

Chakaika and the "Spanish Indians":

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES COMPARED WITH SEMINOLE TRADITION*

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The oral traditions of the local Indians are a neglected major source of data on the history of Florida. This paper provides an example of one of the types of historical information which are recoverable, with sufficient patience and care, from the present day Florida Seminole.

Non-utilization of the historical traditions of the pre-white occupants is not a situation unique with the students of Florida's past. It is typical of most areas of the world where Europeans have crowded out non-literate aboriginal peoples, and has been defended with the argument that history transmitted purely orally becomes distorted within a very short time to the point of being valueless as history (Lowie, 1917). Other students have assumed that such traditions may be relied on completely, where documentary evidence is inadequate or lacking. Neither of these opinions is justified. The reliability of oral tradition varies from culture to culture, depending upon the importance the people place in accurate historical knowledge, and upon other factors in their cultural attitudes and behavior. The factors involved are as yet incompletely known. The reliability of the oral traditions of a group must therefore be assessed by comparing the traditions of specific historical events with documentary data on these same events, in order to decide how much reliance may be placed on traditions of events for which no documentary data exist. Some American Indian tribes, such as the Aztec and others in the Valley of Mexico, preserved remarkably accurate accounts of their own history (Radin, 1920, pp. 3-6). Others, for example the Hopi in Arizona, have very little interest in the historical past, and the few traditions they preserve have proved practically worthless as historical

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sources (Whorf, 1941, p. 88). This paper will show that the Florida Seminole fall somewhere between these two extremes in the reliability of their traditional history.

Several approaches to the question of historical traditions have proven useful in talking with Seminole informants. Older individuals are acutely aware of the tremendous changes that have taken place in South Florida during their own lifetimes, and can give much interesting data in terms of personal reminiscences. The more distant past is involved in traditions of the origins and early history of the Seminole tribe and of some of the Seminole sibs and sib sections (matrilineal descent-groups). War anecdotes are easily obtained by questioning on two topics: personal names and place names. Seminole children are named soon after birth by an elderly man or woman of the tribe. While veterans of the Seminole Wars were still alive, they normally gave as names words referring to their own war experiences. Thus most older people now alive had childhood names¹ of this sort, and are able to recount the incidents from which their own and others' names derived. Many places are named from some incident associated with the locality; these are frequently happenings of Seminole War days, and are normally known to those familiar with the places. Another approach, of a different sort, is to inquire about incidents mentioned in the historic documents—this is sometimes successful, but often is not; it is most likely to elicit useful data where the names of the participating Indians or the Seminole names of locations (e.g., Indian towns) are on record, as well as some further identifying material meaningful from the Indian point of view. In investigating the traditions of specific happenings, such as those considered in this paper, a combination of several or all of the above methods, with various informants, is rewarding.

However, no approach will succeed unless the investigator has managed to break down some of the Seminole reticence towards imparting any details of their culture to outsiders. They are in general highly distrustful of all inquisitive foreigners; a feeling with which it is easy to sympathize when one reflects on their experiences with whites over the last two hundred years. Further, some knowledge of the language is almost essential in order to utilize personal and place names as keys to historical traditions. As would be expected, there are great differences between Seminole individuals in the extent of their historical knowledge and interest, as well as in their willingness to impart such information to the outsider. Many of the best

¹ See "Note on Orthography and Personal Names."

informants speak so little English that the use of an interpreter is necessary, yet competent and willing interpreters are practically non-existent.

Among the most interesting and most obscure aspects of Seminole history is the relations of the Seminole bands entering Florida from the north, with the various Indian groups which preceded them in the peninsula. One such group was known to the whites in the early 19th century as the "Spanish Indians," and the Indian name of a single one of these has survived in the documents—Chakaika.² He appears as the leader in the attack on Col. Harney's detachment on the Caloosahatchie River, July 23, 1839, and in the raid on Indian Key, August 7, 1840, and was killed by Harney at his home hammock in the Everglades on Dec. 10, 1840. These three events, coupled with Chakaika's name, and the possibility that the "Spanish Indians" were Calusa remnants,³ were chosen for more intensive investigation among the modern Seminole, as one aspect of the author's anthropological field-work among the Florida Seminole from May, 1952, to February, 1953.

The Seminole now in Florida belong to two bands, a northern, Creek-speaking group, and a larger, Mikasuki-speaking southern group. The latter were the only ones among whom this study was pursued. Unfortunately, the press of other topics permitted only a preliminary survey of Seminole historical traditions; even on the events dealt with here by no means all available Seminole sources were tapped. However, information was obtained from two of the men best informed on Seminole history, and parts of the data were checked with several other individuals.

The information from historical documents will be presented first, followed by the Seminole oral traditions.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

When Europeans first explored and settled Florida, they found the southwest part of the peninsula occupied by a tribe known as Calusa, with the smaller associated tribe of Tekesta on the southeast coast (Swanton, 1946, Map 1; Goggin, 1950b). By the time Seminole bands began reaching the area, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the Calusa had largely dropped from sight. At this time the documents refer to a group of "Spanish Indians" in the region. There has been some discussion as to

² See "Note on Orthography and Personal Names."

³ On the Spanish Indians as Calusa, see Swanton, 1922, p. 344; Goggin, 1950b, pp. 21-22; Boyd, 1951, p. 21; McNicoll, 1941, p. 17; Douglas, 1947, p. 207.

the fate of the Calusa, and the identity of the Spanish Indians, which is in general rather inconclusive, due to the paucity of data. A brief survey of most of the primary sources gives a few scraps of information, upon which the discussion has rested.

In 1763, the "Coloosa" on Key Vaca and Key West, "consisting of about eighty families, left this last protection of their native land, and went to the Havannah," on the withdrawal of the Spanish from Florida (Romans, 1775, p. 291). Swanton (1922, p. 343; 1946, p. 142) and Goggin (1950b, p. 20) think it likely that these were Tekesta, not Calusa, since there is evidence of the Calusa in Florida subsequently.

In 1769, Romans⁴ used a "Spanish Indian" guide at the mouth of the St. Lucie River. However, writing in 1775, he stated that Cape Sable and the coast between that cape and Cape Romano were "the last retreats, and skulking places, of the *Coloosa* savages, when their more potent neighbors, the *Creeks*, drove them off the continent." (Romans, 1775, p. 289).

In 1774, William Bartram learned from an old "Creek" (i.e., Seminole?) Indian in north Florida that there was a "little Town . . . , near the Bay of Carlos [Charlotte Harbor], called Calusahatche, and this nation they called Calosulges, Ulge in the Muscoge Tongue signifying People or Nation, [and that] there were some remnants of other different Nations antients of the Itmous [isthmus]" called "Painted People" and "Bat Necks" (Bartram, 1943, p. 171).

In 1798-99, Hawkins mentions the same town, as "Cull-oo-sau hat-che," in a list of the "towns of the Simenolies," but does not give its location nor the band affiliation of its occupants (Hawkins, 1848, p. 25).

In the early part of the 19th century South Florida Indians made rather frequent visits to Cuba. Spanish sources⁵ mention the following visitors to Havana:

In 1814, three "caciques" (chiefs) of "the coast of Tampa," named Uquisilisinifa, Capichalafola, and Cosafamico were in Havana. In 1819, five parties were mentioned: Callope, cacique of Isquitalufa; Opoilacho, cacique of Talucalques; three Indians from "the coast of Tampa"; fifteen Indians; and seventy-five Indians from Tampa. In 1820, four more groups of visitors arrived: eight Indians from "the coast of Tampa"; Gulas, Tmacha,

⁴ Manuscript quoted in Forbes, 1821, p. 97.

⁵ Morales Patiño, MS. I am indebted to J. M. Goggin for this reference and for the information contained in it which is given here.

and Ochismucu, three caciques from Tampa; 112 Indians from "the coast of Tampa"; and Yottaja-Arico, Opo-arico, and Yafa-Fastonasque, three caciques from Tampa (Morales Patiño, MS.). Many of these personal names are certainly Creek (see "Note on Orthography and Personal Names"); they are however considerably distorted, apparently at least partly from mis-copying of manuscript writing, and several cannot be analyzed. These latter may possibly be Calusa; more likely, they are Creek but too distorted to be understood. The two towns named are interesting—"Isquitalufa" certainly ends with the Creek word *talo:fa*, 'town,' while *Talucalques* almost certainly represents *kalo:salki* (with the Spanish plural ending *-s*), Creek for 'Calusa people' (identical with the form given by Bartram). Nevertheless, Opoilacho, the chief of "Talucalques," apparently has a Creek name (see "Note").

Forbes, writing in 1821, says that "Payo Vaca, or Cow Key, is remarkable for having been inhabited by the Coloosa Indians from Havana." (Forbes, 1821, p. 109). This derivation of the Indians "from" Havana is puzzling; it seems likely that Forbes is here misquoting Romans, whom he gives as a general source of his information (Forbes, 1821, p. vi)—in fact, this part of Forbes work is largely a paraphrase of Romans (1775); indicative is, e.g., Forbes' use of Romans' unusual spelling "Coloosa." On the other hand there may actually have been a brief re-settlement of Key Vaca by Calusa (or Tekesta) returning from Cuba, as Goggin suggests (Goggin, 1950b, p. 21).

