

The Florida Indians in the Seventeenth Century

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THE Indian tribes of Florida in the seventeenth century (not including the Apalache) may be classified conveniently under five principal heads, each of which includes a number of smaller tribes, dominated by local caciques and all more or less racially and linguistically related. Southernmost of all were the Tegesta or Tequesta, a name, variously spelled, that seems to be associated with a cacique, a village, and a group of tribes. As a group of tribes the Tequesta were a savage people, scattered up and down the eastern seaboard, in what is given on early maps as "Tegesta Province," extending from the Keys to the northern limits of old Dade County, which in 1846 were determined by a line drawn from Lake Okeechobee to Hillsborough Inlet, 26° 20' northern latitude. At that time the country did not extend to the neighborhood of St. Lucie Inlet, as it did later, when it comprised the present Broward and Palm Beach counties, that had been cut out of the old Brevard County which included nearly the whole of the Indian River country.

The Tequesta had been the object of a proselyting movement in the sixteenth century, when the Jesuits established a fortified mission on the site of the present Miami on Biscayne Bay, 1565-1572, a mission that was abandoned in the latter year and not revived until the Franciscans renewed the attempt in 1743. Among the Tequesta tribes were the Vis-caynos, from whom the name Key Biscayne and Biscayne Bay are supposed to be derived. Powerful in the seventeenth century these tribes rapidly dwindled in numbers under the attacks of the Lower Creeks, who began their advance into Florida soon after the invasion of the peninsula by Captain James Moore of South Carolina in 1702 and 1703, and they were eventually absorbed, such of them as remained in southern Florida, into the Lower Creek group, all taking the name of Seminoles (the "Wild People") somewhere about the middle or end of the eighteenth century. Whereas in Sanson's French map of 1657 the name "Tegesta Province"

is given to the region from Cape Cañaveral to Miami (repeated in a Dutch map of 1696) it later appears as a much more restricted area, for in 1794 (on Laurie and Whittle's map of that year) "Old Tegesta" is limited to the region lying below the 26° of northern latitude. Still later the name disappears altogether as designating a separate geographical province.

West and southwest of the Tequesta, from the southernmost point of Florida to the vicinity of Tampa Bay on the west coast, were the Caloosa tribes, so called from their sixteenth century cacique, Carlos, who supposedly took his name from that of the emperor Charles V, King of Spain. Carlos and his son of the same name had their seat at San Antonio (Cape of Carlos, Bay of Carlos, Charlotte Bay) and there it was that Captain Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the Adelantado, visited him, had prolonged and intimate dealings with him (though each was mutually suspicious of the other), and eventually took his sister to wife, sending her off to Havana to be educated as a Christian. Carlos ruled over many lesser caciques and levied tribute from them, though he frequently had difficulty in maintaining his superior lordship over them. He was hostile to the Tequesta, who seem to have been friendly to the Spaniards, as Carlos was not, and though he had political dealings with the cacique at Biscayne Bay, whose name and village are said to have been the same as that of the tribe, the relations were never permanent, even though it is stated that at one time Tequesta was Carlos's vassal.

As with other Florida tribes the Caloosa soon ceased to exist as a separate people. In the eighteenth century they were gradually driven south to the more remote Keys and so reduced in numbers and importance that by 1835 (at the opening of the second Seminole War) there was but a remnant left, and this remnant, as well as the remnant of the Tequesta, was merged in the Seminoles, who had been driven from the north by the invading white settlers, and a part of the region once occupied by them became the southern reservation of the mixed-blood Seminole Indians. Of the language of the Caloosa nothing has survived beyond the names of some of their villages, though the name Caloosa is to be found in the Caloosahatchie, a river, the chief outlet of Lake Okeechobee, which flows into Charlotte Bay. There are no certain remains of their occupancy, except perhaps a few true kitchen middins, resulting from the gradual accumulation of refuse through many years of possession.

