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REVIEW ESSAY

Osceola: The White Man's Indian

by THEDA PERDUE

Osceola's Legacy. By Patricia R. Wickman. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1991. xxvi, 255 pp. Acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95, paper.)

PATRICIA R. Wickman's study of Osceola is not a typical biography. She outlines the major events in the life of Osceola, but her focus is primarily on Osceolana— that is, the artifacts associated with the hero of the Seminoles' struggle to remain in their homeland. She attempts to separate the genuine accounts of his life and accurate visual representations of him from those that are derivative, and she authenticates some personal belongings while casting considerable doubt on others. Her narrative reads like a detective story. Like all detective work, some of her investigation is technical and dull, while other parts are exciting historical drama. But the drama lies not so much in who Osceola was but in who he has become.¹

Osceola was born about 1804 in the Creek nation near present-day Tuskegee, Alabama.² In his early years, he was known as Billy Powell. The descendant of an intermarried couple, Osceola probably understood— and perhaps spoke— some English, but his upbringing was largely traditional. His family sided with the Red Sticks during the Creek War of 1813-1814, and at the end of the war they fled to north Florida. Captured and then released by Andrew Jackson in 1818, Osceola's family joined earlier refugees in Florida and became part of the emerging

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1. The title of this essay is based on Robert F. Berkhofer's *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York, 1978).
2. The best account of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Creek history is Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln, NE, 1982).

Seminole people.³ As a young man, he acquired the title Ussa Yaholo, or Black Drink Singer, which was anglicized to Osceola. He had at least two, and perhaps four, wives and several children.

Osceola rose to prominence in the 1830s as a leader of the anti-removal Seminoles.⁴ After Jackson's inauguration in 1829, the United States stepped up its efforts to force Native peoples to exchange their homelands east of the Mississippi for territory in what is today Oklahoma. This removal policy dated back to Thomas Jefferson's administration (1801-1809). Over the years, the United States employed a variety of tactics to accomplish removal: Government trading posts permitted Native customers to run up debts that land cessions canceled, United States agents enticed disgruntled individuals to remove, and treaty commissioners bribed chiefs to negotiate land sales.⁵ By 1830, however, these efforts had stalled. Government trading posts closed, most people who wanted to move west had done so, and those who remained had created governments that made chiefs more responsible to their people and land sales a capital offense. Consequently, the United States turned to more coercive means for dispossessing the Indians.

In 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which authorized the president to negotiate with Native peoples for a complete exchange of their lands.⁶ Soon the Choctaws and Chickasaws in Mississippi and the Creeks in Alabama signed removal treaties. These agreements provided for a division of the land among individual tribe members who could then sell their property and remove or retain their land and live under state law. Few protections of title existed, and thousands of Native people subsequently lost their land through fraud.⁷ These experiences made the two remaining southern Indian nations, the Cherokees and the Seminoles, determined to resist. The Cherokees, who had adopted many aspects of Anglo-American culture, decided

3. J. Leitch Wright chronicles this transformation in *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulgee People* (Lincoln, 1986).

4. The standard study is John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967; revised ed., Gainesville, 1985).

5. Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834* (Cambridge, 1962).

6. Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era* (Lincoln, 1975).

7. For an account of the horrors of allotment, see Mary E. Young, *Redskins, Ruffshirts, and Rednecks: Allotment in Alabama and Mississippi, 1830-1860* (Norman, OK, 1961).

to fight removal in the United States courts and ultimately won a paper victory before the Supreme Court in 1832.⁸ The Seminoles, however, had neither the knowledge nor inclination to resist removal on the white man's terms.

In 1832, a group of Seminole leaders agreed to go west to look over the land to which the United States proposed to move them. While they were a thousand miles from home, their agent either forced or tricked them into signing a removal treaty. Whatever the circumstances, the United States Senate ratified the treaty, and the federal government prepared to enforce its terms. In this context of mounting tensions, Osceola came to the forefront. More outspoken than Micanopy, the Seminole headman, Osceola became the focal point of resistance to removal. In 1835, his protests against the fraudulent treaty landed him in prison by order of Wiley Thompson, the Seminole's new agent. Only Osceola's acquiescence to a removal treaty and the surety of two pro-removal chiefs secured his release, but this change of heart was merely a ruse. Osceola soon turned from words to action. He and a group of warriors executed Charley Emathla, one of the pro-removal chiefs; then they attacked Fort King, killing agent Thompson and four others, while another group attacked Major Francis Dade's company. Finally, they resisted a United States assault on their stronghold at Withlacoochee. By the end of the year, the Seminoles, under Osceola's military leadership, were at war with the United States. Osceola's armed resistance to removal continued until his capture under a flag of truce in 1837. Imprisoned first at St. Augustine and later at Fort Moultrie in Charleston, Osceola died in January 1838. Here begins Wickman's real story.

