seminole before Prince's account, I suggest that one or more of the Upper Creek groups migrating into the peninsula after c. 1814 were responsible for its introduction. In fact, as late as February 1836 up to four hundred refugee Creek warriors took up with the Withlacoochee Seminole. An unusual confirmation of this move comes from an account reported in the Florida Herald of May 12, 1836 which I will cite in full:

A silver whistle was found on the banks of the Withlacoochy which was recognized to have belonged to a brother of Captain B\_\_\_\_more of the Columbia Volunteers and who had been lost in the Creek nation nearly a year since. The name of the owner was engraved at length upon it. This circumstance adds strength to the opinion which had been advanced on the breaking out of hostilities that an understanding exists between the Seminoles and the Creeks, and proves conclusively that some communication has been had between the two tribes.

In my view, the "feu de joie" ceremony on the banks of the Withlacoochee was performed with the intent to drive off the souls of the slain, numbering as many as thirty three (Prince 1836:March 11). The burial site of these individuals has not been determined, but several years ago



I learned that a number of shallow burials were removed from a location near the Indian positions during the Izard siege (Figure 10). Unfortunately, details of the looting, and looted goods, are not available.

The tribes involved in the Izard fight have been identified in the Prince diary (1837:Jan. 13); the Mikasukis, the Tallasays, and the Topkaligays. As I indicated in a previous discussion, the latter two groups probably represent the latest Creek elements to join the Florida Seminole, and may have later combined to form the Cow Creek Seminole (MacCauley 1887:508 recorded a "Tallahassee" clan among them), ancestors of the Brighton Seminole of the present day. Indeed, among this group, a gun dance was witnessed in recent times in the context of hunting rites (Capron 1953:186,187). The transformation of the gun ceremony from a funeral practice to an element of busk and hunting ceremonialism may have been underway in the Creek area by the mid 1830s (see the account of John Howard Payne, in Hudson 1985) and signalled the evolution of the Green Corn Dance as the symbolic nexus of both native religion and history.

#### Black Drink on the Withlacoochee

The importance of the black drink in the social and religious realms of Southeastern Indian life was discussed in Chapter III. Underlying its use was the concern for purity of mind, soul, and body, and thus the drink was

known amongst the Indians as the "white" drink, because the color white and the condition of purity were symbolically linked.

Drinking the black drink as a purification rite associated with the Green Corn Dance was practiced by the Seminole of recent times (Capron 1953, Sturtevant 1954), but there are historical lacunae as to the form and function of its use through the course of Seminole culture history. The following account, written by W.P. Rowles (1836), suggests an unusual association between the black drink and another male-oriented activity in the aboriginal Southeast, the taking of scalps. Rowles was a surgeon with the Creek volunteers under the command of Capt. J.F. Lane, who were part of General Call's strike against the heart of the Withlacoochee Cove from October 13-15, 1836. The troops swept through several villages before doubling back, so that "on returning to the towns there were found a large quantity of the herb from which they decoct their black drink, a number of recent scalps, and other appendages of a grand dance" (Rowles 1836:116). Motives for the taking of scalps by the Withlacoochee Seminole arose from desires for prestige and possibly because it was believed that hanging enemy scalps on or near the residences of the deceased

would placate the ire of their ghosts (Swanton 1928b:419,424). However, I am not aware of comparative literature in which an association between the black drink and scalping rites are described; possibly this is the "scalp dance" about which Swanton was not able to gather information (Swanton 1928a:529). As with the gun ceremony, the Seminole War seemed to provide the Seminole with just the stimulus needed to develop new rites and recombine those gained through their cultural inheritance, with the net result that much of the symbolism associated with the medicine bundles of the recent Seminole busks (Capron 1953, Sturtevant 1954) harks back to the time when Seminole warriors stalked their military prey.

A more traditional use of the black drink as part of the Seminole busk is indicated by the excavated remains of what I have interpreted as a black drink pot from a site on the Flying Eagle Ranch (8Ci192) southeast of Inverness (Weisman 1983, 1986b:5,7-9). Excavations at this site resulted from our first, and failed, attempt to locate the site of Powell's Town (it is, in fact approximately one mile south of the correct location), but we were successful in isolating what appears to be a Seminole component in a sand cap or mantle blanketing an earlier Weeden Island period midden (Figure 12). The stratigraphic definition and artifact associations of this site have been described

elsewhere (Weisman 1986b) and will only be summarized here. Sherds from a single vessel, a large globular jar with an orifice diameter of 30cm, lightly brushed below the shoulder and with a punctated rim, were found buried to a depth of 10cm in a layer of clean, white sand that had quite clearly been added as a cap over the earlier prehistoric midden. In the same provenience were several sherds of green bottle glass (more were found in later testing around the periphery of the midden), some charred and broken deer bones, and large pieces of charred wood.

The interpretation of the site as the scene of a Seminole Green Corn Dance is enhanced by the following particulars. At least by 1836, and possibly before, among the Creeks busk festivities were held at some distance from the inhabited villages, in contrast to the earlier practice wherein the town centers also served as the seats for community-wide ceremony and ritual. By this time, the dance ground was prepared "with soil yet untrodden" (Payne 1836:177, in Hudson 1985) and new pottery vessels were manufactured exclusively for the occasion. These latter two conditions served to emphasize the quality of purity associated with the rites. Although pottery making has been discontinued by the modern Seminole, the addition of a clean mantle of earth to the dance ground and the selection of a secluded location for its practice were maintained by them through the 1950s (Capron 1953). The above conditions

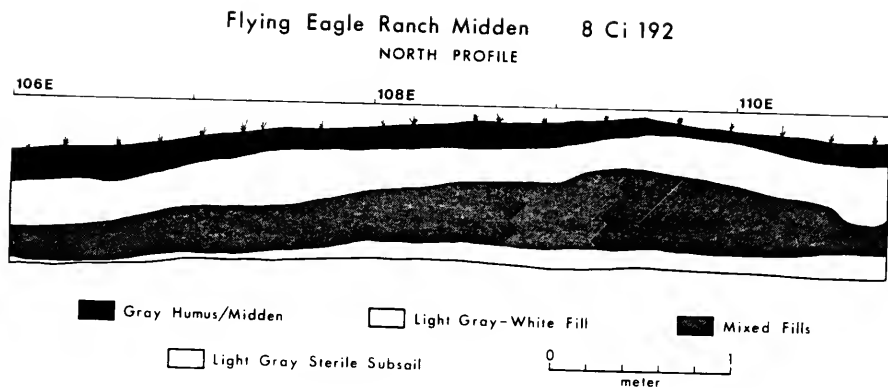


Figure 12. The Flying Eagle Ranch (8Ci192) midden.

also apply to the Flying Eagle Ranch site--the secluded location (nearest village at least one mile away), the mantle of clean sand, and the special black drink pot. In this case, the pot was made from a limestone tempered paste (similar to the prehistoric type in the area known as Pasco Plain) and was, presumably, locally made. The rim punctations have their closest stylistic affinity with those on a Seminole vessel found near Lake Butler, Orange County, (Goggin 1958:7A) and are not known from other pottery collections in the Cove, including the sixteenth century Tatham burial mound. Thus, we can infer some Seminole use of the site relating to the busk ceremony, and probably dating to their occupation of the Cove during the 1830s. The settlement pattern that existed at that time, with dispersed villages connected by a ceremonial hub (see village locations in Figure 10) persisted into recent times in the Seminole settlements in south Florida (see Capron 1953:177).

Clan Camps--Seminole Domestic Groups in the Withlacoochee  
Cove

In aboriginal societies of the historic Southeast, the fundamental unit of interaction between an individual and society was the clan. Clans were composed of groups of related lineages, or descent groups, and provided the

organizational framework for economic activities (land tenure and husbandry obligations), social customs (marriage proscriptions) warfare and the ball play, and political institutions (the offices associated with the town center). In the Creek area, the minimal geographical expression of the clan was the huti, or several neighboring households containing women related through a common, and real, female ancestor. In the process of Seminole culture history, the traditional Creek huti tended to segment from its affiliation with a town center, and finally the hutis themselves fissioned into nuclear families. In the era of the Seminole War, social conditions again favored clan bonds, and thus what is known as the Seminole clan camp developed (MacCauley 1887:507; Spoehr 1941:12,14). The clan camp differed from the huti in that related women resided in the same household. All members of the camp were members of the same clan, except the married men, who belonged to the clan of their mothers. Clan camps were distinct geographical expressions of clan affiliation; Spoehr's map (1941:11) illustrates the organization of the Cow Creek camps as they existed in this century, with the Bird clan distributed in eight discrete camps, the Panther clan in six, the Talahasee (Tallahassee) in three, the Deer in two, and the Snake clan in one. The word istihapo was used to refer to both the people and the place of the camp, and as such expresses the same concept as the Creek talwa.

An entry in the Prince diary for January 19, 1837 suggests the composition of one of these camps; on that date he captured a Tallasay settlement of five women, six children, and one man. In order to distinguish clan camps on archaeological grounds, we must presume that some material trait or traits were used by the Seminole as clan insignia, a situation that did in fact pertain throughout the greater Southeast (Swanton 1928b:235). Second, we should expect that the remains of a clan camp would form discrete, isolated cultural deposits. Finally, any Seminole domestic assemblage in the Withlacoochee Cove should manifest some reflection of the social conditions of the times, that is, it is expected that the Seminole War would have had a visible impact on Seminole culture.

The Seminole sites in Newman's Garden (8Ci206) and the Zellner Grove were located using the direct historic approach based on the Prince diary. The circumstances of their discovery and subsequent excavation have been presented elsewhere (Weisman 1986b:15, Weisman 1986a). The sites are attributable to the town divided by the "black creek", visited by Prince on the afternoon of April 25, 1837 on his way from Powell's Town to Fort Cooper (Figure 13).



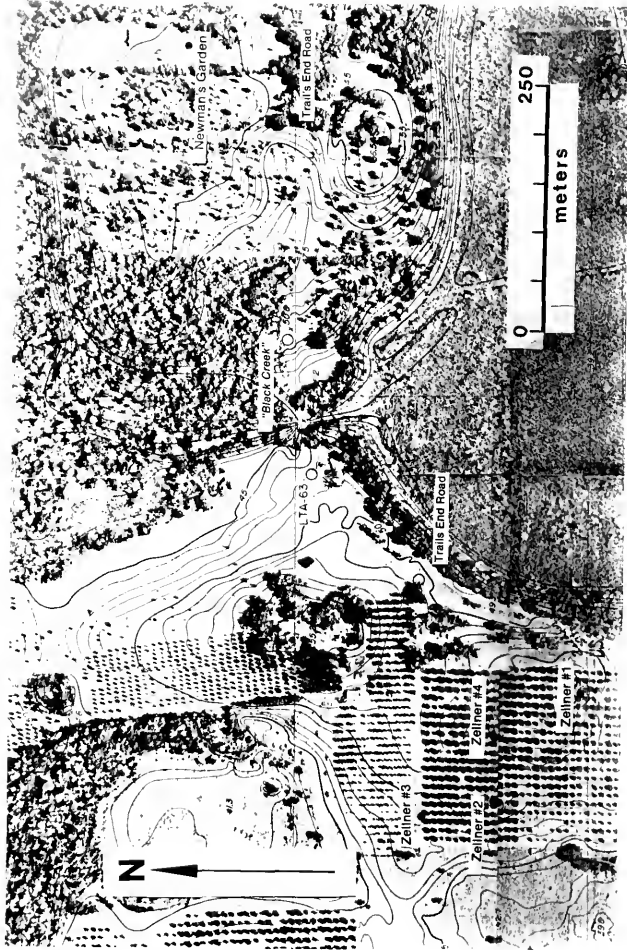


Figure 13. Aerial view of Newman's Garden and Zellner.

Four sites have been identified in the Zellner Grove (designated Zellner 1 through 4) and a single site in the backyard garden of Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Newman. The Zellner sites are approximately 100m apart, and are presumably only a portion of the village that extended to the east to the vicinity of Newman's Garden. Assuming the Zellner and Newman's sites to be the west and east endpoints of the "black creek" village, its extent can be estimated at some 750m.

The four Zellner sites were originally identified in surface collections of Chattahoochee Brushed pottery sherds, similar to sherds of that type found throughout Alabama and southwest Georgia. Three of the sites were subsequently shovel tested and/or test trenched (#1,2,4) in 10cm arbitrary levels to a maximum depth of 30cm, and the plow zone was determined to be approximately 20cm thick in most cases. Artifacts attributable to the Seminole occupation of the grove were found in the upper two levels (0-20cm), or within the zone of the modern plow zone. No significant subsurface distributions of artifacts were noticed, nor were any definite features identified; both situations the likely result of the deep and intensive plowing of the field for many years. Surface distributions of pottery (Table 6) at the four sites were contained within areas of not more than 30m in diameter, although the

Table 6. Artifacts from Zellner Grove.

<u>Zellner #1</u>			
Pottery		Shell	
Chattahoochee Brushed	27/1	Busycon frag.	1
Sand tempered plain	19/0	Lithics	
St. Johns Check Stmpd	6/0	flakes	31
Pasco Plain	1/0	"polished"	
Sarasota Incised	4/1	pebble	1
Glass		Metal	
clear glass marble	1	lead shot	
screw top lid		(spent)	1
(recent)	1	iron strap	1
clear glass		military	
(recent)	1	"great coat"	
Misc		button	1
green glazed kaolin		Fauna	
smoking pipe, frags.	2	claw (mammal)	1
fossil shark's tooth	1		
rubber frags. (tire?)	2		
Shotgun shell (recent)	1		
<u>Zellner #2</u>			
Pottery		Lithics	
Chattahoochee Brushed	54/2	flakes	2
<u>Zellner #3</u>			
Pottery		Lithics	
Chattahoochee Brushed	23/0	flake (coral)	1
Sand tempered plain	5/1	flake (utilized)	1
St. Johns Check Stmpd.	2/0		
<u>Zellner #4</u>			
Pottery		Metal	
Chattahoochee Brushed	68/0	UID iron frags	2
Sand tempered plain		Fauna	
(cazuela?)	15/2	UID	1
St. Johns Check Stmpd.	2/0		
Pasco Plain	2/0		

artifacts were often found in clusters within this area. At Zellner #1, three such clusters were identified, but the cultural pattern they represent, if any, is not known.

Rimsherds were recovered from Zellner #1 and Zellner #2; a "fingernail" notched style from the former and a notched style from the latter (Figure 14). These styles have also been identified in the historic Lamar series pottery from the Creek area (Dickens 1979:122,128; also see Knight 1985 for discussion of Lamar). A small shoulder sherd from a cazuela bowl was found at Zellner #3.