In 1821, the population of the "Southern parts of the Floridas" was given by the Indian Agent Peniere as thirty, in five families (Morse, 1822, p. 149). He does not give any tribal affiliation for these individuals, but in 1822 the "Kaloosas [were] . . . all extinct," while "South of Tampa, near Charlotte's Bay, [there lived a band of] *Choctaws*."⁶ This last quotation, coupled with the statement in Schoolcraft (see footnote 29 below), led Swanton to suggest that these "Choctaws" were probably actually Calusa (Swanton, 1922, p. 28); this hypothesis is strengthened by Bartram's informant having specifically stated that there was a town of Calusa on Charlotte Harbor. However, Vignoles' account published in 1823 states that as well as bands of Seminole in Florida, "there are among them many refugees from the Creeks, Choctaws, Alabamas, and other hostile tribes, the scattered remnants of those who in 1818 broke up the Seminole settlements. . . . Many of the

⁶ Morse, 1822, pp. 364 and 308. The statement about the "Kaloosas" is copied, without crediting the source, by Cohen, 1836, p. 31.

emigrant Creeks and others . . . got down to Tampa bay At the present time the greater portion of these Indians are about Charlotte harbour" with some in the Cape Sable region and "not more than fifty" on the east coast "immediately west of cape Florida." (Vignoles, 1823, pp. 134-136). If we believe Vignoles, therefore, there may actually have been Choctaw around Charlotte Harbor, perhaps in addition to Calusa remnants. Certainly there were "Spanish Indians" in the sense of Spanish-Indian crosses, for in 1824 there were three or four small settlements in the Charlotte Harbor area consisting of Spaniards intermarried with Indians. Some of the Spaniards were said to have lived there thirty years. These were fishing settlements, exporting dried and salted fish to Havana. The people lived in palmetto thatched houses, and in addition to fishing, cultivated some corn, pumpkins, and melons. In 1831 the population of these settlements was estimated as about 65 Spanish men, about 65 Indian men, about 30 Indian women, and from 50 to 100 children.⁷

In 1828, at Hillsborough Bay, there was a "Spanish-Indian half-blood from Charlotte Harbor; a very powerful man, well formed, though rather stout, as quiet and obedient as a spaniel, and could dive deeper, and stay under water longer, than any man I ever saw."⁸

A mixed Spanish and Indian man, "runner for the latter, who procured powder for them from Havana," was captured in 1836 at Charlotte Harbor. The Americans got information from this captive about the Indian losses at an engagement a short time before near Okahumpka, far to the northeast near Lake Harris (Cohen, 1836, p. 173). Thus the Indians near Charlotte Harbor were at least aware of events to the north in 1836.⁹

The best source on the non-Seminole inhabitants of South Florida of this period is the book published by John Lee Williams in 1837. He states that Lower Mattecumbe was "the last place of refuge of the Muspa and Caloose Indians, who formerly inhabited the eastern shore of the Mexican Gulf." Captiva and Sanibel islands, in Charlotte Harbor, were "formerly occupied by a tribe of Muspa Indians." (Williams, 1837, pp. 36, 32). Toampa or Calde's Island, in Charbotte Harbor,¹⁰ in 1832 has fifty or sixty inhabitants, living in eighteen or twenty palmetto houses, largely consisting of the family of a man named Calde, "a stout, healthy old white-headed Spaniard, very

⁷ Dodd, 1947. I am indebted to J. M. Goggin for this reference.

⁸ McCall, 1868, p. 178. This statement was also called to my attention by J. M. Goggin.

⁹ As pointed out by Boyd, 1951, p. 22.

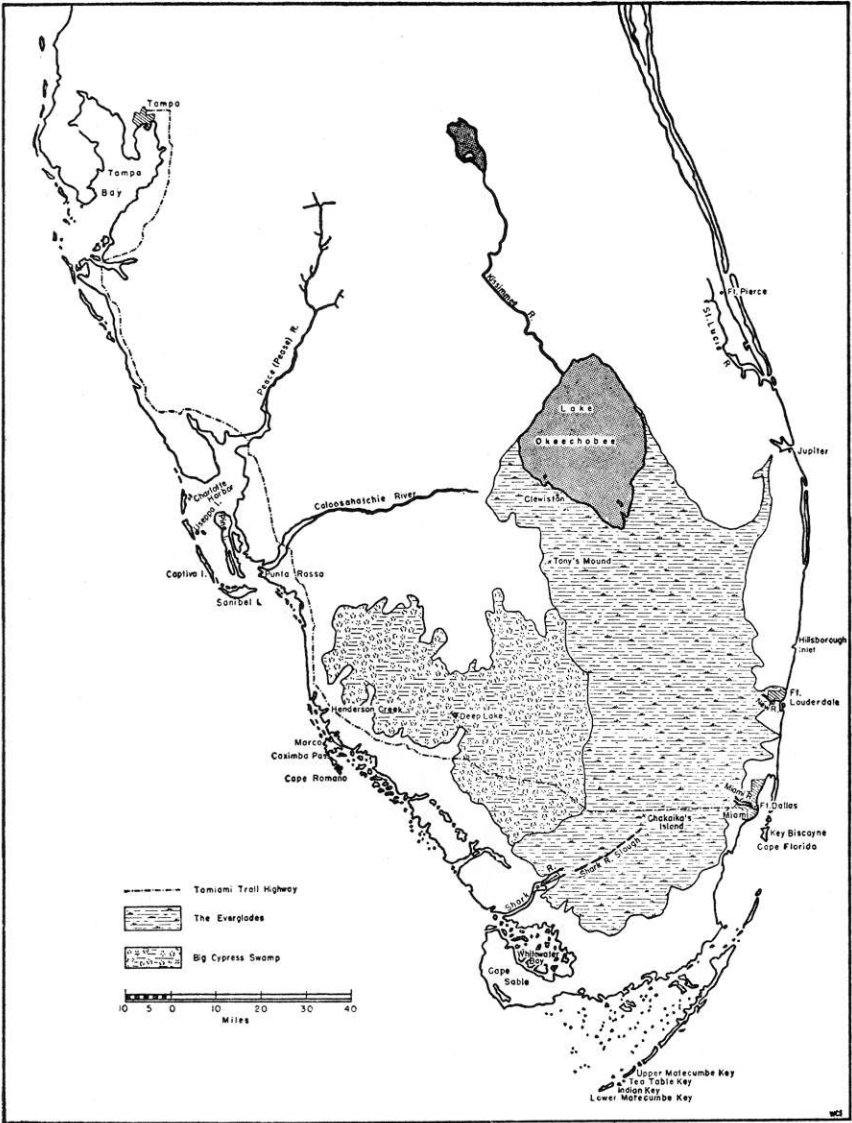
¹⁰ Probably the present Useppa Island (Goggin, MS.).

industrious." "There are three other fishing establishments in the bay . . . the Spaniards and Indians who occupy them, cultivate very little land . . . as they live principally on fish . . ., turtle, and coonti; the last, they bring from the main. . . . The Muspa Indians, once a numerous tribe, formerly inhabited these wild haunts." (Williams, 1837, pp. 25, 294, 33). These remarks make it seem probable that the population here was a mixture of Spanish and a Calusa sub-tribe. The fact that the people did very little farming, in spite of the fertility of the land (Williams, 1837, p. 25), agrees with what is known of the subsistence techniques of the early Calusa. The Calusa were non-agricultural, whereas the Seminole and the bands associated with them did intensive farming whenever they were unmolested by the whites for a sufficient period. Of Indians farther south, Williams states: "The inhabitants of several large settlements around the Caximba Inlet, the heads of the Hujelos, St. Mary's, and other southern streams, never appeared at the agency, to draw annuities, but lived by cultivating their fields, hunting, trading at the Spanish ranchos, bartering skins, mocking birds and pet squirrels, for guns, ammunition and clothing, and sometimes assisting in the fisheries. . . . They never agreed to remove [to the Indian Territory in the present Oklahoma], either personally, or by their representatives; and they were easily excited to fight, rather than leave the home of their ancestors. Their knowledge of the passes of the country, and their long connection with the Spanish traders and fishermen afforded perfect facilities for supplying the Seminoles with arms and munitions of war . . ." (Williams, 1837, p. 242). Whether or not these people were Calusa remnants, it is almost certain that they were the "Spanish Indians" who soon became involved in the Seminole Wars. A scrap of evidence that at least some of these Indians may have been Creek-speaking, and hence not Calusa, is afforded by Williams' statement that the "Hujelos, or Swallow River . . . is, by the native Indians, called Chittahatche, or Snake River." (Williams, 1837, p. 50). The name is in the Creek (Muskogee) language, and is properly translated by Williams.^{10A} Thus some or all of these Indians may be the non-Seminole, non-Calusa refugees mentioned in this region by Vignoles in 1823. According to Vignoles these bands had friendly relations with wreckers from the Bahamas (Vignoles, 1823, p. 135).

In 1837 an army expedition covered the country from the Caloosahatchie River south to Cape Sable, and took 243 prisoners (Sprague, 1848, pp. 188-189). Although the band affiliations of these people is not stated in the

^{10A} "River Hijuelos was Yonge's River, below Cape Romano" (Davis, 1946, p. 186).

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source, many must have belonged to the group under consideration here, and some were undoubtedly in the two or three parties of deportees who arrived in New Orleans from Florida in May, 1838, on their way to the Indian Territory. In one of these groups were 80 "Spaniards" from the Charlotte Harbor fishing settlements ("Bunce's Rancho"—cf. Dodd, 1947), and in another "two Spaniards" are mentioned. Lt. Reynolds took a party of over 1,000, including the above, up the Mississippi to relocation in Indian Territory; but "seven Spaniards of the party who objected to going farther were left [in New Orleans] upon their promise not to return to Florida until the close of the war." An Arkansas newspaper said of this party, "among those who have gone up are about 150 Spanish Indians or Spaniards who have intermarried with the Seminoles." (Foreman, 1932, pp. 364-365).

In 1839 "South of Pease Creek and Lake Okeechobee, near the extreme southern point of the peninsula, was a band of Spanish Indians, under an intelligent chief, called Chekika, speaking a language peculiarly their own, a mixture of Indian and Spanish. They numbered about one hundred warriors . . . Numbers had visited the Island of Cuba, and looked more to the Spaniards as their friends, than they did to the Americans. Hospetarke [a Seminole], whose wife was a Spanish woman, lived in this quarter. A few men of his tribe joined him. Large numbers were added of those who were pursued by troops further north," (Sprague, 1848, p. 99). If the language above referred to was Calusa, rather than Mikasuki or some other definitely Muskogean one, it would not be surprising if there had been a considerable Spanish influence on the vocabulary. However, Sprague gives no vocabulary, and we know of no more than a half-dozen or so Calusa words preserved in any documents. Spanish Indian relations with other Indian bands must have been fairly close at this period, for besides Hospetarke, a Seminole named Holartoochee "was banished from his tribe four years for adultery, during which time he lived with the Spanish Indians inhabiting the Everglades, who treated him with great distinction. At the breaking out of hostilities, he rejoined his band." (Sprague, 1848, p. 98).

