

**The  
FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

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## DE SOTO'S FIRST HEADQUARTERS IN FLORIDA

by JOHN R. SWANTON

Knowing that Hernando de Soto, his expedition, and the places he visited will probably be matters of discussion for years and years, I have not recently ventured any further contributions regarding them. However, challenge of one of my conclusions, the probable site of the Indian town of Ucita where De Soto established his first North American headquarters, has recently been made in a scientifically motivated paper ("The Terra Ceia Site, Manatee County, Florida." No. 3 of the *Publications of the Florida Anthropological Society*, by Ripley P. Bullen), and this calls for some comments.

Barring the discovery of some object definitely identifiable with the De Soto expedition, no one can know with absolute finality whether Ucita was or was not located on Terra Ceia. I do not wish this statement - indicative of the detachment with which one should approach a fact of history - to be interpreted as any weakening of my previously expressed opinion that documentary and circumstantial evidence point to that site as far and away the most probable one.

While discussions of De Soto's expedition are always in order, I feel that the locations of the Governor's landing place and of his first headquarters at Ucita are limited to the south shore of Tampa Bay by evidence that cannot be denied with any plausibility. This evidence is as follows:

(1) In the "Description Universal de las Indias," of Lopez de Velasco, written within less than forty years of De Soto's time, the present Tampa Bay is clearly described although with some minor inaccuracies and it is called "The Bay of *Tocobaga*,

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**NOTE** - In this *Quarterly* (xvi,3,Jan.1938) Dr. John R. Swanton told us of his investigations and conclusions on the *Landing Place of De Soto in Florida in 1539*. Later, in the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (Washington, 1939, 400 p.) of which he was Chairman, his conclusions were similar. The *Quarterly* has asked him to add anything which might have changed any of those views during the long interval. Though there has been little if any change, Dr. Swanton has given us these notes, as a continuation of his paper, on the probable site of De Soto's first headquarters after the landing.

otherwise known as that of the *Holy Spirit* or of *Miruelo*." The latitude given,  $29\ 1/2^{\circ}$ , is, indeed, too far to the north, but of course very much too far for any point south of Tampa. Another important point is that the town of Tocobaga is placed at the head of an arm of the bay running "straight north," that is at the head of Old Tampa Bay. This placement of the Tocobaga town was undoubtedly due to the expedition of Menendez which had taken place a few years before the "Descripcion Universal" was written. But while in the above quotation the Bay of Tocobaga is identified with that of the Holy Spirit, in a short paragraph which immediately precedes, the Bay of the Holy Spirit is said to be half a degree lower than that of Tocobaga which lay to the west of it. Evidently the two arms of Tampa Bay are here being differentiated, the Bay of the Holy Spirit proper being that to the east and south. And finally Lopez de Velasco says that what is now Hillsboro Bay had not been explored. Since the Bay of Tocobaga proper was, then, Old Tampa Bay and Hillsboro Bay had not been entered by Spanish vessels, that part of Tampa Bay with which we are concerned, where De Soto landed and established his headquarters, would be on the south side between the opening of Hillsboro Bay and the Gulf.

(2) In 1612 the Governor of Florida sent an ensign named Juan de Cartaya with a pilot and twenty men to the west coast of the peninsula to induce the chiefs of two unmissionized provinces, Pooy or Pohoy and Calusa, to cease their attacks upon Christian Indians. The party probably reached the Gulf coast at the mouth of the Suwannee River and went on south in dugout canoes. First they came to the Province of Pooy, later to Tampa, the name then given to Charlotte Harbor, and finally to the town of the Calusa chief. Pooy was plainly in or close to the present Tampa Bay, for Cartaya says it was near the Province of Tocobaga. In this Bay of Pooy the Indians told Cartaya "Governor Hernando de Soto disembarked." Old Tampa

Bay being in the Province of Tocobaga and the next point on the south being Charlotte Harbor it is natural to suppose that this Province of Pooy was on the southern side of Tampa Bay or very close to it. The information was supplied by the Indians seventy-three years after De Soto's landing took place and, though the generation that met him would probably have passed away, the event would have been far too striking to have gone completely out of the minds of their children.

(3) In 1675 Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon, Bishop of Cuba, visited Florida which was then under his jurisdiction and wrote a letter embodying his experiences and a description of the province. In his account of points on the west coast, passing from south to north, he places the "Pojoy River" twelve leagues south of that of "Tocopacas" (Tocobaga) and immediately afterwards, in enumerating the tribes, he indicates a similar position of the "Pojoyes" with reference to the Tocobaga Indians, merely inserting another called "Pineros" between. The "Pojoy River" may well have been the Manatee.

These three authorities indicate, and limit, the area in which we must look for the sites in question so clearly that I do not see how it can be doubted by anyone who places facts above theory.

### ***Location of Ucita***

Admittedly a somewhat greater measure of uncertainty attaches to the determination of the landing place and of Ucita within the limits indicated, but we must again refer to the facts and these are as follows:

The town of Ucita was:

- (1) In plain view as soon as De Soto's vessels entered the bay;
- (2) An extensive shoal lay in front of it;
- (3) It was two leagues (roughly 5.2 miles) from a convenient landing place where the greater part of the army was in fact landed;

- (4) In order to reach Ucita by land, however, the army required two days and this was made necessary because they had to march around "great creeks that run up from the bay." Two days would mean that the distance covered was from 8 to 12 leagues or 21 to 31 miles (Ranjel mentions 12 leagues and is the only one who mentions any distance).
- (5) When an advance party of cavalry under De Soto came in sight of Ucita they found a body of water in between which Ranjel calls "the roadstead of the harbor." However, we know that all got to Ucita next day whether by finding a fording place or in boats. They set out from the landing place either on May 31 or June 1 and were in Ucita on June 3.

These are the requirements for locating Ucita, and I find no site which satisfies the conditions in the region indicated except Terra Ceia. If there has been an error on my part it has not been due to a failure to weigh all the facts in the case. This location is in sight from the entrance of Tampa Bay; there is a wide shoal in front of it; it is the distance indicated to Shaw's Point where, I hold, the greater part of the army was landed; the lower course of the Manatee would account for the detour the army found necessary in spite of the air-line proximity of Terra Ceia; Terra Ceia Bay, an extension of the bay in which De Soto's vessels were anchored, would be the body of water which De Soto and his party found to lie between themselves and the Indian town; and still Terra Ceia could be reached overland. Does it not fit rather well?

The only point demanding further consideration is the negative argument drawn from a failure to find objects on Terra Ceia that may be associated definitely with the great explorer. A number of objects have in fact been recovered in this neighborhood which might date back to De Soto's occupancy of the

place, but I will waive that point. However, one cannot ordinarily establish a positive from mere negative evidence, particularly when that evidence is not complete.

Where has an object been found anywhere that may be identified with the De Soto expedition? It is true that De Soto occupied the site of Ucita from June 2, 1539 to July 15, and that when he marched away he left a captain there with a small body of men who were not withdrawn until late in November, but we know that some material was carried along by the Governor, and some by the captain, and also that Juan de Anasco went from Ucita to De Soto's new headquarters in the Apalachee country by sea with the pinnaces in which much more material might have been carried forward. We know that a great deal was given to the Indians, particularly to the friendly chief Mococo, and it is certain that the site would have been gone over by the Indians after it was abandoned in search of everything they could use, particularly everything of metal.

Again, De Soto with his main army was near the site of Tallahassee from October 6, 1539, to March 4, 1540, five months, but I am not aware that any object has turned up there which can be connected beyond question with this exploration. A few articles are said to have been found attributed to the sixteenth century but in 1565, or even before, contact between the French and Spanish settlers and the Apalachee began.

On October 18, 1540, the Spaniards came to the town of Mabila and a terrible battle took place in which a great deal of European equipment was lost, after which the army remained on the spot until November 14 to recuperate. We know beyond reasonable doubt that this battle occurred somewhere in the present Clarke County, Alabama, and that county has been gone over, almost "with a fine-tooth comb," with the hope of finding some relic of the battle, but so far in vain. From December 16, 1540 to April 26, 1541, De Soto was in a Chick-

asaw town and in the spring he engaged in another fierce battle in which almost everything the army had left from their original equipment seems to have been destroyed or scattered, but nothing has been found there that can be dated back to De Soto, though a Spanish plate of much later date was recovered from one of the mounds. Another winter was passed in the southern part of Arkansas and still another in Louisiana but yet we have no relics of the expedition. At various points in the South halberds have turned up but none of these belongs to a type antecedent to the eighteenth century. Therefore, the mere absence of any objects at Terra Ceia identifiable with the De Soto expedition signifies nothing until objects that can be checked turn up at some other spot. After all, over four hundred years have passed since De Soto landed in Florida and nature can do a lot of destroying in that period.

The locations of De Soto's landing place and the Indian town in which he established his first North American headquarters are placed by early chroniclers beyond reasonable doubt on the south side of Tampa Bay between the entrance to Hillsboro Bay and the Gulf. The specific location demands that certain conditions be fulfilled and I find them fulfilled in a very perfect manner in Shaw's Point and Terra Ceia. If I do not make absolute claims it is because of my respect for scientific detachment, not from lack of conviction.



## DE SOTO'S UCITA AND THE TERRA CEIA SITE

by **RIPLEY P. BULLEN**

Any Indian site to qualify as De Soto's Ucita must possess geographical attributes which agree with those assignable to that site by close reading of the De Soto narratives. This paper examines only the claim of the well-known, large Indian site at Terra Ceia, on the east side of McGill Bay. For this purpose Shaws Point on Tampa Bay is assumed to be the landing place of De Soto's expedition, although that identification has been questioned by some.