Osceola fascinated the American public. Newspapers carried accounts of his exploits in the Florida swamps, and correspondents described Osceola's appearance, character, name, and facility with English. They debated the details of events involving him and the government's policy in dealing with his followers. In these accounts, Osceola enjoyed far more prominence than other leaders such as Micanopy, whom the Seminoles considered his superior. The fiery warrior, however, made better copy than

8. The two major studies of Cherokees in this period are William McLaughlin's *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (New Haven, 1984) and his *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic* (Princeton, 1986).

the quiet, deliberate old chief. In 1836, two first-hand accounts of the Seminole War appeared as books and featured descriptions of Osceola. One of these, Myer M. Cohen's *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, also contained the first engraved portrait of Osceola, complete with plumes, gorget, tomahawk, knife, gun, and powderhorn.⁹ Wickman concludes, however, that the engraving "bears no relationship whatsoever to reality, nor is it even well executed artistically" (p. 48).

Osceola's capture did not put a damper on his popularity; if anything, defeat enhanced it. While he was in captivity at Fort Moultrie, the citizens of Charleston clamored to see him. When Osceola and a group of other captives attended the theater (yes, the theater!) in early January 1838, it was packed, and the production on stage was not the main attraction. The scene inspired local author James Birchett Ransom to publish a five-verse poem two days later in the newspaper and a largely fictitious book, *Osceola; or, Fact and Fiction: a Tale of the Seminole War, by a Southerner*, later in the year.¹⁰ Artists from far and near sought permission to paint the famous captive, and hoards packed the chamber to watch Osceola sit for two painters at a time. George Catlin, the most renowned painter of Native peoples in early nineteenth-century America, closed his New York gallery, ended his lecture series, and hurried to Charleston to paint Osceola, whose health was declining. The lithographs and engravings based on these original works made Osceola the most recognizable Native American in the antebellum United States.

When Osceola died on January 30, 1838, attending physician Dr. Frederick Weedon and the commander of the guard, Captain Pitcairn Morrison, removed his personal effects from the coffin in clear and cognizant violation of Native burial practices that interred belongings with the deceased. Rather than turning these items over to Osceola's two wives who were with him in captivity or even to the United States government, they kept them. Weedon's share included a carbine, powder horn, lock of hair, sketch, brass pipe, silver concho and earrings, a garter, and a knife. Many of his belongings passed through several generations of Weedons and into the public domain. Morrison took the

9. Myer M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns* (Charleston, 1836; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964).

10. James Birchett Ransom, *Osceola: or, Fact and Fiction: a Tale of the Seminole War, by a Southerner* (New York, 1838).

plumes Osceola had worn in his turban, the silk shawl he used for a turban, two belts, a garter, three silver gorgets, and a mirrored hairbrush. Morrison also obtained Osceola's plaster death cast. The cast is now in the Smithsonian, but the other artifacts changed hands several times and disappeared.

Osceola suffered even greater indignity than theft, however, before Dr. Weedon consigned his body to the grave: Weedon removed the head. He kept the embalmed head at Fort Moultrie for several weeks until the Seminoles that accompanied him from Florida departed for the West. The good doctor then returned to his home in St. Augustine and carried the head with him. According to Weedon family tradition, he displayed the head at his drugstore or in his home office for several years. Finally, in 1843, his son-in-law, who was also a physician, sent the head to Dr. Valentine Mott in New York City. Mott was a famous surgeon who had a collection of over one thousand anatomical specimens. He indicated his intention to keep the head at home rather than on display in his museum at the Medical College of the City of New York for fear that it might be stolen. Whether he ultimately moved the head to the Medical College is uncertain, but in 1865, shortly after Mott's death, fire destroyed the museum. The fate of Osceola's head is unknown.

Wickman concludes her book with an account of extant artifacts associated with Osceola and the recent appearance on the market of a gun and powderhorn, purportedly belonging to Osceola but probably fraudulent. Appendices summarize the artifacts and graphic representations, and the lightly annotated bibliography lists sources for the study of both Osceola and Osceolana. Wickman's detective work and her presentation of the evidence is impressive and convincing. She effectively sorts out what observers actually saw from hearsay or secondhand accounts, and she is able to establish the authenticity of artifacts and physical remains. We now know, as the author promised, much more about Osceola's material legacy. What we do not learn from the book is why Osceola held such fascination for Anglo-Americans. Why did they describe him, paint him, steal from him, and even decapitate his corpse?