Foreman refers to Chakaika's band as "Spanish Seminole," but no primary source known to the present writer refers to them as Seminole.¹¹

In 1839 these Spanish Indians first became actively involved in the hostilities between the Seminole and the U. S. Army, presumably as a result of their increasing intercourse with the Seminole, who had been gradually pushed

¹¹ Foreman, 1932, p. 373. No authority is cited by Foreman for this usage.

down into their country. In fact, we may guess that the above-mentioned Hospetarke played a prominent part in inducing them to enter the conflict. At any rate, their first clash with the whites was a joint attack of Seminole and Spanish Indian forces on a detachment under Lt. Col. W. S. Harney, encamped on the Caloosahatchie River, in July, 1839.

In May, 1839, Maj. Gen. Alexander Macomb, sent to Florida for this purpose, made an "arrangement" with several Seminole who came to meet him at Fort King. Macomb proposed to the Indians that they remain within the area in southwest Florida bounded by Charlotte Harbor, the Peace River, down the Kissimmee to Lake Okeechobee, and west of a line from there to Cape Sable. The U. S. Army was to protect the Indians within this area from molestation by whites, and hostilities were to cease immediately (Sprague, 1848, pp. 228-229). The Indians present agreed to this, and Macomb issued a general order announcing the cessation of hostilities. Several things about this agreement are notable. It was a purely oral agreement, not a treaty. Macomb presented it to the Indians as a presumably permanent arrangement, while the government did not intend to abandon efforts to remove the Seminole west of the Mississippi. Macomb wrote the Secretary of War, "Nor did I think it politic, at this time, to say anything about their emigration, leaving that subject open to such future arrangements as the government may think proper to make with them." (Sprague, 1848, pp. 228-232). An observer reported at the time, "The chiefs never asked Gen. Macomb whether they would be permitted to remain permanently south of Pease creek, and he never told them that they would not." (*Niles' National Register*, June 22, 1839, p. 265; also in Coe, 1898, pp. 145-146). Nothing was said, either, about the Seminole giving up their Negro slaves and associates. Thus the chief reasons for the Seminole fighting were apparently settled in their favor: they were not asked to emigrate or to give up their Negroes, and the army would stop attacking them and would protect them from other whites. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that, according to Gen. Macomb, the Indians "readily accepted, manifesting great joy on the occasion." (Sprague, 1848, p. 232). From the Indian point of view, the whites had admitted defeat, and sued for peace on the Indian terms. A St. Augustine newspaper of a few days after the "arrangement" said, "The Indian interpreter who was here said that, 'the Indians would sell us, for the next twenty years, skins and venison; that peace would be again, and the whites and Indians live as they had done.'" (quoted in Coe, 1898, pp. 144-145). This aspect of the settlement raised a storm of protest in Florida. The

newspapers of the state soon pointed out that it was still the intention of the government to force the emigration of the Seminole (see Coe, 1898, pp. 145-148), and on June 22 published a letter from the Secretary of War saying, "I am of the opinion that the arrangement made by gen. Macomb will lead to the pacification of the country and enable me to remove the Indians from the territory much sooner than can be done by force." (*Niles' National Register*, July 6, 1839, p. 289, quoting the *Tallahassee Floridian*). There can be no doubt that the substance of these reports soon reached the Seminole, via their Negro interpreters or others, so that they were aware of the government's intention not to abide by what must to them have seemed the terms of the agreement.

Macomb made his agreement with three or four individuals, whom he thought to be chiefs. He mentions "Chitto-Tustenuggee, principal chief of the Seminoles, and successor to Arpeika, commonly called Sam Jones, brought to this post [Fort King] by Lieutenant-Colonel Harney," from near Key Biscayne, Oche-Hadjo, and Harlock-Tustenuggee (Halleck-Tustenuggee) (Sprague, 1848, pp. 228, 231). To these, Sprague adds Thock-lo-Tustenuggee (Sprague, 1848, p. 228). However, at this time there seem to have been four independent bands of Indians in southwest Florida. One group was under Arpeika (Sam Jones), of which Chitto-Tustenuggee and perhaps Holatter-Micco (Billy Bowlegs) were the active war-chiefs; another was led by Hospetarke (Shiver and Shakes), with Passacka (Parsacke) as war-chief; a third was under Otalke-Thlocko (The Prophet), perhaps with Sho-nock-Hadjo as war-chief; finally, there were the Spanish Indians under Chakaika.¹² A reliable source stated that among these bands "No community of feeling exists, other than that which is necessary for mutual safety."¹³ Today and as far back as Seminole tradition reaches, this has been the case; there are no formal mechanisms, and few informal ones, of affiliation between bands. From these groups apparently only Chitto-Tustenuggee dealt with Macomb; and of him it was reported in July 1839, from Fort Lauderdale, that Harney's Negro interpreter, Sandy, "acknowledged that *he* appointed Tuste-Nuggee, with whom general Macomb made the "treaty", "successor" to Sam Jones! Sam, however, altho' thus unceremoniously deposed by Sandy, has too much sense to quarrel about the *medium* through which the great war chief of the

¹² This represents a combination of data in Sprague—given by Sampson, a Negro interpreter who lived with the Indians in the area from 1839 to 1841 (Sprague, 1848, pp. 315-319); by Joe, a Spanish (?) Indian captured in 1841 (Sprague, 1848, p. 350); and by Sprague as of the end of 1840 (Sprague, 1848, p. 254).

¹³ Sampson, the interpreter, in Sprague, 1848, p. 318.

whites acknowledged himself *whipped*; provided *he* obtains all the results of victory." (*Niles' National Register*, July 20, 1839, p. 321, quoting the *Alexandria Gazette*).

Under these conditions, it seems likely that not all the bands in the area were even aware of the meeting with Macomb; and those that were, reasonably considered the agreement reached to have been unilaterally broken, as soon as they discovered that the whites had made it in bad faith. Hence, although the subsequent attack on Col. Harney seemed to the whites a "massacre," in violation of Macomb's arrangement, one cannot blame the Indians for their actions in this instance.

Harney had gone to the Caloosahatchie to establish a trading post, carrying out one of the terms of Macomb's agreement. His party of 25 soldiers, two Negro interpreters, and a civilian trader with four employees (Sprague, 1848, pp. 234-235, 315-317), set up a store and camp 300 yards apart, in the pine woods on the north bank of the Caloosahatchie River some 15 or 20 miles from its mouth (Sprague, 1848, pp. 233, 316, 317; *Niles' National Register*, Aug. 24, 1839, quoting the *National Gazette*; Reavis, 1878, p. 134). A large group of Indians soon camped on the opposite side of the river and commenced apparently friendly trade (Sprague, 1848, pp. 236, 316; Reavis, 1878, p. 134; *Niles' National Register*, Aug. 24, 1839, p. 402, quoting the *National Gazette*). The soldiers took no precautions, not even putting out sentries—Harney in later years excused himself for this negligence by saying that he had left to establish the post before the arrival of the Florida newspapers bearing the letter of the Secretary of War referred to above, and that if he had known about this letter he would have anticipated trouble with the Indians (Sprague, 1848, pp. 233-234; *Niles' National Register*, Aug. 24, 1839, p. 402, quoting the *National Gazette*; Reavis, 1878, pp. 133-134, 141).

The evening of the third day after the establishment of the post, Shonock-Hadjo "counted every man in the camp, and took the precaution to see where and in what manner they slept at night." That night, the Indians had a dance in their camp. At about four a. m. the next morning, the 23rd of July, 1839, a force of about 160 Indians fell upon the sleeping party. Harney's men were completely unprepared—most did not even reach their guns—and the attack was entirely successful. Some 13 were killed immediately, fourteen escaped unarmed via the river, and six were captured. Of the last, two were killed four days later, one three months later, one disappeared and one escaped some months later in the Big Cypress Swamp, and Sampson, one

of the Negro interpreters, escaped after two years of captivity. It was particularly planned to kill Col. Harney; two days before the attack, Billy Bowlegs had spoken to him to ensure his staying and sleeping ashore; however, the attackers delayed briefly for plundering in the quarters of the enlisted men, so that Harney was able to escape "with only drawers and shirt." At least some of the dead were scalped (customary behavior for both sides in this war), and some may have been disemboweled.

The camp was attacked by a force under Chakaika, the Spanish Indian, while at the same moment Hospetarke led the attack on the store. Others prominent in the fight were Holatter Micco (Billy Bowlegs) and Sho-nock-Hadjo. Chakaika's party had come around the coast in canoes. The attack yielded the Indians considerable plunder: one keg of badly-needed powder; about \$2-3000 worth of goods, liquor, tents, and provisions belonging to the trader; \$1500 in silver coins; many personal belongings of the soldiers; six carbines; a number of percussion caps; a large boat;¹⁴ and fourteen Colt rifles, at that time new to the army. Sampson later stated that the rifles "being of Colt's construction, were useless; and they left them on the ground, after taking off the locks." But one report says that when Harney reached Chakaika's home hammock in the Everglades the following year, he "recaptured thirteen or fourteen of Colt's rifles, taken from him at Caloosahatchie by the Indians." (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, p. 303, quoting a letter in the *Tallahassee Floridian*). The loot was not divided systematically; the liquor was drunk during the next three days, the chiefs took charge of the powder and rationed it carefully during the ensuing months, the dry goods were later worn and the coins "sold and manufactured into silver ornaments" at the Big Cypress Swamp camps. Ornaments made from silver coins are still seen occasionally among the modern Seminole.

After the attack, the Indians recrossed to their camp on the south side of the river, where they stayed four days drinking and celebrating. The fourth day, two of their captives were tied to a pine tree, whereupon the Indians "inserted in their flesh slivers of light wood, setting them on fire, and at the same time placing torches at their feet. In this way it was five or six hours before they died." One of the men thus killed was Sandy, the interpreter who had "promoted" Chitto-Tustenuggee in the dealings with Macomb—one wonders if there is any connection between the two facts, especially

¹⁴ This boat was found in November, 1841, between Lakes Thompson and Okeechobee, presumably then in the possession of the "band of Lew-fall-micco." Sprague, 1848, p. 333.

since Sampson, the other captured interpreter, was allowed to live. On the fourth day, Chakaika and his band left in their canoes, returning to the Everglades via the "Malco River,"¹⁵ and the others returned to their camps in the Big Cypress, taking their captives along.¹⁶

This attack had the effect of immediately re-opening the war throughout Florida. For example, as soon as the news reached Fort Mellon, far away on the shore of Lake Munroe, the lieutenant in charge seized by subterfuge a party of forty-six Seminole peacefully visiting the fort to obtain provisions, and was soon escorting them to Fort Moultrie, S. C., on their way to the Indian Territory (Sprague, 1848, p. 236; *Niles' National Register*, Aug. 17, 1839, p. 385).

