

A Cultural History of the Seminole War

Thomas Hallock, Primary Investigator

"And yet 'tis not an endless war,
As facts will plainly show,
Having been 'ended' forty times
In twenty months or so."

--Anonymous, "A Felicitous Hit at the Florida War" (1839)

"And so carefully has the truth of this story been covered up with lies, that,
probably, very few indeed of the people of the Free States have any just idea of the
origin, character, and purposes of the Seminole Wars, or of the character of the race
against which they were waged."

--Review of Joshua Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida* (1858)

This bibliographic guide takes first steps toward a cultural history of the U.S. war against the Seminole people--a long conflict that ran through most of the first half of the nineteenth century, with repercussions that continue to this day.¹ "A Cultural History of the Seminole War"

¹ The dates of the war fall roughly between the early nineteenth century and the present. The state of Florida follows an older commonplace model and divides the long conflict into three periods: 1817-19, 1835-1842, and 1855-1858 (Florida Dept of State). More recent historians, Seminole and non-Native, see these engagements within a long continuum (Frank 279), and few scholars would challenge more expansive dates. Joshua Giddings' polemic, *The Exiles of Florida* (1858), suggests a starting point at 1811, with the Seminole conflict spinning off the Creek War to the North and the U.S./British War of 1812. The end point is just as ambiguous. From the U.S. side, the Seminole War ended in 1858, with military conflicts eclipsed by the start of the Civil War in 1861; Florida's Seminoles have never signed a peace treaty, however, so any declaration of closure is arbitrary.

gathers poetry, fiction, art, music, oratory and treaty making, belletristic writing, popular and material culture, and commentary into one single list. The emphasis is on representation, rhetoric, and circulation. U.S. culture invented an Other, using inflammatory descriptions to delineate an enemy.² The war was also controversial in its own time, and with public opinion deeply divided, opposition garnered ink. The war has a legacy, finally, and the reflections by Indigenous as well as non-Native creators continue to capture the nineteenth century in living memory. How then do we reclaim the past? As authors and artists today address this question, examining the restorative alongside the more painful representations, perhaps we may reopen the conversation on more honest, healing terms.

The Seminole War was a long war. Not to be temporally bracketed or split into parts, the conflict started and ended well beyond fixed dates. So too are the stories in constant motion. The painter Alyssa Osceola points to the memory of Ematoloye (Polly Parker), a Seminole matriarch who was held captive at an internment camp on Egmont Key (off Tampa Bay), who escaped while being deported to the "Indian Territories" in 1858, and who walked home from St. Marks (on the Panhandle) to the Everglades. Osceola, who has painted Ematoloye, carries this story with her. "It's frustrating," she explains; "there is a feeling of loss when I do my research and find out what my family had to endure just for wanting to keep their home. Always. It's affected me directly."³ For Native people especially, the scars linger as inherited trauma. Because literature and art can circle

² C.S. Monaco, *The Second Seminole War and the Limits of American Aggression* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 100; Andrew K. Frank, "Creating a Seminole Enemy: Ethnic and Racial Diversity in the Conquest of Florida," *FIU Law Review* 9, no. 2 (Spring 2014), 283.

³ Citlali Morales, "[Replanting Family Trees: An Osceola Remembers Polly Parker](#)," *Creative Pinellas* (July 21, 2023).

around, however, the cultural record provides an opportunity to re-examine imperfectly healed wounds.

This project is long overdue. The timeline marks its beginning from a conversation with a university professor, Thomas Hallock, and non-Native curatorial staff at the Seminole's Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum. In discussions with curator Tara Backhouse and research assistant Joseph Gilbert, Hallock and Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki staff members framed the idea of a literary history; this project, the cultural history, could serve as a complement to a chronologically organized finding aid of the museum's periodicals, the "Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Historic Newspaper Collection." Hallock then worked with a cadre of graduate students at the University of South Florida in a Spring 2024 course, "LIT 6934: Constructing a Seminole Past." Students Benjamin Brothers, Rachel Knox, Jennifer Melko, Elisabeth Parker, and Chelsea Rivera combed through materials with Hallock; Kylie Culver later gave this project a thorough review. Kathryn Holland-Braund provided suggestions on historical context for a revised draft. A goal of this project, which has been the work of mostly non-Native people, is to provide a resource that serves Seminole interests.

To advance this conversation with the past requires re-orientation at multiple levels. The first step involves chronology itself. In fundamental ways, academic date keeping and Indigenous memory are at odds. "When people of settler descent attempt to put a time constraint on the Indigenous connection to our land," the environmental and cultural historian David Rahaḩ̄·tīh Webb observes, "it somehow seeks to place us within the same context." Temporalities jump around. "Time rides the spiral with wild precision," the Mvskoke poet Joy Harjo observes. "Seminole art is alive and active," the painter Elgin Jumper also explains, "simultaneously and

paradoxically looking to the past to move forward into the twenty-first century."⁴ So how does one organize cultural production, without stripping the art from an Indigenous understanding of time? How do we recognize the looping quality of memory, without losing the interface between discrete historical-political acts and artistic representation?

It helps to recognize that, even within the early nineteenth-century United States, the war was extremely divisive. The conflict took a tremendous human and financial toll. For each of the 3,824 Seminoles who were deported after the war's "second" phase, historian Claudio Saunt figures, the U.S. spent \$32,000; that amounts to \$8.5 million per deportation in today's terms.⁵ A verbal apparatus was necessary to rationalize an egregious moral and fiscal cost. After the war, Native-white relations in the United States worsened, and over this time, representations would continue to change. Understandings of the Seminole War would get folded into other issues. The war enters later conversations about other aspects of Native history and life: casino gambling, environmentalism, tourism, the Viet Nam War, media access, and so on. The value of this cultural history, which is both looping and chronologically arranged, is that it allows us to trace the war's long afterlife.

This timeline starts at 1800 and continues to the present. Historical events are indicated in **bold**. These include key moments in the war:

- the beginnings, or precipitating U.S. raid on the African-American fortress at Prospect Bluff (or "Negro Fort"), which resulted in the "first" stage of conflict;

⁴ David Rahaḡ-tih Webb, *The Spanish Seminole: The Untold History of the Spanish Indians as Told by a Descendant* (Cocoa, Fl.: Florida Historical Society Press, 2023), 43; Joy Harjo, *An American Sunrise: Poems* (New York: Norton, 2019), 86; Elgin Jumper, "Bridges across Time," In *Reflections across Time: Seminole Portraits*, ed. Annette B. Fromm (Miami: The Patricia & Phillip Frost Art Museum, Florida International University, 2012), 32.

⁵ Claudio Saunt, *Unworthy Republic: The Dispossession of Native Americans and the Road to Indian Territory* (New York: Norton, 2020), 301.

- treaties and betrayals through the 1820s;
- the "hot" war, or "Second Seminole War," through the second half of the 1830s;
- controversies and failures through the 1840s, including officer resignations and proposed use of dogs to hunt down the Native resistance;
- the continued resistance and removal in the 1850s, or "Third Seminole War";
- ongoing tensions and trauma, and the necessary reclamations which continue to this day.

The value of a timeline is that the dates align artistic representation alongside individual treaties and battles and such. To accommodate the looping of memory, meanwhile, this cultural history cross-lists items. Retrospective items are listed at both date of publication and for the moment described, allowing readers to see the entry both at a fixed year and part of a past-that-is-not-past.

Take as an example the year 1830. Given the impact of the 1830 Indian Removal Act, this could be called a "hot" year. (See text box to the right.) The bold text describes a major piece of legislation, the 1830 removal act. Under the bold text appears a poem ("Indian Wrongs"); speeches before the house, and a Seminole shoulder bag. These three items responded directly to the political legislation. The indented entries then recognize the same events

1830	<p>Indian Removal Act, promoted by Andrew Jackson, relegates many southeastern Natives West of the Mississippi River. Controversial measure fought on battlegrounds, in the press, and on Congressional floor.</p> <p>*[Unnamed Seminole Artist.] Shoulder/Bandolier Bag (Metropolitan Museum of Art, ca. 1830. L.2018.35.32). Reprinted in Gaylord Torrance, <i>Art of Native America: The Charles and Valerie Diker Collection</i>, plate 15. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2018. [art, beadwork; warfare]</p> <p>"Removal of the Indians" [Review of <i>Speeches on the Indian Bill ... in the House of Representatives in the months of April and May, 1830.</i>] <i>North American Review</i> 31, no. 2 (Jan. 1, 1830): 396-442. [essay, reviewing legislation: Muscogeese; Cherokees; colonization; genocide; propaganda; removal; state building; white savior complex]</p> <p>*Mellen, Grenville. "Indian Wrongs." <i>Boston Recorder</i> 15, no. 50 (Dec. 15, 1830): 200. Reprinted in <i>The Cherokee Phoenix</i> (Oct. 8, 1830): 4. [poetry, written for Phi Beta Kappa society at Harvard: removal; state building]</p> <p>Haney, Enoch Kelly. "Dedication of the Guardian" (2003). [sculpture: removal; tribal sovereignty; state building]</p> <p>*Tiger, Tony A. and Bobby C. Martin. <i>Mekusape Fullvana: Muscogee Gravehouse</i>. Reprinted in Tiger, Martin, and Weaver, <i>Return from Exile</i> (2015), pp. 1819. [art, mixed media: memory; religion removal; unconquered]</p> <p>*Harjo, Joy. <i>An American Sunrise</i> (2019). [poetry: Muscogeese; Indian holocaust; removal; unconquered].</p>
1831	<p>Smith, Michael. <i>The Lost Virgin of the South</i>. Tallahassee: M. Smith, 1831. [fiction, historical novel: captivity; Jackson, Andrew; nation-building; religion;</p>

in memory. These reflections include a sculpture by Enoch Kelly Haney; a mixed-media sculpture

by Tony A. Tiger and Bobby C. Martin; and Joy Harjo's Pulitzer Prize book of poems, *An American Sunrise*. Moving then to the following year, 1831, a novel by the southern writer Michael Smith illustrates the relationship between federal policy and cultural production; it is no coincidence, this timeline shows, that the Indian Removal Act coincides with romantic portrayals of the vanishing, dying, or "lost" Indian. The timeline's format should thus make obvious, with crystal clarity, how artistic portrayals and political acts reinforced one another, without losing sight of Indigenous responses. A final feature is the asterisk. These indicate noteworthy items. The judgements, often subjective, provide a quick guide for the readers who do not want to read every single item on this cultural history; the principal investigator for this project (Thomas Hallock) is suggesting that the time-pressured reader should look at Harjo's Pulitzer worthy *An American Sunrise* before Michael Smith's forgettable apologia for the war, *Lost Virgin of the South*.

The goal of this project is to catalog. The purpose (and I write as a non-Native scholar) is to itemize resources, to identify the "when" and "where," and *not* to suggest what Indigenous texts might "mean." For many items on this list, an outsider is better off not venturing an interpretation. By way of example, come back to the bandolier bag. This shoulder bag (now being detained at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art) almost certainly contained medicine that was personal to the Seminole warrior who wore it, and the patterns of the beadwork carried and/or carry symbolic significance. Clearly there were socio-cultural changes afoot on the Native landscape. Anthropologist Brent Weisman remarks upon a traditionalist pot, fabricated about the same time as the bag, from Florida's swampy Cove of the Withlacoochee River (1836, see timeline). This decade, Brent Weisman notes, witnessed a resurgence in traditionalist movements.⁶ The timeline

⁶ Weisman reviews the history of the Cove of the Withlacoochee in "Nativism, Resistance, and Ethnogenesis of the Florida Seminole Indian Identity," *Historical Archaeology* 41, no. 4 (2007),

registers this shift. The same archaeological dig at the Cove of the Withlacoochee that unearthed this pot, tellingly, did not turn up equivalent items of non-Native manufacture. During the 1830s, as the Seminole-U.S. conflict intensified, cultural boundaries also sharpened.

So how does one catalog this cultural response without *reading into* things? This question foregrounds questions of medium and production, particularly with regards to writing. Treaties are especially problematic because, in Euromerican culture, the written word and print culture have long served as a marker of "civilization" and as a baseline of legal authority. (This becomes even more problematic as the United States repeatedly violated signed, written documents.) In 1823, a limited delegation of Seminoles signed the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, which established a land reservation in central Florida. The very agreement presumed a Euromerican system of governance, in which leaders act (in hierarchical form) on behalf of the entirety. The agreement was soon broken by the United States, as recognized by Native and non-Native commentators alike. The entry for 1823 (in bold) includes a brief recap, with a link to the Treaty from the U.S. National Archives' "[Treaty Explorer](#)." The entry for this year also references the online [American State Papers](#), government documents from the Library of Congress that retain the U.S. government version of events. How then did these events register in the literary and artistic imagination?