North of the Tequesta were the Indians with whom the Dickinson company, as narrated in *God's Protecting Providence*, during its distressing journey from Jupiter Inlet to St. Augustine, came into contact. The

identification of these Indians, who by some writers are classed among the Tequesta (just as the latter, as well as the Ais, are rated by other writers as part of the Caloosa group), is far from certain as to either name or territory. Little is known about them to the student of the Indian ethnology of Florida, for no information, as far as the seventeenth century is concerned, can be obtained from Spanish sources and the Dickinson narrative is the only reliance. All of those tribes lying between Biscayne Bay and Cape Cañaveral were loosely scattered, living chiefly along the coastal regions on the east, on the narrow islands behind the sand reefs, generally near the mouths of rivers, creeks, and inlets, for the interior was in many parts encumbered with tangled undergrowth, mangrove swamps, and salt marshes. The region from the Keys north to the lands south of Cape Cañaveral was, geologically speaking, in all ways West Indian, similar in structure to the Bahamas themselves. There was no occupied back country in this part of Florida, just as there was none in the Bahama Islands. Life was centered in the lands back from the beaches, where were the Indian villages and where the Indians found in the sea and the inflowing rivers the scene of their chief activity. We know from the Dickinson narrative that the Indians possessed sea-going canoes, one of which had two masts and two sails, and from earlier accounts we learn of Indian canoes capable of holding thirty men. With these the Indians could go measurable distances out from the land into the ocean, from which they obtained an important part of their food supply. Despite their nearness to the coast and avoidance of the interior as unsuitable even for Indian use, it is probable that their villages and towns were, as a rule, invisible from the water. Jece, where the shipwrecked company lived for more than a month, was half a mile from the sea, lying within the land along the sound and surrounded by a mangrove swamp, which hid the town from observation.

The tribes thus located north of the Tequesta were the Jobeses and two other tribes, to all of which has been given the name Jeaga, a name which may have come from Rio Jega, found on a Spanish map of the period at a point represented today by Lake Worth Inlet. North of the Jeaga were Ais, to whom some writers have thought the Jeaga belonged, just as others have classed the Jobeses as the northernmost of the Tequesta tribes. Exactness and reliability in locating and labeling these Indian tribes is not possible in all cases, for the connections and relationships seem to have ebbed and flowed in such confusing fashion as to lead some anthropologists to adopt the practice of grouping together adjacent and apparently related tribes when the information was insufficient to make

their separations clearly indicated. The Ais, whose name is well established, controlled the territory from St. Lucie Inlet to the waters back of Cape Cañaveral.

North of the Ais were the Timucuas extending from Cape Cañaveral to St. Augustine and beyond to the St. Mary's River. North of the Timucuas were the Guale, a small group living not in Florida but on the islands and part of the mainland of southeastern Georgia. The Guale have been classed as a subordinate tribe of the Yemassee, the Indians of South Carolina, with whom the English fought a bitter war in 1715, a war brought on not by the Indians but by the iniquities of the white traders. Probably there was a blood and language relationship between the Timucuas on the one hand and the Guale and the Yemassee on the other. Though the Dickinson narrative has mention of the Yemassee it says nothing of the Guale and contains no hint of their existence, unless we are to suppose, as was probably the case, that the company considered the Guale merely a Yemassee tribe.

The Indians that seized and maltreated the shipwrecked party were the Jobeses or dwellers on the Rio Jobe, as the Spaniards called what later came to be known as Grenville or Jupiter River. The name appears as Rio Jobbe on French and Spanish maps of the eighteenth century, while the term Grenville persisted for many years, in conjunction with Jupiter, certainly until 1838. The name Jupiter was in use long before the "Celestial Railroad" came into existence. It may be that the Olympian names of the stations on this railroad—Neptune, Venus, Mars, and Juno—owe their origin to the pre-existing example of Jupiter, though that leaves the origin of the name Jupiter still in doubt. Has it any connection with the Spanish Jobe by way of an English rendering? Excellent authorities think that it has, for on a Spanish map of 1742 we find the River Jobe entered as "Jove." (*Plano dela Costa dela Florida . . . Leventado . . . por Juan de Ligura . . . 1742.*" Madrid, Depot de la Guerra." Photostat in the Library of Congress). Just when the transition from Jove to Jupiter took place cannot certainly be ascertained, but it must have been before 1769, when the name appears on De Brahm's map as Jupiter or Grenville Inlet, and the change was probably due to the ingress of the English land-seekers, after the cession of Florida to Great Britain in 1763. Owing to the Englishman's propensity to Anglicize proper names wherever found "Jove" might easily have become "Jupiter." The name Grenville was that of a large landowner in the neighborhood, who probably obtained his grant directly from the British Crown, and upon which he bestowed his own name "Grenville." The name Hoe-Bay