Historic, non-aboriginal artifacts attributable to the Seminole were found only at Zellner #1; these were a military "Great Coat Button" (Wyckoff 1984:85) in use by the army between 1820-c.1840 and found on early nineteenth century military fort sites in Florida (Olson and Campbell 1962:351; Clausen 1970:8-10), and portions of a green glazed kaolin smoking pipe, also dating to the early nineteenth century (Hume 1972:302) (Figure 15). No historic trade ceramics were found at any of the Zellner sites, a circumstance that also pertains to the Newman's collections. No items of personal adornment were recovered; in fact the only Seminole bead (blue faceted) known from the entire Cove was found in Zone A of the Tatham mound (not associated with any burial), a prehistoric burial mound located near the site of Powell's

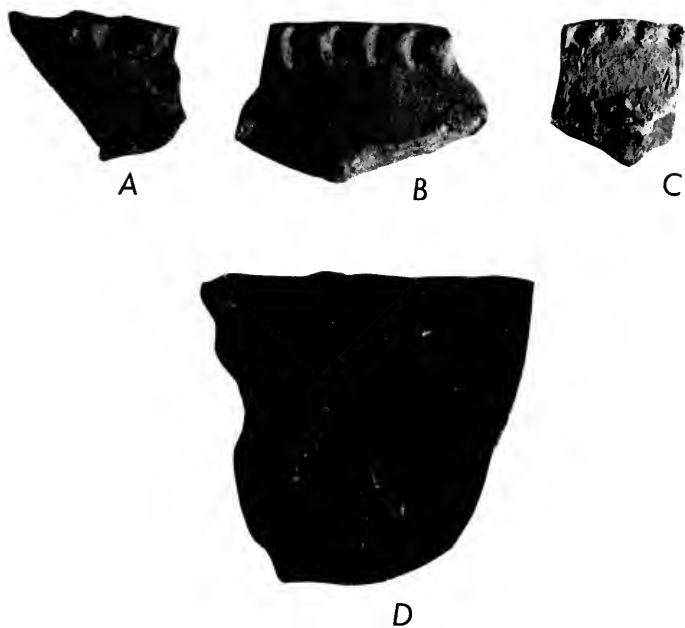


Figure 14. Seminole rimsherds from Withlacoochee sites. A; from Newman's; B, Zellner#2; C, Zellner#1; D, Flying Eagle Ranch.

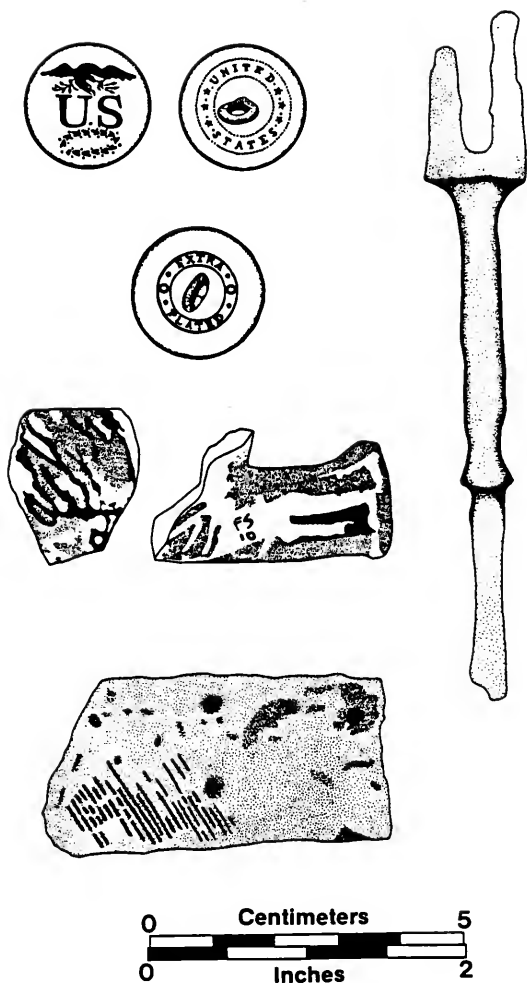


Figure 15. Selected artifacts from Newman and Zellner. Top, buttons from both sites; right, fork, Newman; middle, pipe, Zellner; file, Newman.

Town. There are also indications of a prehistoric component attributable to the Safety Harbor archaeological culture (c. A.D.900-A.D.1650) distributed lightly across the grove, and is probably related to the more substantial Safety Harbor deposits on nearby Duval Island.

A wider variety of artifacts was recovered in the Newman's Garden excavation (Table 7), and, as I argued in the site report (Weisman 1986a), suggest that the site was a cooking structure associated with the household complex. The site was first identified based on surface collections of Chattahoochee Brushed sherds, green bottle glass, and iron objects, all from within a dark soil stain measuring 31m (N-S) x 17m (E-W). Approximately 50% of the estimated site area was excavated in subsequent work (Figure 16).

A single pottery rim style was associated with the site, of the notched fillet type also identified at the historic Creek component at Horseshoe Bend, Alabama (Dickens 1979:126). Sherds from several glass bottles were recovered, as were a number of metal items, including an iron fork (similar to specimens recovered at Spalding's Lower Store (Lewis 1968:98; and in a private collection made at the site of Fort Brooke, established in 1824), a brass button possibly of military origin (Olson 1963:553), a brass dome head tack of the kind commonly used to ornament gun stocks (Lewis 1968:72; Piper and Piper

Table 7. Artifacts from Newman's Garden (8Ci206).

Pottery

Chattahoochee Brushed	539/11
Sand tempered plain	25/11

Glass

Green bottle	44/0
Black bottle	18/2
white jar bottom,	letters "uine" -
	recent

Metal

flat iron file	1
nails	14
wire	2
bail handle	3
iron tack	1
iron knife	1
lead shot	
(.48 cal.)	1
cut brass	2
rolled brass	2
brass tack	1
brass button	1
snuff can	
(recent)	1
shotgun shell	
(recent)	1
steel shot	
(recent)	1

Fauna

UID (mammal?)	90
probable cow;	
teeth	9
phalanges	3
rib (?)	1
alligator scute	1
snail shell	
(terrestrial,	
recent)	1



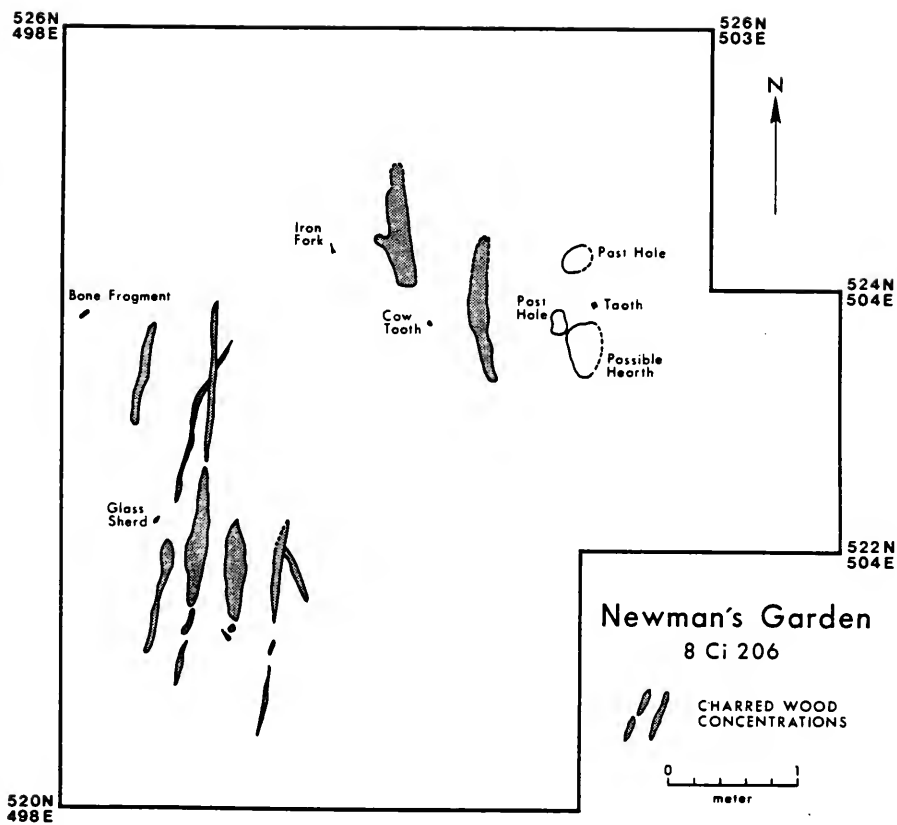


Figure 16. Site plan of Newman's Garden.

1982:253), an iron flat file, and a .48 caliber (11mm) lead shot.

The reconstruction of the building that once stood at Newman's as well as those at the Zellner Grove is enhanced by the account of W.P. Rowles, who, with the Creek Volunteers commanded by Capt. Lane discovered several Seminole towns in the vicinity (Rowles 1836:115):

Within a short distance from the margin of the lagoon we entered a town, consisting of huts made by planting four forks in a quadrangular form, over these poles were laid a roof of the bark (*Pinus mitis* and *P. strobus*, the *P. rigida* is also found) or boards split from the Pine or *Castanea vesca*, or American Chestnut. The walls were formed by bark or boards [the "board house" of the Prince diary] tied with splits or poles leaned against the evebeares. Fires were found burning and victuals cooking in several of the huts.

Together, the Zellner and Newman's sites combine to present a picture of Seminole domestic life and social organization at the beginning of the Second Seminole War. What was called a town by Prince and other observers was in reality a dispersed settlement of discrete households, or clan camps, whose women manufactured and/or used pottery with rim styles marking their clan identity. Because it is reasonable to suppose that matri-focus of the clan camps would tend to concentrate material traits associated with female activities (in this case, pottery), not more than one decorated rim style occurs at each of the small domestic sites. Further, the quantity of remains found at each of the sites suggest their use by a limited number of

people for a limited length of time. A town, or squareground, center probably did not exist at this time, with both the civic and sacred nucleus now being provided by the busk ground (the Flying Eagle Ranch?). This was the settlement pattern observed for the Seminole when they again emerged into ethnographic visibility near the end of the century (see MacCauley 1887).

Site inventories indicate that Seminole material culture was in part American-derived (glass and metal) but that native pottery of traditional Creek form and style continued to serve important domestic needs (in fact, two intact Seminole vessels are known from isolated finds in the Cove; one a brushed jar owned privately and the other a plain cazuela bowl in collections curated at the Citrus County Historical Museum, Inverness). Further, this pottery may have now been looked upon as a desirable marker of ethnic or tribal identity, with the converse being true as well: trade ceramics were equated with the undesirable American presence. The colorful painted and transfer print pearlwares that are so common on earlier Seminole sites (see the earlier discussions of Nicholson Grove, Paynestown, Mizell, and others; Chapter IV) are simply not present in the Withlacoochee sites. We might surmise that the supply of these tablewares dried up with the onset of the war, but the Seminole were able to obtain and use other non-aboriginal items, either through quasi-black market

trading (for example, the activities of Capt. Bunce, see Prince 1837:Jan. 14; and Mahon 1967:203), raiding, or trading with the fort-based sutlers through the end of 1835. Thus, I suggest that their absence from the war period assemblages reflects purposeful exclusion.

Supporting evidence is drawn from a comparative look at Creek assemblages in Alabama. In the Tukabatchee area, trade ceramics were so common by the nineteenth century that "any native family would have possessed pearlware or whiteware plates, platters, saucers, serving bowls, and even teacups" (Knight 1985:180); a situation that also existed among the Florida Seminole, for instance at Nicholson Grove. Yet at the militant, prophet-directed Red Stick enclave at Horseshoe Bend (Tohopeka), where the resistance to Jackson and the Americans centered, these formerly ubiquitous ceramics are virtually absent (Dickens 1979:157). In the Creek region, the activities of known prophets (Tecumseh, Francis, and others) conformed to the described qualities of a nativistic movement (Wallace 1956), often founded to reject prevailing technological trends and emphasize the value of the "old." At Tohopeka, in fact, directives issued by the Creek prophets were used to explain the nature of the archaeological record (Fairbanks 1962:48).

A similar phenomenon may have been occurring among the Seminole in the Withlacoochee Cove; for it was for a time the hotbed of the Indian resistance, the place where only those militant few who were determined to remain in Florida migrated, and the place where the Indian military forces achieved their highest level of tactical organization. Further, many of the Seminole who eventually resided in the Cove had previous experience with the Creek nativistic movements in the first decades of the 1800s; the pitch offered by a Withlacoochee prophet would not have been strange to them. Unfortunately, this individual, if in fact he existed, has not been named in the documents. The one person who may have been able to exert such influence, Osceola, or Powell, will be the subject of the next chapter.

History tells us that the Withlacoochee Seminole were not long able to remain in their desired homeland. Capt. Lane's strike of October 13, 1836 moved to the core of the settlements and demonstrated their ultimate vulnerability. At this time, it is likely that Osceola abandoned Powell's Town and moved east of the river, to the area of the Boggy Island settlement of Seminole blacks. Within several months he was on the move to the St. Johns River and points east, where he was eventually taken into captivity on October 20, 1837 (for this and other events of Osceola's life, see Boyd 1955). Other principals associated with the

Withlacoochee resistance eventually surrendered, or, as we will discuss in Chapter VIII, made their way south and east to the Kissimmee drainage and into the Everglades.

By 1840 a number of Seminole had again sought out the Cove as a refuge, and a minor military campaign was organized in 1841 to search for, and destroy, their villages. Military documents from this campaign suggest an Indian lifeway remarkably similar to that adopted by them in south Florida; small camps of three to four lodges hidden deep within the swamps, with their gardens located on nearby hammock islands (Clarke 1841). Some of these camps were used as stations to process what the documents refer to as coontie (most likely from the root of Smilax), and others were used to process beef into jerky. At one of these stations, the army destroyed an estimated 12,000 lbs. of jerked beef, abandoned on the lakeshore by fleeing Indians. The Seminole themselves were not engaged by the military during this campaign, and it is likely that they too slipped the noose and headed south.

The Seminole were not, however, culturally vanquished by the events of the Second Seminole War. Many features of contemporary Seminole culture are the direct historical consequence of the cultural adaptations effected by the Seminole during this time, as I have attempted to demonstrate in this chapter. Such features include a

renewed interest in Creek tradition and heritage as evidenced in ceremony and material culture; the rebonding of clan ties, and the ability to assimilate plural interests and influences into their pattern of culture.

CHAPTER VI  
A WARRIOR AND A GENTLEMAN: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF POWELL'S TOWN

The Seminole warrior known to history as Osceola, or Powell, has cast a shadow of legend and mystery unequalled by any other native American leader of the past or present. Part of the Osceola mystique lies in the tenor of the times--the Second Seminole war was as unpopular among certain factions of the citizenry then as the Vietnam conflict was in recent times. Indian sympathizers and a liberal press found in Osceola a heroic and tragic, figure well suited to their aims. Further, the enigmatic nature of the man, who would sit placidly for portraits painted by Catlin and others or just as coolly plot the murders of his foes, made him at once knowable and unknowable, understood and misunderstood, and just the right stuff of which legends are made. Consider the following passage, the oral testimony given by a fellow Seminole with regard to Osceola (Prince 1837:Jan. 21):

Powel is a good warrior and a gentlemanly Indian... the most gentlemanly Indian in the nation--he don't take white folk's things--he never has even got a horse... he would be a good chief if he had the men--but alas! the Redsticks are but 8!

In the following account, published in the Florida Herald of January 13, 1836, Osceola's personality is given a



slightly different assessment:

The Indian Chief Powell--the character of this chief is but little known, and not sufficiently appreciated. He is represented to be a savage of great tact, energy of character, and bold daring. The skill with which he has for a long time managed to frustrate the measures of our government for the removal of the Indians beyond the Mississippi entitle him to be considered as superior to Black Hawk.... [i]t is apprehended that he will give the Government much trouble and difficulty, if they do not act with decision and energy that becomes the power and the force of the country.