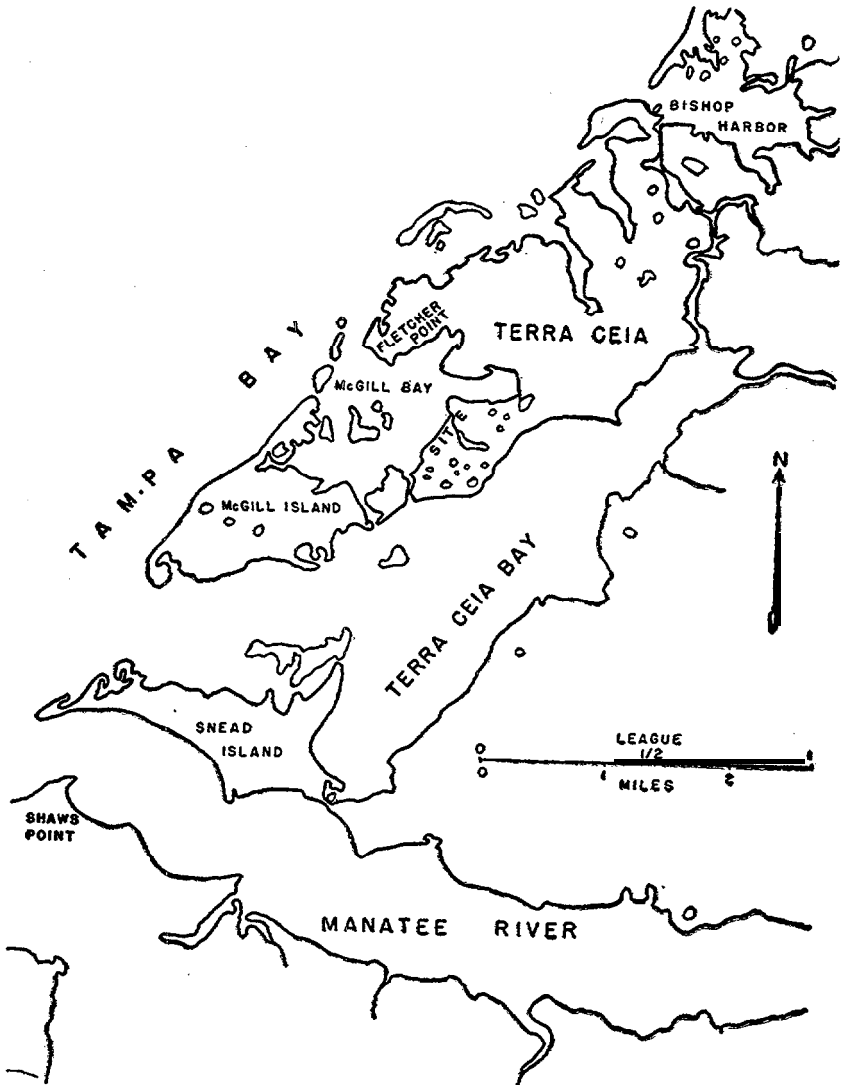
Primary sources on the De Soto expedition consist of the relations of Biedma, Rangel, Elvas, and a letter written by De Soto from Ucita.<sup>1</sup> These are authoritative accounts as they were written by participants in the expedition. A second-hand account written by Garcilaso de la Vega, a Peruvian, from information given him years afterwards by one of De Soto's men and considered of less reliability, will not be as fully relied on.<sup>2</sup>

Before considering these sources in detail it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with the location and geographical features involved at Terra Ceia. As shown on the accompanying map, the main Terra Ceia site is located on the western side of the southwestern arm of Terra Ceia Island. Its area is indicated by "SITE?" along the eastern shore of McGill Bay. Circles to the east and south of the site represent ponds. The southwestern tip of the island, the western half of Fletcher Point, and most of the land between the northeastern part of Terra Ceia Bay and Bishop Harbor is low, wet, and covered with mangroves. The island is also low in elevation and at various places dykes

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1. Bourne, E. G., "Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto." Reprinted in *American Explorers*. 2 vols. Allerton Book Co., New York, 1922.
  2. Lewis, B. B., and W. H. Wilkinson, translators, *La Florida of the Inca* by Garcilaso de la Vega. Typed manuscript in Florida Park Service files.

have been built to prevent flooding of fields by water from Tampa Bay in times of storms.

It is evident from the narratives that Juan de Anasco had previously located a harbor for De Soto's landing and captured



four Indians to serve him as guides.<sup>3</sup> References to "the village"<sup>4</sup> suggest Ucita had also been picked out in advance by Anasco to be the expedition's first headquarters. Certainly it was De Soto's immediate objective upon arriving in Florida.

The map indicates it is very doubtful that Anasco could have seen the Terra Ceia site if coasting along the southeastern side of Tampa Bay, although he might have seen smoke from the village fires. McGill Bay is more than a mile wide and is separated by three islands from Tampa Bay. At this point shallow water, with a depth of only three feet below mean low water, extends into Tampa Bay at least a half mile.<sup>5</sup> As McGill Bay cannot be entered by a boat drawing more than four feet of water (and then tortuously) and is itself shallower, it is reasonable to believe Anasco did not enter it. An explorer looking for a harbor would easily find the Indian site at Shaws Point, other Indian villages on both sides of the Manatee River, and other sites on Tampa Bay, but hardly the one at Terra Ceia. Hence this site does not, apparently, meet the requirement of preknowledge which De Soto seemed to have.

Ranjel writes that after the landing, "The General and some foot soldiers went in the brigantines to see the village; and a gentleman named Gomez Arias returned in one of them and gave a good report of the country."<sup>6</sup> If the landing was made at Shaws Point, as has been assumed for this paper, this would mean sailing or rowing from that point westward around Snead Island, northeasterly around McGill Island, and then across McGill Bay. To do this successfully and to return easily, as the narrative implies, would indicate a detailed knowledge of these waters which neither De Soto nor Arias may be presumed to have had. Also, the gentleman's "good report of the country" would hardly seem applicable after such a trip.

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3. Bourne, 1922, vol. II, p. 53; Garcilaso would place these Indians as subjects of the chief of Ucita.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-5.

5. U.S.C. & G.S., chart 586.

6. Bourne, 1922, vol. II, p. 55.

Ranjel also writes, "Since the ships with their loads could not, on account of the shoals, proceed to where the village lay, they anchored about four leagues farther back."<sup>7</sup> Also, "During all that week the ships gradually approached the village."<sup>8</sup> Elvas says, "Two hundred and thirteen horses were set on shore, to unburden the ships, that they should draw less water; the seamen only remaining on board, who going up every day a little with the tide, the end of eight days brought them near to the town."<sup>9</sup> Also that the first "camp was pitched on the seaside, nigh the bay, which goes up close to the town."<sup>10</sup> De Soto also writes "to take possession of a town at the end of the bay."<sup>11</sup>

The above statements by Ranjel, Elvas, and De Soto all clearly imply the village was located further up the bay from the landing place (*i.e.* on the same body of water) and, in two cases, that the ships finally came to anchorage "close" to the town. Again, a glance at the map will disclose that the Terra Ceia site does not meet these requirements. There is no suggestion in the narratives that, after a first landing, the ships went west and then north around Snead Island to Terra Ceia Bay. If they did, they must have drawn less than eight feet at high tide. Also they would have encountered a "hard" bottom while the narratives refer to a "soft" bottom.

Again, Ranjel writes, "On Trinity Sunday, June 1, 1539, this army marched by land toward the village . . . and they lost their bearings somewhat. . . . Thereupon the Governor went ahead with some horsemen, but since they were unfamiliar with the land they wearied the horses following deer and floundering in the streams and swamps for twelve leagues till they found themselves opposite the village on the other side of the

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7. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-6.

9. Bourne, 1922, vol. I, p. 22.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Bourne, 1922, vol. II, p. 160.

roadstead of the harbour, which they could not pass around."<sup>12</sup>

It will be noted from the map that the Terra Ceia site could not have been seen from the eastern side of Terra Ceia Bay because of the mile-wide bay and the intervening half mile of woods on the opposite side. The only place De Soto could have seen that site across water would be from Fletcher Point. That he could have set out from near Shaws Point, gone around the Manatee River, and happened to successfully stumble through the swamps connecting Terra Ceia Bay and Bishop Harbor to eventually reach the only place from which he could have seen the site across water, Fletcher Point, is scarcely possible. And if he had done this, he could have passed around McGill Bay which, incidentally, could never qualify as "the roadstead of the harbour."

It should be noted the text does not imply a trip of twelve leagues was necessary to reach Ucita by land, merely that was the distance De Soto wandered. He did not expect to have to go such a distance to reach Ucita. Clearly he went around both the village and the roadstead.

Elvas describes Ucita as a "town of seven or eight houses, built of timber, and covered with palm-leaves. The Chief's house stood near the beach, upon a very high mount made by hand for defense; at the other end of the town was a temple. . . . The Governor lodged in the house of the Chief . . . in other houses, midway in the town, was lodged the Chief Castellan, Baltasar de Gallegos, where were set apart the provisions brought in the vessels. The rest of the dwellings, with the temple, were thrown down, and every mess of three or four soldiers made a cabin, where they lodged. The ground about was very fenny,<sup>13</sup> and encumbered with dense thicket and high

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12. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

13. Robertson, J. A., in his "A True Relation of the Fidalgo of Elvas, 1557." *Publications of the Florida State Historical Society*, Number II, vol. 2, p. 34. DeLand. 1933, does not include "very fenny and" in his translation.

trees. The Governor ordered the woods to be felled the distance of a crossbow-shot around the place, that the horses might run, and the Christians have the advantage, should the Indians make an attack at night." <sup>14</sup>

This description may be applied to the Terra Ceia site only if one assumes the Spanish omitted mentioning two burial mounds and a narrow causeway extending 400 feet in a straight line between one of these mounds and the "mount" upon which De Soto was housed.

The site's suitability as the headquarters of an army is even more questionable. It consisted essentially of a long, high, and broad shell ridge or midden which might, conceivably, be large enough to accommodate De Soto's 570 soldiers, allowing for some crowding. However, as has been mentioned, the ground around the shell ridge is low and dotted with ponds. Extra high tides, such as accompany severe storms, sometimes pass through the shell ridge and inundate the land behind. Space for the expedition's horses and hogs would have been limited.

Ucita is referred to several times in the narratives as a "port." Elvas says, "The Cacique of Mococo came to the port" <sup>15</sup> and De Soto "left thirty cavalry and seventy infantry at the port, with provisions for two years." <sup>16</sup> Ranjel writes, "and there were of them forty horse and sixty foot left in guard of the village and the stuff and the harbour and of the brigantines and boats that were left." <sup>17</sup> De Biedma also states the rearguard was "left in charge of the port." <sup>18</sup> McGill Bay is scarcely a "harbour" or "port." If Terra Ceia Bay, in spite of its shallow entrance, <sup>19</sup>

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14. Bourne, 1922, vol. I, p. 23.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

17. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 63.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

19. The entrance to Terra Ceia Bay now has a depth of six feet at mean low water. Recent records indicate an advance of sea upon land at a rate of about a foot a hundred years at both Cedar Keys and Key West (letter of July 1, 1949 from J. H. Hamley, U.S.C. & G.S.). It is likely this channel was shallower in 1539 than now.

should be assumed to be the "port," the site would seem to be in the wrong location to give protection.