Because of their obsession with Osceola, his material legacy belongs to Anglo-Americans, not Seminoles or other Native peoples. In fact, Osceola may have played a larger role in Anglo-American culture than in his own. Among the Seminoles, he

never achieved the distinction of headman like Micanopy whose age and wisdom contributed to his stature. Micanopy and others came into positions of leadership before the removal crisis and inspired confidence for reasons that Anglo-Americans could not fathom. Nevertheless, these chiefs did not hold sway over the Seminoles on each and every issue, and their people sought leadership from other quarters when circumstance demanded it. Osceola was, in modern political parlance, a "single-issue candidate." He spoke passionately against removal, and he developed a following where this issue was concerned. The narrow scope of his power does not diminish our view of his leadership abilities because removal, after all, was the major issue in the 1830s. The following his position attracted led Anglo-Americans, according to Wickman, to give "him more status than had his cultural peers" (p. 30). He was a leader for troubled times but not perhaps for all times. He ceased to be much of a factor in Seminole life or culture after his capture in 1837 and his followers' deportation to the West in 1838. He never became a folk hero for resisting removal in the way that Tsali did among the Eastern Band of Cherokees.¹¹ Tsali has been a unifying symbol for the Eastern Cherokees, but Osceola's posthumous role among the Seminoles seems to have been limited to a request for the return of his remains in the late 1940s. This turbulent period in Seminole history ultimately gave rise to the organization of a separate Miccosukee nation, and the request may well have grown out of division rather than union.¹²

If Osceola's legacy has had relatively little meaning for Seminoles, why has it captivated Anglo-Americans? Perhaps because Osceola was an Indian whom they believed they understood. In the early nineteenth century, many Anglo-Americans were almost as perplexed by Native peoples as they had been two centuries earlier. An intensive effort to "civilize" the Indians— that is, to turn them into literate, Christian, republican farmers— had achieved limited results.¹³ In 1813, Thomas Jeffer-

11. John R. Finger, "The Saga of Tsali: Legend Versus Reality," *North Carolina Historical Review* 56 (January 1979) 1-18.

12. James W. Covington, "Trail Indians of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 58 (July 1979), 37-57; Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "'Give us Twenty-Five Years': Florida Seminoles From Near Termination to Self-Determination, 1953-1957," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (January 1989), 290-309.

13. Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill, 1973).

son interpreted the defection of many Native peoples to the British side as a rejection of the government's "benevolent plan . . . to teach them agriculture and the rudiments of the most necessary arts."¹⁴ Almost twenty years later, Andrew Jackson's secretary of war, Lewis Cass, described the failure of the Indians to become "civilized." "It is difficult to conceive that any branch of the human family can be less provident in arrangement, less frugal in enjoyment, less industrious in acquiring, more implacable in their resentments, more ungovernable in their passions, with fewer principles to guide them, with fewer obligations to restrain them, and with less knowledge to improve and instruct them."¹⁵ Certainly the Cherokees, governed under a constitution and informed by a bilingual newspaper, seemed to have made "progress," but critics charged that even the Cherokee success was superficial, limited to "half-breeds" and those who had purchased slaves.¹⁶

Most Native peoples simply denied that the white man's way of life was superior to their own and adamantly refused to exchange their customs, values, and beliefs for his. Despite centuries of observation, exactly what Native peoples clung to remained a mystery to most Anglo-Americans. Materially impoverished, without discernible religion, and lacking formal government, Native culture seemed to be a vacuum. Yet Indians refused to change, and they refused to move. Their "uncivilized" societies challenged "progress," and their recalcitrance impeded it. The behavior of Native peoples simply made no sense in the context of an aggressively expanding Anglo-American culture. Osceola, however, was a man of action; he behaved in understandable ways as he fought for his homeland.

Osceola became the standard by which many Seminoles would be unfairly judged by subsequent generations of Anglo-Americans. In the 1930s, the federal agent to the Florida Seminoles, James Glenn, held his charges partly responsible for their own

14. Thomas Jefferson to Baron von Humbolt, December 6, 1813, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Paul Leicester Ford, ed., 10 vols. (New York, 1892-1899), IX, 431.

15. Lewis Cass, "Removal of the Indians," *North American Review* 30 (January 1830), 73.

16. *Ibid.*, 71-72. See also Albert Gallatin, "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes Within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains," *Archaeologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 1836), II, 157.

material poverty and exploitation by the tourist industry. "What kind of role do the Indians want to play in their relation to the other citizens of America? You can bet their last dime that Osceola, the Great Seminole, could answer that. No step-citizenship for him! No 'nigger' with his head through a sheet for the white crowds to throw baseballs at."¹⁷ While Glenn's outrage at the humiliation suffered by some Florida Seminoles is commendable, his implication that Osceola would have demanded full citizenship hardly is supported by the historical evidence. Furthermore, the tourist industry to which he so adamantly objected helped to make a traditional way of life economically viable and personally satisfying to many Seminoles and gave them an alternative to forcible relocation on federal reservations.¹⁸ Resistance, at least from Indians, was easier to comprehend than accommodation.