Clearly, the personality of Osceola was one of contradiction, perhaps intentional, and the view of him and his impact on Seminole culture history as derived from documents will be as perplexing as the man himself. I have two purposes in writing this chapter; first, to write an archaeological biography of Osceola in which his personality becomes known through the study of material culture, and, second; to illustrate how the archaeological record can take shape and structure from the activities of one individual. Before presenting the archaeological data that will amplify these concerns, we must briefly review the facts of history.

#### Osceola; Biographical Considerations

The fullest non-fictional treatment of Osceola's life was published in 1955 (Boyd 1955, and the primary source used below) while recent works have been concerned with the alleged looting of his gravesite at Fort Moultrie National Monument on the night of January 7, 1966 (Dowd 1980) and the disposition of Osceola's personal effects after his

death (Wickman 1986). The name of our subject upon birth, estimated from various sources to have occurred around the year 1800, is not known; the name Osceola (derived from the Muskogee Asi (black drink) Yaholo (singer) was probably conferred upon him in a naming ritual at the annual busk ceremony upon his initiation to manhood. Yahola was also the name of one of two Creek squareground deities (Swanton 1928a:485) who was entrusted with the sanctity of the grounds and its medicine; this we will see would portend Osceola's future. His parentage is a matter of some debate (hence the name "Powell" allegedly referring to his English father), but it is known that his mother was of the Tallassee Creeks, and had, by 1818, become associated with the militant, anti-American Red Sticks, led by one Peter McQueen. McQueen was a targeted foe of General Andrew Jackson, and moved from the Creek area of southeast Alabama to a settlement south of Tampa Bay to escape Jackson's retribution.

By 1821, the young Osceola and his mother made their way to this settlement, probably near the present Peace River, where they joined a number of Mikasukies. After 1823, this band evidently made its way north to the vicinity of what would be Fort King, inside the reservation bounds specified in the Treaty of Moultrie Creek. Importantly for what was to come, the events of

Osceola's early years promoted in him both a sense of tribal plurality (he was a Tallasee, influenced by the Red Stick prophets, and living with the Mikasukies) and a certain enmity towards the Americans. He held no position of recognized tribal authority at this time, although there are indications that he was known by the Indian Agents who, after 1827, were sent to reside at Fort King and monitor Indian activities on the reservation.

Osceola rose abruptly to power and prominence in October 1834, when his was the persuasive voice counseling the Indians not to comply with the government's wishes to have them emigrate. The specific means through which Osceola's counsel gained legitimacy is not known; we must assume he exhibited the skills of oration so valued by the Indians and demonstrated, through actions, his determination not to leave the peninsula. This determination was to set the course of his life for the next, and final, four years, and plunge the Seminole into a conflict from which much of their cultural identity would be forged.

By May 1835, Osceola and Indian Agent General Wiley Thompson were in open conflict; in that month Osceola was clapped into irons for allegedly insulting the Agent and thwarting his conciliatory efforts with the other Indians. Osceola and Thompson ostensibly smoothed out their differences, and the Indian was presented with a gift rifle

as a token of goodwill. It is likely, however, that Osceola's pride was not sufficiently redressed by this act, and that plans were already afoot for revenge.

Yet Osceola was not to consolidate his power through an act of revenge, but through the administration of what can be likened to tribal justice. In October 1835, the Indians met in the area then known as the Big Swamp, west of Fort King, and sealed a pact to execute any of their number seeking to emigrate. The pact was put to the test on November 26, 1835, when Charley Emathla, a respected elder who had decided to leave for Indian Territory, was stopped on the Fort King road by Osceola and shot to death (as late as 1938 the Seminole used similar means to dispatch those who would not honor tribal law, see Capron 1953:197).

A similar fate was soon to befall Agent Thompson, for on the late afternoon of December 28, he and several others were shot and killed by ambush outside the gates of Fort King. To judge from Cudjo's account (Prince 1836:February 18), Osceola had now the authority to select "60 chosen tall Indians" to assist him in his plan to murder Thompson; a plan that did not reach fruition, however, until the Indians "drew T.s spirit" and thus influenced him to stroll to where they lay hidden.

It is thought that Osceola masterminded the Thompson killing (it is clear that with sixty men he was prepared to attack Fort King if need be) and the near simultaneous ambush of Major Francis Dade and his men on their march north to Fort King from Fort Brooke on the Fort King Road. If this is so, then the five months between November 1835 and March 1836 bracket the real zenith of his power. During this time he executed Charley Emathla, killed Wiley Thompson, plotted the Dade ambush, organized several raiding forays in the Alachua area, and was a principal in two Indian engagements with the military--against Duncan Clinch on January 31, 1835, and General Gaines in the IZARD campaign of early March 1836.

This was also the period of his residency at Powell's Town, the subject of this chapter. After March 1836, Osceola's exact whereabouts are uncertain. In August of that year he, with 300 Mikasukis, occupied the abandoned military post of Fort Drane, where it is thought he contracted the malaria that would prove later to be fatal (Boyd 1955:287,288). Osceola was probably not in the immediate vicinity of Powell's Town when Captain (later Colonel) Lane's offensive nearly reached the site in October 1836, and by January 1837 he was rumored to be living with a band of blacks east of the Withlacoochee and south of Lake Panasoffkee (Porter 1943:408), or in the area described by Prince (1837:April 25) as Boggy Island.

Probably after August 1836, Osceola's immediate confederates dwindled to a mere eight, and these were Red Sticks. By the early summer of 1837 he had headed east to the St. Johns River, possibly hoping to rebuild his strength among the Mikasuki gathered there. There he was captured under the infamous white flag of truce on October 20, 1837, attempting to parley with General Thomas Sydney Jesup, then the commander of troops in the Florida campaign. The reader is referred to the account of Boyd (1955:295-299) for the story of Osceola's capture and eventual death as a prisoner at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, and to the narratives of Ward (1955) and Wickman (1986) for the grisly circumstances and lore surrounding the decapitation of the corpse. Upon learning of Osceola's death, Micanopy, heir of the ancient Cowkeeper lineage and himself now awaiting deportation, remarked laconically "Assin-ya-ho-la is dead" (Recollections 1845-1846:131).

Thus, the wax and wane of Osceola's power occurred within the brief span of a year; his tribal authority in demise well before his capture. His precipitous rise and rapid eclipse, was, I argue, the result of changing native concepts with respect to leadership roles and certain cultural obstacles that Osceola could not overcome. It was not the army that denied his success, but the Seminole themselves.

### The Nature of Osceola's Leadership

The Seminole society Bartram knew had its civil authority vested in two offices; the town chief, usually of a white clan, who mediated town affairs, and the war leader, from a red clan, who coordinated warfare, raiding, and the ballgame--all events that involved other bands or towns. In the previous chapters, we discussed that as Seminole society gradually pulled apart, the war leaders became increasingly dissociated from town affairs and roamed the Florida frontier for their own purposes. As the trend for downscaling accelerated, the power of the town chiefs eroded, and a new order of authority developed, extremely local in scope, and based on an individual's ability to provide for himself and his immediate kin in a trading economy. The net result of this process yielded the disastrous attempts by the United States Government to find collective representation among the Seminole with respect to their granting land cessions and approving treaty regulations; this process was mirrored in the present century when the government again sought to deal with tribal representatives and ended up selecting their own (King 1978).

In the Creek area, different processes were in motion. As has been described previously, different individuals at

different times were able to claim, and legitimize, a degree of tribal representation, for example Brim, and most notably, Alexander McGillivray in the final decades of the 1700s. But more importantly for our present discussion, in these same decades a backlash was developing against the rapid restructuring of Creek life that was occurring under increasing American influence. Indian Agents came to the Creeks nearly thirty years before their presence would be known among the Seminole, and it was against their efforts that self declared "prophets" like Tecumseh would rally their people to "throw aside the plow and the loom...to use none of their arms and wear none of their clothes, but to dress in the skin of beasts" (Nunez 1958:7). The so-called Creek prophets attracted followers with their injunctions against the Americans, their supernatural abilities, and their use of magic, and by 1814 were associated with the Red Stick (a reference to the war club) movement whose activities against pro-American Creeks provided Andrew Jackson with the motive and opportunity to move against them with military force.

The Red Stick movement provided Osceola with the only model of political leadership he had known. He was not from a family long established in Florida, nor did he establish himself with any notable degree of success. Indeed, traditional channels for men his age to gain



prestige and wealth were not open to him under American rule. He had no power base in family, kin, or band support, other than the few Red Sticks with whom his mother had been associated. Therefore, his bid for leadership had to be predicated upon his ability to demonstrate legitimacy in the eyes of his fellows. He had to take steps to insure that his authority was equated with what was good and right, and in his mind this meant an emphasis on traditional, native-inspired values.

History provides several examples of the way in which Osceola manipulated the material culture at hand to symbolically enhance his image. We will recall the testimony of the Tallasay recorded by Prince (1837:Jan. 21) to the effect that Osceola was a "gentleman" for not taking "white folks' things." This is also the theme of the story of Osceola's victory over Catsha in a ballgame organized near the post at Fort King (in Box 1, "Seminole Ethnology", of Goggin's notecard collection in the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, cited without attribution). A quantity of goods had been wagered on the outcome by the commandant of the post, goods which the victorious Osceola deferred to the loser so as not to humiliate him. Instead, it is said that Osceola claimed their equivalent worth in powder and lead. Other strategies used by Osceola to demonstrate his rejection of the American present in favor of the Indian past will become

evident in the archaeological description of the Powell's Town site. Osceola sought power not in ostentation, but through the ploy of humility, in the way of the prophets. That he was successful for a time I think is evidenced in the domestic assemblages recovered from the Withlacoochee sites discussed in Chapter V. These sites had probably been occupied by Tallasays or Topekayligays, both groups derived from the same Upper Creek element as Osceola himself. There has been the suggestion that these groups experienced nativistic feelings and rejected American culture, evidenced archaeologically by the lack of imported ceramic tablewares at their sites. Osceola also developed some influence among the Mikasukis, whom he led in several engagements (Florida Herald, Oct. 27, 1836; Boyd 1955:288). What were the factors that led to his decline?

First, Osceola was simply unable to overcome the inertia of historical circumstance; the Seminole had no precedent for consolidated, pan-tribal leadership. This especially applied to those individuals whose ancestors had been in Florida during Spanish and British rule. Second, the Seminole were not as strong in their rejection of American culture and lifeways as were the Red Stick Creeks, and were perhaps reluctant to support an individual who resembled a Red Stick prophet (in the strictest anthropological sense, Osceola cannot be considered a true

prophet, because he lacked the prophetic dream, or conversion experience, see Wallace 1956). One of the difficulties the prophets had in converting Indians to their aims was that they had long become accustomed to the culture of trade, and had based their own reckonings of prestige and wealth upon it. Thus, the prophets misinterpreted the very nature of Indian history. For his part, Osceola, despite his machinations, ultimately remained an ambiguous figure in the eyes of the Indians--a warrior and a gentleman--and the most telling criticism of his leadership may be that the Seminole simply did not know what to make of him. In a sense, his activities may have presaged the development of a new kind of social authority that would emerge in the next several decades, in the hands of medicine men, in whom both civic and ceremonial responsibilities were entrusted. Ultimately, however, the Seminole of the time were not willing to consolidate such trust with any one person, and leadership reverted to the level of the band. Further, the confidence of the Indians in Osceola as a military leader may have been shaken by the fact that the army penetrated to the heart of his sanctuary by October 1836 (despite his threat that "we'll give it to them when they come over the river," Prince 1836:March 4), and that he clearly appeared to be in declining health soon after the failed attempt to hold Fort Drane.

The Archaeology of Powell's Town

The role of Osceola in Seminole society can only in part be evaluated through documentary means. In May 1983, I had the opportunity to participate in the search for the site of Powell's Town, organized by Jerald T. Milanich, of the Florida State Museum, William Goza, president of the Wentworth Foundation, and Donald Sheppard, a resident of Inverness. Identification of the Powell's Town site, if successful, held the potential for providing new, archaeological perspectives on Osceola and the Seminoles during the Second Seminole War. We had as our guide the several pages of Lt. Henry Prince's diary (Figure 17) that pertained to his discovery of the site in 1837, as recounted in the following passage (Prince 1837:April 25):

At length we arrived at Powel's Town. Here Ansel was acquainted. He pointed out the field, the square, gave situation of the river and everything. All of which I found to be correct upon examination. Powel's Town is on a little oak scrub elevation in a very large opening. There are no trees in sight except those on the hammock islands--no pine. The cattle pens are built of hard wood.

The first site we identified on the basis of the above description and the map shown in Figure 17 was the Flying Eagle Ranch (8Ci192) midden, but the excavated remains and the negative results from systematic shovel testing in the surrounding hammock forced us to conclude that this was not the Powell's Town location (Weisman 1983, Weisman 1986b:7).

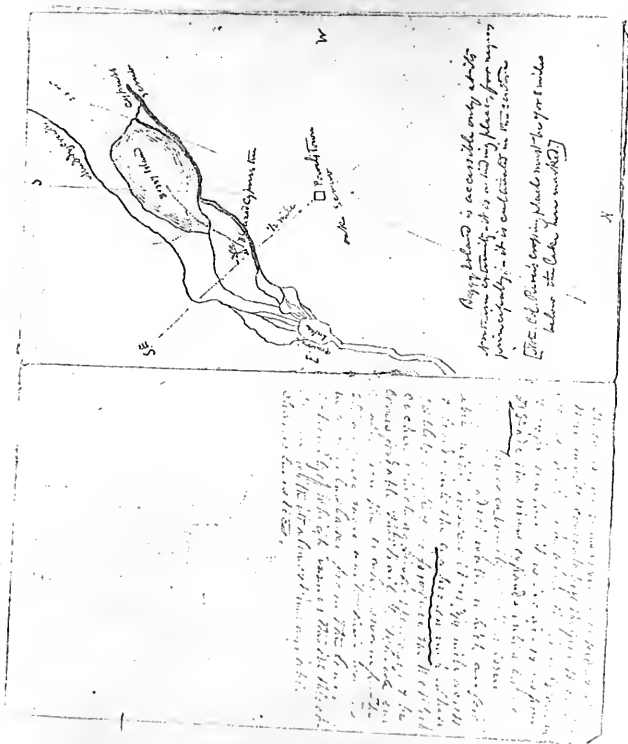


Figure 17. The Prince diary sketch of Powell's Town

Our error had been in not following the diary description closely enough; the Flying Eagle Ranch site met some, but not all, of the conditions as recorded by Prince. We had paid little notice to the fact that Prince placed Powell's Town on an elevated oak scrub. Given that Prince was very careful to record his natural surroundings and often distinguished between vegetative communities (hammock, slough, swamp, oak scrub, and the like), this specific reference to the habitat of the Powell's Town site was a crucial, and obvious, clue.