that Dickinson gave to the chief village of the Jobeses is merely an Englishman's pronunciation of the Spanish word *Jobe*. Thus the names *Jobe*, *Hoe-Bay*, and *Jobeses*, given to river, village, and tribe are all related terms.

The narrative portrays the Jobeses as a brutal, truculent, and sanguinary people, who received the Dickinson company with demonstrations of intense anger and hostility. In this respect they were like the *Tequesta*, with whom they may have been connected both racially and linguistically. The term *Jeaga*, if it were ever used, can be applied at most to but three or four tribes, one of which may have been South of the Jobeses, each with its village, for in addition to *Hoe-Bay* there are only two other Indian villages mentioned by Dickinson as lying between the River *Jobe* and *St. Lucie Inlet*. That the *Rio Jobe* (later *Jupiter Inlet* but entering the ocean at a more southerly point) was open in Dickinson's day to boats of small draft, sufficiently so to allow the passage not only of canoes but even of the ship's longboat, is evident from the fact that Dickinson and a few others, instead of rowing up the sound or inland river (now *Hobe Sound*), went outside along the shore in the ship's boat, which had been brought from the place of shipwreck across the bar into the inlet, and that too with the boat heavily loaded.

That the Jobeses, with all their ferocity, were an inferior and subordinate group of Indians is shown not only from the fact that the more aggressive *cacique* at *Ais* was able to wrest from the *cacique* at *Hoe-Bay* a part at least of the plunder from the shipwrecked vessel, but also from the further fact that the *Hoe-Bay* village followed a more primitive pattern of protective construction than did the town of *Ais*. It was made up of small wigwams, framed with poles set in the ground, bent so as to form an arch, and covered with a thatch of small palmetto leaves. This was the simplest type of an Indian *tepee*, and as with all Indian dwellings of this kind was not designed for prolonged or permanent occupation.

As was true of all Indians south of *Cape Cañaveral*, the Jobeses were not an agricultural people. This clearly appears from the character of their wigwams and their manner of life. They were not tillers of the soil, neither sowing nor reaping, as Dickinson says, but were dependent on whatever nature provided for sustenance. They obtained their food from the fish which they speared, freely in the daytime and with the aid of torches at night, from oysters, clams, crabs, and crawfish, from the starch pith of the *coontie* root (one reads of "*Koontie and Hunting Grounds*" in southern Florida and knows that *coontie* starch-making later became a profitable industry), from aquatic plants and berries—the last named

chiefly sea-grapes, prickly pears, coco plums (white and pink), and pigeon plums—and from the hearts and berries of the palmetto, all of which were eaten both fresh and dried and in either form were thoroughly disliked by the Dickinson company. Unlike the Timucuas to the north, the Jobeses seem to have made little use of meat, for they rejected the beef and pork that the *Reformation* carried. Though the fruiting season lasted well into October, most of the berries were gone by that time and the Indians were dependent, until spring came again, on fish, oysters, and roots, and possibly on such animal flesh as they could bludgeon or kill with bows and arrows. They were greedily fond of tobacco, as Dickinson tells us, thus confirming what Hawkins had said of the Timucuas a century before, but whether they found it growing wild or smoked a dried herb of a similar nature is equally uncertain, though the avidity with which they took tobacco from the white man makes it doubtful if they had any of their own. They drank a liquor called Casseena. Dickinson has a description of the method of its manufacture, though he does not tell us the name of the leaves from which the liquor was brewed or distilled. The name may be Spanish, but whether applied to the shrub from which the leaves were obtained or to the drink itself is not clear. Oddly enough, the Indians seems to have had no desire to try the strong drink of the English and ignored it when looting the cargo.