Anglo-Americans also found Osceola's military leadership far more comprehensible than the civic-religious leadership of Micanopy. Osceola was like Tecumseh, the great Native military leader in the War of 1812. In the view of most Anglo-Americans, power rested with Tecumseh; however, among Indians, his brother, the spiritual leader Tenkwatawa, held sway. Military might, Americans could understand; moral power was a more remote concept.¹⁹ The line between military and civil authority was particularly blurred in the 1830s because of the commanding presence of Andrew Jackson, the United States' first war hero since George Washington. If anything, the reverence in which most Anglo-Americans held Jackson increased during his presidency.²⁰ The hero of New Orleans salvaged his nation's honor

17. James Lafayette Glenn, *My Work Among the Florida Seminoles*, Harry A. Kersey, Jr., ed. (Orlando, 1982), 106.

18. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *The Florida Seminoles and the New Deal, 1833-1942* (Boca Raton, 1989).

19. This is the thesis of R. David Edmunds in *The Shawnee Prophet* (Lincoln, 1983). The so-called "patriot chiefs" have always enjoyed more fame in Anglo-American culture than leaders who attempted cultural revitalization or accommodation. See R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership* (Boston, 1984), and *American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity* (Lincoln, 1980). A recent work that links spiritual and military leadership with a new sense of racial solidarity is Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore, 1992).

20. Robert Remini has written a three-volume biography of Andrew Jackson. *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire* (New York, 1977); *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832* (New York, 1981);

at the end of an ignominious war, and his reputed strength in the face of overwhelming odds gave rise to his nickname, "Old Hickory." Like Osceola, Jackson did not always follow the rules; he disobeyed orders and violated international law. Thus his perceived indifference to overly restrictive rules added to his stature in many quarters. Jackson set the heroic standard in the antebellum United States.

While no one would have compared Osceola favorably to Jackson, antebellum Americans saw him in a role that Jackson had defined. Not content merely to continue a doomed way of life, Osceola struck out against the oppressor and restored his nation's honor on the field of battle. Osceola challenged a force of superior arms and numbers, he broke international law (as defined by Europeans) by repudiating a signed agreement, and he fought for his homeland. He fit the heroic standard of the age. The descriptions of him confirm this view. One source describes him as a "truly great warrior" and another as a "good warrior and a gentlemanly indian," (pp. 36, 44).²¹ One can almost imagine the notoriously hot-headed Jackson behaving like Osceola reportedly did at a council in 1835. "Becoming more and more impatient of his exclusion from the conference, he suddenly stalked across the stoop, jerked out his knife, and flourished it around his head with the most savage vehemence. Never have I seen a more striking figure than he presented at that time" (p. 42).²² Most antebellum Americans would have concurred with the army surgeon who wrote, "If only half that has been said of this indomitable warrior be true, he was a most remarkable man" (p. 31).²³ Portraits convey this impression of Osceola, particularly the one by Catlin. Proud, defiant, self-confident, yet haunting and sad, Osceola's portraits are reminiscent of Jackson's. Old Hickory, too, endured tragedy, particularly in his scandalous, childless marriage to his beloved Rachel who suffered social snubs, a long illness, and an early death. Jackson's

and *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy, 1833-1845* (New York, 1984).

21. Wickman quotes from the *Army and Navy Chronicle* 7 (July 28, 1936), 57-58; and the diary of Henry Prince, January 21, 1837, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida Library, Gainesville.

22. Wickman quotes from the *New Bern [N.C.] Spectator*, February 26, 1836.

23. Wickman quotes from Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness*, James F. Sunderman, ed. (Gainesville, 1963), 140.

trials, like Osceola's, enhanced rather than compromised his heroic image.

Jackson gave Americans a context within which to understand someone like Osceola, but he also created the need for Osceola. Jackson's great victory at New Orleans was glorious and honorable, unlike the guerrilla war that raged in the Florida swamps. In the Seminole War, thousands of men and countless funds went into operations against small groups of poorly fed, clad, and armed Indian men, women, and children. The Seminole nation was not the British army Jackson had faced at New Orleans, and the Seminole War seemed particularly ignoble by comparison. Concepts of honor, especially prevalent in the South, insisted that opponents be equal.²⁴ A participant brought dishonor to himself by accepting the challenge of an inferior. Consequently, the Seminole War could be an honorable enterprise only if the Seminoles were worthy foes. Osceola, in the eyes of many Americans, made the Seminoles a well-matched enemy and the war an honorable one. Furthermore, the elevation of Osceola made the victory over him all the sweeter.