With funding secured from the Inverness Rotary Club, I spent the summer of 1983 conducting an archaeological site survey in the Withlacoochee Cove (Weisman 1986b) and, in the evenings, compared the Prince descriptions of Powell's Town with modern aerial photographs of the area. By early August I had combined all three lines of evidence contained in the diary--the bearings and distances of the survey log (which suggested he traveled southeast to the river from Powell's Town, not northeast as mentioned in the diary), the diary description, and the sketch map--to target an area known as Wild Hog Scrub, and asked permission of the property manager to field check my prediction. Wild Hog Scrub is indeed an oak scrub (meaning in this case the sand live oak) elevation, rising some ten feet (3m) above the surrounding prairies and river flood plain to the east, and

is approximately one mile north of the Flying Eagle Ranch midden. On our first visit to the suspected site, Paul Anderson and I and several volunteers surface collected several pieces of sand tempered pottery, one piece of which was a rimsherd bearing Seminole-style punctations (Figure 22). Unfortunately, the time for my return to Gainesville had come, and the location of our finds was marked with survey tape and left until 1984.

In the summer of 1984, the site was again located, with some difficulty (the underbrush was, and is, extremely thick in the area), and additional surface finds were made. These included a sherd of dark green ("black") bottle glass, an iron bridle bit (Figure 22), and, nearby, an iron kettle. The identification of the site as Powell's Town was becoming more certain; in addition, the area gave all appearances of being undisturbed, thus the possibility of our finding significant artifacts and patterns of artifacts was judged to be good. With the assistance of a small group of volunteers, Anderson, Sheppard, and I fanned out through the dense scrub to continue our surface collecting, and rather quickly came upon the site now known as the Tatham mound, a pristine Safety Harbor period burial mound that has, upon subsequent excavation, yielded Spanish artifacts dating, most likely, to the de Soto entrada, in association with aboriginal burials (Mitchem, Weisman et al. 1985, Mitchem and Hutchinson 1986). Following the

discovery of the Tatham mound and the suspected site of Powell's Town (both in Wild Hog Scrub, 800 feet (225m) distant from each other (Figure 18), trails were blazed in the vicinities of both sites, and plans were made to begin excavations in 1985. The initial excavations at Powell's Town, in March 1985, were supported by a benefactor of Citrus County archaeology and were conducted as part of a University of Florida archaeological field school, under the overall direction of Dr. Milanich. The students spent one week at Powell's Town, and I spent an additional week there with the assistance of the Withlacoochee River Archaeology Council.

#### The 1985 Excavations

The objectives of the 1985 fieldwork were; to define the limits of the Powell's Town site as indicated in the previous surface collections, and; to determine depths of the cultural deposits, distribution of artifacts, and the presence or absence of subsurface features (hearths, trashpits, postholes) should we be successful in delimiting the site boundaries. To meet the first objective, a 10 m interval grid was established to encompass all of Wild Hog Scrub. The baseline was struck on the perimeter road on the north margin of the scrub, on an angle 95 degrees from magnetic north. The baseline was 480 m, east to west. Transects perpendicular to the baseline were created by



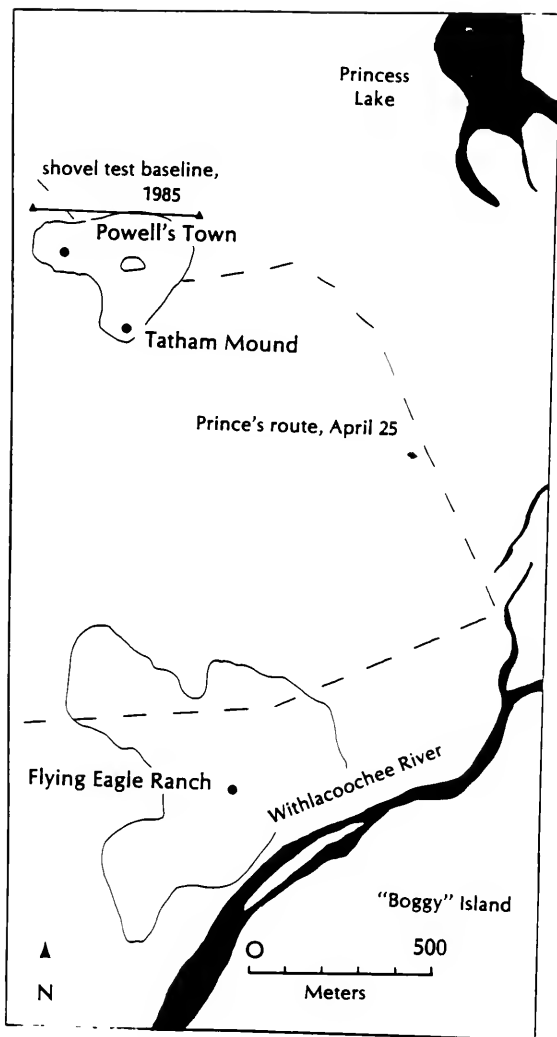


Figure 18. Location of Powell's Town.

turning a compass angle of 185 degrees and traveling south into the scrub. Crews of three to five members were dispatched into the scrub from baseline stations, and were instructed to dig 50 cm x 50 cm (20") shovel tests at 10 m (33') intervals to depths of at least 30 cm (12"), and to record stratigraphy and findings on a standard form. All excavated soil was sifted through 1/4" mesh screens. In this manner, 97 shovel tests were completed, along 7 transect lines spaced along 210 m of the baseline. Two of the excavated transects eventually intersected the Tatham mound, at the southern periphery of the scrub.

The only artifacts found in the shovel tests were in the vicinity of the previously flagged surface finds, at the highest elevation of Wild Hog Scrub. Pasco Plain (limestone tempered) and sand tempered plain pottery sherds were found here to depths of 30cm, and while not providing any additional information about the Seminole component (being pottery types attributable to prehistoric Indians), their recovery did suggest that more substantive subsurface testing was warranted. Therefore, an east-west baseline was established with a transit and staked out at 2 m intervals, and a vertical benchmark was set in a nearby oak to provide a datum for vertical measurements. Seven 2 m x 2 m units were excavated, in 20 cm arbitrary levels, and the soil (sand) sifted through 1/4" tripod-mounted shaker

screens. Units were excavated to depths of 40 cm or 60 cm, depending on the vertical distribution of artifacts. Results of the previous shovel tests indicated that stratigraphy could not be distinguished on the basis of natural zones, and this condition was quickly apparent in our larger 2 m block excavations. Below a variably shallow level of modern humus and leaf litter were deposits of up to 1 m of white, fine to medium sand, underlain by yellow sands. Thus, no human-induced stratigraphy was observed - dark soil discoloration, midden staining and the like--and no features were recorded. Worse, in our 1985 excavations at the site, we failed to recognize fully until the end of our week that the site was multicomponent; consequently the arbitrary 20 cm levels in some cases obscured the true vertical relationship between the historic Seminole component at the site, and those components attributable to earlier prehistoric occupations. Therefore, in several cases, bags of Level 1 artifacts, taken from 0-20 cm in depth, contained the pottery types St. Johns Check Stamped and Pasco Plain, known to be associated with late prehistoric peoples in the area, as well as plain, sand tempered sherds of a compact, dense paste resembling that of known Seminole wares.

The 1985 excavations were successful, however, in providing additional archaeological evidence that the Powell's Town site had been used by the historic Seminole;

a sliver of green bottle glass and a lead shot were recovered in Level 1 (see Table 8 for inventory), as were two peach pits and a cow bone, known food items of these Indians. The fact that these and other artifacts had been found in discrete clusters at the site, that is, some units contained artifacts while adjacent units did not, suggested that further, and more refined, excavation might reveal the actual configuration of the Powell's Town site that Prince observed.

#### The 1986 Excavations

Thus we turn once again to the Prince diary description of Powell's Town, where it will be recalled the site was said to have a field, a square, and cattle pens. In Creek and early Seminole society, the squareground was the locus of civic and ceremonial institutions; where the town chief presided, where councils were held and visitors entertained, and where the annual busk and hunting dances were conducted (for a compendium of squareground data, see Swanton 1928b). Further, the household or domestic squares of the Seminole, for instance the compounds described by Bartram for Cuscowilla, were architectural expressions of the primary axes ordering Seminole daily life--the dichotomy between male and female activities (male quarters and female quarters) and the contrast between summer and winter occupations (buildings for storing skins, buildings

Table 8. Historic artifacts from Powell's Town.

Artifact	Unit	Level	Quantity
Glass (Green bottle)	100N/104E 110N/100E	0-20 cm surface	1 1
Metal lead shot (.48 cal.)	100N/108E	0-20 cm (14 cm below surface)	1
bridle bit	110N/106E	surface	1
iron kettle	40N/244E (est.)	surface	1
Ceramics stoneware sherd	102N/102E	0-10 cm	1

for storing produce) (Knight 1981:89-93, 1985:117,118). Although there are scattered references to Seminole squaregrounds after the turn of the nineteenth century, it is probable that they were not a regular feature of Seminole village or domestic construction after 1814. Did Osceola construct a squareground at Powell's Town? If so, where, and for what purpose?

This provided the primary objective of the 1986 fieldwork--to determine if we could archaeologically describe the "square" in evidence at the site in 1837. A related goal was simply to recover more data relevant to Seminole material culture of the period. I returned to the site in September, and with the assistance of volunteer members of the Withlacoochee River Archaeology Council, the entire site area surrounding the 1985 excavation was gridded at 2 m intervals, and systematic, aligned 50 cm x 50 cm shovel tests were placed along selected lines (Figure 19). Based on the presence or absence of Seminole artifacts recovered in the shovel tests, judgements were made as the locations of larger 2 m x 2 m block excavations. We hoped through this method to be able to determine where the square had been (relatively clean of artifacts), surrounded by up to four buildings (discrete clusters of artifacts).

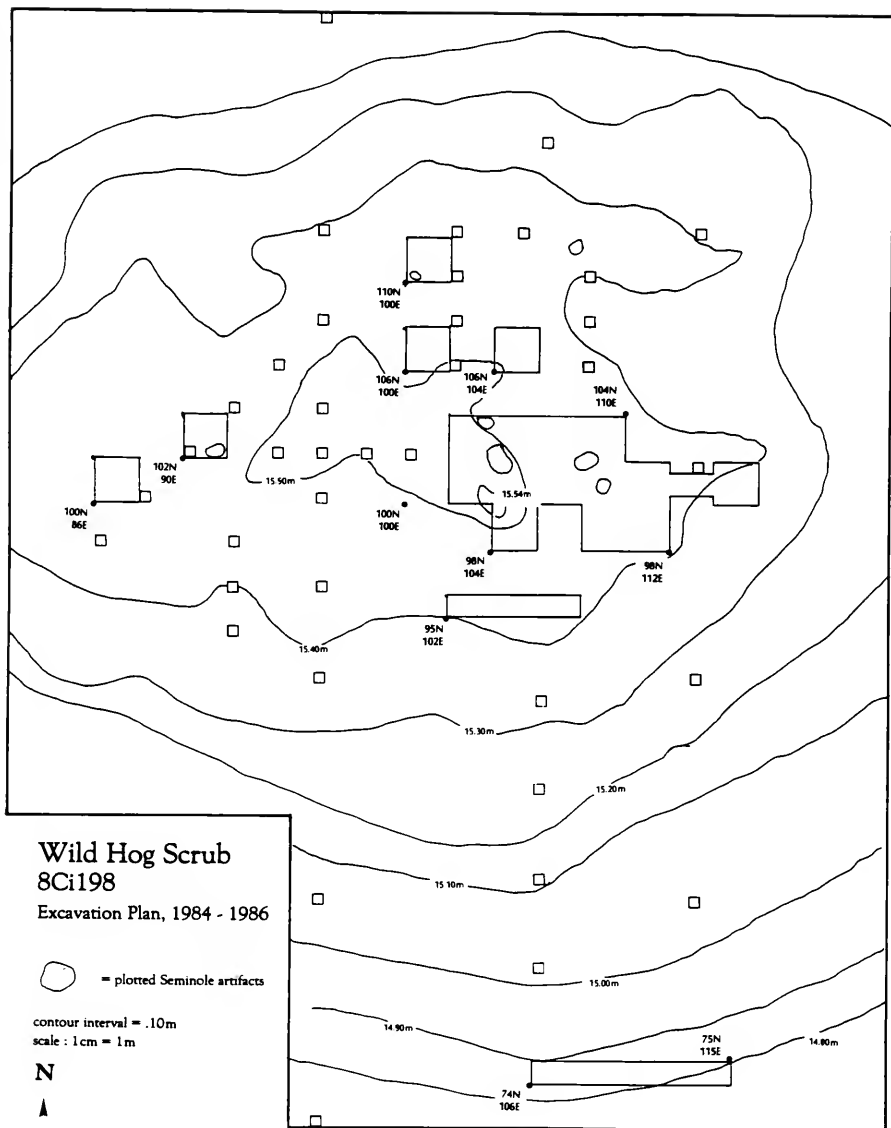


Figure 19. Excavation plan of Wild Hog Scrub

Twenty four shovel tests were excavated in the 1986 season, to an average depth of 54 cm. Approximately 83% of the tests yielded artifacts, meaning pottery sherds and lithic flakes or the occasional tool. Of the total, 35% of the tests contained sherds only, and 35% contained lithics only. Shovel tests containing both sherds and lithics tend to be located in the central portion of the site, within the 15.40 contour line. Lithic materials have a broader distribution across the site and deeper provenience than does pottery. In the shovel tests, known or suspected prehistoric pottery types were recovered at depths of 37 cm (2), 35 cm, 34 cm, 28 cm, 27 cm, 25 cm, and 22 cm below the surface, or at an average depth of 26.8 cm. Pottery that I attribute to the historic Seminole occupation was found at 28 cm, 20 cm, 11 cm, 10 cm, 9 cm, 6 cm, and 5 cm below the surface, or with an average depth of 10.2 cm.

With respect to the prehistoric pottery recovered at the site, the type Pasco Plain has the widest distribution and the deepest occurrence (and is, in fact, the most common and long used pottery type in the Withlacoochee Cove), and was found from approximately 16cm to 61 cm below the surface. The type St. Johns Check Stamped, with a probable time range in this area coincident with the Safety



Harbor archaeological culture (c. A.D.900- A.D.1600), occurs at the site within a relatively narrow stratigraphic range, from approximately 20 cm to 30 cm below the surface. Based on the above information, it is suggested that the site has up to four cultural components: a low density scatter relating to the historic Seminole, from surface to 15 cm in depth; below this a Safety Harbor component to approximately 30 cm below the surface, underlain by another pottery bearing (Pasco Plain) deposit attributable to Weeden Island-related peoples, and below all, lithic remains associated with an Archaic culture. This is a cultural stratigraphy supported by the vertical distribution of artifacts alone; natural soil zones are not evident. No animal or plant remains were recovered from the suspected prehistoric levels, leaving the function of the site for these earlier cultures in question. The recovery of the large stone grinding/digging tool (Figure 20) suggests that the site may have seen some use as a seasonal foraging camp. Later, during the use span of the nearby Tatham mound (c. A.D.1100-A.D.1600) the site may have served as a camp for people visiting or servicing the mound, although the precise nature of these activities is not known. Our concern in this chapter is with the historic Seminole occupation at Wild Hog Scrub, where we will now direct our attention.

The Powell's Town Component

In light of the fact that Wild Hog Scrub is multicomponent, only that level which pertains to the alleged Osceola occupation of the site will be referred to as Powell's Town. Powell's Town is thought to have contained a squareground, a nearby field, and a cattle pen probably constructed of oak. The program of shovel testing followed up by block excavations was intended to define these areas of the site (Figure 19).