Ten years after Moultrie Creek, the United States felt emboldened by the Indian Removal Act and reset negotiations with the Seminoles, resulting in the controversial Treaty of Payne's Landing. Reports of the earlier Treaty at Moultrie Creek had caught the attention of none other than Washington Irving, famed author of "Rip Van Winkle" and other tales. Long interested in Spanish America and Floridiana, Irving penned "The Seminoles" for an 1840 number of *The*

205. For an image of the Seminole pot, see the year "1836" on the timeline. Here and elsewhere, sources cited on the timeline will be cited internally, by year.

Knickerbocker magazine (Irving's sketch is listed on this timeline both for 1823 and also cross-listed to 1840, the year of publication). Irving's textual history is very complicated, and the Seminole sketches are especially problematic. They appear and disappear in various editions of his writings. And what is the significance of literary output, or writing itself? In a dramatic rejection of the written word, according to a long tradition, Osceola physically stabbed the Treaty of Payne's Landing with his knife, declaring "this is how I sign"; artists such as Thomas M. Storm, Sr., Wilson Bowers and others dramatize this rejection of the written word. Read together, the material from the National Archives, a belletristic sketch by Washington Irving, and the work of skateboard-artist Bowers allows us to compare the multivalent texts that emerged from a fraught period of negotiations. A living tradition of Seminole aesthetics refuses the images or language systems that were pressed upon them, exploring hybrid identity to fuse past with a living present.⁷

And this living present (a point cannot be emphasized strongly enough) can overwhelm rational considerations. Legacies corrupt legibility. The ugliness of nineteenth-century racism renders belletristic literature from the time almost unreadable; "both horrifying and numbing," in Claudio Saunt's words.⁸ While preparing this list, I have struggled with equal parts information overload and bitter disgust, and many readers may experience the same. (That is one reason for the asterisks alongside select entries.) The poetry from the 1830s comes across as lachrymose, rife with clichés, and laughable (if only the intent were not so hurtful); bound to prejudices of the time, the fiction relies upon scarcely believable turns of plot. The material fails to shed a positive light on the United States, in short, and for those who harbor national loyalties or affection, redemption is hard to find. With images, I have aimed for historical and aesthetic balance; readers should be

⁷ Durante Blaise-Billie, "Seminoles in Art: Agency and Ethnographic Refusal." [*Reclaiming Home: Contemporary Seminole Art*](#), ed. Olga Wlusek (Sarasota: Ringling Museum, 2023), 7-15.

⁸ Saunt, *Unworthy Republic*, 293.

aware that this presentation avoids the worst displays of racism, though in many cases, the offending text is just a click away.

Coming back, then, to the issue of time. To facilitate non-sequential searches, I have included short descriptions with each entry: these start with genre (poem, play, etc.), often a capsule summary, and key words. The search terms that follow come from guidelines established in the "Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Historic Newspaper Collection," which I have further expanded from "best practices" among librarians.⁹ The entry for Harjo's *An American Sunrise* (1830), for example, reads as follows: "poetry: Muscogee (Creek); Indian holocaust; removal; unconquered." In other words:

- it is a book of poems;
- it primarily involves Muscogee (or Creek) identity;
- and the thematic references are Indian holocaust, removal, and unconquered.

The subjects glosses, I concede, may be the shakiest and most subjective element of this cultural history. Users should be aware that longer works, especially including novels and histories, cannot be encapsulated into tidy keywords. Future iterations of this project (I hope) will establish better avenues for non-chronological reading.

A longer view of the U.S. invasion of Florida, rendered across time, provides a point for reexamining our nation's legacy of settler-colonialism. The poetry can be off-putting, identifying with the trauma of the invading party and acknowledging Native voices only in caricature; read

⁹ Kim Ross, "[Indigenous Peoples Subject Headings Crosswalk](#)" (Peabody-Essex Museum, 2020-2021); Richard Sapon-White, Pamela Louderback, and Sara Levinson "[Creating Subject Headings for Indigenous Topics: A Culturally Respectful Guide](#)" (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 2023); a finding aid to the "Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki's Historic Newspaper Collection" is in-process and may be accessible by contacting the [Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum](#).

comparatively, however, openings appear for dialog between present and past. Precisely because the dubious war required justification, extensive documentation on military matters survives. The few histories that examine the conflict couch themselves in government papers, and as these studies take Indian removal as a point of fact, the perspective skews.¹⁰ The government documents are exhaustingly repetitive, however, and the pages upon pages of dispatches and depositions capture moments of resistance. The covert interests are hiding in plain documentary sight. A report by the U.S. official Benjamin Hawkins, culled from a prior report by Tuskegee Tustumugee [Tustumugee] contains a compelling notice from a free Black Floridan, almost certainly Antonio Proctor, who warns about Georgia militia set to invade the Seminole village of Alachua (see 1812). Proctor, a resident of St. Augustine who had been born into slavery in Santo Domingo, openly opposes U.S. aggression. Described only as a "negro ... from Augustine" who "speaks Indian," Proctor is recorded: "the old people will be put to sweep the yards of the white people, the young men to work for them, and the young females to spin and weave for them. This I have heard and this I tell you." In many cases, documents can be read productively against their initial purpose. An item such as the "Minutes of the proceedings of a special court" (1818) contains valuable nuggets about the controversial trial of Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister, two British citizens who were hanged (outside U.S. jurisdiction) by Andrew Jackson in retribution for "treason" for abetting Native-Black freedom seekers. This prolix document is revealing in spite of authorial intentions. Because Andrew Jackson's actions fell egregiously outside the law, the "Minutes" captures multiple perspectives: the brazen defense of an illegal trial by white U.S. leaders; brief, if

¹⁰ The historical scholarship is over a century old and vastly underdeveloped; a review essay lies beyond the purposes here. Mary Lou and John Missall review the entire conflict in *The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2004); under the umbrella of the [Seminole Wars Foundation](#), Missall and Missall have also put back into circulation several primary sources.

poorly translated messages from Creek leaders, who were "friendly" to the U.S.; and letters from sympathetic British observers, who provide an invaluable window into the movements of Black Floridians (see 1818).

Literary history is not the same as documentary history. Representations change over time, and because representations fuel policy, the changes in representation matter. We need to trace not only historical events, but how these same historical events have been described. This process is empowering. Over the past few decades, for instance, the organizational and financial success of the Seminole Tribe of Florida has led to the publication of Seminole authors on their own terms. Works produced and/or published by the Seminoles like Moses Jumper's *Echoes in the Wind: Seminole Indian Poetry* (1990), and Betty Mae Jumper's *Legends of the Seminoles* (1994) were notably produced in-house. These volumes mark a two-hundred-year effort to wrest images of Southeastern Natives from European representation, reversing a long process of cultural Othering. A timeline provides the long view of this process, going back to the fictional Natchez chief Chactas, who abandons his homeland in Francois-René de Chateaubriand's novella *Atala* (1801). Chateaubriand's wildly successful novella (reprinted over a half dozen times between 1802 and 1887) is often dismissed as Romanticist puff today, though though the French author laid groundwork for the imaginary removals that became real. Scenes hatched from Chateaubriand's imagination were adopted by French parlor painters as romantic idealizations (see 1808); were used as contradictory instances of settler-colonialism during the height of U.S. removal acts (1835); and served even as an allegory for Mexican nationalism (1873). Episodes from *Atala* appeared in nineteenth-century wallpaper, on decorative clocks, and dinner plates; the name itself became popular for women, ships, and even racehorses. The novel circulated, in whole and parts, in so many ways that its cultural imprint cannot be ignored. From the 1830s and well into the

twentieth century, Florida's Indians would remain the subject of romantic fiction,¹¹ and as the war intensified, the fictionalization came in waves (see 1831, Smith; 1838, Duke; 1841, Welch; 1858, Reid). Authors such as Ned Buntline, a prolific navy-seaman-turned-author, folded his experiences along the Gulf into "dime store" novels such as *The White Wizard, or the Great Prophet of the Seminoles* (1858). Although now overlooked, U.S. hostilities against the Seminoles served as a stock theme in the literature of "westerns." These plot-driven, lurid, racist tales provide a blueprint to the culture of Indian-hating that drove federal policies.

The stories then enter our national DNA and resurface in ways that are somehow both predictable and bizarre. The images of the "noble savage," or the "dark" and warrior Indian, or the damsel in distress have long fed the plotlines of Hollywood westerns. Dramatizations of the Florida war, including blockbusters like *Seminole!* (1835, starring Anthony Quinn as Osceola) and *Distant Drums* (1837), both uphold clichés and interrogate national aggression. More searching films, like John Sayles' 1996 *Lone Star*, meanwhile, meaningfully unpack how Black Seminoles can figure into the complicated tapestry of western and national mythologies. The forgotten legacy of the Seminole War has wormed its way into unusual spaces. A film that dramatized the "second" Seminole War of 1837, *Seminole!*, included a shoot out with a famous death-cry that has become iconic for film buffs; this cry, the so-called "Wilhelm Scream," was initially sounded by a U.S. soldier shot by a Seminole; it was then repurposed into countless horror films; the film maker George Lucas, in turn, spliced the scream into a shoot-out from the second *Star Wars* film, *The Empire Strikes Back*.¹² Osceola pops us as a porcelain Italian figurine and plants his spear on the

¹¹ Maurice O'Sullivan, "Interpreting Florida, its Nineteenth-Century Literary Heritage." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 94, no. 3 (Winter 2016), 325-33.

¹² Macauley, Oliver. "[Arghhhhh! A Closer Look at the 'Wilhelm Scream,'](#)" Science and Media Museum (July 21, 2021).

fifty-yard line at college football games. (1978, 1991). From Italy to a football game, from the Dade Massacre of 1837 to formulaic westerns to the wing of an imperial craft in *Star Wars*, from a galaxy far, far away -- stories travel.

Arghhhhh!

Because representations are fluid and subject to change, the literature of the Seminole War offers a touchstone for reexamination. Where early depictions of southeastern Natives justified military and cultural violence, the same imagined people offered occasion for critique. The "rape of Florida" provided a means for occasional minority authors, such as Albery Allson Whitman, to voice a betrayal of American principals (1884). Defenses of the Everglades at the turn of the twentieth century appeared alongside campaigns for Indigenous rights. The Seminole Tribe of Florida organized in 1957, and with greater financial stability in the decades that followed, writers, folklorists, and artists across genres would take command of their own self-portrayal. In recent years, artists such as Elgin Jumper and Alyssa Osceola have reshaped old stereotypes into a cultural counterattack. Rappers such as Doc Native have retold the Seminole story through the persuasive language of hip hop (2011).

The importance of these present-day recoveries cannot be understated. The contemporary art serves as an intermediary to the culture yielded by the long Seminole War, and thus, as a roadmap to future action. Approached in isolation or without context, the poems, stories, art, and commentary present overbearing one-sided portrayals of Native-white conflicts. One must dig deep for Indigenous self-representation (1815, Hadjo), recovering Seminole voices from a thick veil of documents buried in library stacks and cumbersome websites (1821, "Extract"). The voices echo, and indeed, white commentary from the time about the war indicates that U.S. violence was not universally received in favorable terms; even in the most sympathetic or nominally supportive

arguments, however, the depiction of Native culture succumbs to stereotype. There lies the importance of reading the past through the present, and vice versa. Among non-Native people in the United States, the long war against the Seminole remains little discussed, if examined at all; among scholars, the war is a local, regional, and/or marginal subject altogether. This timeline recovers the extent to which the war dominated public debate in the nineteenth century, and through literature, allows a nation founded upon settler-colonial mythos to reexamine its own roots. Among Native people, the same organized materials help map stereotypes, misrepresentations, and the cultural production that underwrote past violence. The hope is that present-day remembrances make the unspeakably ugly military propaganda somehow more approachable. The goal has been to foster healthy, meaningful conversation.

And that leads to a final point: the need for humility. This project is ongoing. Recognizing its incomplete quality, and my own limitations, I am presenting the following as work in progress. If it is so determined that this work is valuable, and that research should continue, I will move forward. Otherwise, I leave this project for others to complete. Like the war that it describes, this cultural history will probably remain inconclusive and unresolved.

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How to Use this Document

Historical events are in **bold**. Documentary and literary sources (poems, fictions, plays, sketches, art, etc.) are listed under date of publication. In cases where linear/chronological time has passed between the event date and literary reflection, the entry is indented and cross-listed. For instance, Joy Harjo's poetic reflection upon the 1830 Indian Removal Act, *An American Sunrise* (published in 2019), has been listed under 1830 (to set the contemporary verse in dialogue with events) and under 2019 (date of the volume's publication). Images, in most cases, link to their source. An asterisk (*) indicates notable text.

Search Tips

The search terms intend to cross Native and non-Native historical perspectives. (This aspect of the project is ongoing.) Search terms began from the "Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Historic Newspaper Collection," then were expanded further based upon the content of the entries (literature being different in focus than a newspaper report), and current studies of search. Materials may be searched by genre (watercolor, music video, poem, etc.); by theme; geographically (Tampa Bay, Lake Okeechobee); or biographically (Francis Dade, Osceola); and by political entity (Native as well as non-Native). Note: Longer works especially, such as histories or novels, cannot be wholly encompassed within thematic terms.