The Secretary of War, at least, recognized one of the primary causes of this latest failure of negotiations—in his next annual report to the President, he said, "Composed, as the Florida Indians are, of the remnants of tribes that have taken refuge there, and acknowledge no common head, no treaty stipulations that are not sanctioned by each and every tribe can be considered binding; nor can the government consider the country pacified, until there has been a general submission of all the chiefs of the various tribes of Indians inhabiting the peninsula." (Sprague, 1848, p. 237).

The Spanish Indians next appear in the record on August 7, 1840, when they carried out the famous raid on the settlement on Indian Key, in which Dr. Perrine lost his life. This episode has been well covered by writers on South Florida, so it is only necessary here to present the outline of the events, together with the few details that are of interest with regard to the behavior of the Indians.¹⁷

At about two a. m. the morning of August 7, 1840, seventeen canoeloads of Spanish Indians (variously estimated at from 50 to 136 individuals) under

¹⁵ A comparison of Sprague's sketch map (his frontispiece) with U.S.C. & G.S. Chart 1254 suggests that the Malco R. is the modern Henderson Creek, opposite Little Marco Pass north of the present town of Marco.

¹⁶ By far the most detailed, and apparently the most accurate, account of the attack on Harney's forces and of the subsequent behavior of the Indians, is that given by the interpreter Sampson, on his escape from the Indians two years later (quoted in Sprague, 1848, pp. 315-319). Other sources utilized in the above description are: Sprague, 1848, pp. 232-236; *Niles' National Register*, August 24, 1839, p. 402, quoting the *National Gazette*; Reavis, 1878, pp. 132-141.

¹⁷ For the details of the attack, and the white individuals involved, see Bellamy, 1947; Coe, 1898, pp. 154-155; Dodd, 1948; Douglas, 1947, pp. 221-222; Klose, 1948; Palmer, 1926; Perrine, [1885?]; Robinson, 1942; Sprague, 1848, pp. 244-246; [Walker], 1841; Walker, 1926.

Chakaika were discovered on the beach of Indian Key, a small island lying between Upper and Lower Matecumbe Keys, some twenty miles from the mainland.¹⁸ Immediately on being discovered, they began the attack of the settlement, killing seven of the inhabitants (and scalping at least one of these), looting the store, and burning most of the buildings. Most of the inhabitants escaped to a nearby schooner, or hid until the Indians departed. None of the attackers were killed. Mrs. Perrine and her three small children escaped about noon, while the few Indians left on the Key were busy looting the store. They took a large launch, partly loaded with plunder, and poled and paddled for about a mile before they were picked up by a whaleboat from the schooner. The Indians saw them and fired at them, and two Indians in a canoe from Lower Matecumbe started after them, but gave up the chase and put in at Indian Key to take off the remaining Indians, whose boat the Perrines had taken.

The cause of the attack is unknown. A sister of Chakaika told her captors in the Everglades that "there were *three Spaniards* in the Everglades, who supplied the Indians with salt and ammunition; one of them, *Domingo*, advised them to attack Indian Key, and insured their success." (Anonymous, 1841a.) It has been suggested that the 1836 imprisonment of two Indians by the trader on Indian Key was a factor (Dodd, 1948, pp. 14-15; Douglas, 1947, p. 230). Whether for this reason or because the primary purpose of the raid was plunder, the main objective seems to have been the well-stocked store; the Indians concentrated on looting, rather than searching out and killing the inhabitants, and one of the few unburned buildings was the house of a man said to have been particularly friendly to them in their previous trading visits to the Key (Perrine, [1885?], p. 64; Coe, 1898, p. 155; Dodd, 1948, pp. 14-15; Douglas, 1947, p. 230). The naval lieutenant from Key Biscayne who investigated on the day of the raid believed "that the Indians were conducted to this attack by some person or persons acquainted with the localities of the Key, . . . [because] their landing was effected on the outside of the Key, at a point most remote from their approach, yet at a corner of the town uninhabited, whilst every consideration, if ignorant of this fact, would have induced them to have landed at a point directly opposite. . . .

¹⁸ All primary sources give the above date; the identification of the band and their leader rests on Sprague, 1848, pp. 243-244; *The News*, August 21, 1840; and McLaughlin, 1848, p. 9. The estimates of the number of attackers come from Murray, 1848, p. 11; McLaughlin, 1848, p. 10; and *The News*, August 21, 1840.

Again, negroes were seen among them, who, with others, were heard to speak English, and these last not in the dialect of the negro. . . . Lieutenant Commandant Rogers, in the *Wave*, had left there but the day before for Cape Roman, carrying with him from Tea Table Key [the naval base about a mile distant] every man, capable of doing service, but five. That his departure was communicated to or looked for by the Indians, there cannot be a doubt. In the presence of his force, their invariable policy forbids the belief that they would have ventured upon the attack." (McLaughlin, 1848, p. 10). Although the attackers apparently understood when Dr. Perrine spoke to them in Spanish, the Perrines also report having heard them say in English, "Stop that," and "They are all hid—the old man upstairs." ([Walker], 1841, p. 7; Bellamy, 1947, p. 74; Sprague, 1848, p. 244). One of Dr. Perrine's daughters wrote many years later that she had afterwards heard that the Indians had been on a nearby island (Lower Matecumbe Key?) three days before the attack, waiting until the Navy vessels left the area (Walker, 1926, p. 21).

During the morning and afternoon of the seventh, the attackers removed large quantities of goods from the store and houses, carrying loads in their canoes and in several boats captured on the Key, to the northeast end of Lower Matecumbe Key, about a mile away.¹⁹ Among the loot were four kegs of powder, which were later turned over to the custody of the Seminole chiefs in the Big Cypress,²⁰ and materials such as clothing, "calicoes", flour, tobacco, soap, brandy, molasses, etc. ([Walker], 1841, p. 7; Sprague, 1848, pp. 245-246). Harney later discovered at Chakaika's home in the Everglades some \$2000 worth of "cloths, linnens, calicoes, ready made clothing, all kinds of tools, powder, &c." from Indian Key. (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, p. 308, quoting the *Tallahassee Floridian*; Anonymous, 1841a). After having control of the region for about twelve hours, the Spanish Indian boats left from Lower Matecumbe at two p. m., August 7, before the arrival of the naval forces from Key Biscayne.

In December, 1840, Harney was ordered to find and attack the Spanish Indians in the Everglades. In carrying out this assignment, Harney displayed great vindictiveness and cruelty towards the Indians. Although this may have been due in part to anger over the success of Chakaika's attack on his command the preceding year, other incidents in Harney's life show that it was

¹⁹ Perrine, [1885?], p. 60; Bellamy, 1947, p. 76, says Upper Matecumbe Key.

²⁰ Sampson, in Sprague, 1848, p. 317.

not foreign to his character.²¹ On leaving for Cape Florida to begin the expedition, Harney promised his superior officer "that he would return with the scalp of that piratical savage." During a slight delay at New Smyrna on the way south, Harney obtained a coil of new rope from a fisherman, to be used later in hanging Chakaika and his men (Reavis, 1878, pp. 145-146).

The expedition, about 90 men in some sixteen canoes,²² left Fort Dallas on the Miami River on December 4, 1840. They took along as guide a Negro named John, who had been captured by the Indians in 1835 from his owner, Dr. Crews (or Cruise). He had escaped several months before, and come into the Army camp on Key Biscayne offering to lead the Army to the Indian camps in the Everglades, but had been kept in irons until Harney accepted his offer, which he carried out in full (*The News*, Jan. 1, 1841; *Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, p. 308, quoting a letter in the *Tallahassee Floridian*). This was presumably the man seen by Henry Perrine at Fort Dallas after the Indian Key raid—"a negro, who was in irons and confined in a cell as a suspected spy . . . [who] had been there since before the attack on Indian Key, and . . . had told his captors of the intended raid; but they had placed no reliance upon his statement. I think he had come to the fort voluntarily to tell the story, but, not being believed, was put in irons." (Perrine, [1885?], p. 77).

Proceeding in their canoes into the Everglades via the north branch of the Miami River, Harney's men reached on December 6 an island called "Ho-co-mo-thlocco . . . from the Indian name of the wild fig,²³ where they found a cornfield. Some seven miles northwest they came to "Efa-noc-

²¹ Harney was indicted for the fatal beating of a slave in Saint Louis in 1834; according to an antagonistic fellow-officer, "his character, particularly in the army, is anything but enviable, being notorious for profanity, brutality, incompetency, speculation, recklessness, insubordination, tyranny and mendacity." (Harney, 1861, pp. 5-8). Although his biography by Reavis (1878) is highly laudatory, it makes plain that his attitude towards Indians, friendly as well as enemy, in Florida and elsewhere, was anything but fair and sympathetic.

²² The best account of this expedition, which is the one chiefly used in the following description, is a diary by one of the officers (Anonymous, 1841a; reprinted in less intelligible form as Anonymous, 1841c). This source says there were 90 men and 5 officers in 16 canoes. Other sources give 100 men, of the 2nd Dragoons and 3rd Artillery (Sprague, 1848, p. 254), 88 men—50 dragoons, 38 artillerymen (Reavis, 1878, p. 145), and 90 (*Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, Dec. 31, 1840) or about 90 (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, p. 308, quoting the *Tallahassee Floridian*).

²³ Although this must be a Muskogee word (the final element is the common suffix -Lakko, 'big'), it does not contain the modern Creek Seminole name for the strangling-fig, *Fiscus aurea*, (hilokwapi:) nor for any other plant known to the writer.

co-chee," "from a dog having died which was left here,"²⁴ which had a cleared camp-ground but no field, being "the usual stopping place of the Indians, when they visit *Sam Jones*, or go from his camp to the Spanish Indians." About six miles northwest of this, they reached the next day a hammock known as "Cochokeynehajo, from the name of an Indian who cleared and cultivated it."²⁵ On this island the soldiers found a picture of an Indian and the figures "8" and "9" cut into a tree, which they guessed indicated the presence of a white man with the Indians. This may not have been the case, since 60 years later the Seminole themselves occasionally cut drawings of men and animals into the bark of trees. The next island, "called by its owner *Intaska*," contained "a large hut built of cypress bark, and under it a bed made of boards."²⁶ This was undoubtedly a house similar to the modern open-sided Seminole structures with board sleeping-platforms, which are still occasionally roofed with slabs of cypress bark instead of the usual cabbage-palm leaf thatch. *Intaska* also contained a field in which were growing corn, beans, and pumpkins, which are still the principal Seminole crops.