Osceola's capture and death symbolized the end of "savagery" in the East. Many Anglo-Americans believed that a "civilized" people and a "savage" one could not coexist, and that "civilization" would triumph because farmers destroyed the forest resources on which "savage" hunters depended. Cass reflected the conventional wisdom of the age when he wrote, "A barbarous people, depending for subsistence upon scanty and precarious supplies furnished by the chase, cannot live in contact with a civilized community."²⁵ When Indians fought back in order to preserve their "savage" way of life, the numerical and technological superiority of "civilized" people simply hastened their destruction. In the defeat of Osceola, the quintessential "savage," Anglo-Americans confirmed that they were right: Failure to become "civilized" resulted in death, albeit a heroic and romantic death.

Osceola's fate made removal, an alternative to extinction, seem all the more humane. Alexis de Tocqueville observed that the United States had solved its Indian problem "with singular felicity, tranquilly, legally, philanthropically, without shedding

24. For the classic study on this aspect of southern culture, see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982).

25. Cass, "Removal of the Indians," 64.

blood, and without violating a single great principle of morality in the eyes of the world. It is impossible to destroy men with more respect for the laws of humanity."²⁶ Removal offered temporary protection to "savages" who faced annihilation by "civilizing" forces. Removal also afforded them another chance to adopt "civilization" and secure their survival before the advancing Anglo-American frontier reached them.

The conviction that a Native way of life could not survive in North America may help explain why Weedon and Morrison removed Osceola's personal effects. These mementos of "savagery" had antiquarian value because most people presumed that Native Americans were about to vanish completely from the face of the earth. Indians represented the past in an era that was beginning to pay particular attention to the material culture of ancient peoples. Napoleon's armies had discovered countless treasure troves in Egypt, and by the 1820s, Jean-Francois Champollion had deciphered the Rosetta stone, which unlocked the secret of hieroglyphics. In the 1830s, a young Heinrich Schliemann began to read about Troy and to dream of finding the presumably mythical city, and John Lloyd Stephens "rediscovered" the magnificent Mayan ruins of Central America.²⁷ These events almost certainly did not motivate Weedon and Morrison, but they did contribute to the intellectual milieu that informed and shaped scientific investigation and collection development. Weedon and Morrison may be seen as representative of the same kind of interest in material culture that led in the 1840s to the founding of the Smithsonian Institution where Osceola's death mask now rests.²⁸ Osceola's possessions—like those of the Pleistocene, the Egyptians, and the Trojans—belonged to history because "savagery" was passing from the scene.

The nineteenth-century interest in physical remains also helps explain the treatment of Osceola's corpse. Reluctant to

26. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Henry Reeve, trans. 2 vols. (New York, 1957), I, 369.

27. For a lively account of the rediscovery of the material past, see C. W. Ceram, *Gods, Graves, and Scholars: The Story of Archaeology*, E. B. Garside, trans. (New York, 1953).

28. In particular, see Robert Bieder, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology* (Norman, 1986). For the role of the Smithsonian, see Curtis M. Hinsley, Jr., *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846-1910* (Washington, 1981).

inter important "scientific" evidence, Weedon removed and preserved Osceola's head. His behavior, abhorrent as it may be to us today, reflected the scientific attitudes of his time. Nineteenth-century scientists tended to regard humans as physical specimens rather than spiritual, moral, or intellectual beings. Unfortunately, twentieth-century Anglo-Americans, who are more interested in Indian artifacts than in the cultures that produced them, frequently do the same. This near obsession with physical remains led vandals to attempt to remove Osceola's skeleton from its grave in 1966, and concern about the authenticity of the remains prompted subsequent excavation of the gravesite by National Park Service archaeologists. Most Anglo-Americans view the archaeologists' excavation as more legitimate than that of the vandals, but many Native peoples do not. Certainly the same interest in the material aspects of human culture motivate both archaeologists and vandals, though for vastly different purposes, and that same interest links them to Dr. Weedon and Osceola's head. The issues raised by the theft and the exhumation are ones that modern archaeologists and Native peoples debate, another legacy perhaps of Osceola.²⁹ How can we protect the thousands of Native sites from amateur pot hunters or dealers in Indian artifacts? How important are physical remains to the study of the Native past? Who owns Native remains? What does a scholar do when Native peoples object to the excavation of burial or sacred sites? Should skeletal remains and sacred objects be displayed in museums? What responsibilities do archaeologists and museums with archaeological holdings have toward Native peoples? Recent federal legislation has addressed these questions, many archaeologists recognize the rights of Native peoples, but the issues are far from resolved. The scientific traditions of Native and Western cultures are quite different and make resolution unlikely.