Eleven 2 m x 2 m units were excavated during the 1986 season. Combined with the 7 units dug in 1985, the total area sampled in the block excavations is 76 m<sup>2</sup>.

Shovel tests within the estimated area of the Seminole component total 4.25 m<sup>2</sup>, making a total of 80.25 m<sup>2</sup>

sampled within the Seminole area. As this latter area is estimated to include at least 240 m<sup>2</sup>, 33.4% of it was sampled via combined shovel and block testing from 1985-1986. The maximum estimated site area, including the prehistoric deposits, includes some 600 m<sup>2</sup>, thus the Seminole component, at less than a third of the total area and the most shallow of the cultural levels, rests like the tip of an iceberg on the Wild Hog Scrub site.

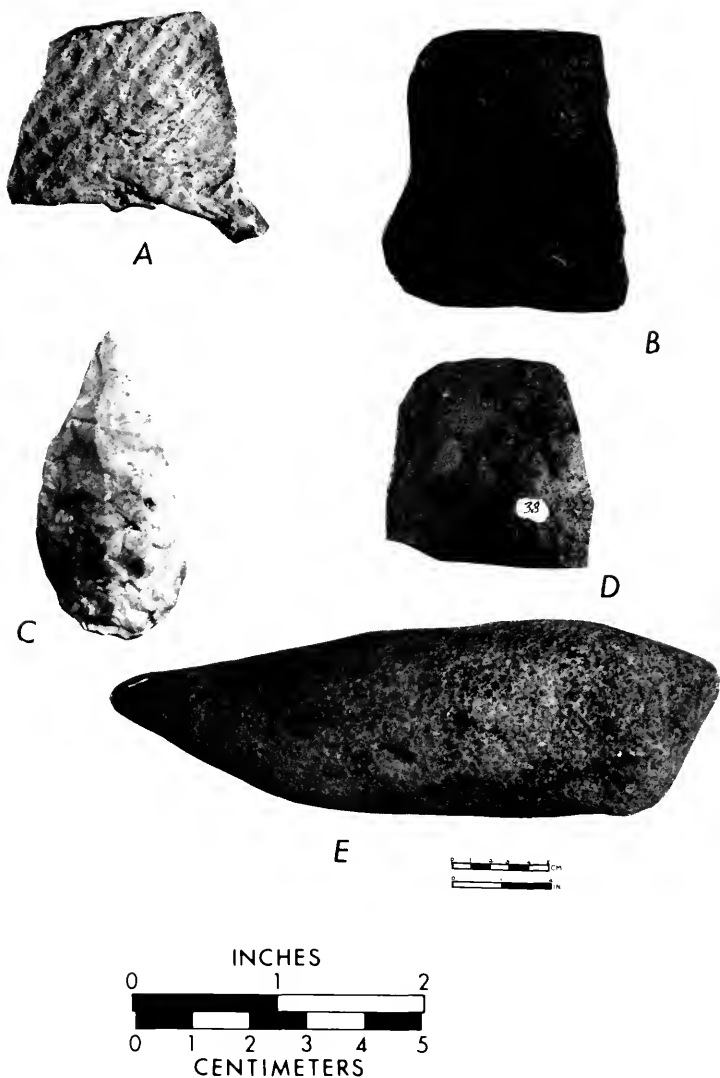


Figure 20. Selected prehistoric artifacts from Wild Hog Scrub. A, St. Johns Check Stamped pottery; B, Sand tempered plain; C-E, lithic tools.

I suggest that the evidence recovered through archaeological means supports the existence of a square at Powell's Town, as defined by an area within the 15.50 contour line (the highest portion of the site) that is virtually devoid of historic Seminole materials (Figure 21). Shovel tests excavated within the area of the presumed square include 102/94, 102/96, 102/98, 104/96, and 106/102. Block units in the area are 100/102, 102/102, and portions of 102/104, 106/104, 106/100. Suggested dimensions of the square are 12 m east-west and 8 m north-south. The square is flanked by artifact clusters and/or surface finds attributable to the Seminole--on the north by the bridle bit and sherd of bottle glass, on the east by concentrations of pottery, the peach pits, bottle glass, and lead shot, and to the west by concentrations of pottery. Reasoning from the patterns of artifacts noted for squaregrounds elsewhere (Knight 1985:117), we can infer that the artifacts found at Powell's Town were once inside structures, other traces of which (postholes, hearths) do not remain. To the west of the squareground a single cow bone was recovered (Level 1 of the 1985 excavation, unit 100N/86E) that may pertain to the location of the cattle pens, although subsequent excavations in the area did little to confirm this.

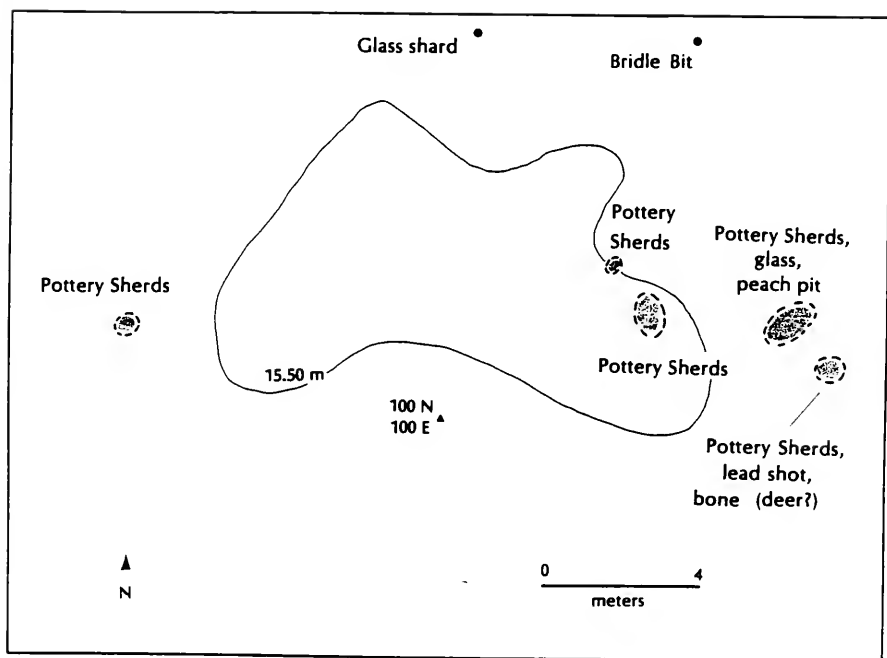


Figure 21. The suggested square at Powell's Town.

### Powell's Town Artifacts

A look at Table 8 reveals that historic artifacts at Powell's Town are decidedly scarce. They do, however, conform to our expectations as to the types of artifacts likely to have been used by the Seminole, and serve to confirm their presence at the site (Figure 22). Other nineteenth century occupations at the site are unlikely, on historical grounds, and in light of the scarcity of materials found. The depauperate inventory of Powell's Town can in part be attributed to the guerilla-like conditions of life, and in part to the nature of Osceola's personality. Remember, he was held in esteem by his fellow Seminole for not taking the white man's things, and we have already discussed how this intentional poverty with respect to trade items may have enhanced his prestige in the minds of his followers. Indeed, the quantity of historic materials found at Powell's Town forms a striking contrast to the Seminole assemblages of Newman's Garden and Zellner Grove, discussed in Chapter V. Trade items in those sites, occupied for perhaps 10 years before the founding of Powell's Town and abandoned shortly after the onset of the war, are relatively plentiful, and, when compared with Powell's Town, suggest the bottleneck that Seminole material culture passed through between the years 1835 and

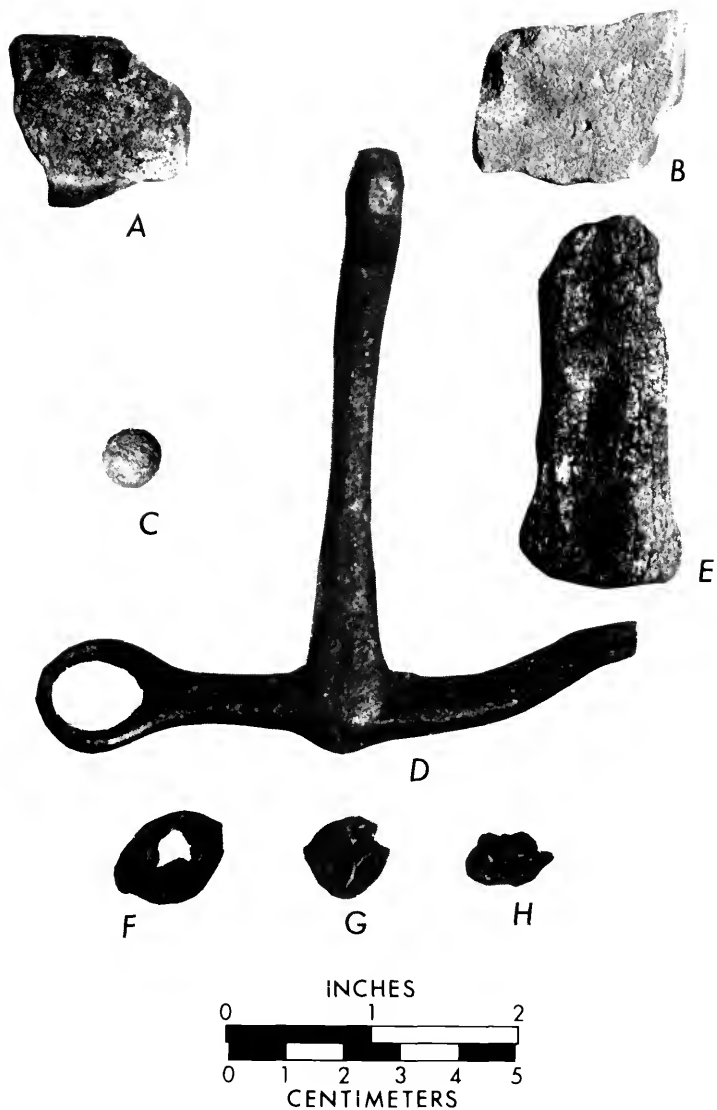


Figure 22. Seminole artifacts from Powell's Town. A-B, pottery; C, lead shot; D, iron bridle bit; E, cow bone; F-H, peach pits.

1836 (admitting, of course, that the spans of occupation are not comparable). Another contrast exists in the fact that at Newman's, enough glass bottle shards were recovered to nearly reconstruct several bottles; at Powell's Town two glass shards were found, and one a mere sliver (as was the piece of stoneware). This suggests the possibility that items broken at Powell's Town were not discarded there, but instead may have been reused, refashioned as bottle glass scrapers or other implements, or collected and discarded elsewhere (a practice recorded by Bartram for the Cuscowilla Seminole).

The most common type of Seminole artifact at Powell's Town are sherds of fired clay pottery (n= 96). Somewhat unexpectedly, these are not sherds of Chattahoochee Brushed (present at Newman's and Zellner in some quantity), but are instead plain, with a dense, compact sand tempered paste and burnished or smoothed surfaces. They resemble known plain Seminole wares (for instance, from Oven Hill) or perhaps more closely, plain sherds of historic Creek pottery included in the Lamar series (Knight 1985:189, 200,201; see also Dickens 1979:121). They can be distinguished from prehistoric sand tempered sherds in the Withlacoochee Cove (found in area middens, and the Tatham mound) on qualitative grounds--the compactness of the paste, the surface "burnishing" or smoothing, and their



general hardness. They are not as burnished as specimens of the type Palatka Plain defined by Goggin (1958) from collections at Spalding's Lower Store. The single, punctated rim sherd (Figure 22) found is slightly outflaring and suggests a globular jar form common among Seminole pottery; a large bottom sherd indicates that one of the Powell's Town jars had a round bottom, similar to specimens known from Oven Hill. More detailed vessel form reconstructions are not possible given the sample at hand. Clearly, however, native-made pottery was an important item of Seminole material culture of the period, as here it was found in two of three suspected building areas at the site.

The intact cast iron cookpot found in our 1984 surface collection has been described in detail elsewhere (Weisman 1986b:14-16). Its manufacture dates to the British period in Florida, meaning that it had been in use for some time by the Seminole before being discarded at Powell's Town. Actually, the pot was found a short distance to the east of the site, on a disused trail that may have once led from Powell's Town to a nearby spring, or to the river. The bridle bit (Figure 22) was probably not owned by Osceola, as he was said not to have a horse, but horses continued to be valued, prestigious possessions among many of the Seminole (hence the oddity of Osceola not having one), thus the bit may have belonged to someone else at his camp.

Curiously, no items of personal adornment have yet been found, despite the fact that Osceola was painted just before his death wearing several strings of necklace beads, an embroidered sash, earrings, and other finery. It is possible that these items were obtained by him after his capture (he was noted in the Withlacoochee campaigns wearing confiscated military dress, Mahon 1967:111; see also Prince 1836:March 1), or were in the care of his two wives who may have been residing in the Wahoo Swamp during most of the hostilities. The recovery of the three (slightly charred) peach pits suggests the Indians visited the sites of former Seminole plantations, particularly those north and east of Tampa Bay, to obtain at least part of their produce. In sum, while the artifacts recovered and not recovered (for instance, lithics, beads, pearlware) at Powell's Town allow some reconstruction of the activities that once went on there, they also provide use a useful look at the vanishing point of archaeological visibility. We are fortunate to know anything of a site occupied by as few as eight persons for a period of less than a year.

#### Discussion

Osceola's presence at Powell's Town can be detected in three ways. First, in the nature of the material culture inventory recovered at the site; notably poor both in quantity and the range of artifact classes

present. We know from a variety of sources that the Seminole did manage to retain a number of their possessions throughout the conflict (Sturtevant 1962, Piper and Piper 1982), that is, they were not immediately reduced to a state of poverty by the circumstances of the war. Accounts also suggest that Osceola had a keen sense of the potential symbolic value of material items, and manipulated them for his desired ends. The path to authority he chose required him to divest of the trappings of dominant American society, and invest in the spiritual legacy of the native past.

Therefore we also see at Powell's Town the construction of a squareground, harking back to Creek and early Seminole tradition, and perhaps the last of its kind built in Florida. While it is not possible to determine if the square was constructed in the manner of the traditional town center (four cabins or roofed benches flanking an assembly ground) or as a domestic compound (up to four functionally distinct buildings relating to male and female daily activities, grouped around a square), I think certainly that in either event the use of space by Osceola was intentional, to call to mind the fundamental principles that had previously ordered native life.

Osceola's need to legitimize his power in the eyes of the other Seminole is also reflected in the the location of

the Powell's Town site. Osceola hoped the Withlacoochee Cove to be the new Seminole homeland, thus Powell's Town, at its potential center, was located in the manner of the quintessential Creek village, "secure from sudden invasion, having a large district of excellent arable land adjoining, or in its vicinity, if possible an isthmus betwixt two waters, or where the doubling of a river forms a peninsula" (Bartram 1955:400). Further, Powell's Town is located very near the Tatham mound (to date they are the only two sites identified in Wild Hog Scrub), and it was at the mound that the only Seminole bead known thus far from the Cove was found, in Zone A, above the first level of prehistoric Indian burials. It is almost certain that Osceola knew of the Tatham mound (it is only 200 m from the Powell's Town), and visited there upon occasion. Burial mounds were powerful and somewhat fearful locations in the Indian view, thus someone who purposefully sought them out might be regarded as possessing spiritual strength well beyond the ordinary. Osceola's purpose in visiting the mound must have been to increase his abilities as a warrior, by gaining this necessary strength.