As the party was resting on *Intaska* about noon on the 8th, two canoes approached, which were attacked by the soldiers in five canoes. Two Indian men and a woman were wounded and captured, and another woman and four children captured. The captives were carried back to *Intaska*, where Harney ordered the two male captives hung from a tall tree with the rope he had brought. The next day, the wounded woman died and was buried on the island. From these captives it was learned that *Chakaika* and some of his band were on an island some five miles away, so the troops left for his island at dusk. The night was dark and rainy, and John, the guide, had difficulty keeping the canoes on the trail. As they neared *Chakaika's* island, Harney sent ahead a force under two lieutenants to surprise the camp. "They did not reach it until some time after sun-rise [on the 10th]; but such was the confidence of the Indians in their own security, that our party were not discovered until they had crept up into their camp, and commenced firing." In the initial attack, one Indian man was killed, and two men, one boy, and five women and children escaped. *Chakaika* was chopping wood some distance

²⁴ The name begins with Muskogee í:fa, 'dog.'

²⁵ The man's name was probably kocáknáha:cí: (in Mikasuki—the Muskogee equivalent would be nearly identical, but with a final ô: rather than í:); see below for discussion of this spot.

²⁶ According to Goggin, "the only cypress in the area is at the head of the Miami River and on Snapper Creek, both some distance away, or else on the west side of the Glades." (John M. Goggin, personal communication, May 16, 1953).

from the rest at the moment the soldiers arrived. He dropped his ax and "ran off howling" into the grass. Several soldiers ran after him, but all but one private soon gave up the chase. Private Hall, 2nd Dragoons, had almost overtaken Chakaika, when the Indian "smiled and extended his hand" (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 23, 1841, p. 322), whereupon Hall shot him through the brain. He fell dead into the water, where the soldier scalped him. Chakaika was a large man—"said to have been the largest Indian in Florida" (Anonymous, 1841a)—six feet tall, weighing over 200 pounds, and "considered the strongest man of his tribe." (*The News*, Jan. 8, 1841). Two men who escaped to another island about four miles away were followed by a small party of soldiers. There were several other Indians on this island, who as the soldiers approached raised a white flag and called to John to come and talk. As he neared, the Indians fired, wounding him and two soldiers. Hearing the firing Harney sent two canoes of men and later followed himself with another group. Three more soldiers were wounded, and all the Indians escaped from the other side of the island with some of their possessions and spread the alarm to the occupants of nearby hammocks. The attackers returned to Chakaika's island. A canoe soon came up to the island and succeeded in removing "an Indian or *Spaniard*, who was concealing in the high grass," before the soldiers could reach the spot. Later, while Harney was out with some canoes to bring Chakaika's body back to the island, by hiding in the tall grass he captured one man and six women and children who came up in a sailing canoe. In the evening (of the 10th) Harney strung up on one of the look-out trees Chakaika's dead body and two of the male prisoners. The third man was saved, on his promise to act as a guide to Sam Jones' camp (*The News*, Jan. 1, 1841). The goods found in the camp were auctioned off among the soldiers, netting more than \$200. These were partly plunder from Indian Key; also found were "a fine barge, and a great quantity of coonti." Among the prisoners were Chakaika's mother, sister, and wife.

The evening of the 11th, one of the wounded dragoons, Allen, died. He was buried the next morning on Chakaika's island, "with the honors of war." This was the only man Harney lost during the expedition.

The troops now headed out of the Everglades, taking along the captives. On the 12th, near Intaska, two Indian men were killed and one old woman and seven children captured. On a nearby island some of the party found "a great number of palmetto huts, very well thatched, and a number of plantins and banana trees"; while there, they captured a boy who had been out fishing.

Heading for the Shark River, Harney's men reached the head of a stream "which the Indians call Poncha" late in the afternoon of the 14th, and continued downstream until late at night. Though the upper part of the river was "choked up with cane and reeds," after a mile or so "it opened out most beautifully into a broad and navigable river," with a course "about West." About 12:30 (at night?) on the 15th they reached the sea, where the river was found to have two or three mouths. In the afternoon of the 16th Cape Sable was reached, which Chakaika's wife told one of her captors "used to be the great resort of the Indians when on their fishing and turtle excursions, as well as among the neighboring Keys." On the 19th they reached one of the Matecumbes, from which they shipped aboard a sloop for Key Biscayne.²⁷

According to one account, the bodies of the men hung by Harney were discovered and buried a few days later by Sam Jones.²⁸ In any event, the Big Cypress bands were much aroused over Harney's treatment of the captured men and "declared eternal hostility and cruelty to the whites," Sam Jones saying, "We have given them heretofore, . . . when prisoners, a decent death, and shot them instead of hanging them like a dog." (Sampson, in Sprague, 1848, p. 319).

The prisoners taken by Harney were sent to Tampa, and re-shipped from there in March, under Major Bellnap to the Indian Territory (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, p. 308; Feb. 20, 1841, p. 396; April 10, 1841, p. 90). From this point this group of Spanish Indians seem to have disappeared from history, unless it be they to whom several families of Oklahoma Seminole referred in 1932, when they told Krogman of their "Spanish ancestry" (Krogman, 1935, p. 8). It may have been this group of captives, or a subsequent one, among whom "Lieutenant Reynolds, while conducting the first party of emigrants West, in 1841, found . . . persons who possessed so much Spanish blood, that he offered to leave them at New Orleans, and some of them accepted the offer. He left them in that city, and they probably now pass for Spaniards" (Giddings, 1858, p. 98, fn. 1). Perhaps more likely, Giddings has confused the date of this occurrence and is referring to Reynolds' 1838 party (see above, and Foreman, 1932, p. 366 fn. 7).

On the first of January, 1841, Harney again led troops into the Ever-

²⁷ Except where otherwise indicated, the foregoing description of the expedition is from Anonymous, 1841a.

²⁸ Coe, 1898, p. 156. This is a secondary source, which gives no indication of the authority for the statement.

glades, this time looking for Sam Jones' camp. There were about 140 men in this force, in four or five six-to-ten-man canoes and the rest in especially built five-man canoes. The Negro John was taken as interpreter, and for guide the Indian captured at Chakaika's island and saved for the purpose. The latter's name is given as "Mico," which is a common final element in modern Seminole adult male names—in this form, Muskogee (míkko, 'chief'). This expedition reached Prophet's Landing, entering the 'glades by the New River, but during two weeks of searching, although they came on many recently abandoned camps and fields, saw only 13 Indians, of whom four were killed and three captured. These were mostly the band of a man named "Chia," who on being captured said that "Sam Jones, immediately on hearing of Colonel Harney's first expedition, had sent over to the Seminoles [The Prophet's band?] for powder and lead, and said that he would go into the Big Cypress, where, if he was pursued, he would fight to the death. Chia and his party were going to join him" when the soldiers found them. Under threat of hanging, Chia tried to guide Harney to Sam Jones in the Big Cypress, but the search was abandoned when it appeared that Sam Jones' party had instead headed north towards Lake Okeechobee (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, pp. 307-308; April 3, 1841, pp. 71-72).

In April 1841, the bands in the Big Cypress held "a great council . . . , to prevent intercourse with the white man. A law was passed, that should any Indian, male or female, be found in communication with a white man, they should be put to death. Plans were concerted to convey information in the most rapid maner. The canoes [of Harney] seen in the Everglades, had determined them to keep within the [Big Cypress] swamp. It was understood in a council, that being so reduced in numbers, and in so confined a space, they must now ambush the enemy, fire, and then run." (Sampson, in Sprague, 1848, pp. 316-317). This "council" was probably the Green Corn Dance at Billy Bowlegs' town mentioned in October, 1841, by an "Indian captured in the Everglades." According to this informant, named "Joe," there were 241 warriors present at the Green Corn Dance, from Sam Jones' band, Hospetarke's band, "Seminoles" (probably The Prophet's band), and "Spanish Indians" (Sprague, 1848, pp. 349-350). "Joe" was probably the "Spanish Indian" who acted as guide in October, 1841, for the expedition of Captain M. Burke, which crossed the Everglades from Fort Dallas via Chakaika's island and The Prophet's Landing to Punta Rassa, then went up the Caloosahatchie to Lake Okeechobee, across the lake, to Fort Pierce and Jupiter, and back to Fort Dallas, seeing only two Indians during the entire

trip (Sprague, 1848, pp. 333-345, 349). The Indians had all withdrawn into the Big Cypress, as a result of Harney's expeditions proving that the soldiers could now reach any part of the Everglades in canoes. Burke's "Spanish Indian" guide is the last mention of this band known to the writer—all mentions and listings of Florida bands at later dates omit it. The only bands Sprague gives after 1841 are: Seminole, Creek, Tallahassee, Mikasuki, Yuchi, Hitchiti, and, in 1847, four "Choctaw" warriors.²⁰ Thus we again find "Choctaw" as perhaps another name for "Spanish Indians."

Presumably in the early years of the present century, Swanton interviewed "an old Seminole Indian in Oklahoma, who declared that he knew of these Florida Choctaw, asserting that one youth descended from them is still living among the Seminole of Oklahoma. He added that when the Seminole reached Fort Smith during their removal west the Choctaw who were with them wanted to remain with the Choctaw who had emigrated from Mississippi, but the Indian agent would not allow it. He knew nothing regarding the origin of this band of Choctaw, but thought they had emigrated to Florida from Mississippi about the time when the other Seminole settled there" (Swanton, 1922, p. 345). Hence Indian tradition in Oklahoma disagreed with Swanton's identification of these late "Choctaw" with the earlier Calusa.