In addition we have the negative evidence from archaeology. Although bona fide De Soto relics have not been found anywhere, except for possible individual specimens, Ucita, of all places, would be the most likely spot. Not only was De Soto's army of 570 men encamped there for six weeks with full equipment but a rearguard of about a hundred lived there for five months. When they left, surplus supplies were burned, according to Ranjel;<sup>20</sup> or, according to Garcilaso, given in great quantities to Mococo, the friendly chief of a nearby village.<sup>21</sup>

In spite of a great amount of shell and mound removal at Terra Ceia, all possible finds which might relate to De Soto consist of a Spanish medallion(?) (now lost), a piece of horse hardware, one sherd of a Spanish olive jar, and a sword-like piece of metal.<sup>22</sup> It would seem as if more should have been found if Terra Ceia were the Ucita of the narratives.

We have discussed every reference to De Soto's first headquarters found in the original narratives. Apparently none apply when referred to the Terra Ceia site on the eastern side of McGill Bay. There are other locations which meet most of the requirements imposed by the narratives, but their consideration is beyond the scope of this article.

**Florida Park Service,  
Gainesville, Florida.**

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20. Bourne, 1922, vol. II, p. 81.

21. Lewis and Wilkinson, n.d.

22. Bullen, R. P., "The Terra Ceia Site, Manatee County, Florida." *Florida Anthropological Society, Publications*, No. 3, p. 37. Gainesville. 1951.

SETTLERS FROM CONNECTICUT IN SPANISH FLORIDA  
LETTERS OF AMBROSE HULL AND STELLA HALL 1804-1806 \*  
*Edited by* ROBERT E. RUTHERFORD

Introduction

Florida was the northern bastion of Spain's New World empire from an early period; and, except for brief British possession (1763-1783), the land was hers for almost three hundred years. The era following 1783, when Great Britain returned Florida to Spain, until 1821, when Florida became United States territory, is known as the second Spanish period of Florida history.

Spain met the threats to her Caribbean empire in Florida with two general programs. The first attempts by the other colonizing nations to found settlements were discouraged by the system of missions and presidios she established in the frontier areas. This program, however, ended with the Seven Years War, 1756-1763, when Florida became a British province. When Spain regained control of Florida after the American Revolution, she adopted new measures to stem the new threat to her position in the Caribbean - a threat born of the westward development of the young and ambitious United States.

One of these defensive measures which Spain adopted to maintain her hold on Florida during this period was an attempt to attract settlers into her territories. This measure, it was hoped, would make loyal Spanish subjects of the settlers, thus forming a living buffer against any territorial expansion of the

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\*The following letters are in the possession of Miss Edith L. Hubbard of Poughkeepsie, New York. The editor of the letters, the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and Professor R. W. Patrick to whom they were lent, express grateful acknowledgment to Miss Hubbard of the family of the writers, for allowing their transcription and publication; and also for many other letters and diaries of the same family, all relating to Florida during the Reconstruction period, a selection of which will appear in future issues of the *Quarterly*. Transcriptions of all are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.



United States across the boundaries of the Spanish provinces of Florida and Louisiana.

The call for immigrants passed through two phases. The first phase opened Florida and the Mississippi Valley to settlement indirectly. The instrument for this policy was a royal order issued in 1782 which liberalized the commercial privileges enjoyed by the Spanish subjects living in these areas. Non-Spanish Catholics were allowed to immigrate to Florida and Louisiana on condition that they take an oath of loyalty to the Spanish crown.<sup>1</sup> The commercial privileges notwithstanding, the program was not effective. French, Germans, as well as Spaniards, were encouraged, but the immigrants proved unsatisfactory in quantity as well as in quality. At the same time, Anglo-Americans were settling the western lands along the Ohio River and some were spilling into the Spanish provinces without invitation.<sup>2</sup>

To meet this threat Spain issued two royal orders, the first on December 1, 1788, and the second on October 29, 1790. The order of 1788 opened the Florida and Louisiana provinces to non-Catholic immigrants. Even though American Protestants could settle in these regions, they had to take an oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown. The settler could retain his own faith, but only the Catholic religion could be practiced openly and publicly.<sup>3</sup> The royal order of 1790 established the stipulations and qualifications under which the Spanish officials would issue land to the new settlers.<sup>4</sup> The assumptions under which the Spanish government issued these cédulas were not without some foundation. Many of the western settlers were dissatisfied with their own government, and several groups en-

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1. A. P. Whitaker, *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas*. DeLand, Florida, 1931, pp. 30-39.
  2. Bernardo del Campo to Conde de Floridablanca. London, November 16, 1783. AHN: Est. Leg. Ap. 1.
  3. Louis de las Casas to [Juan Nepomuceno del Quesada, October 29, 1790. East Florida Papers, Library of Congress. box 410, vol. 1.
  4. 18th Cong. 1st. sess. H.Rep. 158. May 18, 1824. p. 23.

tertaind the possibility of establishing independent states under Spain's protection and with commercial agreements with the Spanish government. <sup>5</sup>

### ***Ambrose Hull and His Letters***

Ambrose Hull was one of the settlers who came to Florida during the second Spanish period. He arrived in St. Augustine from Wallingford, Connecticut, early in 1801; <sup>6</sup> and after he had been granted the right to settle two thousand, six hundred acres of land in the territory called "Mosquitos" in the New Smyrna area, <sup>7</sup> he returned to Connecticut for his wife, Abigail. <sup>8</sup> Stella Hall, youngest sister of Abigail, returned to Florida with the Hulls. They soon settled on their land with many laborers, as well as artisans equipped with all the necessary supplies. Unfortunately their work was interrupted by an Indian attack in which Hull suffered a loss amounting to \$3,000. When he began preparing for a new start, a number of settlers from the Bahama Islands asked permission to join him in settling his land for their mutual protection against the Indians. Hull agreed and they began the new combined settlement in September 1803, and continued until the Bahama settlers left in 1809. <sup>9</sup>

The following letters tell the story of Ambrose and Abigail Hull and Stella Hall from the time they began building their settlement to the latter part of 1806. They were written to the Reverend Seth Hart, rector of St. George's Church in Hempstead, Long Island, New York, <sup>10</sup> and Ruth, his wife and another sister of Abigail and Stella. The rectory became the headquar-

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5. **The separatist feeling in Kentucky at this time is a striking example of this spirit.**
  6. **Letter, Edith L. Hubbard, a member of the Hall-Hart family, to Julien C. Yonge, March 5, 1948.**
  7. **The original royal title granted to Ambrose Hull on January 15, 1801 is in the St. Johns County Court House, St. Augustine, Florida.**
  8. **Petition by Ambrose Hull September 11, 1811, for final title to the land granted January 15, 1801, *ibid.***
  9. ***Idem.***
  10. **Hubbard to Yonge, *ante.***

ters of relatives and friends awaiting ships and exchanging news. Late in 1806 Ambrose took his wife north to Hempstead where she died shortly after their arrival, but before the year 1806 ended Ambrose and Stella were married in the rectory in Hempstead and had departed for their home in Florida.<sup>11</sup>

The second part of these letters, to be included in the next issue of this *Quarterly*, begins after the Hulls return to Florida in 1806 and continues until the settlement of the Hull estate after the death of both Ambrose and Stella.

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***Stella Hall to Ruth Hart.***

New Smyrna 6th June . . 1804

My Dear Sister

I hasten to acknowledge the rect of yours by Mr. Fairburn<sup>12</sup>, their is a Countryman of ours going immediately to Charleston, and from thence to N. York-I am sorry the letter you receiv'd by the above mention'd Gentleman has caused you so many apprehensions - I wrote it soon after we landed at Smyrna and confess that from the fatigues of a long Journey, the fear of the Indians, and the uncultivated state of the country I was somewhat in the melancholly mood - and actually began to listen to the suggestions of that green eyed monster Ennui --

I am now happy to tell you that its peaceble times in Petunxes [?] Wigwam, - the murmurs of the Indians have been silenced by the late distribution of their annual presents - which having been too long withheld had created much uneasiness among them - and the tribe of Siminoles who under the conduct of the notorious Bowles<sup>13</sup> formerly committed so many depredations on this settlement have since gone over to the

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11. *Ibid.*

12. Mr. Fairburn, a sea captain, often carried letters for the Hulls to and from Hempstead and New Smyrna.

13. William Augustus Bowles was a notorious adventurer who attempted to organize an Indian republic from the Lower Creeks. He, of course, would be the chief.

Creek Nation who are very numerous and apparently very friendly - Their leader Bowles has been apprehended and is now confined in the Moro Castle at Havanna - so that we have not an Indian within a hundred mile of us - and the Snakes their counterparts have either follow'd them, or have been routed and burnt together with the brush and rubbish - for they never interrupt my frequent rambles in the woods - which at this season abound with a variety of the most beautiful flowers, and flow'ring trees, with aromatic shrubs, that fill the air with a delicious fragrance --

As for the sand flies and mosquitos they still mantain their ground, in despite of Catholicks, Jews or Protestants -and are indeed the most formidable Enemies we have to contend with - They begin the war song (generally) about sunset, when if there's no wind (which luckily for us is not often the case) we may be pretty sure of a warm engagement - but in such desperate cases we have recourse to fumigation - and altho' smoke is not altogether agreeable to our optic nerves - yet it tends to check the still more offensive apperation of the Enemy - thus every bane has in some shape or other its antidote -

Our place is call'd Mount Olive - which from its height and the number of trees of that name describes the title - here we can make our own oil, wine, sugar and cotton - raise our own Coffe, corn, rice, ginger &, - with every kind of Vegetable - and all tropical fruits -

The country is in general very flat - which is not on that account so pleasant to me who am fond of Hills & Dales -

My favorite spot is a little arbour compos'd of a number of young orange trees, intersected with myrtle and thickly interwoven with luxuriant grape vines - the resort of a great number of beautiful Birds who entertain us with their wild enchanting melody - This rural spot is pleasantly situated on a bank of

the little river Hillsborough<sup>14</sup> - which winds with many a crook among a cluster of Mangrove Islands - and not only affords us plenty of excellent fish, but is also a very charming addition to our prospect - Here I spend many solitary hours in reading or "chewing the quid of sweet and bitter fancy" - Here reverted memory brings to my view the ocean of the past - and with it a torrent of melancholly reflections - here I listen by moonlight to the hoarse and distant murmurs of the vast Atlantic - and it reminds me of the Friends that are far from Smyrna - without even the hope or possibility of seeing them shortly - But this is only moistening ones eye lids to no purpose - and I quit the subject - -

Sister Hannah it seems wont send us the scrape of a pen - I should write her notwithstanding would time permit - This now must answer for both - for goodman Read<sup>15</sup> is waiting - and I reluctantly bid you Adieu - Libby<sup>16</sup> is well and sends her love to the Brother and Sisterhood --

I am as usual

Your affectionate Sister

**STELLA HALL**

The letters I wrote previous to leaving Augustine you tell me have not yet come to hand -- I am not much surprised for (N.B.) I sent them to Charleston by a spaniard, who had too many names to carry - to wit. Don Manuel, Antonio, Fernando, Dominic, de Martinella -- of Castile of Old Spain. - subject to his most Catholick Majesty - Adios, or God be with you ---

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14. The Hillsborough River referred to in these letters is now the Halifax River.