Sample genres: cartoon; council minutes; fiction; film; legend; illustration; music; oratory; painting; performance (opera, radio play); poem; political pamphlet; sketch

Sample thematic terms: abolition; African influences; agriculture; alligators; alcohol use; American exceptionalism; anthropometry; antiquities [see also: mounds]; Black Seminoles [see also: maroons]; books and reading [see also: writing]; captivities; cattle [see livestock]; children; Christian savior complex; civilian casualties; classification; colonization; cooking; dehumanization; denial; destruction of towns; diaspora; diplomacy; disease; dogs; dwelling; environmentalism; erasure; extermination; finances; family; fleas; folklore; food; gender roles; genocide; government relations [see also: politics and government, treaties]; holocaust; healers, Indigenous; hostile settlers; hunting; imprisonment; land tenure; language materials; laws and legal status; livestock; Manifest Destiny; maroons [runaways, cimarones]; memory; minstrelry; mixed descent; mounds [see also: antiquities]; Noble Savage; oratory; Osceola mythos; paternalism; Patriot War; plant knowledge [botany, ethnobotany, medicine]; polarization; politics and government; propaganda; racism; religion; removal; rites and ceremonies [see also: religion]; roads; romanticization; self-righteousness; sexuality; slavery; social life and customs; starvation; state building; stereotype; swamps; symbolization; textiles; torture; treaties; tribal sovereignty; treaties; unconquered; war crimes; weapons, Indigenous; women; writing [see also: books and reading].

Chronology

1801 *Chateaubriand, François-René de. [Atala](#) (1801). [fiction, popular novella using Native/mixed-race characters to voice Christian themes: Christian savior complex; civilization; erasure; Noble Savage; paternalism; romanticization]

1808 Roucy-Trioson, Anne-Louis Girodet de. [Burial of Atala](#) (Getty Museum). [art, painting depicting famed scene from Chateaubriand novella: Christian savior complex; civilization; erasure; Noble Savage; paternalism]



After Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy-Trioson, "Burial of Atala (Getty Museum)

1809 Anonymous. "[A Remarkable History of the Treatment of the Spaniards, to the Natives of Florida as related by a spectator](#)." *The American Magazine of Wonders and Marvellous Chronicle* 2 (1809): 406. [sketch, describing torture; stereotype; war crimes]

1810 Howe, Oscar. [A Seminole Chief, 1810](#). In *North American Indian Costumes, 1564-1950*, edited by Oscar B. Jacobson and Oscar Howe, p. 195. Nice, France: Editions d'Art C. Szwedzicki, 1952. Reprinted in Fromm, *Reflections Across Time* (2012), plate 11. [art, watercolor: dress]

1812 **War of 1812, between the United States and England, felt in Florida through the Creek War and Georgia invasions of Fernandina and Amelia Islands (or "Patriot War").**

*"[Tuskegee Tustumugee to Colonel Hawkins](#)" (Sept. 18, 1812). In *State Papers And Publick Documents of the United States, From the Accession of George Washington to the Presidency: Exhibiting a Complete View of Our Foreign Relations Since That Time ...* 3d ed. Boston: Thomas B. Wait, 1819. [council minutes, emphasizing U.S.-Muscogee partnership and warnings of Patriot War: Alachua; Hawkins, Benjamin; Coweta; Payne ("King"); Patriot War; propaganda; slavery]

1814 Chateaubriand, François-René de. *Atala* (1814). [First English edition, translated by Caleb Bingham](#). [fiction, popular novella using Native/mixed-race characters to voice Christian themes: Christian savior complex; civilization; erasure; Noble Savage; paternalism; romanticization]

1815 **Southeastern Natives travel to England, seek ratification of a treaty that recognizes the Creek Nation.**

*Hillis Hadjo (Josiah Francis). [A Drawing of the Muscogee Chief Francis of himself](#) (British Museum). [art, watercolor self-portrait: Creek; diplomacy, England]

1816 **Battle of Prospect Bluff, led by Duncan Clinch under command of Andrew Jackson, attacking "Negro Fort" on the Apalachicola River. Precipitates U.S. assault of Black Floridians.**

_____. "[The Appalachicola Fort.](#)" *National Intelligencer* 4 [from the *Orleans Gazette*] (Oct. 9, 1816), 1171. [reporting, justifying U.S. incursions: Chickasaw; Choctaw; Clinch, Duncan; colonization; destruction of towns; England; maroons; Muscogee; propaganda; Prospect Bluff; slavery; Spain]



Hillis Hadjo (Josiah Francis), self-portrait (British Museum).

1817 **"First" Seminole War, slave raid led by Andrew Jackson into Spanish-claimed Florida.**

"[To the Commanding Officers at Fort Hawkins](#)" (Sept. 11, 1817). *American State Papers--Military Affairs*, 1:685; reprinted in Missall and Missall, [In Their Own Words](#) (2009), 5. [petition: cattle theft; Flint River; Gaines, Thomas; hostile settlers; slavery; Suwannee River]

1818 **Andrew Jackson, outside U.S. jurisdiction, tries and hangs British traders Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister. Josiah Francis/Hillis Hadjo, upon return from England (see above), executed.**

*Rattenbury, J. [Joseph] Freeman and John Miller. [Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main, in the Ship "Two Friends": The Occupation of Amelia Island by M'Gregor, &c.--Sketches of the Province of East Florida; and Anecdotes Illustrative of the Habits and Manners of the Seminole Indians: With an Appendix, Containing a Detail of the Seminole War, and the Execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister.](#) London: John Miller, 1819.

[travelogue, about Amelia Island, Spanish colonies and Latin American independence, with extensive appendix including Indigenous talks: Ambrister, Robert; Arbuthnot, Alexander; Bowlegs, Billy; dehumanization; England; Francis, Josiah; Francis, Milly; Jackson, Andrew; Muscogees; piracy; Seminoles, descriptions of; slavery; Spain; state building; see 1817]

Hitchcock, Ethan. [pension for Milly Francis.] In McKenney and Hall (1842), 3:193-94. [legislation, seeking pension for Milly Francis: captivity; Pocahontas]

Frost, John. "The Trial of Ambrister during the Seminole War." In John Frost, [Pictorial Life of Jackson](#). Boston: Belknap and Hamersley, 1847.

"Minutes of the proceedings of a special court," pp. 123-47. [Message from the president of the United States, transmitting a report from the secretary of War, in relation to the manner the troops in the service of the United States, now operating against the Seminole tribe of Indians, have been subsisted: whether by contract or otherwise, and whether they have been regularly furnished with rations](#) Washington, D.C.: E. de Krafft, 1818. [trial transcript with related documents: Arbuthnot, Alexander; Ambrister, Robert; England; oratory; maroons; slavery].

Bucholzer, H. "The Little Magician Invoked." New York: James S. Baillie, 1844. [political cartoon: American exceptionalism; Amstrister, Robert; Arbuthnot, Alexander; England; Jackson, Andrew; Van Buren, Martin]

"[The American Aborigines.](#)" *Niles' Weekly Register* 15, no. 376 (Nov. 14, 1818): 185. [editorial: American exceptionalism; anthropological racism; Cherokees; Choctaws; Christian righteousness; civilization; England; erasure; Haudenosaunee; Hawkins, Benjamin; Muscogee; paternalism; removal, justifications; racism]

1819 **Adams-Onís Treaty cedes Spanish claims to *la Florida* claims and establishes western boundary of Louisiana Territory.**

Trumbull, Henry. *History of the discovery of America, of the landing of our forefathers, at Plymouth, and of their most remarkable engagements with the Indians, in New-England: from their first landing in 1620, until the final subjugation of the natives in 1679: to which is annexed, the particulars of almost every important engagement with the savages, at the westward to the present day, including the defeat of Generals Braddock, Harmer and St. Clair, by the Indians at the westward, the Creek and Siminole [sic] war, &c.* Boston: S. Sewell, 1819. [history, regularly revised, with digests: Ambrister, Robert; Fowlstown; Francis, Josiah; Francis, Milly; Gaines, Edmund; propaganda]



H. Bucholzer, "The Little Magician Invoked." (New York Public Library)



"Milly Francis intreating her father [Hillis Hadjo] to spare the life of an American Captive." from Henry Trumbull, *History of the Discovery of America* (NYPL)

*Rattenbury Freeman, J. [Joseph] and John Miller. [Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main, in the Ship "Two Friends": The Occupation of Amelia Island by M'Gregor, &c.-- Sketches of the Province of East Florida; and Anecdotes Illustrative of the Habits and Manners of the Seminole Indians: With an Appendix, Containing a Detail of the Seminole War, and the Execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister.](#) London: John Miller, 1819. [See 1818].

- 1820 "The Carrier's Address to the Patrons of the Herald." *Newburyport Massachusetts* (Jan. 4, 1820): 2. [poetry, comic annual news review: Ambrister, Richard; Arbuthnot, Alexander; American exceptionalism; cattle; Jackson, Andrew]

Simmons, William Hayne. *Onea: An Indian Tale*. Charleston: T.B. Stephens, 1820. [poem, romantic tale on Yamasees: Okeefenokee; removal; romanticization; stereotype]

- 1821 **Adams-Onis Treaty ratified. Black Seminole exodus on Gulf Coast, fleeing U.S. slave patrols.**

*[Grace Arts Center.] [Through a Flowering Place: Women of the Saltwater Railroad](#) (2023). [film, documentary on Black/Seminole diaspora: Bahamas; Biassou, Romana; Francis, Milly; Haiti; Horse, Susan; Kingsley, Zephaniah, Anna; maroons; Newton, Elizabeth; Oklahoma; Perpall, Rose; removal; slavery; state building]



Henry Inman [copied from Charles Bird King, "Neamathla" (High Museum).

["Extract of a talk held by General Jackson with Three Chiefs of the Florida Indians, at Pensacola"](#) (Sept. 18, 1821). *ASP--Indian Affairs*, 2:413-14. [oratory: colonization; Muscogeese; Neamathla; "Mulatto King" (Vacapasacy); Jackson, Andrew]

Simmons, William Hayne. [Notices of East Florida, with an Account of the Seminole Indians](#). Charleston: A.E. Miller, 1822. [essay, topographical description with journal and Seminole vocabulary]

- 1823 **Treaty of Moultrie Creek (Camp Moultrie), following Spanish cession of claims to Florida. Participating Seminoles cede land four million acres to the North and agree to reservation in central Florida.**

[Treaty of Moultrie Creek](#) (Sept. 18, 1823).

[Gadsden, James.] ["Treaty with the Florida Indians"](#) (Dec. 15, 1823); *ASP--Indian Affairs* 2:429-442, Item 198. [treaty: colonization; Duval, William; Gadsden, James; Moultrie Creek; "Mulatto King"; Neamathla; treaty]

[Neamathla.] Origin of the Races [untitled]. In McKenney and Hall (1842), 2:146-47. [origin story]

*Irving, Washington. ["The Seminoles."](#) *Knickerbocker Magazine* (1840). reprinted in *The New-Yorker* 10: 4 (1840): 55 [sketch, oral tradition: anthropological racism; Duval, William; Neamathla; treaty]

- 1826 **Delegation to Washington, D.C., led by translator Abram/Abraham. Several prominent Seminoles painted by Charles Bird King for Bureau of Indian Affairs portrait gallery.**

"Talk by the Delegation of Florida Indians" (May 17, 1826). [Territorial Papers of the United States](#), 23:548-551; reprinted in Missall and Missall, [In their Own Words](#) (2009), 6-7. [Oratory: Fokee Lustee Hajo; "Holata Mico" [Billy Bowlegs]; Itcho Tustenuggu; land; literacy; Micanopy; Neamathla; treaty; "Tuckasee Mothla" [Tukose Emathla/John Hicks]; Tulcee Mathla]

Henry Inman, "[Nea-Mathla \(Seminole\)](#)", copy of Charles Bird King and regularly reprinted. (High Museum, Atlanta, Ga.). [portrait]

*Porter, Kenneth Wiggins. "[Abraham](#)." *Phylon* 2, no. 2 (1941): 102-16. [sketch, historical, chronicling Black Seminole translator]

1828 **Andrew Jackson elected President, opening paths for legislation hostile to Native people.**

Perkins, Samuel, [General Jackson's conduct in the Seminole War, delineated in a history of that period, affording conclusive reasons why he should not be the next president](#).