SEMINOLE TRADITION

Present-day Mikasuki Seminole traditions about the previous non-Seminole inhabitants of Florida are quite vague. The general name for these people is *yathâmpa:Lî:*, 'bad people.' Informants deny that there were ever any Choctaw (*câhta:Lî:*) in Florida, and do not recognize the terms "Bat Necks," "Painted People" (Bartram, 1943, p. 171; see above), or "Muspa" (Williams, 1837, pp. 36, 32; see above). The people known as *kalasa:Lî:* (Calusa) are but vaguely remembered. It is known that the Caloosahatchie River is named for them—*kalashahcî:*, 'Calusa river'—but it is generally believed that these were Spanish people. That is, *kalasa:Lî:* is sometimes treated as a synonym for *ispa:na:Lî:*, 'Spaniards.'

The "Bad People" are so called because they killed Seminole. It is said that they were first seen coming out of the water near Pine Island, in the form of fiddler-crabs. They were a "wild" people, at home in the swamps, who spoke a language different from those of the Seminole. Soon after

²⁰ Sprague, 1848, pp. 438, 444, 501, 507, 510, 512. The reference to the "Choctaw" (Sprague, p. 512) is repeated in Schoolcraft's (1851, p. 522) printing of Sprague's list.

emergence from the water, they were found by the Spaniards who at that time lived in a town called *ohō:ncásáskî:*, 'hanging skirt,' in a hammock some ten miles southwest of the present site of Ocala. The girls of the Bad People were pretty, and many intermarried with the Spaniards of Hanging Skirt, where all or most of the tribe soon lived. The Spanish supplied their Bad People friends and allies with guns and other goods, and gave them corn and taught them how to raise it.

At this time, there was a Seminole town at a place named *o:cakaplokôhkî:*, 'two hickory trees stand up,' two days' walk north of Hanging Skirt. For many years the Seminole used to walk for one day south from their town to a small creek (the name of which is not remembered), where they slept. On the next day they walked to Hanging Skirt to trade buckskin and other goods with the Spaniards, then the same day they went back to the creek, where they spent that night, before going home the next day. Relations with the Bad People were at first friendly—some Seminole men from *o:cakaplokôhkî:* even married Bad People girls and went to live at Hanging Skirt with their wives.³⁰ However, eventually the Spanish incited them against the Seminole, and on several occasions a war party of Bad People, with their Spanish guns, followed a returning trading party of Seminole to the creek where they killed some. Finally, a party of Seminole men determined to trick their trackers. Arriving at the creek on their return from Hanging Skirt, they built a large camp fire and, laying rolls of Spanish moss like men around the fire, hid in the surrounding bushes. The Bad People came up and fell on the camp, yelling and shooting into the dummies, whereupon the hidden Seminole shot and killed the whole party.³¹ The Seminole returned home, and sent out a war party which camped at the creek. Two Seminole went to Hanging Skirt, where they invited the chief of the Bad People, a man named *cissila:nî:* ('yellow rat,' in Muskogee), to go to their camp at the creek to join in a feast of bear meat. When he arrived, he found many people present, who invited him to sit down. This he did, cross-legged. While the men engaged him in conversation, two Seminole with guns walked up and shot him in each leg, so that, although still alive, he could not walk. There followed a four-day³²

³⁰ Following the normal Seminole custom, even of today, whereby a man lives with his wife's family after marriage.

³¹ This incident strongly resembles an affair in 1702, when a Muskogee army headed by Georgia traders defeated a Spanish and Apalachee army by the identical stratagem, on the banks of the Flint River. See Swanton, 1922, pp. 120-121, for an account of this.

³² Four is the Seminole pattern-number—more or less equivalent in this case to "a few." Hence the battle referred to may not have lasted precisely four days.

battle between the Seminole and the Bad People and Spaniards in Hanging Skirt. Although their opponents had many guns, and big ones, the Seminole defeated them, and killed nearly all. The Indians set fire to the town at Hanging Skirt. When it began to burn, a Negro man who had hidden under an empty barrel during the attack came out and warned the Indians to run away since the place was about to blow up. The Indians followed his advice, whereupon the town exploded. Since then, Hanging Skirt has been known as *taphocóbkáckî:*, 'broken[?] big explosion.'

The surviving Spaniards and Bad People walked south, to the Peace River, and across it and over to a place called *hoí:Láycmóca:pî:*. The Seminole later tracked them, captured a few and traded them to the whites for knives, lead, and powder. In one case, they found one family, killed the man, and captured the women and girls, which they sold to the whites, perhaps at Tampa. Women captives were worth maybe five dollars in trade, and small girls \$2.50.

The place where the Bad People settled is named *hoí:Láycmóca:pî:*, 'field of *hoí:Láycî:*, after a Bad Person named *hoí:Láycî:*, 'stick it in the ground[?]' (in Muskogee). The Bad People lived there, built canoes there, and used the mounds at this place as a dance-ground. This location, some 15 miles (i.e., S) of Clewiston, is now known as "Tony's Mound" in English, because long ago (though long after the Bad People had left it) a Seminole nicknamed *to:niwayyî:*, 'sells Tony' (because he once sold a slave named Tony) cultivated a field there.³³

What ultimately became of the Bad People is unknown to the Seminole. Some went in canoes down the Shark River, to Key West, and over to Cuba, where they settled. Others went back north where they intermarried with the whites and thus disappeared. A fair number were captured and sold by the Seminole. However, many people think that there are still some Bad People around somewhere in the Everglades. They are invisible, or some say that they look like deer.

One Seminole man, now dead for many years, is said to have known some of their songs, which he had learned from captive Bad People. In 1932 Frances Densmore recorded 17 "Calusa" songs from the late medicine-man of the Cow Creek Seminole (Densmore, 1933, p. 96). She reports that the singer said these songs "came from the mountain men." . . . [and that] the white people call those Indians the Calusa and . . . they spoke Spanish

³³ For a brief description of this impressive archeological site, see Allen, 1948.

. . . long ago the Calusa and Seminole camped near one another and the people of each camp visited freely in the other, learning songs and joining in the dances. Later they fought, and the Seminole defeated the Calusa."³⁴

The Seminole of today insist that Chakaika and his band were not yathâmpa:Lî: or kalasa:Lî:, but Seminole, and Mikasuki speaking. One of the best-informed individuals believes that the ancestors of the present Mikasuki Seminole and of Chakaika's band were originally one group, in the north, but that when the troubles with the whites began and the Seminole were forced gradually south, Chakaika's people came down the east coast of the peninsula whereas the others came down the west coast, and the two groups did not know of each other's locations until after Chakaika's death.

Chakaika is known to the Seminole as cakâykî:, or cakâykico:bî: ('big Chakaika'). This is a boyhood name, not an adult name.³⁵ In Muskogee, it means approximately 'follow after,' or 'caught up with' (although another informant translates it 'chopper'). The suffix -co:bî:, 'big,' is applied because he was the leader of his band.³⁶ Such a suffix is often omitted in using a personal name, so the use of "Chakaika" (and its variant spellings) in the documentary sources is not surprising. It is probable that the final -a of the usual written forms is derived from the Muskogee form of the word.³⁷

Perhaps Chakaika was a member of the Wind sib, says one old man, since it is remembered that after his death members of this sib tried to claim his possessions. He lived with his two wives in a large camp in the southern Everglades, at an island known today as yatcásâskî:, 'hanging person (or people).' Informants have no knowledge of him ever having been associated with Billy Bowlegs, or any other Seminole, in any attacks on the soldiers, although it is said that he had gone on raids in canoes way to the north, before his attack on Indian Key. He believed he was safe at his hammock, since the whites were thought to have no canoes.

The raid on Indian Key and the hanging in the 'glades are well remembered, even by some who do not know the name of the leader of the band. However, as one would expect, the accounts differ somewhat in details. The fullest description obtained will be presented first.

³⁴ Densmore, 1942. Other data obtained from informants and presented in this manuscript are inaccurate, so no great reliance should be placed on the above report.

³⁵ A Mikasuki who died only three or four years ago also had cakâykî: as his boyhood name.

³⁶ It seems more likely that he was called "big" because, as the documents but not the traditions report, he was of tremendous physical size.

³⁷ See "Note on Orthography and Personal Names."

Leaving the women and children at Hanging People, Chakaika and his men went to attack Indian Key, going down the Shark River³⁸ and through Whitewater Bay in their canoes. The voyage took several days. When they reached the little town on Indian Key,³⁹ the Indians killed and burnt several white people, burnt their houses, and got a lot of whiskey, lead, powder, and new blankets. They then returned with their loot, going back up the Shark River. When he arrived at home, Chakaika got drunk on the canoe-load of whiskey he had brought back. He had a Negro boy about sixteen years old (whose name is not remembered), who had been captured from the whites some time before. In his drunkenness he beat the boy, who ran off. Being afraid to return, he waded through the swamp until he met some soldiers. They asked him what had happened, and found that he knew where Chakaika was.⁴⁰ The soldiers, guided by the boy, reached Chakaika's camp about day-break. Chakaika rose up from his comfortable bed of brand-new blankets, singing drunkenly, and saw the skiffs of the soldiers approaching. He told his people that the soldiers were coming, to get in canoes and go away fast. The soldiers shot Chakaika and wounded him, perhaps breaking his leg. Some of his people were killed, some were caught, and some escaped. The soldiers had seen the bodies of people Chakaika had burnt at Indian Key, so they wrapped him in a blanket, hung him from a large "rubber tree" (*Ficus aurea*, the strangling fig), and burnt him.

After the soldiers left, his surviving kin returned to the spot and looked all around, then moved to the Big Cypress where they found the other Mikasuki, who were at that time living somewhere northeast of Deep Lake. The two groups eventually intermarried, and the war experiences of each were told to the other.

Another version relates that Chakaika and his party went to Indian Key and stole goods. One morning about two weeks after their return to Hanging People, Chakaika went out for firewood and came on the soldiers waiting for him. He ran off, but the soldiers shot and killed him. The others in the camp ran off in all directions—some escaped, and others were killed. The informant did not know who buried Chakaika; perhaps no one, since he was killed by the soldiers. He is said to have left no descendants. The man who told this version said that his mother's mother, a Mikasuki

³⁸ Called in Mikasuki *LaLno:tiLhahcî*, 'toothed fish (i.e., shark) river.'

³⁹ Known to the present Mikasuki only by its English name—*î:ncînkî*: in a Mikasuki context.

⁴⁰ The name of the leader of the soldiers (i.e., Harney) is not known to the Seminole.

woman of the Otter sib, had seen Chakaika while he was alive. In fact, she was at Hanging People before the soldiers arrived, but left for another place just before the attack.