15. Mr. Read also carried letters north for the Hulls.

16. "Libby" refers to Abigail Hull.

**Ambrose Hull to Rev. Seth Hart**

New Smyrna April [22, 1805]

Brother Hart

I have not received a line nor heard a word from you nor any of our northern friends since October last - tho' I have repeatedly written you & them - The reason of this long silence - I do not know - but this I know - that we are really desirous to hear from you - at least that you are in comfortable health - We have nothing particularly now to communicate - I write to remind you, that I still feel an interest in your Wellfare - and to induce you to give us the pleasure of hearing from you - My employment in itself, is to me a pleasant one - and would be altogether so were the seasons more favorable - they have been unusually hot & dry thus far for this Climate - tho' the temperature of the air is perfectly healthy and agreeable - not a cloud to be seen for weeks - Abby has enjoyed better health for several Months past than I ever knew her to enjoy - and was never so well pleased and contented in any situation that we have been placed since we were married - She says there are only two things wanting to satisfy her mind as to this worlds good - that is more favorable seasons for crops to ensure the common comforts of life - and the near neighbourhood society of her Sister Ruthy, yourself & family and she even goes further - and says, that in case this Province should be ceded to U. State's as seems yet to be pretty strongly expected - and we should establish our claim to the property we now possess, under that government and make one good crop - that she shall offer her sister Ruthy one half of her possessions in fee simple on condition of her immediately becoming an actual resident, of course her nearest neighbour - And I have the pleasure to add - that it would be one of the highest felicitates of my life, to have the opportunity to place my signature to a bequest of the description aforementioned.

I have the solid satisfaction however, of informing you - that this dear blessed child, after struggling so many years with sickness & general debility - together with a consequent habitual complaint - which seemed of itself must induce her ruin - has long since recovered from it and I believe is perfectly established in her wanted energy of body & mind - Joining with her in fervent orisons for the health & happiness of yourself & family -

I am your sincere friend & brother

A. HULL

St. Marys

April 22, [1805]

Reverend Seth Hart

Hempstead

Long Island

State New York

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**Ambrose Hull to Rev. Seth Hart**

New Smyrna June 12th 1805

Brother Hart

I had the happiness of receiving your very facetious letter of the 9th April a few days since; as I am at all times happy to hear from my brother Hart - and my Soul was highly refreshed, *in the multitude of my sorrows*, with the unusual flashings of wit & humour, with which it abounded - And I am still more happy to find, that you still retain your wanted brotherly concern for us, from the number of letters, you mention to have written me, tho I have not had the pleasure of receiving but a small portion of them. . . . We had just arived safe at this place - which it seems our amiable Sister has announced to you, in her usual stile of Bombast & Hyperbole - Our situation, as formed not only by nature, but no inconsiderable portion of art & expanse, is esteemed by genteel

travellers one of the handsomest in America - and instead of being **surrounded by an uncultivated wilderness, filled with savage monsters, venomous serpents, and unnumberable swarms of blood-thirsty mosquitos and sand flies** - as affecting the **Fine** strung nerves of your amiable and truly veritable informant - We are encompassed on three sides, with cultivated fields, and on the fourth, fronting a beautiful arm of the sea eastward, interspersed with Small Islands for about two miles, which we overlook and our prospect is bounded by a broad horizon closing on the great Atlantic - And the population of mostly genteel families, including their slaves, within the compass of four miles of us - is between five & Six hundred - beside a continuation of Settlements from this place to St. Augustine, - and about twenty miles to the Southward, - which are almost daily increasing - As to **Savage Monsters**, I know not the meaning of it - not even an Indian has step'd into our door since we came here - No new settlements in America, unless infested with **venomous serpents** - and as for **swarms of blood-thirsty Mosquitos**, I have neither seen, nor heard the sound of this Season - a few still Morning and Evenings, the Sand flies or Nats - have been a little troublesome - but very likely our Mosquitoes may be as trouble here as they are on Long Island, when the Showery Season commences - but as yet, they are an evil in the imagination only - As to our accommodations here, they are as yet, but indifference, - - I have however, a number of Masons now employed, - in building a small airy stone house of two stories, with necessary out houses of the same material, which will probably be completed in the course of next Month - My Crop of Cotton &c; promises tollerably - tho' the Season has been rather unfavorable thro want of rain - and my land is so situated, that I was under the necessity of Commencing on the poorest - and my gang of hands for this Season is rather small, having



but ten in the field - tho I have a prospect of shortly adding to their number - Abby joins my love and goodwill for her Sisters yourself and your little brood - while I am as usual your friends & brother - - A. HULL

Rev. Seth Hart

Hempstead

Long Island

State of New York

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**A. W. Hull to Ruth Hart**

New Smyrna June 27t 1805

My Dear Sister

I might muster up a variety of apologies for my long silence - but shall make but one - and that is my ever insurmountable aversions to letter writing - I am sorry to say it - but no poor dog ever entered his neck in a halter with more reluctance than I take a pen in hand to write - nor did ever a poor dog receive his liberty and a piece of meat with more pleasure than I a letter from a friend - and especially from you - that pleasure has long been denied me - for what reason I am unable to divine - unless you consider me out of the world - (which it seems Stella has intimated) and have no more concern for my temporal welfare - but you might like a good Catholic put up a prayer now & then for my poor soul in purgatory - I am however better pleased with my situation and far more happy than I ever was in any other - the Climate is charming - there can be none finer in the world except Italy which I am told is perfectly similar - What few families there are at present in this settlement are well bred genteel people - North of us is a Mr Kerr & lady - Mr Ormand & lady - Mr Munro & lady - Mr McHardy & lady - all from Nasau N- Providence <sup>17</sup> - they have handsome

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17. These are the settlers from the Bahamas mentioned in the Introduction.

Plantations with near a 100 negros each - South a few roods is a Capt Ladd & lady from Portmuth N- Hampshire, further southward tho' but a short walk is a Mr Dumant Capt Martin - Mr Bretts Madison &c Our House is situated upon a delightful hill surrounded with Olives - (from which I have named the place Olive Mount) - and lined with Groves & avenues of Sour Oranges trees on which wave the golden fruit throughout the year - a few paces in front of the house which is East runs a river calld Hillsborough intersected with a number of Mangrove Islands & filld with a variety of excelent fish, the shores are lined with Oysters & the creeks with clams of the best quality, the soft & hard shell'd Crab the latter as large as Lobsters are delicious - the oysters are larger & better than blue points - green turtle - deer & wild fowl are very plenty - so much for eatables - we have four the best wells of water I ever tasted - Our house is built with hewn stone two stories - In the main body of the house are two large rooms one above the other - three double doors & six windows in each - at each end there is a wing - turret or tower - in each two handsome bed rooms with three windows The roofs are flat & terrass'd on which I spend some hours every fair day in walking & reading - and from which we have a charming prospect of the bar & Ocean - North & south of the Island rivers & plantations - the latter are all in sight & join except a margin of wood divides the fields - Back we have a most enchanting view of the long extended forrests of Pines Palms Live Oaks Hicories and an innumerable variety of flowering trees and shrubs - among which are the odoriferous flowering trees by botanists call'd Magnolia Grandeflora - in other words the Laurel - whose high heads towering above the rest seem to be looking into future times - The walks thro' the woods from one plantation to another are absolutely fascinating - they are lined with hedges of sweet Myrtle with the

greatest variety of the most beautiful flowers - from which the air is constantly perfumed - the hyacinth the Indian creeper the morning glory with a variety of others which you nurse in your gardens grow wild here & cover the trees - But I have taken a [illegible] from the top of the house into the woods - to which I'll return and finish my long letter for I am heartily tired of it & sure you must be - I cannot however stop yet - for when I begin a letter I never know where to end - I think I have said enough of the place & house but I must tell you the Scotch here call it a Castle - when it is painted & the Piazza round it up I think it may be calld elegant for this country --

I have not been to St Augustine since we removed here which was a year last March but hear they are in high spirits in consequence of a Privateer from there bringing in three rich English Prizes a ship of 400 tons a Brig & Sloop laden with rum wine Peruvian barks flowers rice corn pork beef &c &c I shall make them a visit this week - & as this is the season for dancing there - expect to be honored with some warm balls - Stella is well & receivd a letter yesterday from Nancy dated Jan 3 by which she seems in good spirits - & very pressing for her to go to St Martins in consequence of which she has concluded to go on to Charlstown - from thence take passage for the West Indies - I shall not seal my letter untill I arive in Augustine - I might frequently send you oranges if there were any vessls going to the northward in the season of them --

St Augustine July 9th

Mr Hull, Stella & myself have been here more than a week - we are now waiting for a wind - She to sail for Charlstown on her way to St. Martins We to return to our place of bannishment among devouring insects & poisonous reptiles which Nancy mentions in her letter with so much horror &

which I have not yet found - I beg you to write & tell me all & every thing that concerns you your family & other connections I am extremely anxious to hear from my dear sister Hannah & child - my love to them - Mr Hart & your dear little boys who I suppose by this time are men - tell them to write me & I will promise at least to answer their letters - I have had some dependence upon Stellas writing for me as she has had nothing else to do but shall now take it upon myself - & hope you will not have so much reason to complain of the silence of your affectionate sister