Brooklyn: Advertiser Press, 1828. [essay, political pamphlet: Ambrister and Arbuthnot; destruction of towns; Fort Gadsden; Gaines, William; hostile settlers; Micosukee [village]; propaganda; Pensacola; Suwannee River; Scott, Winfield]

Seminole Leaders to Gad Humphreys (April 17, 1828). Copied in Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (1848), 50; reprinted in Missall and Missall, [In Their Own Words](#) (2009), 9-10. [oratory: slavery; theft]

John Hicks (Tukose Emathla) to Gad Humphreys (Aug. 15, 1828). Copied in Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (1848), 57; reprinted in Missall and Missall, [In Their Own Words](#) (2009), 10-11. [oratory: lying; slavery; theft]

1829 John Hicks, Coahajo, Tuskenaha. Call for a meeting with Gad Humphreys (Jan. 14, 1829). Copied in Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (1848), 65; reprinted in Missall and Missall, [In Their Own Words](#) (2009), 11-13. [oratory: captivity; removal; slavery; theft; Washington, D.C.]

1830 **Indian Removal Act, a measure widely supported in southern states, relegates many southeastern Natives West of the Mississippi River. Controversial policy fought on battlegrounds, in the press, and on Congressional floor.**



Chief Coahajo, glass bottomed boat named for Mico (Silver Springs).

*[Unnamed Seminole Artist.] Shoulder/Bandolier Bag (Metropolitan Museum of Art, ca. 1830. L.2018.35.32). Reprinted in Gaylord Torrance, *Art of Native America: The Charles and Valerie Diker Collection*, plate 15. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2018. [art, beadwork; warfare]



Seminole Shoulder Bag
(Metropolitan Museum of Art)

"Removal of the Indians" [Review of *Speeches on the Indian Bill ... in the House of Representatives in the months of April and May, 1830.*] *North American Review* 31, no. 2 (Jan. 1, 1830): 396-442. [essay, reviewing legislation: Muscogeese; Cherokees; colonization; genocide; propaganda; removal; state building; white savior complex]

*Mellen, Grenville. "Indian Wrongs." *Boston Recorder* 15, no. 50 (Dec. 15, 1830): 200. Reprinted in *The Cherokee Phoenix* (Oct. 8, 1830): 4. [poetry, written for Phi Beta Kappa society at Harvard: removal; state building].

Haney, Enoch Kelly. "[Dedication of the Guardian](#)" (2003). [sculpture: removal; tribal sovereignty; state building]

*Tiger, Tony A. and Bobby C. Martin. *Mekusape Fullvana: Muscogee Gravehouse*. Reprinted in Tiger, Martin, and Weaver, *Return from Exile* (2015), pp. 18-19. [art, mixed media: memory; religion removal; unconquered]

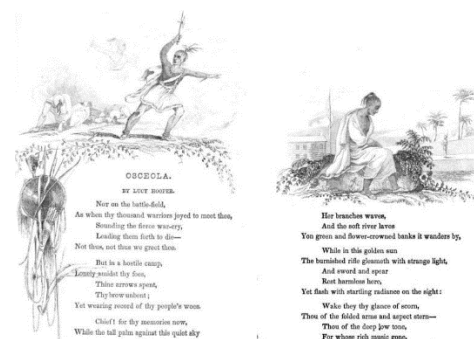
*Harjo, Joy. *An American Sunrise* (2019). [poetry: Muscogeese; Indian holocaust; removal; unconquered].

1831 **Nat Turner Rebellion in Virginia stokes national fears of slave uprising.**

Smith, Michael. *The Lost Virgin of the South*. Tallahassee: M. Smith, 1831. [fiction, historical novel: captivity; Jackson, Andrew; nation-building; religion; removal]

1832 **Treaty of Paynes Landing, following Indian Removal Act (1830), calls for Seminole removal to western land and abandonment of Black Seminoles. Controversial treaty led to removal, though agreement rejected by many Seminoles, including Osceola.**

Hooper, Lucy. "Osceola." In *The Poets of America*, ed. John Reese, pp. 90-92. New York: Samuel Colman, 1842. [poem, with stylized illustration: frequently reprinted; Osceola mythos]



Lucy Hooper, "Osceola" (NYPL).

Hewitt, Mary E. "[Osceola Signs the Treaty](#)" *Poems: Sacred, Passionate, and Legendary* (1854), pp. 31-32. [poem: dogs; Osceola mythos; Paynes Landing; treaties; unconquered]

Cutter, George Washington. "The Death of Osceola." *Fugitive Pieces*. Cincinnati: Moore, Witstach, Keys, 1857. [poem]

Hutchinson, James. *Osceola* (1970). (Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum). [art, painting: Osceola; Paynes Landing; treaties]

Haney, Enoch Kelly. "[Mark of the Knife](#)" (1976). [art, painting; Osceola; Paynes Landing; treaties]

Storm, Thomas M. Sr. "[The Way I Sign All Treaties](#)" (1991 [art, painting: Osceola, Paynes Landing; treaties]

*Bowers, Wilson. "[Fire Feather or Warrior Within](#)" (2020). [art, digital]



Wilson Bowers, Fire Feather or Warrior Within.

1834 Council on 1832 Treaty of Payne's Landing (Oct. 23, 1834). Copied in Potter, *The war in Florida*, 53; reprinted in Missall, [In Their Own Words](#) (2009), 14-17. [oratory: "Holata Emathla" ["Holati -Mico"/Charley Omathlah; Jumper; Micanopy; Osceola; removal; treaties]

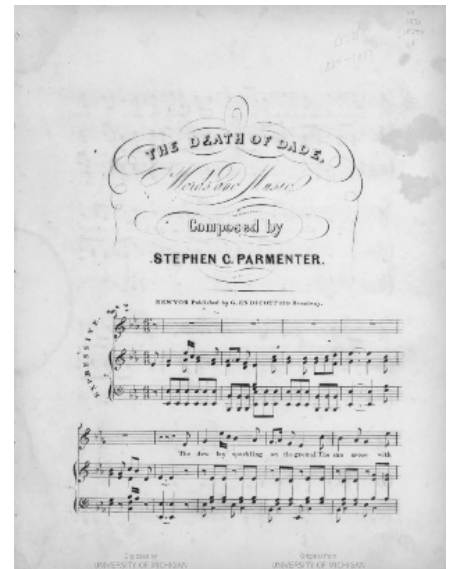
1835 **"Second" Seminole War, following refusal to migrate West. Controversial Treaty of New Echota between the United States and Cherokees. Ambush of Major Francis Dade, Dec. 28, followed by U.S. defeat under General Duncan Clinch on the Withlacoochee River. Literary response swells as hostilities intensify.**

Delacroix, Eugene. *The Natchez* (Metropolitan Museum of Art). [painting, based on Chateaubriand: Christian righteousness; erasure; paternalism; symbolization]

Anonymous. "Dade's Massacre." *Southern Literary Messenger* 3 (July 1837): 437-438. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 2-6. [poem: Dade, Francis; Fort King; dehumanization; propaganda; Tampa; Withlacoochee River]

Parmenter, Stephen C. "[The Death of Dade](#)." New York: G. Endicott, 1836. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 7-8. [music: civilian casualties; Dade, Francis; propaganda]

Lee, Mary Elizabeth. "The Burial of Dade and His Comrades." *The Southern Rose* 4 (May 28, 1836). Reprinted in [The Poetical Remains of the Late Mary Elizabeth Lee](#) (Charleston: Walker & Richards, 1851), 56-61; reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 9-14. [poetry: Dade, Francis; propaganda; state building]



Stephen C. Parmenter, "The Death of Dade."

*Loud, Marguerite St. Leon Barstow. "The Soldier's Grave." In Loud, *Wayside Flowers* (1851), 38-43. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 38-43. [poetry: Dade, Francis]

Loud, Marguerite St. Leon Barstow. "Weep for a Voice is Hushed." In Loud, *Wayside Flowers* (1851), 145-46. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 142-43. [poetry: Dade, Francis; disease; Fort Brooke]

*Jumper, Moses, Jr. "Major Dade." In Jumper, *Echoes in the Wind* (1990), 32-33. [poetry: Dade, Francis; Micanopy (chief); unconquered]

Seminole!, dir. Budd Boetticher, with Rock Hudson. 1953, Universal. [film: Dade, Francis; Everglades; Osceola mythos]

1836 **First Seminole removal to Oklahoma, as traditionalist movement gains momentum in Florida.**

Potter, Woodburne. [*The War in Florida: Being an Exposition of Its Causes, and an Accurate History of the Campaigns of Generals Clinch, Gaines, and Scott.*](#) Baltimore: Lewis and Coleman, 1836. [political pamphlet, summary review of war with emphasis on government corruption: Dade Massacre; see 1834]

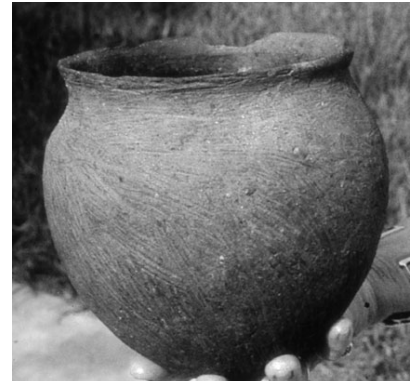
Smith, William Wragg. *Sketch of the Seminole War: And Sketches during a Campaign, by a Lieutenant.* Charleston: 1836. Reprinted, Seminole War Foundation (2019).

Barr, James. [*A Correct and Authentic Narrative of the Indian War in Florida, with a Description of Maj. Dade's Massacre, and an Account of the Extreme Suffering, for Want of Provision, of the Army--Having Been Obligated to Eat Horses' and Dogs' Flesh, &c. &c.*](#) New York: J. Narine, 1836. [memoir, emphasizing cruelty to and challenges of foot soldiers: Dade, Francis; propaganda; warfare]

*Cohen, Myer M. *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns.* Charleston: Burges & Honour, 1836. Reprinted, with introduction by O.Z. Tyler, Jr. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1964. [history and travelogue, with literary flourishes: Dade Massacre; Payne's Landing; propaganda; treaties]

Keenan, William. Untitled illustration of Osceola. Frontispiece to Cohen, *Notices of Florida* (above); described in Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (2006), 108. [art, engraving: Osceola]

Departure of the Augusta [Ga.] Volunteers for Florida; reprinted in Monaco, *The Second Seminole War and the Limits of American Aggression*, 65. [art, broadside depicting Georgia militia; steamship]

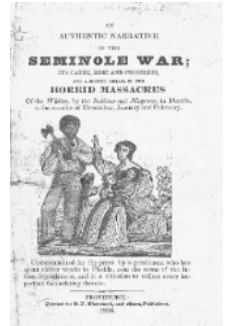


Seminole pot, in traditional style and indicative of a nativism movement in the mid-1830s, from the the Withlacoochee River (reprinted in Weisman, "Nativism, Resistance").

*[Godfrey, Mary.] *Narrative of the Seminole War and the Miraculous Escape of Mary Godfrey*. [history, attacks on white settlers: St. Augustine; Key Biscayne; propaganda; Withlacoochee; frequently reprinted, with different frontispieces]

[An Authentic narrative of the Seminole War: its cause, rise and progress, and a minute detail of the horrid massacres of the whites by the Indians and Negroes, in Florida, in the months of December, January and February.](#)

Providence: D.F. Blanchard, 1836. [See Godfrey, above]



[A True and Authentic Account of the Indian War in Florida: Giving the Particulars Respecting the Murder of the Widow Robbins, and the Providential Escape of Her Daughter Aurelia, and Her Lover, Mr. Charles Somers, after Suffering Almost Innumerable Hardships: The Whole Compiled from the Most Authentic Sources, Embellished with a Colored Engraving.](#) New York: Saunders & Van Welt, 1836. [See Godfrey, above]



W.B.M. "Untitled" ["Up, at their country's call"]. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 29-30. [poem: propaganda]

Mac. "Seminole Song." *The New-Yorker* 1, no. 3 (April 9, 1836): 35. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 110. [poem, identifying with Osceola in death]

[S.E.K.] "The Seminoles." *The Ladies' Magazine* 9 (May 1836): 289. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 188-189. [poetry: graves; memory; removal]

C.E.S. "To ___ Engaged in the Florida War." *The Southern Rose* (May 14, 1836): 152. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 55-57.

"Causes of Hostilities of the Creek and Seminole Indians in Florida...." (June 6, 1836). *ASP--Military Affairs*, 5:574-783, Item 691.

Anonymous. "Withlacoochee." *Army and Navy Chronicle* (July 1836): 40. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 144-47. [poetry: Alachua; family; Gaines, Edmund P.; memory; Osceola; stereotype; Withlacoochee River]

Elah. "The Burial of the Withlacoochee." *The American Monthly Magazine* 2 (July 1836): 13. Reprinted in *Army and Navy Chronicle* 4 (Aug. 4, 1836): 67-68; Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 148. [poetry: memory; Withlacoochee River]

_____. "[Song of the Seminole.](#)" *The New-Yorker* 2, no. 3 (Oct. 8, 1836): 36. [poem, ventriloquizing Seminole soldier.]