A third version of the tradition states that long ago the Indians (whose leader's name was not known to the relator of this story) went to Indian Key, where they burnt the town and killed the whites. They thought they had killed all the inhabitants, but one woman and her child (whether boy or girl is not known) escaped in a skiff by lying on the bottom. The Indians thought it was simply an empty boat adrift. When she got about a mile away, she started rowing and rowed all the way to Key West. The attackers got a lot of whiskey from Indian Key, which they took with them on their return into the 'glades via the Shark River. They stopped at a large hammock called oko:máhóyLî:, a few miles southwest of Hanging People. Many were drunk, some were not. The woman who escaped from Indian Key called the soldiers at Key West, who tracked the attackers back into the Everglades. The Indians saw the sails of their boats, but thought they were Indian sailing canoes. The soldiers caught them at oko:máhóyLî:, where they killed most of them. Some escaped to Hanging People, where the soldiers caught some more and hung them. From this incident the hammock derives its present Mikasuki name.

CHAKAIKA'S ISLAND TODAY

The precise location of the hammock where Harney caught and hung Chakaika cannot be determined from the inaccurate maps of the period of the Seminole Wars,⁴¹ and modern maps omit it. Modern Mikasuki however know the hammock—the one they call yatcásáskî:—and pointed it out to the present writer. In a similar manner, the location of oko:máhóyLî: (see the third traditional version above) and of kocáknáhá:cmóca:pî: could be determined. The latter is undoubtedly the island called "Cochokeynehajo, from the name of an Indian who cleared and cultivated it," where Harney's force found symbols cut into a tree.⁴² The Mikasuki name means 'field of kocáknáhá:cî: (a man's name),' and the place is said to lie a bit north of the Tamiami Trail, some 10 or 12 miles east of Hanging People.

Chakaika's Island, yatcásáskî:, is located 1.25 miles due south of a point on the Tamiami Trail 0.07 mile west of Bridge No. 42. The point is 1.9 miles west of the canal intersecting the highway about one-half mile west of

⁴¹ E.g., Sprague, 1848, frontispiece; Ives, 1856.

⁴² See above.

"Tamiami W Base" (U.S.D.A., 1944). This is approximately 20 highway miles west of the Miami city limits, and half a mile east of the present location of William McKinley Osceola's Mikasuki camp. The hammock is in the Shark River slough, less than a mile from its western edge. The old Seminole canoe trail from the Shark River to the Big Cypress ran a mile or two east of the hammock, and until a few years ago its route was clearly visible in the vegetation here.⁴³

The island is a large, high hammock, about three acres in extent. Except for a rectangular clearing of about an acre on the northeast part (the highest land in the hammock), it is covered with heavy vegetation, including three large strangling-fig trees, the largest of which, near the center of the hammock, is very tall and clearly visible from the Tamiami Trail.

A rather thorough examination of the surface of the whole hammock showed much evidence of prehistoric occupation, but the cultural deposit is practically limited to the clearing, where it is about seven inches thick and especially rich toward the north end. The clearing probably is due to cultivation by recent Seminole, although no corn, pumpkins, bananas, nor indeed any other escaped domesticates, except one lemon tree, were seen, which is unusual for an abandoned Seminole field. No refuse of the sort one would expect from recent Seminole occupation was found, and the only evidence of recent visitors was one small piece of rubber matting.

On the surface were found numerous potsherds and animal bone fragments, some shell, and four fragments of bottle glass. The following list summarizes the identification of this material, for which the author is greatly indebted to John M. Goggin.

<i>Sherds:</i>	<i>Rim</i>	<i>Body</i>
Glades Plain-----	10	137
Glades Tooled-----	9	0
Belle Glade Plain-----	1	0
Key Largo Incised-----	2	0
Unclassified incised gritty ware-----	1	2

⁴³ Don Poppenhager, personal communication, Jan. 31, 1953. The writer is indebted to Mr. Poppenhager for providing air-boat transportation to the hammock and for assistance in making the archeological surface collection.

Other artifacts:

- Three dark green bottle glass fragments, dating from before ca. 1900.
- One patinated clear bottle glass fragment, which may be post-1900.
- One Busycon shell pick fragment.
- One Macrocallista shell knife ??

Animal bones:

- Deer, turtle, fish, small mammal, alligator.

Shell:

Marine:

- Ostrea* sp.; *Macrocallista* sp.; *Venus* sp.; *Busycon* sp.; *Strombus* sp.; *Lucina* sp.

Freshwater:

- Ampullaria* sp. (snail).

This hammock, given the University of Florida archeological site number Da69, was on the basis of the above specimens occupied "primarily in Glades IIIb (or perhaps Glades IIIc, although we need more historical material to prove it)."⁴⁴ These are the last pre-Seminole archeological periods in the Everglades region, dating from about 1500 to about 1800 (Goggin, 1950a, p. 10; Goggin, 1952, p. 36). It is probable that the remains found are not the refuse of Chakaika's camp, since the bottle fragments are the only possible trade goods, yet Chakaika's group must have used many objects obtained from the whites through trade or plunder. More intensive archeological investigation of the site would undoubtedly turn up such material, possibly as well as later objects left by Seminole. With luck, the burial of the soldier, Allen, might be found. The bodies of Chakaika and his two men probably will not be found. Even if they were eventually buried, which is uncertain, the burial may have been of the recent Seminole above-ground type,⁴⁵ in which case none of the remains would have survived the 113 years since.

CONCLUSION

The documentary and traditional material given here shows that there were several different Indian groups in southwest Florida in the first part of the 19th Century. There were certainly "Seminole" bands, and individuals with mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry. There was probably a small group

⁴⁴ John M. Goggin, personal communication, Feb. 19, 1953. For the time-span of most of the pottery types given above, see Goggin, 1950c.

⁴⁵ See Neill, 1952, fig. 25.

of "Choctaws," although present Florida Seminole tradition states that the Choctaw were never in Florida. There was probably a Calusa settlement, the town of Caloosahatchie, at least in the earlier part of the period. There was certainly also a band of "Spanish Indians" whose association with the Seminole was at first even weaker than the loose connections between different Seminole bands. These Spanish Indians were perhaps Choctaw, perhaps Calusa remnants, or perhaps a more independent Seminole band. The last hypothesis is considerably strengthened by the apparently unanimous present Seminole opinion that Chakaika and his band were Mikasuki Seminole. The group existed only a little more than a century ago, and there are definite Seminole traditions of other, *non*-Seminole bands in Florida ("Bad People," Yuchi, and perhaps Koasati). Furthermore, the Seminole recognize the fact that their ancestors were associated, at a much earlier period before entering Florida, with still other groups speaking neither Muskogee nor Mikasuki (e.g., Choctaw, Shawnee, Osage). There is considerable evidence that at first the ties were very tenuous between the numerous Indian bands which entered Florida and later more or less amalgamated into the Seminole. Thus it is possible that the Spanish Indians were a group of Mikasuki-speakers who reached South Florida somewhat earlier than the other Seminole, and had closer relations with the Spanish in South Florida and Cuba. Seminole traditions probably can cast no more light on the subject—but they at least emphasize that this is an as yet unsolved problem. The solution may come from archeological investigation in the Charlotte Harbor region or at Chakaika's Island, or more likely from a search of historical documents in Washington, Cuba, or Seville.

For the three specific incidents here dealt with, the documentary and traditional accounts differ in fullness and emphasis, as well as in detail. No traditions survive, as far as the author could discover, of the attack on Harney's force on the Caloosahatchie. From the Seminole point of view, there was probably nothing unusual about this fight; the factor of the misunderstandings and bad faith in Macomb's "agreement" was not unusual either. We are fortunate in having the rather full account of the Indian side of the engagement preserved in the story by Sampson.

The traditional accounts of the raid on Indian Key agree quite well with the documentary sources, and add the information that the route followed was down and back via the Shark River. The locations of Chakaika's home, Hanging People, and of Indian Key are remembered. The distance of the trip, and the amount of plunder obtained, both probably unusual fea-

tures, are emphasized. The number of whites killed at the Key is exaggerated. Although the escape of Mrs. Perrine and her children is apparently remembered, one tradition incorrectly states that she rowed all the way to Key West.

The most important difference between the traditional and documentary accounts is the shortening of the interval between the Indian Key raid and Chakaika's death. Whereas actually four months intervened, the traditions make it at most a week or two, and view Harney's expedition as a direct result of the Indian Key raid. In fact, the modern Seminole seem to feel that Chakaika was justly punished for what he did at Indian Key. This is certainly a far different view than that reported for the Seminole at the time; the present Indians do not especially identify themselves with Chakaika, and they are today a thoroughly peaceful and law-abiding people. Several incidents of Harney's raid are more or less correctly remembered: the soldiers' use of boats, the role of the Negro guide, the complete surprise of the attack, the fact that Chakaika was at the time chopping wood at some little distance from the rest, and the hanging of Chakaika and some of his men, while some were captured and others escaped. Some of the other details are incorrectly remembered. The most important contribution of tradition is the precise location of the hammock where Chakaika lived and was hung.

If we had only the traditional accounts of these happenings, we could be fairly certain that they referred to specific historical happenings, and that the places remembered as involved are accurately located. But we could not rely on the chronology, nor could we be sure that other equally important events of the same time were not omitted. This is probably the case with most Seminole traditions dealing with the Seminole Wars. For earlier times, the traditions are vaguer and certainly less accurate in detail, but are still of some use as strict history, especially when used with other evidence. For later periods the traditions are more and more accurate and full. As one reaches personal reminiscences of happenings actually observed or participated in, the accounts give more information on Indian understanding and attitudes, as well as on the historical events themselves.

The utilization of this major source of Florida historical data will require field-work more difficult than the interviewing of the usual sorts of "old settlers," but it is at least equally rewarding. Seminole tradition gives a very different viewpoint of historical happenings which in itself is highly desirable and interesting, as well as providing new information which can be added to historical knowledge. Until the last few decades, the Seminole

were probably the most important as well as for long the most numerous inhabitants of mainland South Florida. Before about 1860, they were important in the history not only of the whole state, but of the United States. They are an interesting people who should receive more attention from historians and others.