A W - HULL

Reverend Seth Hart -  
Hempstead Long Island  
State New York

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***Elihu Atwater to Rev. Seth Hart***

St Marys June 13th 1806

Dear Sir -

Yours of 3d May last came to hand by this days Mail, and I am very happy it is in my power to afford you some satisfaction in respect to Miss Hall - I can in some degree remove your anxiety or uneasiness by informing you that Miss Stella did according to the best of my recollection, go from Smyrna to St Augustine from whenc she intended going on to Charleston or some other port in the States in order to get to her sisters but she afterwards alterd her mind and returned to Smyrna at which place she remained when I last heard from her, and I can furthur say that I think Mr Hull gave me the information when he was here sometime in Febry or March last, and that he had left her and Mrs Hull in good health, - Mr Hull had then just returned from Charleston & had been absent for sometime and very anxious to return home. . . . Since writing the above I have seen Capt Ladd, who is a

near Neighbour of Mr Hull's, and tells me he left Smyrna about 4 weeks since, that Mss S. was there then and she and the family all well and that they had good prospects of a crop the reasons why Miss Stella did not pursue the voyage as contemplated was there Capt Ladd had expected to go, with his wife to Charleston but when the vessel was ready Mr Ladd was taken ill and could not go, & there being no other female on board Miss S. gave it out, and he thinks she will not go at all. . . .

I have no news in mind at present to communicate and as it is now almost dark and our mail goes out this Evening - I will close with only observing that I have not the Honor of being post master -

I am Sir with much Esteem

Your friend & Humble Sevt -

**ELIHU ATWATER**

Revd S. Hart

PS. My Best respects to Mrs Hart and other friends

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***Ambrose Hull to Rev. Seth Hart***

New Smyrna August 6th 1806

Brother Hart

I received last week your letter of the 3d May and Abby received one from Ruthy at same time, fraught with horrors on acct of Stella - and I must acknowledge, not without reason - She is still here - as you have undoubtedly been informed by E. Atwater of St. Marys - When I wrote you from Charleston last Winter - Whether I mentioned her name or not - I supposed she had frequently written Ruthy after she concluded to return here from Augustine last August and after her return as she had frequent opportunity - Indeed I understood her that she had written Ruthy before she returned here from Augustine in August last - but to my utter aston-

ishment - When I returned from Charleston in March, I was told she had not written her at all - her motives for this neglect, are to me - inscrutable - I leave her to assign them - An opportunity offered a few weeks ago - by which I informed you that she was still here - and also mentioned - that within the year past - She had had two offers of marriage both very advantageous - and far beyond anything she had any right to expect - both of which she had seen fit to trifle with & reject - to the utter astonishment of every body that felt any interest in her welfare - Both the gentlemen were planters from N. Providence and are now established in this neighbourhood One of them is a man about five & thirty a very decent man and an excellent planter - he has several plantations on the Bahama Islands and a very excellent one here pleasantly situated and has rising of 100 Negroes beside other personals - his property at a moderate calculation is worth at least \$50000 - The other is a young gentleman of a genteel education - received in England - and a most amiable character - with a property worth at least \$20000 - What emotions were experienced by Abby & myself - by such levity in a Sister in her circumstances - I shall not aim at describing - Still she discovers no inclination to leave this Province - nor ever has - It is true - there are very few young ladies in the Province except Spaniards & Minorcans - but she has let slip the most favorable opportunities - and instead of a competent or genteel indeed an elegant establishment - she has seemed the enviable character of an accomplished Coquet - and further this deponent saith not. We were very very glad to hear from you & yours - that you were in health &c; but sorry to read your expressions of despondency We have experienced little else but misfortunes & disappointments since we came this way - Still we do not give up the idea of yet enjoying many of the good things of this life - in the

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Society of some of our old friends, & in this - neighbourhood - especially, should there be a change of government in any good time. . . . by directing your letters to St. Marys to the care of E. Atwater - they will most generally come to hand in the course of a few months - Abby joins me in love to Ruthy & the little folks - while I remain as usual your Sincere friend & brother - - -

A. HULL

Reverend Seth Hart  
Hempstead  
Long Island  
State of New York

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***Stella Hall to Ruth Hart***

New Smyrna 8 Augt 1806

***Dear Sister Ruthy***

Your letter to Abby we rec'd a few days ago, inclos'd in one from Br Hart - the subject of which was my intended journey to S Martins and the distress and anxiety which my suppos'd misfortunes or Death had occasion'd you all - I was indeed very much astonish'd to find you had not heard from, nor of me in such a length of time - and truly grev'd that I had caus'd you so much uneasiness - I shou'd not have attempted going to St M[artins] had it not been for a letter which I recd from Nancy a few days previous to my departure for St Augustine dated Jany 1805 in which I determin'd to embark, I was however disappointed in obtaining a passage, the Capt for reasons best known to himself alterd his course and want on to the Havannah - no other opportunity offerd I wrote you in Sept that I had given up the idea of going to St M and concluded to return back to New Smyrna - I found there was so little communication between the Port of Charleston and that Island it wou'd be extremely difficult to

procure a passage from thence - it was moreover runing a very great risque to venture out at a time when all American Vessels were liable to capture or insult from not only French and English but even Spaniards, <sup>18</sup> the idea of falling into the hands of some infernal pirate was of all others the most horrid - I therefore determin'd as the only prudent step I cou'd take to seek once more the quiet retreat from which I had first started, whenc I have remaind in Status-quo ever since -- you have undoubtedly been apprized (before this) of my safety and place of abode as I understand by a letter from Elihu Atwater that he had given you information to that effect -

I have no means of forwarding a letter to St M. I therefore request you will remember me in yours, and assure our dear Brother and Sister of my unalterable affection. . . . Abby sends her love to you and has promised to write the next opportunity --

Your affectionate Sister,

STELLA HALL

PS. the general expectation here is that this Provinces of east and west Florida will be shortly given up to the United States it is an event ardently wish'd by more than two thirds of the inhabitants -

I'm afraid you'll not be able to read this dreadful scrawl - I hope in future to be furnish'd with better materials

***(This series of letters from Spanish East Florida will be continued in the next issue of this QUARTERLY.)***

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18. During this time, 1806, American ships were subject to seizure by the British who were impressing American seamen. The French privateers and their allies, the Spanish, also sailed the Florida coast at this time preying upon American ships.



## THE COWKEEPER DYNASTY OF THE SEMINOLE NATION

**by** KENNETH W. PORTER

It is generally agreed that the sons - or possibly nephews, at any rate the immediate successors - of the Alachua chief, who it was suggested in a previous article was Cowkeeper rather than Secoffee, - that these sons were Payne and Bowlegs. Sprague is probably correct when he writes of the former, "Payne was of a different character from his father and not to be led astray and blinded by absurd revelations and traditions. Though a bold and intrepid warrior, he cared more for the happiness of his people than the indulgence of vicious passions, or the influences of superstitious feelings. By his example and counsels, he secured the confidence of the Spanish government, and died at an advanced age, honored and respected."<sup>1</sup> Sprague does not seem to have been familiar with the exact circumstances of the chief's death, which was on the field of battle, at the hands of invaders from Georgia.

Payne was chief when Americans, after the Revolution, first became conscious of the Seminole. An explorer, W. H. Simmons, in 1822 endeavoring to locate a suitable site for a territorial capital after Florida had been ceded to the United States by Spain, wrote: "From the best accounts I could obtain in Florida, it appears that it was under King Payne, grandfather of Micconope, the present chief, that the Seminoles invaded and achieved the conquest of the territories they now occupy. He is said to have lived to near an hundred years of age, and, late in life, married a Yemasee woman, his slave, by whom he had the late Chief Payne, who bore, in the darkness of his complexion, an unequivocal mark of his Yemasee descent."

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NOTE - ***This paper is in continuation of Professor Porter's "The Founder of the Seminole Nation" in our issue of April 1949. Ed.***

1. Sprague, J. T. ***The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War.*** New York, 1848. p. 19.

The Charleston volunteer Cohen simply repeats this almost *verbatim*, without acknowledgement.<sup>2</sup> But Simmons contradicts himself later on, when he writes: "Micconope, the present head of the nation, is the nephew of King Payne" - *not* the grandson. Mikonopi, to be sure, might have been the *grandson* of King Payne and the nephew of King Payne's son, Chief Payne - assuming, which is improbable, that actually two chiefs named Payne existed.<sup>3</sup> Cohen simply repeats Simmons, but with an important addition. "Micconope . . . is . . . the nephew of King Payne. . . . He has a crown which was given to 'Cowkeeper,' uncle of old Payne, by the British Government." Is "old Payne," the "King Payne" under whom the Seminole are said to have invaded Florida, or his supposed son "Chief Payne"? It seems probable that the "King Payne" who supposedly invaded Florida was actually Cowkeeper, and that "the late Chief Payne" was the son or nephew of, and successor to, the leader of the Florida invasion, and identical with the Seminole chief (dec. 1812), who is *usually* referred to as King Payne. The relationships among, and identities of, "Cowkeeper," "King Payne," "old Payne," "the late Chief Payne," evidently belong to the department of utter confusion. What is important in Cohen's statement is not the borrowing from Simmons, but the information which, being an alert and inquisitive if plagiaristic young man, he probably picked up from an authentic source in St. Augustine, that Payne's predecessor was the British ally Cowkeeper - no mention of Secoffee.<sup>4</sup>

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2. [Simmons, William Hayne], *Notices of East Florida*, Charleston, 1822, p. 57 (Dr. Swanton does not include Simmons in his bibliography); Cohen, M. M., *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, Charleston, 1836, p. 33. George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers*, N. Y. 1868, p. 146, seems to follow Simmons, though he does not mention the name of "King Payne's son," said to have been Mikonopi's father. McCall was in Florida during the 1820's and had an opportunity to become acquainted with the Seminole. The unusual darkness of the Yemassee was presumably the result of their association, and intermarriage, with runaway slaves from South Carolina who settled near them under the walls of St. Augustine.