North of the Jobeses and the two or three related tribes, which we have agreed to call the Jeaga, were the Ais or Ays, a warlike people, whose chief town was Ais, which may have given its name to the Inlet of Ais (“Escudo de Aix,” as Sanson’s map of 1657 has it) or vice versa, though the inlet, which is mentioned on a map as late as 1777, is not certainly identical with St. Lucie Inlet. This town of Ais may tentatively be identified with the Jece of the narrative, where the company remained for more than a month. The town was two leagues north of Indian River Inlet and some little distance away from the coast. The Province of Ais was well-known to the Spaniards and had been at one time under their control, and the River of Ais is the same as what is now known as Indian River. The exact location of the town is not yet certainly established, despite recent archaeological attempts to discover its site. It was more substantially built than was the village of Hoe-Bay, though even so it did not prove very resistant to the weather, as in the storm that occurred while Dickinson was there some of the houses were much injured, lying knee deep in water, while others were blown away by the wind. But whatever differences may have existed between the tepees of Hoe-Bay and the wooden houses of Ais there was but little difference between the

two groups of Indians themselves. They were both at bottom a cowardly, tricky and belligerent people, even though Dickinson does give evidence of a measure of kindness and humane feeling among them, notably among the caciques and their wives and occasionally among the people themselves.

Though these central Florida Indians of Dickinson's day were but little touched in their lives by direct Spanish influence, they as well as the Tequesta had a marked respect for the Spaniards and stood in fear of them, a fear undoubtedly due to a traditional knowledge of Spanish weapons of war and of Spain's military strength. This fear may have been increased by occasional contacts, however rare these may have been. A Jesuit mission had existed at Santa Lucea or St. Lucie (the name discloses the Spanish connection) in the sixteenth century, though it had long since been abandoned. The labors of the Franciscans, confined in Dickinson's day to the north and west of St. Augustine, could easily have become matters of distant repute, for the Jesuits of the sixteenth century and the friars later made many efforts to convert the natives wherever found—on Biscayne Bay, at the town of Carlos, at Santa Lucea, and in the north. These efforts could hardly have been forgotten among a people dependent on mouth to mouth communication. Menéndez had gone on foot with a few companions from St. Augustine to Ais in 1565, suffering much from hunger and fatigue, and had remained there a few days before departing for Cuba. Remembrance of this exploit could well have remained deeply imbedded in the Indian mind. Military officials had penetrated among the Indians to the southward of St. Augustine, had interviewed their caciques, and at time had engaged in punitive expeditions, followed by conferences and peace. But whatever the results may have been there is no reason to believe that the Indians of Hoe-Bay knew much about either Englishmen or Spaniards, from personal association, for all the evidence goes to show that in the early seventeenth century they had had few opportunities to meet the white man. It is worthy of note that Dickinson, though saying that one of the Indians whom he met north of Hoe-Bay spoke a little Spanish, records no contact with any Spaniards until more than five weeks had passed, and then only with a Spanish coast patrol that had come from the north summoned by one of the party, Solomon Cresson, who had been sent to obtain assistance. It must be remembered that by 1696 Spanish control in Florida had shrunk to but a small part of the vast domain originally claimed by the crown and occupied by its missionaries and soldiers. In that year there was but one established sentry post south of Matanzas Inlet and

no missionaries except in the neighborhood of St. Augustine.