While archaeology continues to be a reputable science, another line of inquiry that developed, in the nineteenth century

29. For a survey of the issues, see Harvey Arden, "Who Owns Our Past?" *National Geographic* (March 1989) and Devon Abbott, "An Indian Viewpoint on the Subject of Desecration of Sacred Burial Sites and Questionable Need for Scientific Study of Indian Remains," *Akwesasne Notes* (Spring 1986). Rayna Green and Nancy Marie Mitchell of the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, have compiled "American Indian Sacred Objects, Skeletal Remains, Repatriation and Reburial: A Resource Guide, 1990" which is very useful.

has been thoroughly discredited. Phrenology, which was gaining in popularity at the time of Osceola's death, sought strictly physical explanations for differences in human beings.³⁰ Or perhaps more accurately, scientists believed that intelligence and morality had physical manifestations. In particular, phrenologists examined skulls, living and dead, for irregularities that revealed quirks of character. Some phrenologists went beyond individuals. The "father of American anthropology," Samuel George Morton, for example, compared Native American and Egyptian crania.³¹ Interest in phrenology helps explain the removal of Osceola's head, which no doubt became part of the "nature or nurture" debate.

Western science has long attempted to distinguish between culture— that is, learned behavior— and heredity or genetically determined unalterable features. In the eighteenth century, people tended to attribute most differences in human beings to culture. Many, for example, believed that Native people had darker skin color merely because they rubbed themselves with bear grease and stayed out in the sun with few clothes. By the nineteenth century, the emphasis had shifted to heredity, and many differences that we now describe as cultural were believed to be inherited. Such inquiry gave rise to scientific racism— the belief that some peoples are genetically inferior to others. It also called into question the whole "civilization" program. If people were born "savages," many argued by the mid nineteenth century, nothing could make them "civilized."³²

The rise of scientific racism must have comforted many Anglo-Americans who had long grappled with their fears of "savagery." Their anxiety had been sparked not by the "savage" lurking in the forest but by the "savage" within each person.³³ "Civilization" restrained "savagery" on a personal level, but the

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30. William R. Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815-59* (Chicago, 1960).
 31. C. Loring Brace, "The Roots of the Race Concept in American Physical Anthropology," *A History of American Physical Anthropology, 1830-1980*, Frank Spencer, ed. (New York, 1982), 17.
 32. Reginald Horsman, "Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *American Quarterly* 27 (May 1975), 152-68, and *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, 1981).
 33. Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the White Mind* (Baltimore, 1953; revised ed., Berkeley, 1988).

danger always existed that the bonds might break and the “savage” emerge. The freedom and equality Indians seemed to enjoy offered a compelling attraction to Native life that many Anglo-Americans had not been able to resist. Indian country abounded with traders, loyalists from the Revolution, “Indian countrymen” who had simply gone over, and war captives who refused redemption.³⁴ All of these people served to remind Anglo-Americans how seductive “savagery” could be. The depiction of Osceola as a romantic hero had exacerbated these fears. “Civilized” people found a “savage” admirable, and by his death and decapitation, “civilization” triumphed.

Osceola was and is a multi-faceted symbol in Anglo-American culture—the war hero, the worthy opponent, the “savage,” the past. Anglo-Americans seized upon him because he meant something to them within their own cultural parameters. He was a tawny Andrew Jackson, an unorthodox military and political leader who inspired admiration and whose daring exploits brought honor to the United States’ war against his people. Yet Osceola symbolized “savagery” and the American past; Anglo-Americans represented “civilization” and the future. Patricia Wickman notes that at the Battle of Withlacoochee, Osceola wore a United States Army coat. “Osceola’s motive in wearing the coat now was almost certainly as a display of contempt, power over an enemy, protective coloration, or even as sympathetic magic” (pp. 38-39). Perhaps the motives of writers and painters, of Weedon and Morrison, and of thousands of Americans who have been fascinated by the story of Osceola, have not been so very different.

34. James Axtell, “The White Indians of Colonial America,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 32 (January 1975), 55-88.

FLORIDA MANUSCRIPT ACQUISITIONS AND ACCESSIONS

The following are recent manuscript acquisitions and accessions as reported by Florida universities, colleges, public libraries, archives, and other institutions. Anyone interested in particular collections should correspond with the organization in question.

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, has added the following rare books to its collection: Bernard Romans and Gerrard de Brahm, *Complete Pilot for Gulf Passage* (1789); John Campbell, *Spanish Empire in America* (1747); David Porter, *Minutes of Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry and Court Denial* (1825); Plowden Weston, *Documents Connected with the History of South Carolina* (1856); General James Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, 3 vols. (1816); John Wurts, *Index Digest of Decisions of the Florida Supreme Court* (1889). Maps acquired include Florida Land Colonization Company, *Bird's Eye View of Sanford* (1884) and *Bird's Eye View of Orlando* (1884); Lieutenant M. L. Smith, *Survey Across Florida Canal between Espiritu Santo Bay and St. Johns River* (1854); Homann, *Mapa Geographica Complectens Indiae Occidentalis* (1740); and Bernard Romans, *Gulf and Windward Pilot*, 5 charts (1787).