Finally, I suggest that Osceola strengthened his quest for legitimate warriorhood by locating his village atop a prehistoric Indian site, where in fact the most common (and perhaps most obvious) artifacts are flakes of waste chert. Chert and other small rocks figured prominently in the

"power in war medicines" of the recent Seminole sacred medicine bundles, for example the cho-no-thlee described to Capron by a Seminole informant (Capron 1953:168): "you got to have cho-no-thlee in wartime or you can't win,... Osceola, he had that." If we reason that the modern medicine bundle specimens reflect some degree of historical reality (the way in which a crucifix symbolizes the crucifixion of Christ), the reality expressed may be the sympathetic claim Osceola hoped to make on the lands of the Withlacoochee Cove by locating on a village site once inhabited by native Indians of the area. Therefore, the locational factors manifest at Powell's Town indicate Osceola's desire to fuse spiritual and secular powers into a new brand of Seminole leadership. His success rested on the fluency of the populace with their own past--would the symbols he invoked call forth from them the desired response? In the end, the Seminole did not fathom the complexity of the man, nor the enigma that was his core.

CHAPTER VII  
LIKE BEADS ON A STRING: OBSERVATIONS ON THE SEMINOLE  
COSMOS

In this chapter I will argue that the historical foundation of Seminole notions of selfhood rest firmly within the Southeastern Indian tradition, and can be made knowable through an analysis of myth and ritual pertaining to the play of the single pole variant of the aboriginal ballgame. The combined evidence of archaeology, ethnohistory, and myth suggest that the ballgame was played in a ritual context among the Southeastern Indians from perhaps c. A.D. 1000 through the ethnographic present; its existence among the contemporary Seminole demonstrates a cultural link between beliefs and practices of modern peoples and their ancient forebearers. Further, I will suggest that the ballplay was more a ritual than a "game," and as such served as a vehicle through which messages about world view (of which selfhood is a subset) were encoded and expressed.

My intent in this chapter is to suggest that the ballplay (and other seemingly unrelated customs) of the Seminole and other Southeastern Indians be reevaluated in their full cultural context as systematic ways in which

meaningful information about world view and historicity are presented to the individual (for a related approach among the Cherokee, with a slightly different scope, see Fogelson 1971). In specific, notions of self and selfhood are the filters through which real-world experiences are perceived, and determine the process in which individuals attempt to manipulate the social, political, and other variables of his existence for desired ends. Views of selfhood are culturally inherited, and have very real historical consequence for the trajectory of cultural stability or change.

To the extent that the interpreted world of the individual is also the world as perceived by other members of society, it is a normative phenomenon, or what anthropologists refer to as "world view" (Ortiz 1972:137). The ideological components of world view are rarely made explicit, but nonetheless exercise a certain underlying order upon behavior, in the way language is used fluently by its speakers without their conscious knowledge of its rules of grammar. The language of world view is primarily symbolic; an individual's cultural fluency is determined by his ability to internalize the field of symbolic resources that have been given cultural meaning. World view is a symbolic model of reality; it represents the limits of the "known world," and thus becomes cosmological.

The elements of world view, or cosmos, become expressed on two different scales of behavior; that of the individual, as he or she moves through the chartered autonomy of daily living, and that of individuals together, in the performance of those societal rhythms that are collective ritual. It is through collective ritual that the moral imperatives meant to guide an individual's actions with respect to one's fellows and other forces in the cosmos are given dramatic expression. The success of collective ritual is determined by the degree to which the symbolic resources of its drama are consonant with those of the individual. Because these resources are historically constituted, that is, because they are cultural products that may or may not be derived from the actual circumstances of any specific person's life experience, their full meaning becomes evident only through historical analysis. In the sense that non-literate peoples do not create textual histories, the history of non-literate peoples are literally embodied in the individual and expressed through ritual drama.

For our purposes, the ritual drama is the busk, or Green Corn, ceremony of the Florida Seminole, and the element to be isolated is the ballgame, because in its relation to the larger busk ritual the most essential model of an individual's place in society and the world is expressed. After a brief introduction to the Seminole



busk, or immediate attention will be with the ethnohistory and cultural significance of the ball play.

The Seminole Busk; Historical Concerns

The Seminole busk was an annual event timed to coincide with the first ripening of the young, or "green" corn. Green Corn ceremonialism was a widespread cultural phenomenon in the aboriginal Eastern woodlands (Witthoft 1949) and the Seminole version was unquestionably derived from the Creek poskita (Swanton 1928a:546) meaning "to fast" (Witthoft 1949:52). Ethnohistorical accounts of the Creek busk abound, and taken together form a fairly complete picture of its practice throughout the lower Southeast for more than 100 years (see Swanton 1928b, for thorough compilation). Although the Creek busk exhibited tribal, or regional, variation, certain elements were consistent in its practice. The busk ceremony took place in the ritually prepared talwa squareground, was presided over by both civil and religious authorities, incorporated all members of society, had at its core a new fire ritual and a court day, or day of absolution, and was from four to eight days in duration.

Unfortunately, the precise nature of the early Seminole busk is not known; presumably the early writers like Rolle and Bartram were not present at the appropriate season, or were not privy to this area of native life.

British colonial documents hint at its presence (see Covington 1961:46), but full descriptions do not come until near the end of the nineteenth century (MacCauley 1887:522; Cory 1896:16; Witthoft 1949:40). From these descriptions, and those of recent times (Spoehr 1941; Capron 1953; Sturtevant 1954) it is apparent that a considerable body of traditional Creek belief survived in the Seminole busk. After the Seminole wars, however, the Seminole ceremony revolved around the ritual display of the medicine bundles, deerskin sacks containing the "Power in War" medicines and other sacra primarily concerned with war magic (Sturtevant 1954:36). The medicine bundles were under the care of medicine men, who would officiate at the annual busk, unwrap and display the sacred objects, and thus insure the health of the tribe for another year. By the end of the Second Seminole War in 1842, the remaining Seminole in Florida were probably organized into groups or bands, each associated with one medicine bundle (Sturtevant 1954:42). The bundle, its keeper, and the dance grounds became the spiritual core of Seminole life, while the domestic seat was the matrilineal clan camp, or istihapo (Spoehr 1941:10). At the time of the annual Green Corn ceremony, these camps would, in Spoehr's terms (1941:16), draw together "like beads on a string," an apt simile as well for the role of the individual in Seminole society.

The Seminole Ballgame--Archaeology and Ethnohistory

There were actually two types of ballgame played in the aboriginal Southeast, and in their manner of play, social contexts, and creation myths regarding their origins appear quite distinct. Both have been classified as "recreational" activities (i.e., non-ritual) by ethnohistorians (Hudson 1976:408), which is, however, not quite the case. Our concern will be with the single pole ballgame, because of its ritual association with the Green Corn Dance, while the reader is directed to Swanton 1928b:456, and Hudson 1976:408 for descriptions of the double goal game, and also to the wonderful depictions by Catlin of the game as played by the Choctaw (in Fundaburke 1958).

The origins of the single pole game in the Southeast rest in the development of the mound/plaza complex at the opening of the Mississippian period, c. A.D. 900. Its appearance by A.D. 1000 is documented archaeologically by the excavation of a large post pit in the ceremonial precinct at Cemochechobee, in southern Alabama (Schnell, Knight, and Schnell 1981:34,35). Because Mississippian mound/plaza ceremonialism is the probable prototype for historic Creek busk and related practices, the early archaeological association between presumed ball poles and

ceremonial precincts suggests the ritual context for the play of the ball.

The ethnohistory of the single pole game further indicates its ritual nature, although as we will see, its exclusive association with the Green Corn Dance perhaps did not occur until the mid or late nineteenth century, with the Florida Seminole. The first description of a single pole game is among the Timucua of north Florida by LeMoynes in 1565 (Lorant 1946:107), which was unlike the later Creek and Seminole game in that it was played exclusively by young men. However, the ritual care given to the erection and decoration of the ball post (adorned with a string of beads, a skin or tanned hide, and with a wooden frame or target on top) is, in its essential features, preserved up to the present by the Seminole. The next account is provided in the testimony of the Franciscan priest Juan de Paiva, who in 1676 recorded a ball game myth as told him by an Apalachee chief, in which similar features of the ball post are accounted for on mythical grounds. In a subsequent section of this chapter, this myth will be recounted in full.

Later, the account of Adair from among the historic tribes of the lower Southeast suggests the ceremonial role held by the ball game by the 1740s (Adair 1986:119; also in Swanton 1928b:551):

They assemble three nights previous to their annual feast of love; on the fourth night they eat together. During the intermediate space, the young men and women dance in circles from evening till morning. The men masquerade their faces with large pieces of gourds of different shapes and hieroglyphic paintings. Some of them fix a pair of young buffalo horns to their head; others the tail, behind. When the dance and their time is expired, the men turn out a hunting, and bring in sufficient quantity of venison, for the feast of renewing their love, and confirming their friendship with each other. The women dress it, and bring the best they have along with it, which a few springs past, was only a variety of Esau's small red acorn pottage, as their crops had failed. When they have eaten together, they fix in the ground a large pole with a bush at the top, over which they throw a ball.

A fuller description of the game, capturing the rush of action, is provided by Hitchcock's observations among the Creeks in 1842 (Swanton 1928b:467):

The players mingle, or scatter about as they please, the men on one side and the women on the other aided by a few men. The men use sticks, the women their hands. The chief throws the ball up nearly vertically, standing near the pole--the game has commenced. All rush to seize the ball, men and women pell mell together. One gets it. His party tries to give him an opportunity of throwing it. The opposite party, to embarrass him, rush on him, catch his arm, and in the whirl he loses the ball. Another rush. A woman gets it. She holds it firmly in one hand and walks towards the pole followed and surrounded by men and women. She is about to throw it. A ball stick is interposed over her. She sees one of her own side a little way off and tosses the ball to her.

A form of the single pole game was played among the post-removal Creeks of Oklahoma. In this game, men and women were still pitted against each other, the game was played in the squareground, and the pole was still treated with great care, now being decorated at the top with various carved animal images (Swanton 1928b:467,544,545).

The single pole game among the Seminole is little known until comparatively recent times. A game played by them during the Garfish Festival, January 1986, near the Big Cypress reservation was remarkably similar to the game described by Hitchcock, and can be traced to the game played formerly during the Green Corn Dance (Capron 1953). However, the first mentions of the ballgame among the Seminole clearly refer to the double goal variety "brother of war" (Swanton 1928b:459) in which entire moieties or towns clashed (Bartram 1955:173; Rolle 1977:52).

In the early nineteenth century, a large game was played at least once with over 100 Seminole from the north peninsula present at the Okahumpka settlement of Micanopy (Boyd 1958:93), while in 1836 the ballstick allegedly belonging to Micanopy himself was recovered when the United States Army raided the abandoned site of Pilaklikaha, where blacks associated with Micanopy lived, south of Okahumpka (Cohen 1836:176). Osceola also was a ballplayer of some skill, and trade goods were wagered on his performance.

It is likely that the single pole game was present with the Seminole before and during this period, and not observed; further, it is likely that after the Second Seminole War the game came to be a part of the Green Corn Dance, as that ceremony came to be the embodiment of

combined Seminole beliefs about the cosmos. During this same period, accounts of the double goal game disappear. Writing in 1896 based on ten years experience with the Seminole, Charles Barney Cory indicated that the ballgame was played on the afternoon of the first day of festivities, in this instance at a location in the Big Cypress swamp. Some years later, Skinner (1913:76) pictured two wooden ballsticks, carved like wooden spoons, from another camp. The first full account of the position of the ballgame with respect to the ritual round of the Green Corn Dance came in the 1953 publication of Louis Capron (Capron 1953:182):

On one side, just outside the [dance] circle is the ballgame pole--ko-ka (ball) a-pee (pole) (Miccosukee). This is a tall pine sapling 20 to 25 feet high, trimmed of branches but with the plume left at top. From about 4 to about 5 feet from the ground, this pole is squared and smoothed and on the flat sides score is kept with a piece of charcoal. This dance track is cleared, smoothed, and packed.

According to Capron, the game was played at sunset (or on the afternoon of court day), between males and females, using a deerskin ball stuffed with deer hair. The use of a ball of this type appears to be the most constant feature of ballgames throughout the native Southeast. The males must use rackets, in this case constructed of green laurel (presumably Ilex spp.?) bent over at the end to affix a webbing of rawhide, while the females use their hands. Score was made by striking the pole with the ball in the

designated place. After the game was finished, "helpers" to the medicine man in charge of the Green Corn Dance swept the dance track clean. The ball play was the first and only occasion in which women were allowed on the dance track, where the Green Corn ceremony would take place (Capron 1953:183). Thus, the ballgame took place on the same sacred stage as the most important ritual event in the lives of the Indians. What meaning did the ball game hold in the symbolic expression of Seminole world view?

Approaches to the cultural meaning of the Seminole ballgame can proceed from two different lines of evidence. First, the historical threads of ballgame symbolism can be explored through an analysis of a myth purported to account for its origins among the Indians. In this way, it can be seen that the elemental theme of the myth also provides the basic orientation for Seminole world view. Second, we can examine the role and position of the game within the broader ceremonial round of the Green Corn Dance.

#### The Ballgame Myth

To my knowledge, there is no myth known to the contemporary Seminole accounting for the origins of the ballgame. Several ballgame myths collected among the Creek by Swanton (1928b:55,157) relate to the double goal game, and quite clearly establish its importance in the red/white and war/peace dichotomies in Creek society. For a myth



relating to the single pole game, we must turn to the account of Father Juan de Paiva, mentioned earlier, collected among the Apalachee and Yustega Indians in 1676. The Apalachee were soon to be exterminated with the collapse of the Florida missions at the hands of allied Creek and English forces, while the Yustega (of Timucuan stock) migrated after c. 1670 into the lower Creek territory of southern Georgia and became known as the Osochi (Swanton 1946:169,216). In any event, the cultural continuity between the events described by Paiva and the historic practices of the Creek and Seminole are clear. Translated versions of the myth (encumbered with the title "Origin and Beginning of the Ball Game which the Apalachee and Yustaga Indians have been playing from Pagan Times up to the Year 1676") appear in several places; here I will follow Bushnell 1978:10:

When the Apalachee nation was still heathen and living in darkness there were two caciques who lived beside each other, and their names were Ochuna Nicogwadca and Ytonanslac ("which are the names of demons", interjects Paiva). Ytonanslac had a granddaughter named Nicotaijula whom the principales of the place sent everyday to get water. While doing this errand she conceived and bore a son and hid him in the green plants. The Panther, the Bear and the Bluejay found the babe and took him to his great-grandfather, who made them promise to tell no one. The child was given the name Chita, and at age twelve Oclati (Water Boy), and at age twenty, Eslatiayupi (Woman of the Sun). He was more skillful than anyone else with bow and arrows and at the game of quicio which all of these nations play.