The questions naturally arise as to why in the seventeenth century these Florida Indians entertained such strong sentiments of hostility toward the English and so wholesome a respect for the Spaniards; and further why it was that the Dickinson party, made up largely of English people, should have been received by the Spaniards themselves with such manifestations of friendship and good will. It is not difficult to find answers to each of these questions. As to the first it will be recalled that in the first sixty years of the seventeenth century an intense bitterness of feeling existed between England and Spain, an abiding hostility that must have been known to the Indians and have made a deep impression upon their imagination, and less than forty years had passed since the English had attacked Hispaniola (Santo Domingo) and had conquered Jamaica, incidents in Cromwell's famous Western Expedition of 1654. This naval and military exploit was designed to drive out the Spaniards from the colonies that Spain possessed in the Caribbean and to convert as many of them as possible into English Protestant dependencies. The fact that Cromwell did not declare war before sending out his expedition aroused great indignation at the time among the Spaniards, who charged the English with conduct that placed them in the class of pirates and robbers and beyond the rules of civilized warfare. On the English side there existed an equally enduring enmity for Spain, based partly on religious differences and partly on the wrongs, injuries, and even cruelties which the English claimed had been inflicted upon English colonists and seamen in the New World. This knowledge of an old-time animosity between the two countries may well have come to the Indians either from the Spanish in Florida, whose antipathy can be traced back to the English attack on St. Augustine in the sixteenth century, or by way of Cuba, where efforts to recover Jamaica continued for some years after the conquest. Familiarity with such a situation could easily have become an Indian obsession, created by a remembrance of things past and strengthened by rumor filtering down from the Spanish in Florida and, passing from tribe to tribe, have become an established conviction. Dickinson speaks of reports thus running from Indian town to Indian town.

This being the case how are we to answer the second question and explain the kind reception which the members of the Dickinson party experienced at the hands of the Spanish coast patrol sent to assist them and afterward from the Spanish governor at St. Augustine? Though the latter, soon after their arrival, warned them to be careful in going about the city, as there still existed many who "did not affect our nation" (the

English), he himself did everything in his power to make them comfortable and to relieve their wants. I believe that this change of mind was due to the terms of the important treaty signed at Madrid between England and Spain in 1670. This treaty was distinctly favorable to England and disadvantageous to Spain, largely because of the fact that Spanish strength and influence had greatly declined since the treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659 between France and Spain, which closed the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War. Spain was in no position to resist the English demands. This treaty brought to the two countries a temporary peace based on the acceptance by each of the colonial possessions actually held at the time by the other. It guaranteed kind entertainment in Spanish colonial ports for English vessels in distress and for English subjects in distress also, in which category the Dickinson party certainly found itself. The Spanish governor at St. Augustine would have received the terms of this treaty, as a matter of course, through official channels as a part of his instructions, but of the change which had taken place in the relations between the two countries the Indians of central Florida could hardly have had an inkling. To them the English were still the enemies of Spain. Their memories would be tenacious of the old hostility, which antedated the treaty of 1670, the terms of which they could not have understood, even if they had known of them. As far as the main body of the Indians was concerned there was no way in which information of this kind could have been imparted, and even the caciques themselves could not have had news of the treaty before the arrival of Sebastian Lopez and his soldiers at Jece, while Dickinson was there. The latter on that occasion speaks of the Spaniards as "extraordinarily kind to us" and of Lopez as "looking over a paper often, which we supposed was the governor's order and instructions to him." It is not difficult to believe that this "order and instructions" had some connection with the terms of the treaty of 1670.

The Indians had a word "Espania," which to their minds connoted the whole quintessence of Spanish mightiness and stood significantly opposed to the word "Nickaleer," which contrarywise stood for the English as the enemies of Spain. As far as we know their acquaintance with the English themselves had been confined to such mariners as were cast upon their shores and had fallen victims to their rapacity. On the other hand, of the Spaniards, they knew a good deal though remotely. They had heard of Havana and St. Augustine and were aware of the direction in which each lay. They readily distinguished between the two peoples in the matter of hair and complexion. Some of them apparently could recog-