The Florida Collection, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee, added the following manuscript materials: miscellaneous notes, deeds, and letters relating to the Union Bank (Tallahassee). Papers include an April 27, 1844, letter signed by John G. Gamble; Gamble's will (May 19, 1844) and codicils (May 28, 1838, February 13, 1849); and a note signed on July 1, 1861, by Governor Richard Keith Call.

The Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, added the following manuscript collections to its holdings: Chesley and Flanagan Land Surveyors, Tallahassee (1938-1959); Antioch Baptist Church, Quincy, Records (1923-1955); United Daughters of the Confederacy Membership Applications (1898-1928); Richard Simpson Papers; Tallahassee Music Guild Records (1961-1991);

Columbus Welch Papers (1889-1925); Florida Alliance for Arts Education Records (1971-1988); Grand Army of the Republic, Eustis Post, Minutes (1884-1923); and the Henry Edward Partridge diary (1873-1923). Also added were records from the following state and local government agencies: Governors Robert Graham and Robert Martinez; Board of Regents; Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission; Jefferson County Clerk's Office; Leon County Sheriffs Office; Commission on the Status of Women; Department of State; Department of Military Affairs; Department of Education; Florida Park Service; Florida Supreme Court; Florida House of Representatives; Florida Senate; Joint Legislative Management Committee; Division of Elections; Division of State Lands; Council on Organized Crime; Attorney General's Office; Florida State Hospital; Department of Community Affairs; Palm Beach County Board of Commissioners; Leon County Circuit Court; Mechanics Lien Law Study Commission; Florida State University; State Planning and Budget Commission; and the Secretary of State.

The St. Augustine Historical Society has added the following monographs: Cullen Chambers, *Historic Structures Report: St. Augustine Light Station Restoration Project* (1991); Don Secor, ed., *St. Augustine Lighthouse Log* (1991); Marsha A. Chance, *An Archaeological Resource Assessment of S. R. 207 from S. R. 100 to I-95, Putnam and St. Johns Counties, FL* (1991); Chance, *A Preliminary Historic Evaluation of the Community of Spuds, St. Johns Co., FL* (1991); Suzanne Skipper, *Cracker Houses: Low Energy Comfort* (1980); Sue N. Smith and St. Augustine Archaeological Association, *A Guide to the Identification of Post-Contact Period Ceramics in St. Augustine, Florida* (1990). Newly acquired maps and architectural drawings include sixteen copies of maps of different parts of Florida (1837-1839) related to Seminole war campaigns (copies are from the National Archives, Record Group #77); a copy of architectural drawings of the Bridge of Lions (1924). Added also were four scrapbooks from the Evelyn Hamblen School (1955-1965); and a scrapbook of W. B. Tracy, agent for the Florida Motor Lines in St. Augustine (1930s through early 1940s). Letters and diaries include copies of letters of George R. Fairbanks (from the 1850s); a diary of Major Reynold Marvin Kirby (uncle of General Kirby-Smith) dated from 1838. Also added were photographs from the Diesel Engine Sales Co., a ship-building company that built

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shrimp trawlers and now specializes in fiberglass speedboats (1948-1982). The Society also acquired several oral history interviews on the following topics: Faver-Dykes State Park; Pellicer Creek families and occupations; Maguire Lumber Company and Nine Mile Road; Palm Valley families and occupations; recollections about Henry Eugene Hernandez; Excelsior School reunion in Lincolnville; theatre in St. Augustine with Tom Rahner; and the Jewish community of St. Augustine. Videotapes include "St. Augustine Race Riots: early 1960s," highway patrol training tape, 20 minutes long; "Fishing All My Days," concerning the shrimping industry in St. Augustine during the early twentieth century. Microfilm additions consist of the papers of General Kirby-Smith (1824-1893), comprising correspondence and other papers relating to his personal affairs, military career, and life at the University of Nashville and the University of the South (7 reels); correspondence of Patrick Tonym (1784-1785) from the Public Record Office (1 reel, #C05/561). Manuscript acquisitions include the papers of Verne E. Chatelain (1895-1991) pertaining to his research in St. Augustine during the 1930s and 1940s on archaeology, forts, and defenses (20 manuscript boxes); the papers of Fred and Ada Martin (1910-1917), including tax deeds for the Martin property, mortgage deeds, correspondence, and a notebook with records of household expenses and family mementos.

The Pensacola Historical Society added an extract from the official log book of the ship *Nignetia* (1892) and the following maps: *Map of Bohemia, Pensacola Bay Geodetic Survey* (1889); *Map of Florida, Coffers Survey* (1850); *Map of Pensacola Harbor* (1891, 1893); *Map of Gulf of Mexico* (1893). The Society also published *Private Pasco: A Civil War Diary* and accessioned a manuscript, "The Parish of Saint Michael the Archangel: The First Hundred Years, 1781-1881," by Mary Dawkins. Also acquired were a newspaper, the *Jay Tribune* (1939), and the *Motek Pitch Pine Code* (1899). The society plans to move its library to new facilities at 117 E. Government Street in June 1992.