*Simmons, James W. "Recollections of the Late Campaign in East Florida." *Atkinson's Casket: Gems of Literature, Wit and Sentiment* 11 (Nov. 1836): 542-57. [diary, personal]

narrative from Florida: caricature; Clinch, Douglas; Cudjoe; dance; hammocks; Izard, James; Jumper; Micanopy; Osceola mythos; removal; swamps; tourism]

Romeo. "The Burial of the Wythlaochee." *National Intelligencer* (Nov. 11, 1836). Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 150. [poetry: Withaloochee River]

Gaines, Edmund P. "Dinner to Gen. Gaines." *Nile's Weekly Register* 51, no. 12 (Nov. 19, 1836): 184. [letter, defending rogue military actions and demonizing Seminoles; stereotype]

Patten, George W. "The Fall of Moniac." *Voices of the Border* (1867), 299-301. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 152-55. [poetry: Creek; Wahoo Swamp; Withlacoochee River; see 1867]

H.H.B. [Henry H. Booth?] "The Seminole." *The Yale Literary Magazine* 1 (June 1836): 154-55. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 226-27.

Motte, Jacob Rhett. *Journey into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon General's Account of Life and Field during the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*. Ed. James F. Sunderman. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017.

Curry, G.L. "Death of Lieut. Scott McNeil." Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 189. [poetry: Mosquito Lagoon]

Conner, Mary Sanford Barnes. "An Address, Spoken On the Return of the Georgian Volunteers from Florida." *Plays, Prose and Poetry* (1848), 140-144. [poetry: Augusta, Ga.; family; propaganda]

Thompson, John W. B. "[Narrative of One of the Most Extraordinary Escapes from a Dreadful Death, Anywhere Recorded, Is Contained in a Letter Written by the Sufferer to the Editor of the Charleston \(S.C.\) Courier, Immediately After It appened. It Took Place at Cape Florida Lighthouse in 1836.](#)" In Drake, *Indian Captivities* (1857), 357-360. [captivity narrative: slavery; Key West]

1837 **"Second" Seminole War continues. Cherokee diplomatic envoy to Seminoles. Under false truce, Osceola surrenders to Gen. Thomas Jesup. Natives imprisoned at Fort Marion (Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine); Coacoochee (Wild Cat) leads dramatic escape. On Dec. 25, Seminoles under Alligator, Billy Bowlegs Abiaka (Sam Jones) and Coacoochee battle U.S. troops (and Native scouts) at Lake Okeechobee.**

"Gen. Osceola." *Christian Observer and Boston Register* 16, no. 2 (Jan. 14, 1837): 2. [sketch, short column from Unitarian newspaper, criticizing US military: Osceola mythos]

Patten, George W. "The Grave of Mellon." *Voices of the Border* (1867), 240-241. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 182-184. [poetry: Lake Monroe; memory]

Patten, George W. "Song of the Indian Trail." *The Newport [R.I.] Mercury* (Feb. 11, 1837): 4. [poem, exhorting US troops and demonizing Indian enemy]

Cass, Lewis. "[To the Public.](#)" Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1837. [essay, polemic involving charges against Duncan Clinch following loss to Seminoles]

*Patten, G.W. "[The Seminole's Reply.](#)" *Rhode-Island Republican* (March 29, 1837): 4. Reprinted in *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* 3 (May 1837); 313; *Army and Navy Chronicle* 4 (Jan.-June 1837); 220; *The Colored American* 3, no. 22 (Aug. 3, 1839): 4; Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 245. [poem, ventriloizing Seminole soldier: children; Everglades; family; King Philip; stereotype]

Anonymous [Graham, John]. "Osceola's Welcome." *The New-Yorker* (July 8, 1837): 248. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 111-13. [poetry: Osceola]

Vinton, John R. [Portrait of Osceola](#) (Smithsonian). Described in Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (2006), 108-113. Reprinted in Fromm, *Reflections across Time* (2012), plate 22. (art, pencil bust sketch: Osceola mythos]

*Welch, Andrew. [A Narrative of the life and sufferings of Mrs. Jane Johns, who was barbarously wounded and scalped by Seminole Indians, in East Florida.](#) ... Charleston: Burke & Giles, 1837. [sketch, narrative of suffering: religion; scalping; stereotype; reprinted].

Lanneau, Charles H. Portrait of Jane Johns (missing?). Portrait, along with daily public demonstrations of Andrew Welch's treatment of Johns' injuries at St. Augustine's Planter's Hotel, in Anna Wells Rutledge, [Artists in the Life of Charleston](#) *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 39, no. 2 (1949): 156.



John R. Vinton, Portrait of Osceola (Smithsonian).

Anonymous. "To the Memory of John S. McNeil," (1842), 3. [poem, *ottava rima*, with long headnote, elegizing US soldier: New Hampshire; Picolata; Yuchi Billy; St. Augustine; see [John McNeil Papers](#), New Hampshire Historical Society]

Ross, John. "Principal Chief John Ross to the chiefs, headmen, and warriors of the Seminoles (Oct. 18, 1837). In Gary E. Moulton (ed.), *The Papers of Chief John Ross*, 1:523-26. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.

Ross, John [unsigned letter, Nov. 27, concerning Osceola](#) (Gilcrease Museum). [letter: Cherokee; Osceola; removal]

Williams, John Lee. *Territory of Florida: or Sketches of the topography, civil and natural history, of the country, the climate, and the Indian tribes, from the first discovery to the present time*. New York: A.T. Goodrich, 1837. Reprinted, with introduction by Herbert H. Doherty, Jr. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1962.

*Jumper, Elgin. "[The Sorrow of Fort Marion](#)." *Nightfall*. Little Rock, Ak.: Sequoyah Research Center, 2006. [poem: Coacoochee (Wild Cat); Fort Marion; King Philip; Osceola; St. Augustine; unconquered; war crimes]

*Harkins, Elisa. [Nettv Espoken](#) [The Last Day]. Still images reprinted in Wlusek, [Reclaiming Home: Contemporary Seminole Art](#) (2023). [film: Coacoochee (Wild Cat); Fort Marion; St. Augustine; unconquered; war crimes]

"Honors to the Dead." *St. Augustine News*; reprinted in [Southern Miscellany](#) (Sept. 3, 1842): 4. [see 1842]

Anonymous. "Stanzas on War." *Rochester Gem*. Republished in the *Army and Navy Chronicle* 5 (July-Dec. 1837): 337; reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 42-43. [poetry: propaganda]

Barber, J. "Osceola's Challenge." *The Knickerbocker* 10 (Dec. 1837): 527. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 109. [poetry: Osceola; unconquered]

"M." "Okee-chub-bee, or the Death of Thompson." *Army and Navy Chronicle* 6 (April 5, 1838): 223. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 164-65. [poetry: Lake Okeechobee; memory; stereotype]

Whitney, Thomas P. [The Ambuscade: An Historical Poem](#). New York: J.S. Redfield, 1845. [poem, historical depicting Battle of Okechobee, with digressive notes: Halpatter-Tustenuggee (Alligator); Taylor, Zachary]

Patten, George W. "Stanzas to Mary." *Voices of the Border* (1867), 193-85. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 166-168. [poetry: Lake Okeechobee; see 1867]

[Distant Drums](#), dir. Raoul Walsh, with Gary Cooper. 1951, Warner Brothers [film: captivity; Everglades; Osceola; warfare]

Jumper, Moses, Jr. "Coacoochee." Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 344. [poetry: family; Jackson, Andrew; Lake Okeechobee; removal; slavery; unconquered]

1838 **Osceola dies Fort Moultrie, S.C. prison, generating huge literary/artistic response. May 1838, Thomas Jesup relinquishes command of U.S. troops in Florida to Zachary Taylor.**

*Ransom, James B. [Seymour R. Duke]. "Osceola at the Charleston Theater." *Charleston Courier* (Jan. 9, 1838). Reprinted in Coe, *Red Patriots* (1898); Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 114-116. [poetry: Osceola; stereotyping]

[Bust death cast of Osceola](#) [Jan. 30, 1838]. (Smithsonian).

Ross, John. "Report of the Cherokee Deputation into Florida, Washington City, D.C. Feb. 17th, 1838." Reprinted in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 9, no. 4 (Dec. 1931). [political report, on Cherokee delegation to Florida: Jesup, Thomas; Micanopy; Picolata; removal; Ross, John; St. Augustine]

_____. [. *Osceola, or, Fact and Fiction: A Tale of the Seminole War*](#). New York: Harper, 1838. Engraving "Os.ce.o.la." by F. Pierce and Nathaniel Currier; image, not appearing in every edition of Ransom, described in Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (2006), 123-24. [novel: Euchee/Yuchi; Osceola mythos; removal]

Spear, Thomas G. "The Warrior of the Everglades." *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine and American Monthly Review* 4 (Jan. 1839): 36. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 195-98. [poetry: Osceola; stereotyping]

Merrill, Hamilton Wilcox. "Seminole Dance." ([Merrill Collection](#), Huntington Library). Reprinted and described in William Sturtevant, "[A Newly-Discovered 1838 Drawing of a Seminole Dance](#)," *Florida Anthropologist* 15, no. 3 (Sept. 1962): 76; Downs, *Art of the Florida Seminole and Miccosukee Indians* (1995), fig. 2.4 [drawing: Miccosukee; St. Johns River]

Catlin, George. [. *Osc-e-o-lá, the Black Drink, a Warrior of Great Distinction*](#) (Smithsonian #301). Described in Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (2006), 114-119. [art, widely circulating bust painting; Osceola mythos]

Catlin, George. *The Black Drink* (American Museum of Natural History [#308]). Color [lithograph](#) accessible at various collections, including Amos Carter of American Art; described in Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (2006), 120-22. [oil painting, full length, widely reprinted]

Laning, William M.. "[Osceola, Chief of the Seminoles](#)." Chrysler Museum of Art. Described in Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (2006), 114-119. [art, painting: Tammany]



F. Pierce and Nathaniel Currier, "Os.ce.o.la".



George Catlin, Osc-e-o-lá (Smithsonian).

Curtis, Robert John. [Osceola, War Chief of the Seminoles](#). (Multiple copies extant, including at Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum). Described in Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (2006), 114-19; reprinted in Fromm, *Reflections Across Time* (2012), plate 10. [art, painting; portrait]



W.M. Laning, "Osceola, Chief of the Seminoles," painting displayed in New York's Tammany Hall. (Chryster Museum of Art)

Vinton, John Rogers. "[Osceola at Lake Monroe](#) ... during the armistice" (University of Miami). [Lithograph](#) completed with John H. Bufford, accessible at the Museum of the City of New York. Described in Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*, 122, 130-31. [art: full-length lithograph, sketched at Lake Monroe]

Hubbard, Richard William [Osceola in Landscape](#) (ATTK). Reprinted in Fromm, *Reflections Across Time* (2012), plate 12. [art, painting; portrait and landscape]

["Leslie."] "Dirge by Seminole Warriors." In Welch, *Narrative of the Early Days and Remembrances of Oceola Nikkanochee* (1841), 41-42. [poem: Osceola mythos; romanticization; see Welch, 1838, 1841]

[Welch, Andrew?]. "The Rich blue sky is o'er". In Welch, *Narrative of the Early Days and Remembrances of Oceola Nikkanochee* (1841), 44-48. [poem: Everglades; Fort Moultrie; Osceola mythos]

Leslie, Eliza. "Lament of the Seminole, Dying in Prison." *The Ladies' Companion* 8 (Feb. 1838): 169. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 228-230. [poetry: memory; unconquered]

Street, Alfred B. "Osceola." *New York Mirror* [?] (March 1838); Reprinted in [Tallahassee] *Floridian* (April 28, 1838); Coe, *Red Patriots* (1898), 115-117; Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 104-08. [poetry: Everglades; Fort Moultrie; Osceola; romanticization; stereotyping; swamps]

_____. "Osceola." *Waldo* [Belfast, Maine] *Patriot* (March 23, 1838): 4; *New York Gazette* (Feb. 6, 1838). [?]

"Josephine." "Osceola." *The Hudson River* [Ossining, NY] *Chronicle* (April 10, 1838): 1. [poem, death lament for Osceola; romanticization]

Carleton, James Henry. "The Death of Osceola." *The Gentleman's Magazine* 2 (May 1838): 326. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 127-131. [poetry: imprisonment; memory; Osceola]

[Anonymous]. "[The Florida Volunteer's Death Song](#)." *The Philadelphia Visitor* [sic], and *Parlour Companion* 3, no. 18 (May 1838): 432. Reprinted in [Old Times in Tennessee: Historical, Personal, and Political Scraps and Sketches](#), p. 129. Nashville: Tavel, Eastman,

and Howe, 1878; Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 185-86. [poem: Everglades; romanticization]

["From the Liberator"] "[The Tocsin](#)." *Zion's Watchman* 3, no. 24 (June 16, 1838): 96. [poetry, connecting slavery and Native land theft; removal; slavery]

_____. "The Aborigines." *Hudson River [Ossining, N.Y.] Chronicle* (July 17, 1838): 1. [poem, lamenting pan-Indian loss; Osceola; removal]

Patten, G.W. "The Seminole Warrior." *Portsmouth [N.H.] Journal of Literature and Politics* (Dec. 15, 1838): 1. [poem, ventriloquating Seminole soldier: unconquered]

*Myers, P.H. "Osceola's Soliloquy." [The Knickerbocker](#) 12 (Dec. 1838): 55-57. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 117-22. [poetry: ghosts; mounds; unconquered]

[Anonymous.] "Osceola: A Death Song." *Southern Literary Messenger* 7, no. 11 (Nov. 1841): 797-98. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 123-126. [poetry: Fort Moultrie; ghosts; imprisonment; memory; Osceola; Withlacochee River]

[Clark, Ransom.] "[Of the Escape of Ransom Clark \[of Livingston County, New York,\] from his Massacre in which Major Dade and his Command Were Cutt Off by the Seminole Indians of Florida; on the 28th Dec. 1838; as communicated by himself, while on a visit to Boston in the summer of 1837, to the editor of the Morning Post.](#)" In Drake, *Indian Captivities* (1857), 355-57. [memoir, soldier's account of Dade Massacre: captivity; Dade, Francis; Tampa Bay]

Patten, George W. "Night on the Santa Fé, Florida." *Voices of the Border* (1867), 183-85; reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 174-77. [poetry: family; propaganda; Santa Fe River]

Whitman, Walt. "[Osceola](#)" (1890). [poetry: Fort Moultrie; memory; Osceola myths]



John Mackay, "Map for the Seat of War in Florida" (courtesy, New York Public Library).