3. Simmons, 62, 77.

4. Cohen, 238.

A significant statement appears in a letter from the Creek chief Alexander McGillivray to Governor Zespedes, Aug. 3, 1786: "as for the Semanolies I have but little Acquaintance with the present leaders, the former ones whom I knew are dead." Is not this because Cowkeeper (confused by Sprague with Secoffee) had died in the preceding year? Chief among "the present leaders" was undoubtedly Payne. "Payne and other Indians" are mentioned in a letter from St. Augustine, March 28, 1789.<sup>5</sup> He was an opponent in 1792 of the adventurer William Augustus Bowles in his Florida schemes. "Kennard, Payne, Bowlegs and White King with several hundred Seminoles . . . proceeded to Mickasukie," Bowles's headquarters, to take him, but found him fled.<sup>6</sup>

The United States Indian agent, James Seagrove, addressed a friendly letter, April 14, 1793, to "Mr. Payne, head-chief of the Seminole tribe of the Creek Indians at Sotchaway [*sic*]." The bearer was kindly received by Payne, who promised to meet Seagrove at Colerain in seven days from April 30 and, with 21 others, actually arrived May 18 and remained until May 23. "Mr. Payne, the great Seminole and Lachaway King," delivered a "talk" May 22. The agent described him as "a very sensible, discreet Indian, and well informed," determined on peace, and who, to that end, was going "to remove the whole of his people down to Cape Florida, which is their hunting ground, . . . until the present troubles" - agitating the Creeks in United States territory - "are over."<sup>7</sup>

Payne was inconspicuous for nearly a score of years thereafter. About 1804 "Payne, the chief of the Seminoles," accompanied to St. Augustine a white woman who had been cap-

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5. Caughey, John Walton, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, Norman, Okla., 1938, 124-125, 224.

6. Williams, John Lee, *The Territory of Florida*, New York, 1837, 191-192.

7. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 380-381, 387-388.

tured by Florida Indians, probably Mikasuki, and was delivered upon payment of ransom.<sup>8</sup>

In 1812 Georgia militia, cooperating with the so-called Patriots in the East Florida annexation plot, invaded Alachua, and successfully resisting this attack King Payne "died in the field, with Roman dignity," being mortally wounded on September 28.<sup>9</sup>

Payne was succeeded by Bowlegs or Bo(w)leck, his brother - it is pleasant to encounter a relationship on which general agreement exists - whose Indian name is said by Simmons and his echo Cohen to have been "Islaapaopaya, signifying 'Faraway'," while Capt. John C. Casey, for years the Seminole agent, says that "King Bowlegs was called by the Indians Eneha Micco"<sup>10</sup> - Lieutenant Governor; he might have been called both at different times and under various circumstances. Casey, who, because of his responsibility for the property interests of his Indian charges, needed to be particularly well informed concerning their relationships, refers to an Indian woman, Harriet Bowlegs, as "daughter of old King Bowlegs, and grand-daughter of old Cowkeeper," thus furnishing additional authority for the theory that Cowkeeper was the father, rather than the uncle, of King Payne, who was Bowleg's older brother.<sup>11</sup>

Payne's old town and Bowlegs' town in Alachua were destroyed by the Tennesseans early in 1813 and the Alachua

8. 25th cong., 3d sess., H. of R., War Dep't, doc. 225, p. 60.
9. Porter, Kenneth Wiggins, "Negroes and the East Florida annexation plot," *Journal of Negro History*, xxx (Jan., 1945), esp. 9, 10, 19, 22; ASP, IA, I, 813, Nov. 2, 1812: "the Aulochawan Indians (Seminoles, at war in East Florida);" 838: Jan. 18, 1813: "Paine is dead of his wounds;" ASP, LA, ii, 409, 415.
10. Simmons, 51; Cohen, 238, 35; 25th cong., 3d sess., H. of R., War Dep't, doc. 225, 110-121. Casey, Tampa Bay, July 11, 1838, to Maj. Isaac Clark, Quartermaster, U.S.A., New Orleans, La.
11. Williams, 214, states that Payne and Bowlegs were Cowkeeper's sons. The author was an old resident of Florida.

Seminole forced to withdraw to the Suwanee.<sup>12</sup> Bowlegs is said to have sought revenge for his brother's death and the burning of the Alachua villages by joining the British in their attack on New Orleans,<sup>13</sup> and when that failed he returned to the Suwanee, only to be driven again from his village, and his village destroyed, by Gen. Jackson in April, 1818.<sup>14</sup> Cohen says that "Bowlegs . . . was . . . mortally wounded" after 1814 - whenever that might be - by the Americans, but it seems more probable, since he was alive in 1818, that he died a natural death in or before 1821. On August 15, 1821, it was said that he "died of grief."<sup>15</sup>

"Miccanopa," nephew of Payne and Bowlegs, was in 1821 described as "chief of the Seminole nation," with his residence at "Pe-lac-le-ke-ha." In 1822 he was described as "a young man, and . . . not . . . much respected by the nation."<sup>16</sup> Williams disregards Bowlegs as head-chief and says "After the death of Payne, the eldest son of Solachoppo, or Long Tom, succeeded him, but dying early of a debauch, his younger brother, Micanopy, became chief of the Seminoles. His father resided at Wealusta, or Black Creek, and owned many cattle, and some slaves." Williams adds that, before he became chief, Mikonopi was "formerly called Sint Chakke or frequenter of the pond," hence the title of Pond Governor under which he is sometimes mentioned, because of his indolent fondness for sitting and watching his cattle come up to the watering-place.<sup>17</sup> The brief reign of Mikonopi's nameless brother and predecessor probably was in the period 1818-1821.

Mikonopi was no worthy successor to Cowkeeper, Payne, and Bowlegs. He was, to employ an 1837 description, of middle

12. Porter, 26-27.

13. ASP, MA, I, 722-723.

14. ASP, MA, I, 689-749, *passim*.

15. Cohen, 35; ASP, IA, II, 409, 415.

16. Swanton, J. R., *Early History of the Creek Indians*. Washington, 1922. 407; Cohen, 238; Simmons, 62, 77.

17. Williams, 214, 272.

age, forty, fifty, or even older - estimates of Indians' ages frequently vary by as much as ten or twenty years - "five feet, six inches high; with a dull eye, rather a stupid countenance, a full fat face, and short neck, . . . weighed two hundred and fifty pounds." His appetite was voracious and his temperament unwarlike.<sup>18</sup> He was greatly under the influence of his counsellor Jumper, a refugee Red Stick Creek who had married one of his sisters, and his interpreter, Abraham, a runaway slave from Pensacola, who had married a "widow" of King Bowlegs, presumably a woman of Negro or part-Negro blood, and a slave.<sup>19</sup> Another sister was married to Emathla, known to the whites as King Philip, principal chief of the Seminole on the St. Johns, the second chief in the tribe and referred to as of "the royal blood," which probably means that he was in some way related to the founder of the dynasty, Cow-keeper. King Philip's favorite, though not his oldest, son, was the famous Wild Cat or Coacoochee.<sup>20</sup>

Mikonopi's heir-apparent was Holatoochee (Little Chief), sometimes called Davy, variously described as his nephew and as his brother, whose age in 1837 was given as thirty, thirty-five, and fifty-five; he was tall, handsome, well-made, "with a thoughtful melancholy appearance," and well-dressed.<sup>21</sup>

Mikonopi was shipped west in 1838, arriving at Ft. Gibson, Indian Territory, June 12. He died at Ft. Gibson late in De-

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18. "Maj. Childs' correspondence," *Historical Magazine*, 3d ser., III (1844), 280; Sprague, 97; Foreman, Grant, *Indian Removal*, Norman, Okla., 1932, p. 328; Cohen, 238.

19. Porter, Kenneth Wiggins, "The Negro Abraham," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, xxv (July, 1946), esp. 8-15.

20. Sprague, 98.

21. *ASP, MA*, VII, 833; *Niles' Register*, LII (Mar. 25, 1837), 49; Childs, III, 170; *Charleston Courier*, Mar. 23, 1837; *Amy and Navy Chronicle*, VII (Mar. 7, 1839), 154-155. In 1837 he was "a young man" but five years later he was described as an "old chief" with "locks silvered by time." Sprague (98, 456, 459) emphasizes his advanced years; the other authorities describe him as youthful. Could there have been two Seminole known as Holatoochee, father and son, or uncle and nephew, one a brother of Mikonopi, the other a nephew?

ember, ten years later.<sup>22</sup> Holatoochee did not appear among the claimants to the succession, though he was alive, for he went on a delegation to Florida, October 16, 1849.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps he was regarded as too old - Sprague says he was "about sixty" in the fall of 1841.<sup>24</sup> He seems at any rate to have been deceased by the following summer, as a niece was then laying claim to some of his property.<sup>25</sup>

The principal claimants to the chieftaincy were Coacoochee (Wild Cat), son of King Philip (Emathla), and Jem, or Jim, Jumper ("Micco Nut-Cha-Sa"), son of Mikonopi's counsellor Jumper. Their fathers, who had died en route to the Territory, had married sisters of Mikonopi, and probably Coacoochee and Jim Jumper were the sons of those Sisters and bore the same relationship to Mikonopi as Mikonopi to his predecessor Bowlegs. Jim Jumper, who was involved with the Seminole sub-agent in a shady transaction concerning some Seminole Negroes who claimed to be free but whom Jumper and the sub-agent were endeavoring to reduce to slavery, was chosen as head-chief over Wild Cat, probably in large part through the sub-agent's influence. Upon his death, which occurred before 1856,<sup>26</sup> he was succeeded by his brother John (Hiniha Micco), who became a colonel in the Confederate army and was the Seminole chief as late as 1884.<sup>27</sup>

Coacoochee, disgruntled by his failure to attain the chieftaincy, in 1849-1850 led several hundred Seminole Indians

22. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, ch. xxx; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 257-258.

23. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 248.

24. p. 313.

25. Nat'l Archs., War Dep't, Letters Rec'd, Aug. 15, 1850 (A135).

26. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 259-261, 253; Abel, Annie Heloise, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Sessessionist* (The slaveholding Indians, I), Cleveland, 1915, pp. 164 n. 280.