Now it had been foretold to Ochuna Nicogwadca that he would be killed and his name taken by a son of Nicotaijula, and in case Eslatiayupi were her son, he

wanted to kill him first. So he set the youth three tasks: to get flints from the bed of a great river, to bring canes for arrows from a canebrake full of deadly serpents, and to take fledgling eagles out of a nest. Each time Eslatiayupi went to his great-grandfather for advice, and he was told to give a string of snailshell beads to a little bird who would get him the flints, to throw hoops of grapevine to distract the serpents, and to protect his head and hands with dried gourds and kill the eagles with a cudgel. At length Ochuna Nicogvadca, finding that he could not get rid of the young man in these ways, invented the playing of pelota [ballgame] and that is where it came from.

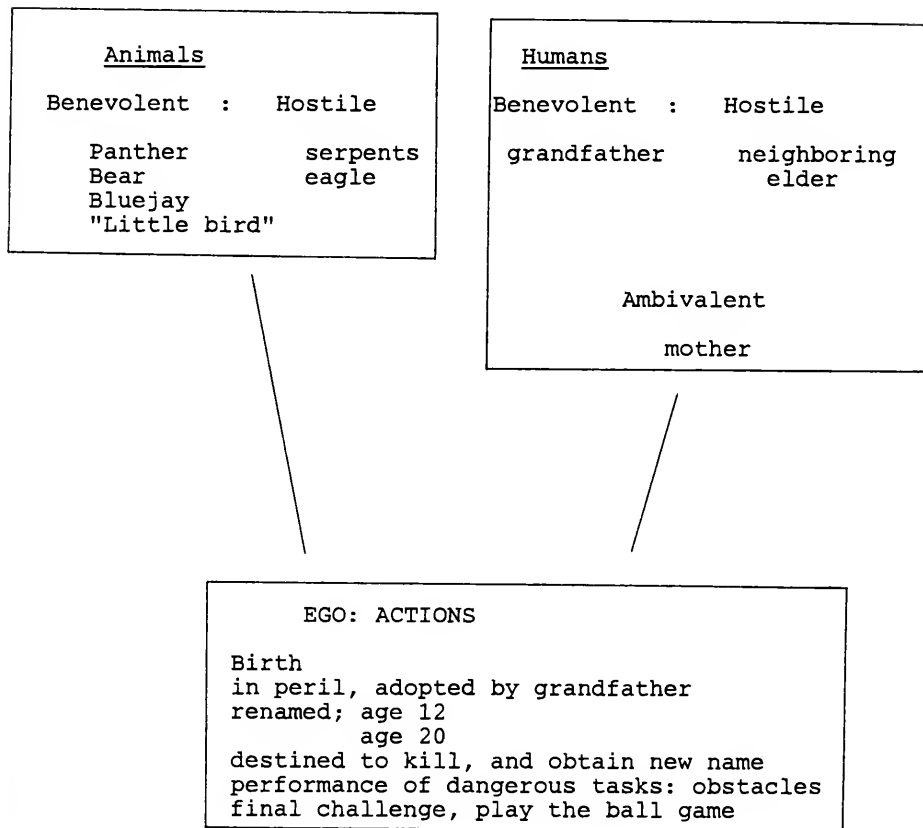
What can we learn of Seminole world view from this myth? First, we must assume that the allegory that is the myth has some historical referent; it is not arbitrary but is in some sense real. Then, analysis of the myth becomes like that of a dream, only slightly less complex than the myth itself; symbolically robust, multiscalar, an expression of a people for whom past and present, history and culture were not distinct dimensions of experience.

In the broadest sense, the myth stands as an allegory for the process of cultural dependence upon the growth of cultivated plants, while on the level of analogy the myth recapitulates in human terms the life cycle of plants (the growth of the boy is a metaphor for the growth of plants). In direct ethnographic terms, the periodic renaming of males as they progress through life stages known for the Southeastern Indians (see Spoehr 1941:15 for Seminole example) is clearly indicated. Known attributes of described ball poles also seem to have mythical precedent; especially the spray of branches and the eagle carvings

mounted atop the pole which may represent the nest of eagles mentioned in the myth.

We will here be concerned with the behaviors of the principals expressed in the ballgame myth, for it is these behaviors that were meant to serve as a descriptive model for an individual's actions with regard to his own life and in society at large. If we take Chita to be an Indian "Everyman," the meaning of selfhood is clear. Life is essentially the struggle to balance opposing forces in the world (Table 9), yet one can triumph through skillful individual action, as a boy becomes a man. This process was embodied in the life of every Indian male, and was expressed repeatedly in their intercourse with the whites. They saw in the white man's enterprises opportunities to be, in effect, better Indians, through the demonstration of their personal skills (which, to judge from traders' and travelers' narratives, involved a considerable degree of personal danger). This is the self-identity that pervaded early Seminole culture, and would, ultimately, make their coexistence with the American impossible. It was not a "clash of cultures" that led to the Seminole's demise, but a sameness between their definition of self and that of the Americans. Both stressed performance and competition, yet the same geographical bounds and resources were at stake.

Table 9. Schematic of the ball game myth.



The ballgame, in myth and action, stresses triumph over adversity, but it holds another lesson as well. This is because the Seminole did not exist in isolation, but were, like beads on a string, drawn together into celebrations of group identity. Thus, the ballgame was not an isolated activity, but took place as a scheduled event in the Green Corn ceremony.

Following the primary testimony of Capron (1953:188-205), we will begin our look at the Seminole Green Corn Dance, usually held on the fourth, and final, day of the festivities. Preparations for court day were under the strict guidance of the medicine man; it was he who directed the preparation of the three black drinks that are to be consumed by the men and boys in the course of the day and night, and it was under the medicine man's care that the sacred medicine bundle was brought from its hiding place to the dance ground to be opened for inspection. The health and safety of the medicine bundle, which contained numerous individually wrapped sacred charms (like the cho-no-thlee, or "power in war" stones mentioned in Chapter VI) and palladia, and the health and safety of the tribe are one. As the medicine lives, so the tribe lives; its display at the dance ground signals that all is well. Court day will commence with the new dawn.

The first events of court day, once the medicine bundle was on display, included the feather dance, an intricate display of male solidarity in which all dancers carry staffs adorned with white bird feathers, and scratching, the ritual bleeding believed to promote a state of spiritual and bodily purity. Following these two activities, the first two black drinks were consumed.

At noon the council was held. Any man guilty of a crime against society since the time of the last Green Corn Dance can now atone for his actions before the elders, the medicine man, and other males representing all clans. The guilty party could admit himself back into the good graces of society by following the counsel of the medicine man, offered at this time, and by drinking a black drink. However, tensions could also mount by this time because it was not always assured that the guilty person would come forth, or would remit his wrongdoings (in extreme cases, such persons were executed after repeated offenses). It is clear that the preference of the group was to have the slate wiped clean at this time, and to allow the strayed individual back into their midst without further ado.

Up to this time, the activities emphasized male solidarity, and were the primary ritual vehicle through which male bonding was accomplished. Especially during the council of court day, males were encouraged to subsume their individual identities for the good of the group.

Therefore, the tempo and mood of the proceedings was given startling contrast with the ball play, which commenced just after the court day council, and held on the dance ground itself. Women were, for the first time, admitted to the dance grounds, and were teamed against the men in the wild play described earlier. The ballgame did more than just relieve the somber atmosphere thus far prevailing over the ceremony, because it brought together two of the primary oppositions in native life--male and female--and encouraged the display of individual talents and abilities. Unlike the dance rituals of the ceremony, the outcome of the ballgame was not certain, and became like a drama.

After the game was over, the dance ground was raked clean by assistants to the medicine man, and was ritually prepared for the climax of the event, the Green Corn Dance. Again, the emphasis is on group identity, but now the women are allowed back on the dance ground, where they appear dressed in all their finery and wearing leg rattles. The dance itself began after midnight, after the men had imbibed the third black drink, and took place around the sacred medicine fire placed atop the clean sand at the center of the dance circle.

Thus is the climax of the single most important ritual of the year. The pulse of the ceremony alternated between an emphasis on the individual and the importance of the

group. The value of both was effectively presented throughout the course of the ritual, where they existed in a dynamic tension. In its entirety, the Seminole Green Corn Dance modeled the Seminole cosmos, wherein the suggested limits of both individual and group action were presented. To the Seminole, the message was clear, although perhaps expressed in the subliminal language of symbols; they are indeed like beads on a string, drawn together with other beads only once a year, and in the main left to conduct life on their own.

The ballgame was a significant feature of the Seminole Green Corn ceremony because it was valued by society as an important form of self expression. The cultural meaning of the ballgame can be approached through myth, wherein the personal attributes of the mythic figure are presented as a model for individual behavior. The antiquity of the ballgame myth cannot be determined, but it is likely that, to judge from the archaeological record, the ballgame itself was an element of the ceremonial complex of the late prehistoric Mississippian peoples of the Southeast. This ceremonial complex contained rituals associated with the chief/priests, warriors, and rites of agricultural fertility and hunting magic presumably associated with the commoners. I suggest that the single pole ballgame was originally featured as an element of one of the latter two activities, which were the prototypes for the busk and



hunting ceremonies of the historic tribes of the Southeast. Whatever its early association, the ballgame became a component of the Seminole busk probably by the mid 1800s, and, as combined with the other activities of the dance cycle that emphasized group solidarity, formed a complete, descriptive model of the Seminole world view.

CHAPTER VIII  
SEMINOLE STUDIES: TOPICAL CONCERNS AND DIRECTIONS

We began our study of Florida Seminole culture history with a consideration of the Ancestral Creek Pattern, the paradigm of cultural form and process from which historic Seminole culture developed. The Ancestral Creek Pattern should be understood as archetypal, but not in the sense of a static collection of attributes and cultural traits. The Ancestral Creek Pattern is not a trait list, but is instead the trajectory of the combined interaction between cultural institutions, human volition, and historical circumstance.

In order for us to evaluate the influence of the Ancestral Creek Pattern on the evolution of Seminole culture, it became necessary to determine as closely as possible what elements of the pattern were embodied in the founding populations of Seminole. Archaeological data and historical sources that pertained to prehistoric and early historic aboriginal populations in the Southeast were examined, and it was suggested that the Florida Seminole were the cultural heirs of trends emphasizing individual autonomy and selective acculturation. Contrary to the perspective of previous studies that suggested the Seminole

were dependent on trade goods, and therefore possessed a culture of less integrity than their prehistoric forebearers, we found that the Seminole had an active hand in shaping the nature of the colonial Southeastern frontier, were cognizant of opportunities presented by the European eagerness for commerce and exploited those opportunities to full advantage, and were all the while successful in retaining a cultural core that embodied fundamental beliefs and practices of the aboriginal Southeastern Indians.

The Seminole were also successful in absorbing a variety of cultural influences over a relatively long period of time, and, as combined with threads of symbolism and cosmology rooted in the late prehistoric Mississippian chiefdoms, possess a patchwork of ritual and world view that is not immediately understandable based strictly on a synchronic perspective. It was also suggested that the Seminole had a certain historical awareness, although not in our Western sense of place and time, and that Osceola and other key individuals in native American society sought to manipulate symbols, or configurations of symbols, to resonate with core beliefs held by the Indians. Perhaps Osceola's time, the Second Seminole War, was, more than any other period in their history the cultural watershed from which much of the contemporary Seminole culture and personality has sprung.

One of my goals in this study was to produce a culture history in which the social, political, and economic conditions that the Seminole actually experienced were given full view, in order that their active role in transforming their past and setting the stage for their own present could be appreciated. I have attempted to produce a Seminole history that is more than a curious appendage to the story of Southeastern prehistory and, at the same time, I hoped to write a history somewhat independent of historical sources. Critics may argue that I have written beyond the data at hand, but it is my hope that I and others will return to this study and improve upon its data and interpretations. Indeed, it would be a fine state of affairs if new lines of evidence could be developed to refute or confirm various points I have raised. Seminole archaeology is still in its infancy. There remain significant geographical areas in which crucial events in Seminole culture history have occurred that are in need of archaeological exploration. Three areas that may hold critical new information about Seminole culture history are the Wahoo Swamp, in Sumter County, where there was a large village of Seminole women and children hidden away during the peak of the Seminole War hostilities in 1836; the upper St. Johns River where there was a substantial stronghold of Seminole during that same war with Philip at its head, and; the Kissimmee River drainage, one likely conduit for

the Seminole migration into south Florida in the middle decades of the 1800s. A definitive culture history of the Florida Seminole will only be possible once these, and other, areas are assessed through archaeological means.

However, there is an even more complicated situation to which future research may be addressed. In 1957, the Seminole Tribe of Indians was granted legal status as a federally recognized tribe; however, its membership was drawn primarily from populations living in the Big Cypress Swamp, the area northwest of Lake Okeechobee, and near the Atlantic coast in what is now Hollywood. Many families living in or near the Everglades (now Everglades National Park) and west almost to Naples on the Gulf coast did not join the Seminole Tribe at that time, but in 1961 gained federal status as the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians, and were granted a small (338 acre) reservation near the Forty Mile Bend on the Tamiami Trail (U.S. 41). Later, the State of Florida granted the Miccosukees additional acreage adjacent to the Seminole reservation at Big Cypress, and this is used primarily for hunting and fishing. With the formation of the tribe, the Miccosukees began plans to write their own tribal history (see Sturtevant 1971:120,121; and, King 1978), but at the time of my writing (November 1986) this project has not reached completion. In my conversations with Tsani Yonah, a journalist hired by the Miccosukees to

produce the textual history, it became evident that the history was a pet project of an administration now out of favor, and is likely to languish, at least in its present form, under the new leadership. The information gathered by Mr. Yonah led him to conclude that the Miccosukees are a product of the combination of the Sawokli and Chiaha bands (Swanton 1946:116,179), Creek tribes of the lower Chattahoochee drainage. This position is not significantly different than that mentioned by Swanton forty years ago. It is indeed likely that an association between the Miccosukee and one or more Creek tribes can be established on ethnohistorical grounds. Yet, the question remains--are the Miccosukees of ethnohistory ancestral to the Miccosukees of today? Does archaeology hold the potential for enriching the tribal histories of contemporary native American polities in Florida? Conversely, is it likely that these groups can validate their claims to distinct tribal identity by archaeological means?

#### Tribalism and the Seminole Archaeological Record

Archaeological determinations of ethnicity or tribalism rest on the investigator's ability to demonstrate that the observed variation in the archaeological record through time and across space is attributable to the use of material culture by societies to create social boundaries. The ethnohistorical record can greatly enhance the

determination of ethnicity by confirming whether or not different tribal groups were in existence at a given time and what the nature of their interaction was. In the absence of ethnohistorical accounts, it is up to the investigator to prove strict contemporaneity between components of different archaeological sites, a task that is only rarely possible given the constraints under which most archaeological projects proceed.

However, documents and ethnoarchaeological studies are also useful in amplifying the social conditions that generate material culture variability. Examples are plentiful both in accounts and studies of cases where tribal or ethnic identity and configurations of material culture are not isomorphic. One instance is provided in the study of small scale African societies by Hodder (1982:26-31,35) where it was found that when neighboring pastoralist groups were in competition for limited resources of land, tribal identities were clearly expressed through material means, to symbolically justify situations of negative reciprocity, or even hostility. In Hodder's view, material culture similarities and differences are not simply a factor of ethnicity, but are related to the circumstances of interaction between two or more groups.