1839 Mackay, John. "[Map of the Seat of War in Florida](#)." Tampa Bay: Head Quarters, Army of the South.

Benton, Thomas Hart. "[To Provide for the Armed Occupation and Settlement of That Part of Florida Which Is Now Overrun and Infested by Marauding Bands of Hostile Indians](#)" (Jan. 3, 1839). [Washington, D.C.: publisher not identified, 1839. [speech, justifying settler-colonialism through landscape: agriculture; manifest destiny]

*[Anonymous.] "[A Felicitous Hit at the Seminole War.](#)" *Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post* (April 20, 1839): 190. Reprinted in Rodenbough, *From Everlade to Canyon* (1875), 27-28; Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 100-101. [poetry: Abiaka; unconquered]

[Anonymous.] "Lines in Memory of the Late Lieut. Wm. Hulbert, U.S.A." *Army and Navy Chronicle* 10 (May 28, 1840): 348. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 178-79. [poetry: memory; Steinhatchee River]

*Tinkelpo, T. "Caloosahatchee River, February 1839." *Army and Navy Chronicle* 9 (Sept. 12, 1839), 167. Reprinted in [The Boston Weekly Magazine](#) 2, no. 5 (Oct. 5, 1839): 35; Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 69. [poetry: Caloosahatchee River; Harney, William]

*Gardenier, John Randolph Barent. "To the Memory of the Late Captain E.G. Mitchell, U.S.A." *Army and Navy Chronicle* (Oct. 31, 1838): 278-79. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 170-173. [poetry: disease; environment; family]

London Yearly Meeting, *Meeting for Sufferings. Aborigines' Committee, et al. Further Information Respecting the Aborigines: Containing Extracts from the Proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings in London and of the Committees on Indian affairs of the Yearly meetings of Philadelphia and Baltimore: together with some particulars relative to the Seminole war* (London: Harvey and Darton, 1839), 32-34. [essay, political tract on education and removal]

*Anonymous. "[The Nation Robbing an Indian Chief of his Wife.](#)" *American Anti-Slavery Almanac* (1839). Reprinted in Down, *Art of the Florida Seminole and Miccosukee Indians* (1995), fig. 2.3. [art, political cartoon depicting kidnapping of Osceola's wife: nation-building; Osceola; slavery]



Anonymous. "The Nation Robbing an Indian Chief of his Wife."

1840 **Zachary Taylor generates vocal opposition with use of bloodhounds in the war.**

*Robinson, Henry ["Bow Wow Wow"]. "[The Secretary of War presenting a stand of Colours to the 1st Regiment of Republican Bloodhounds.](#)" Reprinted in C.S. Monaco, *The Second Seminole War and the Limits of American Agression*, 185. [art, political cartoon, use of bloodhounds against the Seminoles: dogs; Poinsett, Joel; Taylor, Zachary]



Napoleon Sarony? ["Bow Wow Wow"], "The Secretary of War presenting a stand of Colours to the 1st Regiment of Republican Bloodhounds." (NYPL)

Irving, Washington. "[The Seminoles](#)." *Knickerbocker Magazine* (1840); reprinted in *The New-Yorker* 10: 4 (1840): 55. [See 1823, 1842]

*"Philasteon." "Blood Hounds." *The North American Review* 37, no. 1 (Feb. 8, 1840): page missing. [poetry, criticizing use of dogs in unjust war: removal; treaties]

"The Florida War." *N.Y. Whig* (date unknown); reprinted in *The Emancipator* (March 12, 1840). Cited in C.S. Monaco, *The Second Seminole War and the Limits of American Agression*, 182. [poem: chivalry, dogs]

Vinton, John Rogers. Portrait of Osceola. (St. Augustine Historical Society). Described in Jean Parker Waterbury, "... Really an Amiable Looking Indan ..." John Rogers Vinton's Portrait of Osceola," *El Escribano* 19 (1982), 29-36; described in Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (2006), 129-130.

*[A.A.L.] "The Seminole's Welcome." *The Casket* 16 (March 1840): 119. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 190-191. [poetry: dogs; hammocks; unconquered]

*["Hitcheepucksasassa."] "[To My Dog](#)." *Army and Navy Chronicle* 9 (March 9, 1840): 190. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 91-95. [poetry: Caloosahatchee; Coacoochee; dogs; fleas; Holatoochee; Mississippi River; Ojibwa; Okechobee; Sioux; Tampa Bay]

Wosmer, William H.C. "Seminole War Songs." *The New-Yorker* 9, no. 6 (May 9, 1840): 113. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 208-210. [poetry: infanticide; stereotype]

T. Tinkelpo. "The Soldier's Burial." [Boston Weekly Magazine](#) 2, no. 38 (June 6, 1840): 299. [poetry]

*Irving, Washington. "[A Seminole Tradition](#)." *Army and Navy Chronicle* 11, no. 19 (1840): 294. see Welch, *Narrative of the Early Days and Remembrances of Oceola Nikkanoochee* (1841), 157-58. [sketch, involving creation of races: reprinted with variants; see 1823]

Irving, Washington. "The Conspiracy of Neamathla: An Authentic Sketch." *The Evergreen: A Monthly Magazine of New and Popular Tales and Poetry* 1, no. 11 (Nov. 1, 1811): 583-584. [sketch: Apalachicola; Duval, William; Neamathla]



"Sketch of Balloon for Seminole War" (Records of the Adjutant General's Office 94, misc. file 284, National Archives); reprinted in Michael G. Shene, "Ballooning the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (1976), 483; Saunt, *Unworthy Republic*, 289.

Baillie, James. S. "[Hunting Indians in Florida with Blood Hounds](#)" (Library of Congress, 1848). [art, political cartoon: Black Seminoles; children; civilian casualties; dehumanization; dogs; Taylor, Zachary]

1841 *Welch, Andrew [A Narrative of the Early Days and Remembrances of Ocoela Nikkanochee, Prince of Econchatti, a Young Seminole Indian: son of Econchatti-Mico, king of the Red hills, in Florida: with a brief history of his nation, and his renowned uncle, Ocoela, and his parents: and amusing tales, illustrative of Indian life in Florida...](#) London: Hatchard and Son, 1841. Reprinted with Introduction by Frank Laumer. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1977. [memoir, fictionalized history; recounting adoption of a Seminole child: education; Osceola mythos; religion; romanticization; stereotype]



Frontispiece: Andrew Welch, Narrative of the Early Days and Remembrances of Ocoela Nikkanochee. (NYPL)

[Anonymous.] "Osceola: A Death Song." *Southern Literary Messenger* 7, no. 11 (Nov. 1841): 797-98. [See 1838]

Elderkin, James. D. [Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of a Soldier of Three Wars...](#) (1899). [memoir, by former soldier: Dade Massacre; Everglades; Tampa Bay]

1842 **Armed Occupation Act, allotting white settlers 160 acres of unsurveyed Florida land.**

["Memorial of the Settlers under the Armed Occupation Act."](#) (May 3, 1848). [legislation]

Percival, C.S. "[The Florida War.](#)" *Philanthropist* 6, vol. 42 (June 15, 1842): 4. [poem, criticizing war as betrayal of national principles; dogs]

"To the Memory of John S. McNeil." *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette* (May 19, 1842): 3. [See 1837]

Hooper, Lucy. "Osceola." In *The Poets of America*, ed. John Reese, pp. 90-92. New York: Samuel Colman, 1842. [see 1832]

"Honors to the Dead." *St. Augustine News*; reprinted in [Southern Miscellany](#) (Sept. 3, 1842): 4. [newspaper account, describing funeral procession of bodies from Dade "massacre"; monuments; see 1837]

McKenney, Thomas L. and James Hall. *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*. Three Volumes (Philadelphia: Daniel Rice and James G. Clark, 1842-1844). Described in Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (2006), 124-129. [history/art, biographies with color lithographs; "Asseola" (Osceola); Moultrie Creek"; "Chittee Yoholo"; "*Foke-Luste-Hajo*"; "Itcho-Tustinnuggee"; Micanopy; Moultrie Creek; nation-building; "Nea-Math-La" [Neamathla]; Paynes Landing; propaganda; treaties; "Tuko-See-Mathla" (John Hicks); "Tulcee-Mathla"; treaties; "Yaha-Hajo"; see also 1823, 1826; 1840]

Jumper, Elgin. "[The Unconquered, 1842.](#)" *Nightfall* (2006). [poem: Battle of Withlacoochee; Osceola; warfare]

- 1844 *Storrow, Thomas W. "[Osceola, the Seminole War-Chief.](#)" *Knickerbocker Magazine* 24 (Nov. 1844): 427-428. [narrative history, from second-hand sources: Catlin, George; Charleston, S.C.; Clinch, Duncan; Emathla, Charley; Gaines, Edmund; Fort Marion; Fort Moultrie; Fort King; Moultrie Creek; Osceola, Payne's Landing; removal; St. Augustine; Thompson, Wiley; removal; treaties; warfare]
- 1845 *Judson, E.Z.C. [Ned Buntline]. "Sketches of the Florida War." *Western Literary Journal and Monthly Magazine* 1 (Nov. 1844-April 1845): 97-99 . [essay, travel by soldier-turned-novelist, criticizing war: children; civilian casualties; Everglades; Harney, William; Florida Keys; memory; Okechobee; religion; romanticization; stereotype; Taylor, Zachary]
- Whitney, Thomas P. [The Ambuscade: An Historical Poem.](#) New York: J.S. Redfield, 1845. [See 1837]
- 1847 Frost, John. [Pictorial Life of Andrew Jackson.](#) Boston: Belknap and Hamersley, 1847. [See 1818]
- 1848 *Sprague, John. T. [The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War.](#) New York: Appleton, 1848. Reprinted with Introduction by John K. Mahon. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1964. [history, with first-hand anecdotes and iconic portraits, justifying military action]



Selected plates from Sprague, The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War: Tampa Bay (Fort Brooke), Wild Cat, Tiger Tail, Gopher John, Abraham. (NYPL)

Conner, Mary Sanford Barnes. "An Address, Spoken On the Return of the Georgian Volunteers from Florida," pp. 140-144. [Plays, Prose and Poetry.](#) Philadelphia: E. H. Butler, 1848. [See 1836]

Halfern, Albert Von. [Scenen aus den kämpfen der Indianer Florida's gegen die weissen, oder Der letzte der Seminolen. Nebst rückblick auf die zustände der Vereinigten Staaten](#) [Scenes from the Fights of the Florida Indians against the Whites, or The Last of the Seminoles. In addition to a review of the state of the United States.] Dresden and Leipzig: Arnoldische Buchhandlung, 1848. [political tract? translation?]

Baillie, James. S. "[Hunting Indians in Florida with blood hounds](#)" (Library of Congress). N.Y. : Published by James Baillie, 1848. [See 1840].