The Florida Historical Society added a 50,000-item commercial lithograph collection from the Kane-Greenberg family of New York. The collection contains lithographically produced labels, proof books, and artists' sketches for cigar and alcohol

manufacturers. Also included are thirty rare Bavarian limestones used to make labels. This valuable collection makes the Society the second largest repository for commercial lithography in the United States. Also acquired were a seventeenth-century church document concerning the appointment of a vicar for St. Augustine; photographs and postcards of early twentieth-century Florida; and the United Spanish War Veterans Organization papers including membership rosters and service records.

The Monroe County May Hill Russell Library, Key West, added the following microfilm from the National Archives: Custom House Key West Entrances and Clearances (1836-1847); and Custom House Key West Imports and Duties (1838-1862).

The Jacksonville Public Libraries added *Bicycling on the West Coast of Florida* (1888?); and William M. Jones, *The Location and Description of Water Mill Sites in Northeast Florida* (1990).

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill acquired the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad records (1890s-1940s) comprising approximately 45,000 items (249 linear feet). The files are divided between "President's Files," which document railroad operations and relations with other companies, state and local governments, and regulatory bodies; and tax files, which contain records of state and local taxes paid by the railroad. There are also a set of financial journals.

The Manatee County Library, Bradenton, added the following manuscript items (all of which were term papers written for history courses at the University of South Florida or as History Fair entries): "Tampa Women and World War II," by Jeanne Bishop; "Thoroughbreds and Florida: A Winning Combination," Scott Fitzgerald; "History of the Bishop Animal Shelter of Manatee County," by Brian Gibson; "The Four Factors of the 50's: Progress in Manatee County, Florida in the 1950's," by Pamela N. Gibson; "Sarasota Bay Mangroves 1991: Past Alterations and Future Possibilities," by Thomas William Mayers (master's thesis); "Mayors of the City of Bradenton: Past and Present," by Craig R. Roundtree; "West Pasco County is *Not* a Backwater: Famous people who have resided there," Deborah M. Ryon.

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The Robert Manning Strozier Library, Special Collections, Florida State University, Tallahassee, acquired photocopies of pages from a letterbook of correspondence from Hardy B. Croom to his brother Bryan Croom (1831-1837). The letterbook documents plantation life in Leon County during this period.

The Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami, accessioned the following brochures: Florida East Coast Railway, The St. Augustine Route: Menu of Dining Car Service (1936); Sight-seeing Red Top Tours: Miami's Oldest Sightseeing Company (ca. 1930); Spanish Courts: Riviera Florida (ca. 1930). Manuscripts include a signed letter to Andrew Jackson from Florida Territorial Governor William P. DuVal, May 23, 1824; diary of Amos B. Eaton (Second Seminole War, 1837-1838); document by a member of Company A, 13th Infantry Regiment, containing the organization of the 5th Army and the Rough Riders in Tampa Bay during the Spanish American War, 1898; a letter to General T. S. Jesup, Fort Gardner, April 27, 1838, from General Zachary Taylor; and the roster of commissioned officers of the 2nd U. S. Colored Infantry, Fort Taylor, December 29, 1864, by Colonel John Wilder. The following maps were added: Jacob Blamey, *Port et barre D'Amelia, de la Floride Orientale* (1778); Blamey, *Plan del L'Ile D'Amelia á la cote de la Floride Orientale . . . por le Port D'Amelia* (1779); Pierre Mortier, *Le Golfe de Mexique et les Isles Voisines* (1685); H. Neuste Radefeld, *Karte der Grossen Antillen* (1844); H. D. Rogers, *West Indies, Island of Cuba (Spanish), Jamaica (British)* (1857); *Bahamas and Windward Passage* (1703); and J. Van Keulen, *Pas Kaart vande zuyd kust van Cuba evangeheel Yamaica* (1680). Among the historic photographs added were Randy Lieberman's photographs and negatives of the first flights of Pan American Airways (1930-1950); stereographs of the Spanish-American War (1898-1900); E. S. Stanton, Florida Lighthouse, Miami; Underwood & Underwood, pictures relating to the Spanish-American War.

The Florida Collection at the Miami-Dade Public Library has recently acquired the microfilm edition of the Draper Manuscripts (123 reels). Records of the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company and indices (Tallahassee) covering the period from August 25, 1866, to January 15, 1872, contain signatures and

personal identification data about depositors. The registers are not indexed. The indices are to ledgers from branches in Jacksonville and Tallahassee.

The Historic Pensacola Preservation Board added the following archival material to its collection: a San Carlos Hotel brochure and postcards ca. 1960; and several scrapbooks containing assorted deeds, ledgers, news clippings, and photos from the period 1880-1940.