27. Debo, Angie, *The Road to Disappearance*, Norman, Okla., 1941, pp. 146, 276; Wardell, Morris L., *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907*, Norman, Okla., 1938, p. 305. It will be remembered that, according to Capt. Casey, King Bowlegs's name was "Eneha Micco."

and Negroes into Mexico, where he established a military colony was commissioned a colonel, and died of small-pox early in 1857. He left a son, "young Coacoochee," who returned to the Territory in 1861, it is traditionally said to take part in the Civil War on the Confederate side, to which all the Five Civilized Tribes had at first committed themselves.<sup>28</sup>

The Indians who, according to the treaty of 1842, had been finally permitted to remain in Florida, early in that year, before the treaty, acknowledged Holata Micco, better known as Billy Bowlegs, as their chief. He was 33 years old in 1845 (in 1858, however, he was described as "about fifty"), and was variously described as Mikonopi's nephew and as "the nephew of Micanopy, Old Bowlegs, and King Payne."<sup>29</sup> In 1858, after the Third Seminole War, he was shipped to the Indian Territory, where, in 1861, he headed the Loyal Seminole, whom he led north to Kansas. He served with distinction as a captain in the 1st Regiment, Indian Home Guard, until his death from smallpox early in 1864,<sup>30</sup> when he was succeeded as chief of the Loyal Seminole by Long John or Jack (John Chupko), his brother-in-law and, possibly, also his son-in-law.<sup>31</sup>

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28. Mr. C. C. Patten, *Wewoka, Okla.*, 1942. The author of this article is writing a history of the Seminole Negroes which will include an account of Coacoochee's career in the Indian Territory and Coanula.
29. Sprague, 451, 482, 494, 507, 512; *Harper's Weekly*, June 12, 1858.
30. Abel, I, 198-199, n. 376, 277 n. 571; Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (The Slaveholding Indians, II), Cleveland, 1910, pp. 228 n. 64, 108 n. 256; Abel, *The American Indian under Reconstruction*, (The Slaveholding Indians, III), Cleveland, 1925, pp. 44 n. 75, 44-45 n. 76, 45 n. 77, 49; *War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, ser. I, vol. xxii, pt. 1, pp. 93-94, 350-351; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1864, p. 317. The report of his death in 1859 (*A.R.C.I.A.*, 1859, p. 529), mentioned in Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 274 n. 11, should probably be put down to wish-fulfillment.
31. Abel, I, 198 n. 372, iii, 57 n. 113; "Billy Bowlegs in New Orleans," *Harper's Weekly*, II (June 12, 1858), 376-378. The Treaty of Aug. 1, 1861, mentioned "Eliza Chopco, daughter of Billy Bowlegs." Billy Bowlegs had in 1858 a daughter named Elizabeth, about 18 years of age, by his first wife, and it is possible that she subsequently married the brother of his young wife. Long Jack, thus acquiring, in the white man's opinion, the surname of "Chopco."



Relationships among the Seminole "royal family" are, as already seen, almost impossible to disentangle. Mikonopi is referred to both as King Payne's nephew and as his grandson. Holatoochee is described as Mikonopi's nephew and as his brother. Billy Bowlegs's relationships to the other principal contemporary members of the Cowkeeper dynasty are particularly perplexing.<sup>32</sup> About the most one can say with any assurance in regard to these relationships is that Payne, Bowlegs, Mikonopi, Holatoochee, Billy Bowlegs, *et al.*, were all in some way related to one another and to old Cowkeeper. It was a dynasty which, from Cowkeeper through Payne, Bowlegs, Mikonopi, Billy Bowlegs (Florida band), Coacoochee (Mexican band), and the Jumpers (Territory band), persisted nearly a century and a half, from *ca.* 1740 to at least 1884.

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**32. See Appendix for a discussion of complications in the Billy Bowlegs pedigree.**

“A LETTER FROM THE LAND OF FLOWERS,  
FRUIT AND PLENTY” \*

[Pasco County and The Farmers' Alliance]

Macon, Florida [1889]

EDITOR MERCURY: - Believing that your readers would like to hear from South Florida, I will write a few lines. This part of the state is thinly settled. Pasco county has a population of 4,500, is on the western coast of South Florida, has good railroad facilities and the citizens will give you hearty welcome, if you wish to come to a country where there are no northerners and the winter months are almost like spring time. The weather during December has been delightful, the thermometer ranging from 60 to 75 deg., during the day, and at night it falls to 50. The most disagreeable season is the rainy season in the summer. At this time of the year we have but little rain.

The most of Pasco county is high, rolling pine lands, which produces fine vegetables, grapes, long staple cotton and fruit, if they are fertilized. The low lands are good for raising vegetables and oranges, when they are fertilized. The hammock lands will grow fine vegetables and fruits without fertilizing. Oranges is the staple crop of South Florida. In this part of the state we raise corn, potatoes, grapes, vegetables, (cabbage, tomatoes and beans are raised for market), tobacco, oranges, lemons, pine apples, bananas, limes, plums, peaches, (peaches don't do well) and figs.

There is money in an orange grove but you need not expect to get a good grove for the asking. They are high priced. It takes money and a great deal of hard labor, from six to ten years to get them to bearing, after which it is necessary for you to give them constant attention and fertilize them plentifully. Forty trees will do well on an acre and a tree will bear

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\* This letter is from *The Southern Mercury*, Dallas, Texas, January 9, 1890. Professor Robert C. Cotner of the University of Texas called it to the attention of the *Quarterly*.

from 500 to 3,000 oranges. They bring on an average at the tree \$1 per box, and a box holds from 96 to 300 oranges.

Macon is a nice and pleasant town on the South Florida and O. B. [Orange Belt] railroad and one mile from where the F. S. [Florida Southern] and F. C. [Florida Central] railroad crosses. There is considerable excitement in this and other counties over the finding of phosphate beds. Men are here now buying lands wherever they can find phosphate.

***[The Farmers' Alliance]***

The Alliance is coming to the front. It is a power in the land. Brethren, let us, like brave soldiers, come to the front and be true to the cause we are fighting for. Victory is ours, if we will only work as a unit. Brethren, read your state paper and the national organ; keep well posted. The Alliance is gaining strength here and all over the state. We have an Alliance store here and at San Antonio on the Orange Belt railroad. Both are doing a good business. Yours,

J. F. MOODY.

TEQUESTA

The issue for 1951 of ***Tequesta, The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida*** appeared as our last number went to press, hence this delay in our congratulations on its excellence to the Association and to its editor, Charlton W. Tebeau. This is the eleventh of the series, and the sixth issue which Dr. Tebeau has produced. Its 102 pages makes it one of the largest of the eleven, and the contents makes it one of the most interesting.

The average historical magazine is often dry and sometimes dull, but who would not be interested in the colorful narrative of the leading article ***Miami on the Eve of the Boom, 1923***, by Frank B. Sessa, as well as the other articles of the issue.

Dr. Sessa, formerly of the History Department of the Uni-

versity of Miami and now Director of Libraries of the City of Miami, says:

Miami, in 1923, was on the threshold of its first great period of expansion, its boom. In a large measure the stage was set and the characters moved into place. The pattern of the boom was set, too, for Miami was a curious combination of the serious, the artistic, and the bizarre. For every conservative, well-planned development offering attractive home sites and improvements to its investors, like Coral Gables, for instance, there were many which traded upon barbecues, jass bands, and car raffles to attract buyers to lands of dubious value. Just so was the community with its established businesses, its lectures and concerts, and its Seminole golf caddies, beach honky-tonks, and fiery letters painted on North Carolina rocks.

In contrast, economic development of the region is brought out in *The Pennsuko Sugar Experiment* by William A. Graham. In the early days of the Territory of Florida sugar cane was the most extensive crop planted on the East Coast; but the Seminole War with its widespread destruction, wiped out the industry. Later, cane was planted to some extent in central Florida, around Homosassa, and in the Manatee region, until the War for Southern Independence and its aftermath put a brake on that. In the upper Everglades region in the 1880's, and around Okeechobee about 1915, sugar was produced, but its future was still uncertain.

Mr. Graham, who had a part in what he tells, describes the operations of the Pennsylvania Sugar Company which in 1919 became interested in sugar production in the Everglades and began planting on a large scale. Continuously experimenting and solving most of the problems of an industry in a new region, the effort at last failed, largely because of floods; and, by degrees, crops of vegetables took the place of cane until the Company at length withdrew in 1931.

The horticultural importations and experiments of Dr. Henry Perrine, and the Indian Key Massacre in which he lost his life, arouse a perennial interest. So his *Random Notes of Tropical Florida* published in *Magazine of Horticulture* (Sept. 1840) is reprinted in this issue of *Tequesta*.

Another installment (30 pages) of *Across South Central Florida in 1882*, begun in the last issue of *Tequesta*, is reprinted from the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*. This is an account of an exploring expedition sent out by the *Times-Democrat* for "heralding the potentialities of south and central Florida;" and, later, the paper bragged "Florida is now one of the most promising portions of the South. Much of it has hitherto been unknown wilderness to the rest of the world, but is now being opened up, redeemed and rendered habitable. Immigrants of the best kind are pouring in from all directions and helping to build up the State, and everything is promising there. The *Times-Democrat* claims some of the credit for this Florida 'boom.' Its articles, which were copied by the northern and western papers, have done much towards creating this 'boom'."

The party left Kissimmee in November 1882, and after travelling 500 miles in about two weeks reached Fort Myers; being, as claimed by the *Times-Democrat*, "the first white men who ever succeeded in making the journey" through the "unknown" Everglades region.

## BOOK REVIEWS

***Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction***, by C. Vann Woodward. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951. pp. x, 263, \$4.)

Had Florida's electoral vote been cast in accordance with her popular vote, Rutherford B. Hayes would have lost the presidential election to Samuel J. Tilden by three vote instead of winning it by one, and the Compromise of 1877 would not have been. This compromise, as important as any compromise in American history, hinged on the willingness of the Southern Democrats to acquiesce in abandoning Tilden, who was apparently the rightfully elected candidate, against the vigorous protests of their Northern Democratic colleagues. Here was a Southern Democrat-Republican coalition that worked.

The compromise required the delivery of the challenged electoral votes of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana to the Hayes column. The consensus of recent historical scholarship is that Tilden was entitled to the four electoral votes of Florida, that Hayes was probably entitled to the votes of South Carolina and Louisiana, and that Tilden was therefore elected by a vote of 188 to 181. The election produced these results in Florida: presidential vote to the Republicans, gubernatorial vote to the Democrats, congressional seats to the Republicans, and the majority in the legislature to the Democrats. Thus Florida was nationally Republican and internally Democratic.