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY AND PERSONAL NAMES

The orthography used here for the transcription of Mikasuki Seminole is one worked out by the author. The symbols have approximately the following values:

p, b, t, f, h, m, n, l, w, y — nearly as in English

k — as English “k” in “skin” or nearly as “g” in “again”

s — nearly as English “sh” in “shin”

c — nearly as English “ch” in “chin”

L — voiceless “l”, a sound not occurring in English, but remotely resembling “thl” in “athlete” or “l” in a rapid pronunciation of “slip”

i — as “i” in English “pin” or “e” in “pen”

i: — nearly as “ee” in English “feel”

o — nearly as “o” in English “mote” or “u” in “put”

o: — nearly as “o” in English “pole”

a — as “o” in American English “pot”

a: — as “a” in English “father”

~ — over a vowel indicates nasalization, as in French “*pain, on,*” etc.

Double consonants, such as -kk-, are about twice as long as single ones.

Accented syllables are louder than un-marked ones:

✓ — over a vowel indicates a high, level pitch of the voice;

^ — indicates a high pitch falling to a low one;

unmarked syllables are usually lower in pitch than marked ones.

Muskogee (also called Creek), the language of the modern Cow Creek Seminole and of the Oklahoma Creek and Oklahoma Seminole, is related to Miasuki but the two languages are not mutually intelligible. For Muskogee, the best system of transcription is that of M. R. Haas (1940, pp.

149-150). Her symbols have almost the same values as the ones used here for Mikasuki. Unfortunately, lack of time prevented the present writer from getting Cow Creek Seminole translations for all the Mikasuki expressions given here. Therefore, in the following discussion of names, Swanton's transcription has been converted into Haas' only insofar as the present writer's knowledge, and comparison with Loughbridge's dictionary (Loughbridge and Hodge, 1914), would permit. The major defects in my transcriptions of these Muskogee words are probably occasional omissions of long marks (:), writing of some double consonants as single ones, and inadequate marking of the tonal accents.

Almost all Mikasuki personal names, male and female, are in Muskogee. The only major change made in the Muskogee words is the replacement of the final vowel, whatever it may be, with -i: in Mikasuki. Women get but one name, which they bear from childhood to death, whereas men now receive a childhood name which is replaced by an adult name at age 10-15. In former days, these adult names were gained via feats of military valor, and an individual might receive several during his adulthood—although apparently the first adult name was usually the one most commonly used even when a man had subsequently received other war names. As will be seen in the list below, adult male names are and were almost invariably of two parts, of which the first normally is the name of an animal, sib, town, or tribe, and the second is often derived from the title of a civil or military official. In day to day conversation, the second element is now frequently omitted, and this was apparently the case a hundred years ago also, since we frequently find the same individual alternatively referred to by the first element alone or by the whole name. Modern Mikasuki interpretations of the meanings of men's names are frequently unsatisfactory, for two reasons: the words are in Muskogee, not Mikasuki, and the official positions of which the titles are so often the basis of the final name elements are mostly no longer in existence among the modern Seminole. Hence, in the interpretations given here, I have in most cases followed Swanton (1928a, pp. 101-107 and *passim*). A few meanings are from my informants (mostly Mikasuki speakers) or from Loughbridge and Hodge (1914).

Almost all personal names in the historic documents are given in their Muskogee forms, even when the individuals referred to are definitely known to have been Mikasuki. It seems very probable that for several centuries there have been a large number of Muskogee-Mikasuki bilinguals in both groups, as there are in Florida today. It is also likely that most interpreters

available used Muskogee and English, rather than Mikasuki and English, even when dealing with Mikasuki. Before the splitting-off of the Mikasuki Seminole from the Creek Confederacy, Muskogee must have been the language they normally used in dealing with outsiders, and there is no reason to suppose the situation changed after the split, since undoubtedly many more outsiders knew Muskogee than knew Mikasuki.

The following are the Indian names mentioned in this paper. The order of presentation is (1) Indian name, as written in the sources (only a few variants are given, of the multitude that occur). (2) English name, where given. (3) Mikasuki Seminole pronunciation. (4) Muskogee equivalent. (5) Translation of the latter. (6) Comments.

Arpeika, Aripeka, Arpeik, Appiaca, Apeiaka, Arpiucki, etc. (2) Sam Jones (3) abayakha:cî: (in normal shortened form, ábaya:kî:) (4) a:paya:kâ: ha:cô: (5) a:paya:kâ:, 'yellow rat snake (*Elaphe obsoleta*)'; ha:cô:, 'crazy, furious in battle' (6) This was one of Sam Jones' war names. His first adult name was tastanakata:fî:, 'wise warrior.'

Callope (6) I am unable to suggest any interpretation for this (Spanish) spelling.

Capichalafola (3) probably kapikcayaholî: (4) kapikca yahola (Swanton's spelling would give "kapica" rather than "kapikca") (5) kapikca, 'lye-drip'; yahola, "refers to the yahola cry, a long-drawn-out shout uttered by the bearers of the black drink while the chiefs and warriors were taking it" (Swanton, 1928a, p. 101). (6) The interpretation of the spelling "Capicha" as kapikca is obvious; that of "lafola" is less certain. For another case where Spanish "f" perhaps represents "h" (possibly an error in reading an original manuscript "h"), see Uquisilisinifa below.

Chakika, Chekika, Chakaikee, Chikika, Chekikia, Chekeka, Chaikika, Chokika, Chikiko, Chechika (3) cakâykî, or cakâykico:bî: ('big cakâykî:') (5) 'follow after,' or 'caught up with' (or perhaps 'chopper') (6) A boyhood name, not his adult name the latter is not remembered). The spelling adopted in this paper is a compromise between the most common spellings (Chakika, Chekika) and the Misasuki pronunciation.

Chia (6) I am unable to suggest what this spelling stands for or to provide an interpretation.

Chitto-Tustenugge (3) cittotastanakî: (4) cîtto tastanákki: (5) cîtto, 'snake'; tastanákki:, 'warrior.'

- Chochokeynehajo (3) kocáknáha:cî: (4) kocókni ha:cô: (5) kocókni, 'short'; ha:cô:, 'crazy, furious in battle.'
- Cosafamico (6) The last part is certainly Creek míkko, 'chief.' The first part is dubious; if it represents kosa (the name of a Creek town), which is a possible initial name-element, the "-fa-" remains unexplained. Another possibility is kowasa:ti (the Koasati tribe), but this seems a bit too far from the Spanish spelling.
- Gulas (6) This Spanish spelling is difficult to interpret; if the name is Creek, there is a remote possibility that it stands for kalasi (the last vowel is dubious), 'Calusa,' although if so, as a name there should be another, final, element, and kalasi has not been recorded by Swanton or myself as a Creek or Seminole name-element.
- Halleck-Tustenuggee, Harlock-Tustenuggee (3) ahalaktastanakî: (4) ahalak tastanákki: (5) 'potato warrior.'
- Holatter-Micco, Oh-lachta Mico, etc. (2) Billy Bowlegs (3) holahtmikî: (4) holahta míkko (5) holahta was a Muskogee ceremonial official (mentioned but nowhere defined in Swanton, 1928a and 1928b); míkko, 'chief.'
- Holartoochee, Holatoochee (2) Davy ? (3) holahto:cî: (4) holahtoci (5) 'little holahta.'
- Hospetarke, Hospertacke (2) Shiver and Shakes (3) hospatâ:kî: (4) ? -pata:ka ? (5) perhaps contains pata:ka, 'bed.'
- Lew-fall-micco (3) yofa:lmikî: ? (4) yofa:la míkko ? (5) 'Eufaula (a Muskogee town) chief.'
- Oche-Hadjo (3) oci:há:cî: (4) oci: ha:cô: (5) 'crazy hickory.'
- Ochismucu (3) probably oci:smikî: (4) oci:sî: míkko (5) oci:sî:, the name of a town, perhaps from a Hitchiti word meaning 'people of foreign speech' (see Swanton, 1922, pp. 413-414); míkko, 'chief' (6) Of the names from Spanish documents (Morales Patiño, MS.), this is the most susceptible of interpretation.
- Opo-arico (6) The "opo" may represent the Creek (and Mikasuki) initial name-element hopo:y-, which may perhaps be from Creek hopo:ya, 'a seeker' (Loughbridge and Hodge, 1914, p. 146). The final element is doubtful. No sound similar to the Spanish (or English) "r" occurs

in Creek or Mikasuki; if hopo:y- is from hopo:ya, then perhaps the division should be Opoa-rico, in which case one might guess that "rico" represents Creek Lákko, 'big.' However, compare Opoilacho and Yottajo-Arico below.

Opoilacho (6) In this case, the interpretation of "Opoi" as Creek hopo:y- is much more certain than for "Opo" above; similarly, "lacho" represents Lákko, 'big' more probably than does "rico" above.

Otalke-Thlocko (2) The Prophet (3) hotalkiLákkî: (4) hotalki Lákko (5) hotalki, 'wind'; Lákko, 'big.'

Passacka, Parsacke (6) Creek, Mikasuki, and meaning unknown to me.

Sho-nock-Hadjo (3) sō:nakha:cî: (6) This is still in use as a Mikasuki name, but the Creek equivalent and the translation are unknown to me.

Thock-lo-Tustenuggee (2) Tigertail, Fish King (3) LaLotastanakî: (4) LaLo tastanákki: (5) 'fish warrior.'

Tmacha (6) The initial letter in this Spanish spelling is evidently an error. If it is a mis-reading of an original capital "I", then the name may have been Creek i:ma:La (Mikasuki i:ma:Lî:), 'warrior of the second class' (Swanton, 1928a, pp. 198 fn. 4, 301), which is a possible initial name-element and a common final one.

Uquisilisinifa (6) "-sinifa" perhaps represents the common Creek final name-element hiniha, 'chief's lieutenant' (Swanton, 1928a, p. 192). The rest of the name is obscure; one might suggest that "-ili-" represents Creek illi:, 'leg,' which sometimes occurs in names following the name of an animal, but this is dubious and leaves "uquis-" unexplained.

Yafa-Fastonasque (3) probably yahatastanakî: (4) yáha tastanákki: (5) 'wolf warrior.'

Yottaja-Arico (6) The interpretation of this Spanish spelling is obscure. There is a remote possibility that "yottaja" represents the Creek name-element yofa:la, 'Eufaula (a Creek town).'

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