[Anonymous.] "[Pe-o-ka, the Wife of Osceola, the Principal War Chief of the Seminoles of Florida ... Previously Called Pocahontas.](#)" King's Lynn Town Hall. [painting, portrait of Peoka with child; Osceola, family of; Pocahontas]

- 1849 **Discontented Seminoles, led by Coacoochee (Wild Cat) and John Horse (Gopher John) migrate from "Indian Territories" (present-day Oklahoma) to Mexico**

Catlin, George. "[Seminolee. Wife and child of the Chief, Mik-e-no-pa, head chef, Os-ce-o-la, celebrated warrior. Two wives and child of Os-ce-o-la](#)" (New York Public Library). Reprinte din *Souvenir of the North American Indians As They Were in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*; described in Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (2006), 132. [art, drawing: group portrait of Osceola with wife and child]

- 1850 [Unidentified.] "[Neamathla: Seminole War Chief](#)" (Smithsonian). Reprinted in Fromm, *Reflections across Time* (2012), 7. [art: reprint of copied portrait by Henry Inman; see 1826]

- 1851 Loud, Marguerite St. Leon Barstow. [Wayside Flowers: A Collection of Poems](#). Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1851. [poetry: environment; memory; Suwannee River; Withlacoochee River; see also 1837]

Lossing, Benson J. "Osceola's Grave." *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution and War of 1812*. 3:690; image included in Bearss, *Osceola at Fort Moultrie* (plate 6.). [art, engraving]



John Hawley Clarke, photograph of Billy Bowlegs (Smithsonian).

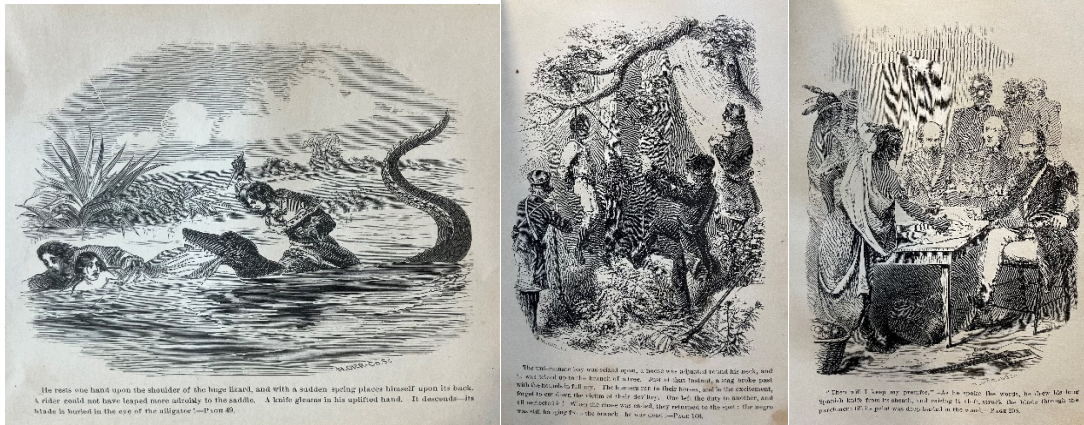
- 1852 **Seminole delegation, led by Billy Bowlegs and including translator Abraham/Abram, travels to Washington, D.C. Several portraits completed.**

Left: Frederick Gleason, "[Billy Bowlegs and Chiefs of the Seminole Indians](#)," from *Gleason's Drawing Room Pictorial Companion* (Oct. 23, 1852). Right: "Billy Bowlegs' and His Suite of Indian Chiefs in New York," *Illustrated London News* (May 21, 1853): 395-96.



Left to right: Billy Bowlegs, Chocote Tustenuggee, Abr[ah]am, John Jumper, Fasatchee Emanthla, and Sarparkee Yohola (Florida Memory/New York Public Library).

- 1854 Hewitt, Mary E. "[Osceola Signs the Treaty](#)." *Poems: Sacred, Passionate, and Legendary*. New York: Lampart, Blakeman, & Law, 1854. [See 1832]
- 1855 **"Third" Seminole War ("Billy Bowleg's War") begins.**
- 1856 **Oklahoma Seminoles, led by John Jumper, treaty with U.S. recognizing Seminole Nation.**
- Meek, Alexander. "A Soldier's Love Dream." *Songs and Poems of the South*. New York: S.H. Goetzel, 1857, pp. 101-02. Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 57-59. [poetry: Tampa]
- 1857 *Catlin, George. "[Letter No. LVII: Fort Moultrie, South Carolina \[Osceola\]](#)." From *Letters and Notes from the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* Philadelphia: Willis P. Hazard, 1857. [essay: erasure; Osceola mythos]
- Simmons, William Hayne. *Alasco, An Indian Tale: Two Cantos, with Other Poems*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1857. [poetry: Dade Massacre; Neamathla; Okeefenokee; romanticization; removal; treaties; see 1820]
- Cutter, George Washington. "The Death of Osceola." *Fugitive Pieces*. Cincinnati: Moore, Witstach, Keys, 1857. [See 1838]
- Drake, Samuel Gardner. [Indian Captivities or Life in the Wigwam](#). New York: n.p., 1857. [See 1835; 1836]
- Melville, Herman. [The Confidence Man: His Masquerade](#). New York: Dix, Edwards, 1857. [fiction, novel, "con" man masquerading for widows and orphans of the Seminole War]
- 1858 **"Third" Seminole war ends, removal to the Indian Territories. Polly Parker escapes and walks across Florida to Fisheating Creek.**
- *Giddings, Joshua R. *The Exiles of Florida: or the Crimes Committed by Our Government against the Maroons*. Columbus, OH: 1858. [history, political essay: Black Seminoles; nation-building; slavery]
- Review: "[The Exiles of Florida: Or the Crimes Committed by Our Government Against the Maroons, Who Fled From South Carolina and Other Slave States, Seeking Protection Under Spanish Laws](#)." *The Atlantic Monthly* (Sept. 1858): 509-12.
- *"Billy Bowlegs in New Orleans." *Harper's Weekly* (June 12, 1858): 376-78. John Hawley Clarke, [photograph of Billy Bowlegs](#) (Smithsonian). [sketch, modeled after daguerrotype (?): removal; unconquered]
- Reid, Mayne. [Osceola The Seminole: Or The Red Fawn Of The Flower Land](#). New York: R.M. DeWitt, 1858. [novel: Osceola mythos; romanticization]



Selected plates from Reid Mayne, *Osceola*.

*Buntline, Ned. *The White Wizard, or the Great Prophet of the Seminoles*. New York: W.H. Brady, 1858. [fiction, dime novel; reprinted 1879]

Anonymous. "[Aunt Polly Parker, the Oldest Seminole Indian in the State, Florida](#)" (ATTK 2003.15.49). [art, postcard: Indian holocaust; removal; unconquered]

*Osceola, Alyssa. "[Emataloye](#)" (2023). [painting: Indian holocaust; Parker, Polly; removal; unconquered]



Left: "Aunt Polly Parker" (postcard). Right: Alyssa Osceola, "Emataloye."

*Hamilton, Anna, Becca Burton, Corina Guevara, Hannah Brown, and Jason Matthew Walker. "[Island Impermanent, Part 1: Erosion and Erasure on Egmont Key](#)." *The Marjorie* (Oct. 3, 2022). [essay: Egmont Key; extermination; genocide; Indian holocaust; Parker, Polly; removal]

1859 Denison, John Ledyard. "The Seminole Wars." In [A Pictorial History of the Wars of the United States: Embracing a Complete History of all the Wars of the Country, from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time; including the French and Indian wars, the war of the revolution, that of 1812, the Seminole war, and the late war with Mexico; together with other military operations](#), 464-72. New York: Henry Brill, 1859.

Drake, Samuel Gardner. *The Aboriginal Races of North America; comprising biographical sketches of eminent individuals, and an historical account of the different tribes, from the first discovery of the continent to the present period*, pp. 388-495, 454-484. Philadelphia: Desilver, 1859. [history]

- 1861 *Catlin, George. [Osceola and Four Seminole Indians](#) (National Gallery of Art). [art, painting: family; "How-e-dá-hee"; Micanopy; Osceola mythos]

_____ . "[Seminole Indians, Prisoners at Fort Moultrie](#)" (National Gallery of Art). Reprinted in Fromm, *Reflections across Time*, 9 [art, painting: Emlatha; Coacoochee/Wild Cat; "Lá-shee (*The Licker*)"; Osceola; "Wónt-now"; "Ye-hów-lo-gee (*The Cloud*)"]

- 1865 **End of U.S. Civil War. Smithsonian "Castle" burns, causing significant loss.**

Hazelton, Harry. *Billy Bowlegs, The Seminole Chief; or, the Captives of Kissimmee*. New York: Beadle and Adams, 1865. [fiction, dime novel: captivity; Zachary Taylor; Kissimmee; warfare]

Anonymous. *The Boy Pirate: or, Life on the Ocean* [*Kit the Pirate ...*]. London, 1865. [fiction, dime novel, passage involving Seminole rescuer: stereotype]

- 1867 Patten, George W. *Voices of the Border; Comprising Songs of the Field, Songs of the Bower, Indian Melodies, and Promiscuous Poems*. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867. [poetry (various): alligators; dogs; family; hammocks; infanticide; Moniac, David; Okefenokee; Lake Okeechobee; propaganda; St. Marys River; stereotype; swamps; Tampa; volunteers; Wahoo Swamp; Withlacoochee River; see also 1836, 1837, 1838]

- 1868 Robinson, George. *The Red Star of the Seminoles: A Tale of Wild Life on the Border*. George Munro, 1868. [fiction, dime novel: Ambrister, Robert; Arbuthnot, Alexander; Francis, Josiah; propaganda; St. Marys River; stereotype]

*McCall, George A. [Letters from the Frontiers: Written during a Period of Thirty years of Service in the Army of the United States](#). Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1868. [memoir, by retired officer]

- 1869 Buntline, Ned. [Quaker Saul, the idiot spy; or, Luliona, the Seminole](#). New York: Beadle and Adams, 1869. [fiction, dime novel]

- 1870 Stereoscope [after 1870?], "Steamer Osceola, Ocklawaha River." [art: stereoscope, photograph of the Ocklawaha River; Osceola mythos]

- 1871 Luis Monroy, "[The Last Moments of Atala](#)" [painting: nation-building; stereotype].



Steamer Osceola, Ocklawaha River (NYPL).

Lee, Arthur T. *Army Ballads and Other Poems*. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Librarian of Congress, 1871. [poetry (various): Coacoochee; Everglades; family; St. Johns River; stereotype]

*Donaldson, James Lowry. [*Sergeant Atkins. A Tale of Adventure. Founded on Fact. By an officer of the United States army.*](#) New York: Lippincott, 1871. [fiction, historical novel by former officer; nation-building; Osceola mythos; stereoytpe; treaties]

1873 Adams, J.F.C. *Lighthouse Lige; Osceola, the Firebrand of the Seminoles*. New York: Beadle and Adams, 1873. [fiction, dime novel: captivity; Osceola; warfare; haunting]

1875 Rodenbough, Theophilus F. (ed.). [*From Everglade to Canyon with the Second United States Cavalry: an Authentic Account of Service in Florida, Mexico, Virginia, and the Indian country, including the personal recollections of prominent officers: with an appendix containing orders, reports and correspondence, military records ... 1836-1875*](#) Reprinted with foreward by Edward G. Longacre. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000. [history, military with excerpts journals and poems]

1876 "["What Dime Novels Did."](#) *The Youth's Companion* 49, no. 41 (Oct. 12, 1876): 334. [essay, commentary on dime novels]

1878 Champney, J. Wells. "[The School in the Chapel - The Indian School in Fort Marion.](#)" *Harper's Weekly* (May 11, 1878): 373. [art, illustration of Indian school; books and reading; Fort Marion (St. Augustine)]

1879 Buntline, Ned. *The White Wizard; or The Great Prophet of the Seminoles*. New York: Beadle, 1879. [fiction, reprinted dime novel; see 1858]

1881 **Hamilton Disston purchases four million acres of land in the Everglades, beginning massive environmental change to Seminole territories.**

1882 *Munroe, Kirk. "A Florida Madrigal." *Harper's Magazine*. Reprinted in the *Miami Herald* (April 22, 1917). [poem, rhyming Native toponyms and battle sites: romanticization]

1884 *Whitman, Albery Allson. [*Twasinta's Seminoles, or The Rape of Florida.*](#) St. Louis: Nixon-Jones, 1890. [poem: Black Seminoles; environmentalism; romanticization; slavery]

1887 **Dawes (or General Allotment) Act passed, abolishing tribal lands and redistributing to individuals; provisions did not apply to the "Five Civilized Tribes" until 1893.**

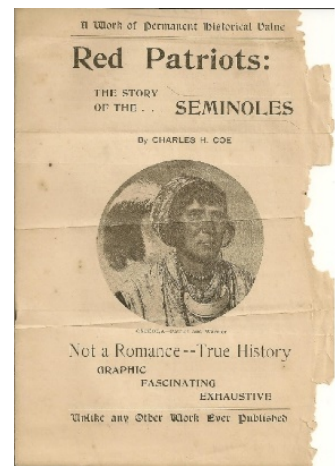
*Irelan, John Robert. [*History of the life, administration and times of Martin Van Buren, eighth president of the United States: seven years' Seminole War, and period of great financial convulsions.*](#) *The Republic; or, a History of the United States of America*. Volume 8. Chicago: Fairbanks and Palmer, 1887. [history, critical of federal policies; slavery; treaties; warfare]