In return for the presidency, the Republicans promised that Federal troops would be withdrawn from the Southern states and home rule restored, and in this the compromise was born. Existence of the "deal" has long been known but it has taken this painstaking work of Dr. C. Vann Woodward to elevate it to the level of a major compromise.

The greatest contribution of the volume lies in bringing out the importance of the economic factors underlying the com-

promise. Centering largely around subsidies for the railroads, these considerations are held to have been far more influential than many of the apparent political factors. Although the author does not present these economic factors as the sole motivating force, he gives them a new emphasis. Woodward concludes that a whole series of agreements had been made some time before the so-called Wormley Conference and that the bargain was much broader than has been commonly believed.

The volume emphasizes the fact that while the liberal wing of the Republican party clung to its idealistic aims about liberating and elevating the Negro, the conservative Republicans were so anxious to preserve the economic gains of the Civil War period that they were willing to surrender the party's idealism. In like manner it was the desire of Southern Democrats to secure a larger share of federal appropriations for internal improvements that led them to agree to the inauguration of the Republican nominee.

Although not all the terms of the bargain were finally carried out, the Compromise of 1877 prevented strife and possible violence at a critical period in the history of the United States. Though her votes may have made the compromise possible, Florida received no special favors in the arrangement. Removal of the troops was the most tangible result and this the South bought at the price of becoming for all practical purposes a satellite of the Northern industrial and financial system. Saving the Union from a resurgence of civil strife as it may have done, Woodward feels that the price for the South was high, higher than it need have been.

CHARLES T. THRIFT, JR.

***Florida Southern College***

***Bourbon Democracy in Alabama, 1874-1890***; by Allen Johnston Going. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1951. Pp. ix, 256. Tables, maps, bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

Professor Going's study bridges a glaring gap in Alabama's recorded history. More particularly, the account covers the years between those already described so well by Walter L. Fleming's ***Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*** (1905) and John B. Clark's ***Populism in Alabama*** (1927). The book was originally one of a series of doctoral dissertations being prepared under Fletcher M. Green's inspiring direction at the University of North Carolina. As a group, the dissertations give close attention to a neglected period in the South's history.

Alabama Bourbons differed little from their counterparts in other Southern states after the Civil War and Reconstruction, for they promoted the Democratic party, "white supremacy," railroads, economy in government, public education, manufacturing, and what is generally called "New South" approaches to life. Some Bourbons bore the name "Brigadier" because they had held high rank in Confederate armies; and a premium was placed on military service when Americans sought political office after 1865, of course. As has long been known, numerous post-Civil War political leaders in the South had been politicians before 1861. It is a well-known fact, too, that their social legislation was tempered by a lack of money. They borrowed many carpet-bag approaches to government. Reconstruction experiences demanded honesty on their part, and large-scale political graft did not exist in the South from 1874 to 1890.

***Bourbon Democracy in Alabama*** emphasizes the point that there occurred a gradual shift from a rural-agrarian to an urban-manufacturing concept and struggle for politico-economic control in the 1870's and 1880's. Agriculture certainly did not remain profitable. Farmers, believing that they were mistreated,



passed from the Granger movement to the Farmers' Alliance to Populism. At the same time, successful Bourbons in the economic field were often successful only because they attached themselves in one way or another to Northern business enterprises or experienced Northern agents in the South. Going reaches the conclusion that north Alabama coal and iron became important, although not entirely decisive, factors in determining state political actions by 1890. However, he emphasizes the fact that Bourbon politicians could not long have remained in power if they overlooked agrarian welfare, "white supremacy," or past events in the South. Thus, Bourbonism in Alabama, as elsewhere, was a combination of the old and the new. The author's approach to his subject, therefore, is sound and historically correct. Furthermore, the same approach to the present South is the only tenable one if one wishes seriously to appraise and understand the region and its people.

WEYMOUTH T. JORDAN

*Florida State University*

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***Liberty and Property***, by R. V. Coleman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951. Pp. 606.)

"Liberty and Property," the vigorous shout of the American patriots of Stamp Act days, appears through these pages to represent the basic desire of the hardy colonials through the entire period covered - from the 1660's to the eve of the Revolution. Fierce individualism, a determination to obtain property and guard political rights, and an irrepressible impatience with the laws of the day come flashing out from the tumultuous drama of the life of that era. "I am free," says an Iroquois chief. "You may goe out of the way," says an unnamed teamster to a royally appointed governor whose carriage he had met on a narrow road. The people of Connecticut would not "take Directions . . . from any Body," said

a member of an orderly mob to Governor Fitch when they were forcing the resignation of His Majesty's tax collector.

Coleman supplies tempting take-off points for innumerable tales of high adventure. The forests throb with Indian life - you simply can't see the trees for the Indians. You can almost hear the Redman breathe as he lays an ambush, kidnaps a white woman, faithfully delivers into the hand of Iberville the letter intended for La Salle after necessarily waiting thirteen years, or protests against the multiplicity of frauds in the Walking Purchase treaty.

Excellent maps abound throughout the text, but nearly all the footnotes are shuffled off to the back of the book and entered under the title of "Bibliography" - thus reducing greatly the value of the notes and making the bibliography relatively useless to any reader save one with the diligence to reorganize it sufficiently to make it intelligible.

Pictures from life carry the story; statistics are sparingly used. Great men stalk across the scene, exploring a continent, building a nation, or burning a city. Smaller characters are snatched back from the verge of oblivion and made to tell us, through words or deeds, how the people felt. Action rarely gives way to description or explanation, so the forward motion is seldom slowed. Human interest episodes tell always of significant events. Thoroughness and minor detail are foregone. Page references written into the text itself aid the reader in maintaining the proper time sequence as the attention shifts from colony to colony, but many readers will probably find it difficult to keep the events in logical order.

There are rich rewards for the time spent in reading this book, however, and readers will not soon forget the memorable scenes from those exciting days when our forefathers proved the world was not too much for them and showed

that Liberty and Property can constitute not merely a slogan but an integral part of the pattern of life.

GILBERT L. LYCAN.

*John B. Stetson University.*

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A recent worthwhile publication is *Florida's Seminole Indians* by Wilfred T. Neill, Ross Allen's Reptile Institute, Silver Springs, Florida, 1952. 81 p. \$2.00.

There is a brief sketch of the earlier Seminole, but the value of the book is in its account of the present-day Seminole from first-hand research and observation, with numerous excellent illustrations.

## LOCAL AND REGIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

### **THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

The Jacksonville Historical Society will be hosts to the Florida Historical Society for our Annual Meeting on April 25 and 26.

Our headquarters have been in Jacksonville during the greater part of the life of the Society, and we have a larger membership there than in any other locality, so it will be almost as though we were going home again.

The Quarterly Meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society, held on February 20, was featured by a paper on "Recent Excavations at Fort Frederica National Monument, Georgia," by C. R. Vinten and Charles R. Fairbanks of the National Park Service. The site is not far from Jacksonville, and as the fort was built for protection against Spanish Florida, the subject has a distinct appeal to local and Florida interest.

As an exhibit at the meeting there was shown the lavishly illustrated five-page invitation presented to President Grover Cleveland to visit Jacksonville in 1888, decorated with hand-painted scenes of the vicinity.

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### **THE ST. AUGUSTINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

For several years the St. Augustine Historical Society has had in preparation for publication a translation of Barcia's *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida*. The translation was made by Anthony Kerrigan, and the volume has been published by the University of Florida Press. A *Foreword* by Herbert E. Bolton and an *Introduction* by Mr. Kerrigan are included. It is a sumptuous volume, and as it is not surpassed by any other work as a source of Florida's history, the publication is a noteworthy event for Florida bibliography. It will be reviewed in the next issue of this *Quarterly*.

## THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### THE ANNUAL MEETING

As announced in the last issue of the *Quarterly*, the Annual Meeting of the Society will be held in Jacksonville, at the invitation of the Jacksonville Historical Society, on Friday and Saturday, April 25 and 26. Headquarters will be at the George Washington Hotel, and all three program meetings, as well as the luncheon and dinner on Friday, will be held there.

The Program Committee has long been at work and much of the program has been planned and settled as this issue of the *Quarterly* goes to press. Acceptances for papers or addresses have been received from Watt Marchman, our librarian of long ago, now Librarian of Rutherford B. Hayes Library, Fremont, Ohio; Paul Kruse, Librarian of Mills Memorial Library, Rollins College; Frank B. Sesser, Director of Libraries, City of Miami; John E. Johns, Professor of History, John B. Stetson University; C. Herbert Laub of the University of Tampa; Walter Hartridge, historian, of Savannah; Hale G. Smith, Professor of Anthropology, Florida State University, and Joseph Redlinger of Jacksonville. Others are expected to accept, so the program will be unusually interesting.

It is expected that a large number of members and their friends will come from many sections of the State, as the occasion will be well worth quite a journey to those who feel an interest in the history of our Florida. It has been several years since we have met in Jacksonville, but our annual meetings there are recalled vividly for the hospitality of our hosts.

The president and directors urge that our members remain through the business meeting about noon on Saturday, as the Society's affairs and problems will be considered and acted on.

Registration is from 9:00 A.M. and the programs begin at 9:30 A.M. on both Friday and Saturday.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE QUARTERLY

**John R. Swanton**, Chairman, United States De Soto Expedition Commission, was for many years Ethnologist, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.

**Ripley P. Bullen**, is Assistant Florida State Archeologist. He has contributed several articles to this *Quarterly*.

**Robert E. Rutherford** is a graduate student, University of Florida, majoring in the history of Latin-America.

**Kenneth W. Porter**, formerly of the History Department, Vassar College, has specialized on the Florida Indians and their Negro allies. He has contributed several articles to this *Quarterly* including the authoritative "The Negro Abraham."

**Charles T. Thrift, Jr.**, is Vice-president of Florida Southern University and Vice-president of the Florida Historical Society.

**Weymouth T. Jordan** is Professor of History, Florida State University, and has specialized on Alabama and Southern history.

**Gilbert L. Lycan** is Professor of History, John B. Stetson University.

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