Conditions of competition or hostility could also produce cultural similarities, as indicated by the

following account of the Creek Indians provided by  
Bartram (1955:326):

Some of their most favorite songs and dances they have from their enemies, the Choctaws; for it seems these people are very eminent for poetry and music; every town amongst them strives to excel each other in composing new songs for dances; and by custom amongst them, they must have at least one new song, for exhibition, at every annual busk.

Thus the Choctaw, although the enemies of the Creeks, had an active, ongoing, and creative role in the nature of Creek culture (the Choctaw-Creek enmity was preserved in a Seminole folktale of recent times, see Evans 1978:481).

Returning our attention to Seminole archaeology, we will note that there is a demonstrated variability in archaeological remains through time and space. From ethnohistory we learn that the word "Seminole" was an umbrella term used to refer to at least three distinct tribes, referred to during the Seminole War as the Mikasuki, Tallasays, and Topekayligays (all with various spellings). To what degree is the variability in the Seminole archaeological record attributable to the ethnicity of these three (or more) groups?

Let us first look at the differences between the Oven Hill and A-296 sites, that, on the basis of reasoning presented in Chapter III, were occupied during the colonial period of Seminole history. At Oven Hill, pottery rim styles exhibited a range of variation, vessel forms were diverse and specimens numerous, and a limited number of



trade goods were present, including some that were likely associated with sociopolitical status. At A-296, however, rim style variation was minimal, pottery vessels few, and trade goods nearly absent. Yet, as I previously discussed, these were two very different types of sites. Oven Hill was very likely the squareground town visited by Rolle in 1764, while A-296 was an outlying family farmstead associated with Latchaway or Cuscowilla. Latchaway and the town on the Suwannee (Oven Hill) were still by the mid 1700s weakly linked through the system of intertown ritual and ballplay that had been a feature of Creek life, and it is likely, though unconfirmed, that the Seminole towns shared some degree of tribal affiliation in their Creek homeland. Unfortunately, the Oven Hill remains cannot be compared to those of its "sister" site (Latchaway) on the Alachua prairie because that site is yet undiscovered. Nonetheless, the observed differences between Oven Hill and A296 reflect, I think, the different social and economic conditions then being experienced by the Seminole, that is, life in the center or on the fringes, and do not express ethnic differences between the Alachua and Suwannee Seminole.

There are also variations in the Seminole archaeological record through time, demonstrated in the contrast between sites of the enterprise period (1767-1821)

such as Nicholson Grove, Payne's Town, and Mizell, and those in the Withlacoochee Cove attributable to the Seminole of the Second Seminole War era. However, the social conditions of these two periods were so drastically different as to suggest that the simplest accounting of variability in the assemblages lies in the process of cultural adaptation. Further, it is almost certain on ethnohistoric grounds that at least some of the Seminole population of the Withlacoochee Cove was derived from previously prosperous populations located in the highlands north and east of Tampa bay. These were the Upper Creek Muskogee-speaking elements referred to, most notably by Prince (1837), as the Tallasays and Topekayligays, using terms apparently provided by the Indians themselves. Archaeological sites associated with either or both of these groups have been identified in the southern portion of the Withlacoochee Cove, south of Lake Tsala Apopka and east of Floral City. The most characteristic features of these deposits are the presence of Chattahoochee Brushed pottery, identical to specimens of that type described for the Creek region, and the occasional recovery of military-derived artifacts in Seminole domestic contexts. The settlement pattern is a loose nucleation of clan camps, determined archaeologically by the discrete distributions of artifacts, each identified with a single style of pottery rim decoration. As I argued in Chapter V, rim

styles became markers of clan identity as clan membership grew in importance after the mid 1820s. Thus, the observed variation in material culture between domestic sites in the Withlacoochee Cove is due to social processes acting on the level of clan, not tribe.

We know from Prince and others that there were also numerous Mikasuki in the Withlacoochee area, with whom Osceola was occasionally associated. The locations of the Mikasuki villages are not known, but if found and excavated, are likely to yield useful comparative data with respect those sites located south of Lake Tsala Apopka. I hoped originally in the excavations at Powell's Town to be able to determine something of the ethnicity of its residents, but I now conclude that the Powell's Town site is better understood as the material expression of Osceola's personality and his short-lived quest for sociopolitical legitimacy.

Powell's Town makes us aware that the individual can also be a source of considerable variation in the material culture record. Another example is provided by an eyewitness drawing of a group of Seminole men performing a dance in 1838 (Sturtevant 1962) near the St. Johns River. The drawing, done by a Hamilton Wilcox Merrill of the Second Dragoons, depicts a dance group of eleven men, circling around a fire. The dance leader is drawn with

arms outstretched, bare headed, and evidently chanting or singing (this is dancer no. 10 in Sturtevant's designation). Two of the men are unclothed except for breechclouts, while others are dressed in several styles of the Seminole hunting coat or "long shirt." Several men wear patterned (probably beaded) garters, while the others do not. Four men wear plumed headdresses, one appears to be wearing a turban, two are depicted wearing crescentic gorgets (silver), and two wearing earrings. These items appear to be typical of the day, to judge from various portraits and drawings reproduced in Fundaburke (1958) and from the archaeological assemblage recovered from the cemetery at Fort Brooke (Piper and Piper 1982). On the outskirts of the dance circle are two naked infants, a naked juvenile, and three other young men dressed in the long shirt. The individuality of all the participants is clearly expressed--all are identifiable as "Seminole," yet no person is dressed exactly like another. Ethnicity (in this case it is possible that all were Mikasuki, based on historical references, Sturtevant 1962:75) personal preference and/or position, or clan? The fact that these questions can be raised suggests the complexity of the issue, and the difficulty in finding an answer.

Returning to our consideration of Miccosukee (following the spelling of the modern tribe) archaeology, we must assume that individuals of all three ethnohistoric

tribes--Mikasuki, Tallasay, and Topekayligay--survived in Florida through the Second and Third Seminole Wars (the latter a guerilla action between the military and the Seminole in the years 1855-1858) to become the founding populations of the present Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes, because the languages spoken by the Indians of the nineteenth century--Mikasuki and Muskogee--are still spoken today. The Seminole of the Brighton Reservation west of Lake Okeechobee speak Muskogee, while the Seminole of the Big Cypress and Hollywood reservations and the Miccosukee of the Tamiami Trail speak Mikasuki. Thus, members of the modern Seminole Tribe are almost certainly descended from members of all the ethnohistorically known tribes, while the Miccosukee are derived only from some part of that tribe formerly known as the Mikasuki. The relationship between ethnohistoric tribes and contemporary populations is most clearly expressed with the Brighton Seminole, descendants of the Cow Creek Seminole of MacCauley's time (1887), who at that time had among them a "Tallahassee" clan, surely the Tallasays of history. I suspect that their route into south Florida, along with the Topekayligays, was via the Kissimmee River, as is possibly evidenced by the isolated recoveries of several intact Chattahoochee Brushed vessels on that river as far south as central Okeechobee County

(Goggin 1953:16). The identification of additional sites containing brushed pottery in the vicinities of Catfish Lake, Fisheating Creek, and Cow Creek (known locations of Muskogee-speaking camps from the 1870s through the 1940s) would provide the needed confirmation of this migration, but such sites have yet to be recorded. Pottery probably ceased to be manufactured in the 1840s, and had become ancient history for the Seminole by MacCauley's (1887:516) day.

The Miccosukee case is less clear. There are at least three possible source populations for the modern tribe. First, the St. Johns River was a major haven for the Mikasuki, most notably under the leadership of Philip and Coacoochee (Wild Cat) (Porter 1951). Bands or families of the St. Johns Mikasuki could have migrated into south Florida in the same manner as the Tallasays. Second, the Gulf coastal swamps were inhabited by the Mikasuki Sam Jones and his followers, who are known to have eventually settled deep in the Everglades. A further complication arises when it is noted that the assemblage from the Weekiwachee site (see Chapter IV), possibly attributable to one of these coastal-dwelling Mikasuki bands, contains what appears to be Chattahocchee Brushed pottery and an incised cazuela bowl similar to the Lamar pottery of the Creeks. Thus it is possible that Mikasuki and Tallasay made and used the same archaeological type of pottery. Finally, it

has not been conclusively established what happened to all of the Mikasuki known to have been in the Withlacoochee area, and, again, families or bands may have made their way from here south. As any or all of these three source populations may have also provided the ancestry of the present Mikasuki-speaking Seminole (all reservations except Brighton) the claim by the Miccosukees of an independent history may best gain its evidence through a direct historical approach, based on precise genealogical information. In this way, domestic sites associated with known Miccosukee, once located and excavated, may be shown to correlate with known historical events or be dated by means of archaeological seriation and, thus characterized, may yield an archaeological signature distinctly Miccosukee. This conjunctive approach can only proceed once all lines of evidence--genealogical, archaeological, historical--are known to exist and can be made available, and will be a serious scholarly pursuit not likely undertaken by qualified personnel without full assurances from the Miccosukees that the project will be allowed to reach completion. The potential for a Miccosukee archaeology (or history) rests with the Miccosukee themselves, and the degree to which they wish their historical claims to be validated in Western terms.

### Final Considerations

Lately, a call has come from various quarters (Miller 1980, Schmidt 1983, Doyel 1984, Kirch 1985) for an archaeology more attuned to native concepts of history. In the Seminole case, as in most nonliterate societies, until very recent times tribal histories were preserved through oral means--myths, traditions, folktales--and embodied in the drama of ritual and ceremony. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the archaeologist to become familiar with native methods of historiography, and from this derive directions for one's own research based on native determinations of historical significance.

Unfortunately, Seminole oral histories are becoming fewer with the passage of each year, and are valued not as history but as entertainment (King 1978:7,10,11). In their place, historically-inclined Seminole can seek out the same textual histories available to the general public (the Seminole libraries at Brighton and Big Cypress list a number of books pertaining to Indian history and culture), but which express, unavoidably, a non-Indian point of view. The net result of this process will see the Seminole sharing the same historical perspectives as the majority. However, I suggest four ways in which archaeological research and traditional native historical concerns can be integrated.



First, in the matter of the origins of the Florida Seminole; the "old stories" of the Seminole and Miccosukee refer to western origins (as do many origin myths of the Southeastern Indians), yet few Indians possess any knowledge beyond this. Some are actively unhappy about the vague nature of the origin stories, and would like more detailed information. Such is the case with the Miccosukees, and is my second point; research directed toward the identification of modern tribal polities in the archaeological record. This will require establishing a complex chain of association between material culture, ethnic boundaries, and modern political entities. Should such associations exist, the history of Florida's extant native Americans will be greatly enhanced through archaeological means.

The relationship between the Seminole and the aboriginal tribes of Florida is the source of some confusion in the oral record, with some individuals claiming great antiquity for themselves (Sturtevant 1971:120 ; King 1978:63) while others flatly deny any connection with the Florida aborigines ("Injuns all dead," Robert Osceola told naturalist Charles Barney Cory, "Injuns came in canoe, eat oysters, play ball," see Cory 1896:12). There are indeed significant lacunae in the ethnohistorical record with respect to the fates of many of the Florida

natives during the late 1600s and early 1700s, the time when the Seminole began their colonization of Florida. Thus, all the oral accounts may be true; some bands may have assimilated the remnants of earlier populations (Cowkeeper of the Alachua Savannah clearly did this), while other, and presumably later, Seminole bands did not. Archaeology may permit more precise interpretations of the relationship between Seminole and the original Floridians (the Creeks had a major role in their extinction, but was this also the case for the early Seminole?) if contact sites can be located. The Alachua area, in the vicinity of Paynes Prairie and north of present Gainesville near the former mission site at Fox Pond (the archaeological site of A-272, see Mykel 1962) suggest potential in this regard.

The fourth concern is with the archaeological documentation of the evolution of cultural institutions and practices with which the Seminole of today are familiar. I have found the Seminole to be interested in talking about where the familiar pole and thatch chickee came from, what types of buildings were used by nineteenth century Seminoles and how they were constructed, how camps were organized and the like. This is the sort of information an archaeologist would gather regardless of his research objectives, and need only be presented in the proper way to the proper audience. To the extent that native concepts of history may dissolve within the next decade, the above

concerns may be moot. However, it might also be expected that some of the Seminole will want to take stock of their heritage, preserve it in some fashion, and pass it on to the next generation. In that case, it will be to the archaeologists that they will turn.

Our final consideration will be with the archaeology of the Seminole "blacks," primarily runaway slaves and their descendants, who sought out remote regions of the Florida wilderness as a haven for their freedom. I have made brief mention of them in this study; the band associated with Sitarkey who settled on Boggy (now Kettle) Island on the Withlacoochee, those associated with Micanopy who lived in their own town of Pilaklikaha, and the fearsome groups residing on the middle and lower Gulf coasts, far from the reach of colonial government. The peculiar form of vassalage that existed between the blacks and the Seminole is not well understood. In the words of a chronicler of the day, the Seminole were held to be "poor agriculturists and husbandmen, and withal too indolent to till the ground, and, without the negroes, would literally starve" (Potter 1836:45). This is a popular view that continues to be expressed in recent times (Craig and Peebles 1974). The blacks were also greatly trusted by the Seminole, who allowed them to interpret during important treaties and other negotiations, and for the same reason,

made ideal informants as to Indian activities and were often used by the army after capture for this purpose (hence, Ansel's guiding of Prince to the site of Powell's Town). To judge from the documents of the day, the Seminole apparently felt they owned the blacks (and desired monetary compensation should they have to forfeit them, as they were asked to do under American rule) but it is not clear that this concept of ownership was comparable to Western notions of slavery. The blacks were allowed to live separately and often at great distance from the Seminole, but apparently they did, at least upon occasion, furnish them with a portion of their harvest. What did the Seminole do for the blacks? The answer may be forthcoming when excavations are undertaken at Kettle Island, Pilaklikaha, and other black settlements in north peninsular Florida.

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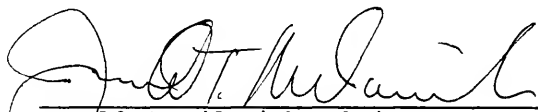


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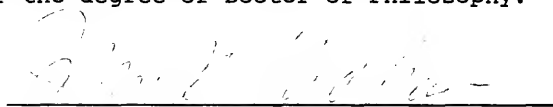
## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Brent R. Weisman was born on November 16, 1952, in Elyria, Ohio. Brent spent his early years in Virginia, and after age six, in Maryland. There, in the woods near his home, Brent discovered the ruins of an old mill settlement, and thus began his lifelong fascination with the people and events of the past. Brent's academic interest in anthropology was kindled while attending community college in California. After transferring to the University of Florida in 1972, Brent received his B.A. in 1974, after completing a departmental honors study on Southeastern Indians. Brent returned to the University of Florida in 1982 for graduate studies in anthropology, and was awarded the M.A. degree in 1984.

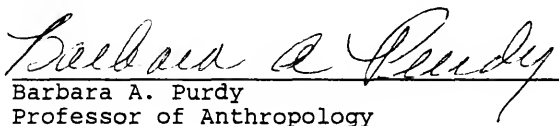
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
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Gerald T. Milanich, Chairman  
Professor of Anthropology


I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
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John K. Mahon  
Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
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Barbara A. Purdy  
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
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Michael A. Moseley  
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Allan F. Burns  
Associate Professor of Anthropology

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 1987

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Dean, Graduate School

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



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