nize an occasional Spanish word, and a few could use enough words to be understood. Dickinson speaks of the cacique at Jece as an ancient man, his beard and hair grey, who could use the language "better than any we had met with yet." Santa Lucea had been a Jesuit mission and the Franciscans never stopped in their endeavor to learn the Indian language, and in the effort must have let drop at least a minimum of Spanish words. The northern Timucuas spoke Spanish and could identify Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Spaniards from their speech and contrasting appearances. The Jobeses had Spanish knives, which they might, it is true, have obtained from the spoils of English and Dutch vessels, and pistareens are reported to have been found along the beach near Jupiter Inlet. They knew something of a Spanish ceremony and their caciques had a sense of the value of money, the hard money of Spain, and coveted the contents of trunks, chests, and boxes, which contained for them varieties of cloths, hatchets, knives, and other implements, some of which could be utilized in Indian warfare. This covetousness is shown by their eagerness to filch what they wanted of the goods strewn along their shores. Just what they could do with the money and with the clothing which they so greedily seized from the wreckage or tore off the bodies of the unfortunate people who fell among them is not clear, for their own attire and the equipment of their villages show an extreme paucity of covering and adornment. Possibly the caciques had an eye to decoration, for we read elsewhere of one of them as wearing a torque of gold, and early explorers speak of gold ornaments and of gold and silver which Indians willingly exchanged for tobacco and the like, but where the gold came from and how it was worked up we do not certainly know. It may have come from the wrecks of the Spanish galleons or those of the buccaneers who frequented the coast and as a malleable metal it may have been shaped by hammering. As a rule Indian ornamentation was confined to shells and other easily obtainable trinkets.

The Province of Ais extended north to the waters lying back of Cape Cañaveral, where it abutted on the land of the Surrucue (Sorroches according to Le Moyne, the southernmost of the tribes of the Timucuas. The latter Indian people occupied the land from Cape Cañaveral north to the present Florida-Georgia line and westward toward the Gulf of Mexico, where they met the Apalache. Unlike the lands of the Jobeses and the Ais, the territory occupied by the Timucuas was not limited to the eastern coast, but extended across the peninsula, with its center of authority at Santa Fé, where were a Franciscan mission and a presidio. Their most populous settlements were along the St. Johns River, from its mouth in-

land. The Dickinson narrative tells us of the Timucuan town of St. Wans, situated on an island at the mouth of the river, where was a Franciscan friar and a "worshipping house", and where the company remained for two days, "well fed" and living in an Indians "warehouse."

In the sixteenth century the Timucuas had been a powerful people, made up of at least seven independent tribes, with seven separate but related dialects, the customs and manners of which are portrayed by the French Huguenot Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, who came over with Laudonnière and was the first artist to visit America. His work consists of a series of drawings, depicting the outward appearance of the Timucuas, their towns, their ceremonials, and their methods of warfare. These drawings, of which but one original is known to exist (discovered in a French chateau in 1901) were engraved (and somewhat embellished) by Theodore de Bry and published at Frankfort in 1591, under the title the *Timucuan Indians of 1564*. Le Moyne was a forerunner of John White who, because of Raleigh's interest in both men, was influenced by Le Moyne's example. Twenty-three of White's drawings of the Virginia Indians, of which sixty-three originals are still extant, were also engraved by De Bry and published at Frankfort in 1590. Le Moyne's drawings, accompanied by a map and descriptive texts—the latter oddly enough in Italian for the benefit of the Italian members of the French court of Charles IX—bring to life a vanished Indian people.

The best account of the sixteenth century Timucuas is to be found in the narrative of a voyage by John Hawkins, who visited the St. Johns River, while Laudonnière was there, and had dealings with him on the spot. Hawkins describes the land as "wooded", with growths of cedar, cypress, and other varieties of trees, mentions the cultivation of maize, the preparation of meal, the raising of grapes, the care of "fowls" and other poultry, the hunting of deer and "divers other beasts", the use of herbs in great variety, one of which was dried and smoked by the Indians in an earthenware cup with a long cane, a practice similar to that described by Dickinson. He speaks also of meadows and pastures. The Timucuan houses, he states, were well built, in strength like an English house, with stanchions and rafters of whole trees covered with palmetto leaves. Both he and Laudonnière had found the Bahama Channel "dangerous," because of "sundry banks", and he comments on the "masts which were the wracks of Spaniards coming from Mexico," and to these "wracks" he ascribes the presence of gold and silver among the Indians, which the latter used to buy what they wanted from the Frenchmen. He calls special attention to the size of their canoes.