- 1888 Munroe, Kirk. "[Camp Life among the Seminoles.](#)" *Harper's Young People* 9 (July 17, 1888): 654-708 [irregular paging]. [essay, travelog: environmentalism; stereotype]
- 1890 *Whitman, Walt. "[Osceola.](#)" *Munson's Illustrated World* (April 1890). Reprinted in *Leaves of Grass* (1891-92); Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 132-33. [See 1838]
- *Moore-Willson, Minnie. [The Seminoles of Florida.](#) Philadelphia: American Printing House, 1890. [history, with photographs and proto-ethnography: environmentalism; Everglades]
- Sheldon, Jane Murray. "[Seminoles Attacks Near New Smyrna, 1835-1856,](#)" ed. R.S. Sheldon. *Florida Historical Quarterly* 8, no. 4 (1929): 188-196. [oral history: Mandarin; New Smyrna; St. Augustine; St. Johns River; warfare]
- 1891 Rockwood, Caroline Washburn. "[Seminoles at Home.](#)" *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 32, no. 6 (July-Dec. 1891): 673-86. [essay, travel with illustrations: Catlin, George; environmentalism; Miami; photography]
- 1893 **Dawes (or General Allotment) Act extended to the "Five Civilized Tribes."**
- 1897 Sparkman, Stephen M. *A Bill to Establish a National Military Park at the Scene of the Battle between the U.S. Troops under Major F.L. Dade and the Seminole Indians in ... Florida, known as "Dade's massacre."* (Dec. 9, 1897). [legislation, proposing dedication to protect Dade Massacre site: Dade, Francis; nation-building]
- 1898 **Curtis Act/Dawes Commission dissolves Oklahoma Seminole tribal government.**

*Coe, Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles.* Cincinnati: Editor, 1898. Reprinted with introduction by Charlton T. Tebeau. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1974. [history, critical of the U.S.: Civil War; land; Osceola mythos; removal; reservation; Women's National Indian Association]

Green, Edwin L. [School History of Florida.](#) Baltimore, 1898. Williams & Wilkins company. [History textbook: with illustrations; U.S. history; War of 1812; Osceola; Dade's Massacre; Battle of Withlacoochee].

- 1899 Elderkin, James. D. [Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of a Soldier of Three Wars, as Written by Himself. The Florida, the Mexican War and the Great Rebellion, together with sketches of travel, also of service in a militia company and a member of the Detroit light guard band for over thirty years.](#) Detroit: n.p., 1899. [See 1841]



Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots*.

Ellis, Edward Sylvester [Colonel H. R. Gordon]. [Osceola, Chief of the Seminoles.](#) New York: Dutton, 1899. [fiction, historical novel: Osceola mythos; removal; propaganda]

- 1899 **Friends of the Florida Seminoles, social-environmental advocacy group, formed.**
- 1900 Anonymous. *The White Squaw: An Indian Tale*. London: Edwin J. Brett, 1900. [fiction, novel with engravings: captivity; slavery; stereotype; Tampa Bay]
- Kingston, William Henry Giles. *In the Wilds of Florida: A Tale of Warfare and Hunting*. London: Thomas Nelson, 1900. [novel: romanticization; warfare]
- 1902 Brown, George M. *Ponce de Leon Land and Florida War Record*. St. Augustine: n.p., 1902. [history, fictionalized; St. Augustine; warfare]
- 1906 Williamson, Carlotta. "*Osceola: Characteristic March--Two Step*." [performance, ragtime song: Osceola mystique]
- 1916 Tampa Women's Club. "*Resolutions on the Seminoles*." *The Red Man* 8, no. 9 (May 1916): 32-36. [petition, land: Everglades; feminism]
- 1917 **Florida legislature designates Seminole Reservation and game preserve setting aside 100,000 acres.**
- 1919 Munroe, Kirk. *Through Swamp and Glade: A Tale of the Seminole War*. New York: Scribners, 1896, 1919. [history-fiction: novelized military history by environmentalist-adventurer: Coacoochee; environmentalism; Osceola]
- 1921 "Monument to Fallen Soldiers of the Second Seminole War." [art, monument with sculpture: Dade, Francis; St. Augustine].
- 1928 **Tamiami Trail opens, connecting Tampa and Miami and bringing tourism/culture industry to Seminole territory.**
- 1934 **Everglades National Park, designated by Congress**
- 1935 [Time Magazine.] "*U.S. Seminole Indians demand pensions*." *The March of Time* (March 29, 1935): 5:15-8:00. [performance, radio play re-enacting Seminole removal: Arkansas; Osceola mystique; reparations; treaties]
- *Savage, Eugene. *Eugene Savage: The Seminole Paintings*. Jacksonville: Cummer Museum of Art & Gardens, 2011. [art: environmentalism; Everglades; swamps]
- 1941 Porter, Kenneth Wiggins. "*Abraham*." *Phylon* 2, no. 2 (1941): 102-16. [See 1826]
- 1943 *Porter, Kenneth Wiggins. "*Lament for Wild Cat*." *Phylon* 4, no. 1 (1943): 39-48. [poem, about Black Seminoles; Coacoochee (Wild Cat); John Horse; Fort Dade; removal; slavery; Tampa; Mexico; Texas]



Alexander Linn, glass lantern slide of Dade Battlefield Monument (U Florida)

1944 Angell, Rose. [Osceola, a Historical Drama; A Story of Florida at the Time of the Seminole Wars, 1835 to 1842, and of the Seminole Indian Patriot and Warrior, Osceola](#). Kissimmee, 1944. [performance, pageant of Florida history; Osceola mythos; slavery]

1951 [Distant Drums](#), dir. Raoul Walsh, with Gary Cooper. 1951, Warner Brothers. [See 1838]

1952 Rameau, Jean-Philippe, [Les Indes Galantes](#) [1735] revived in Paris. [performance, opera: romanticization; stereotype]



Eugene Savage, "Orchid Hunter"
(Cummer Museum)

Howe, Oscar. [A Seminole Chief, 1810](#). Reprinted in *North American Indian Costumes, 1564-1950*, edited by Oscar B. Jacobson and Oscar Howe, plate 195. Nice, France: Editions d'Art C. Szwedzicki. [See 1810]

1953 *Seminole!*, dir. Budd Boetticher, with Rock Hudson. 1953, Universal. [See 1835]

1954 Pope, Edith E. *River in the Wind: A Novel of Florida in the Seminole Wars*. New York: Scribners, 1954. [novel]

1955 ["Osceola Number."] *Florida Historical Quarterly* 23, nos. 3-4 (Jan.-April 1955). [special issue, devoted to Osceola]

1957 **Florida Seminole government formed. Federal recognition and retribution for land theft.**

Jumper, Moses, Jr. "The Council Oak." In *Echoes in the Wind* (1990), 12-13. [poem: tribal sovereignty: unconquered]

1966 Bemrose, John. *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*. Ed. John K. Moran. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1966; reprinted, University of Tampa Press, 2001.

1968 Bearss, Edwin C. *Osceola at Fort Moultrie, Sullivan's Island, South Carolina, Fort Sumter National Monument*. Washington, D.C.: Division of History, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, 1968. [archaeological report, concerning Osceola's grave, cultural memory, and forensics]

1970 Hutchinson, James. *Osceola* (Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum). [See 1834]

1976 Haney, Enoch Kelly. [Mark of the Knife](#) (Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum). [See 1832]

1978 "[Osceola](#)," mascot adopted by Florida State University athletics.

1979 **Seminole Tribe of Florida introduces high-stakes bingo, bringing profits to the Tribe and supporting infrastructure investment.**

- 1980 Tiger, Peggy and Molly Babcock. *The Life and Art of Jerome Tiger: War to Peace, Death to Life*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980. [art, drawings with comprehensive study: family; Oklahoma; Osceola mythos; removal; unconquered]
- 1983 Ellison, Mary. "[Black Perceptions and Red Images: Indian and Black Literary Links](#)." *Phylon* 44, no. 1 (1983): 44–55. [essay, links between Native and Black literatures]
- 1985 Billie, James. "[Seminole](#) ('Big Alligator')." [music, video with family introduction: environmentalism; unconquered]
- 1990 Jumper, Moses, Jr. *Echoes in the Wind: Seminole Indian Poetry*. Hollywood, Fl.: Seminole Tribe of Florida, 1990. [poem: see 1835, 1957]
- Billie, Noah. *Osceola* (ATTK). Reproduced in Fromm, *Reflections across Time* (2012), plate 1; Wlusek, *Reclaiming Home* (2023). [art, painting: Osceola mythos; nation-building; Viet Nam]
- 1991 Castagna, Pino. Osceola (Wild West Series); cited in Patricia Riles Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (2006), xv. [art, porcelain figurine: Osceola mythos.]
- 1994 Jumper, Betty Mae. *Legends of the Seminoles*. Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1994. [stories, oral tradition: family]
- 1991 Storm, Thomas M. Sr. [The Way I Sign All Treaties](#) (Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museu). [See 1832]
- 1992 Anderson, John. "[Seminole Wind](#)." [music, with video: environmentalism; Osceola mythos; unconquered]
- 1993 Osceola, Henehayo (Leroy). *Untitled*. (ATTK). [art, pen and ink; Osceola mythos]
- 1995 Wheeler, Chris. "[Seminole, The Unconquered](#)." *How the West Was Lost*. Discovery Channel. [documentary]
- 2003 Haney, Enoch Kelly. "[Dedication of the Guardian](#)." [See 1830]
- 2006 Jumper, Elgin. "[The Sorrow of Fort Marion](#)." *Nightfall*. Little Rock, Ak.: Sequoyah Research Center, 2006. [See 1837]
- Wickman, Patricia Riles. *Osceola's Legacy*. Revised Edition. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006.
- 2009 Missall, Mary Lou and John Missall. *This Torn Land: Poetry of the Second Seminole War*. Dade City, Fl.: Seminole Wars Foundation, 2009. [See 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1856, 1878]



Porcelain Osceola (available from multiple online sources).

Jumper, Moses, Jr. "Coacoochee." Reprinted in Missall and Missall, *This Torn Land* (2009), 344. [See 1837]

Missall, John and Mary Lou, eds. [*In Their Own Words: Selected Seminole 'Talks', 1817-1842*](#). *Seminole Wars Foundation. Pamphlet Series* 1, no. 5 (2009). [Oratory and petitions by Seminoles, recorded in U.S. sources; see also 1817, 1826]

2011 *Battiest, Zachary [Doc Native], with Spencer Battiest. "[The Storm](#)." [music, with video: unconquered].

Heuer, Elizabeth B. *Eugene Savage: The Seminole Paintings*. Jacksonville: Cummer Museum of Art & Gardens, 2011. [See 1935]

2012 *Fromm, Annette B. *Reflections across Time Seminole Portraits*. Miami: The Patricia & Phillip Frost Art Museum, Florida International University, 2012. [See 1810, 1838, 1850, 1861, 1990]

2015 *Tiger, Tony A., Bobby C. Martin, and Jace Weaver (eds.). *Return from Exile: Contemporary Southeastern Indian Art*. Tahlequah, Ok., 2015. [See 1830]

Montgomery, Gary. *Homeland Defenders* (2015?). Reprinted in Tiger, Tony Martin, and Weaver, *Return from Exile* (2015), pp. 72-73. [painting: unconquered]

Narcomey-Watson, Randi. "Not Disposable" (2015?). Reprinted in Tiger, Tony Martin, and Weaver, *Return from Exile* (2015), pp. 74-75. Video discussion: [Return from exile artist Randi Narcomey-Watson](#) (Western Carolina University). [art, dress sewn from recycled plastic: environmentalism; removal; unconquered]

2019 *Harjo, Joy. *An American Sunrise*. New York: Norton, 2019. [See 1830]

LVB Sr. "[Inside Genocide](#)." *The Seminole Tribune* (Oct. 7, 2019). [poem: genocide; Indian Holocaust; polarization]

2020 Bowers, Wilson. *Fire Feather or Warrior Within*. Reprinted in *Wlusek, Reclaiming Home* (2023), 11. [See 1832]

2022 *Hamilton, Anna, Becca Burton, Corina Guevara, Hannah Brown, and Jason Matthew Walker. "[Island Impermanent, Part 1: Erosion and Erasure on Egmont Key](#)." *The Marjorie* (Oct. 3, 2022). [See 1858]

Billie, Carradine [Seminole Prince.] "[Osceola](#)." [song/rap: Osceola mythos; unconquered]

_____ . "[Unconquered](#)." [poem, rap: unconquered]

2023 *Wlusek, Ola (ed.). [Reclaiming Home: Contemporary Seminole Art](#). Sarasota: Ringling Museum, 2023.

*[Grace Arts Center.] [*Through a Flowering Place: Women of the Saltwater Railroad.*](#) [See 1821].