During the wars in which the Timucuas were engaged from 1518 to 1687 with the French and Spanish, they were gradually reduced to the status of mission Indians, and later, remaining loyal to Spain, were defeated by the English and their Yemassee allies from South Carolina in the years from 1702 to 1706. Santa Fé was destroyed in 1702, and continued attacks completed the ruin and dispersion of the tribes. Retreating to the headwaters of the St. Johns River, they gradually lost their identity as a separate Indian people and have since that time entirely disappeared from history.

The Timucuas lived in a region that was semi-tropical and well timbered, occupying towns, ten of which lay between Ais and St. Augustin^e, some being called by Dickinson "large towns." These towns, as Hawkins describes them, and they could not have been different a century later, were manifestly more substantially built than were those of the Tequesta, the Jobeses, and the Ais. They were often fortified places, circular in form and surrounded by tree trunks twice the height of a man. Within the stockade were the dwellings, also circular and built of tree trunks, with an opening, the doorway, and a conical palmetto thatched roof. Their caciques, as was also the case with the caciques of Hoe-Bay and Ais, had their own separate houses, which were more solidly put together than the others, rectangular in shape, placed in the center of the town, conveniently located as a place of general meeting. The greater structural strength of the buildings, particularly those lying north and west of St. Augustine, was due, in part at least, to the wooded character of that country where, as Hawkins noted, were trees of considerable size, pine, cypress, cedar, oak, and hickory. No such building material existed in the lands farther south, where as a rule trees were small and scarce.

Another important difference between the Timucuas and the Indians to the southward is mentioned by Dickinson and is corroborated from other sources. The Timucuas were cultivators of the soil. Dickinson was struck by the fact that on entering the Timucuan country he found the Indians raising pumpkins and other vegetables. In his further account he makes it clear that as the members of the company advanced northward they were able to obtain a greater variety of food and at one sentry's house, where they were kindly received, they had "such a mess of victuals", as they "had not had in a long time before, which was very pleasant", says Dickinson, "to our hunger-starved stomachs." They met for the first time in their Florida experience with Indians raising maize or Indian corn, the cereal that represents the first Indian step toward an agricultural economy, because marking the beginning of a cultivation of the soil. That

the Caloosa had already taken the step appears from references to festivals held by them at the first corn planting and again at harvest time. There is nothing to show that the Jobeses had reached that stage of development. But the Timucuas had not only reached it but had passed well beyond it. At St. Augustine Dickinson and the others were treated to a "plentiful supper." At some of the towns he came to the chief diet seems to have been composed of "hominy, herbs, and pompions", but in the more northerly places, such as St. Croix and St. Mary's (the largest of all, of which Dickinson gives a detailed description) we read of "plenty of oranges, lemons, citrons, limes, figs, and peaches," which show the presence of groves and orchards. There were also beef, pork, and venison, savored with salt, garlic, and long pepper, thus furnishing a régime quite different from the fish, roots, and berries of the Tequesta, the Jobeses, and the Ais. In the cultivation of the soil and the raising of citrus and other fruits credit must probably be given not only to the more northerly latitude but also to the teaching of the Spaniards—friars, officials, and soldiers—who may well have played an important part in instructing the Indians.

North of the Timucuas were the Guale and the Yemassee. Of the former there is no mention by name in the Dickinson journal, but of the Yemassee—here called both the "Yemassee" and the "Carolina Indians"—we get a few glimpses: once of a party in canoes going hunting; once of a group which had come to St. Mary's to trade for deer skins; and once of a family, made up of man, wife, and children, equipped with dogs and hunting implements, out for a winter to be spent in the woods, who consented, at the request of the Spanish captain accompanying the Dickinson party, to carry letters to the governor of South Carolina.

These incidental meetings, together with the presence of the Timucuan Indians who went with them on their journey north from St. Augustine and an encounter with a party of four Indians laden with skins, who were probably Yemassee (as they ran away fearing the Spaniards), were the last of the contacts which members of the Dickinson company had with the seventeenth century Indians of Florida and the adjacent lands of Georgia and South Carolina. In many ways Dickinson's description of these Indians is, with all its deficiencies and omissions, singularly satisfying and complete.