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MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN CAMPBELL IN BRITISH WEST FLORIDA

by GEORGE C. OSBORN

Late in the autumn of 1778 Brigadier-General John Campbell received a communication from Lord George Germain to proceed from the colony of New York to Pensacola, Province of West Florida.¹ In this imperial province, which was bounded on the west by the Mississippi river, Lake Ponchartrain and the Iberville river, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, on the east by the Apalachicola river and on the north by the thirty-first parallel but later by a line drawn eastward from the mouth of the Yazoo river,² General Campbell was to take command of His Majesty's troops. That the newly appointed leader of the imperial forces in West Florida was largely ignorant of local conditions is evidenced by a letter which he wrote Germain from Kingston, Jamaica, where he arrived on November 30.³

While in Jamaica Campbell learned from Governor John Dalling and others that the "conditions in West Florida were by no means pleasing"; in fact, Campbell reported to Germain that the province "must be in very great Distress." As evidences of chaos, the British Foreign Office learned that "the fertile parts of the province" had been deserted partially "in Consequence of the descent [of Captain James Willing's expedition] made last Spring by the Mississippi," that supplies customarily acquired from the Spanish Province of Louisiana, but especially from New Orleans, had been cut off, that "an Embargo [had been] laid, on Provisions" in Jamaica whence West Florida "usually received Con-

* This paper was presented in part before the annual meeting of The Southern Historical Association, November 4, last.

1. The author did not locate Germain's letter, but the earlier communication is referred to in Campbell to Germain, 26 Dec. 1778, in the Papers of General John Campbell in the Library of Congress. This collection consists of photostatic copies of the correspondence of Campbell and Germain. Unless otherwise described all references will be to this collection. Brigadier-General Campbell was commissioned major-general soon after he arrived in West Florida.
2. Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley, 1947), 7.
3. Campbell to Germain, 26 Dec. 1778, in Campbell papers.

siderable Quantities” and that “the troops at Pensacola had no daily allowance of Rum made them with their Provisions.” To ameliorate these conditions Governor Dalling insisted that Campbell carry a “sufficient Quantity of Provisions to insure the garrison against want.⁴ These precautions “were very proper,” replied Germain.⁵

If this picture of West Florida seemed alarming, the report which the Brigadier General sent to Whitehall soon after taking command in Pensacola in January 1779 was astounding. In brevity and frankness, Campbell wrote, he found himself: “without money or credit for Contingent Expenses, without Vessels proper for Navigation or even Batteaux . . . without artificers wherewith to carry on Works . . . without any Provisions or Materials to Work upon, without any Prospect of their being procured . . . but by the labor of the Troops, without Tools for accommodating the few Artificers that could be found among the army, without Engineers Stores, without even [adequate] Provisions.” Such were the conditions that collectively created “the most disagreeable, the most irksome, the most distressing of all situations” to this soldier. But, he promised that his endeavors would be “Strenuously exerted to remedy Evils, to supply Wants and to be prepared to begin the [construction of a] Fort on the Mississippi by September or . . . by October.”⁶

In sealed instructions from Germain, which Campbell found awaiting him in Pensacola, the General was urged to “avoid disputes with, or giving occasions of Offense to the Subjects of Spain.”⁷ Campbell took “the earliest opportunity” after his arrival to write Don Bernardo de Galvez, Acting Governor of Louisiana, of his “Ardent wish and Desire to promote and encourage a good understanding between the subjects of their Cath-

4. *Ibid.*

5. Germain to Campbell, April 1, 1779.

6. Campbell to Germain, March 22, 1779, Campbell arrived in Pensacola January 19, 1779.

7. Germain to Campbell, July 1, 1778, in Germain papers, Foreign Office, London.

olic and Britannic Majestys,"⁸ The Spanish governor was equally reassuring of his contributing to the "Friendship and good harmony observed by our respective nations."⁹ A few months later, in the summer of 1779, "the shackles of neutrality were broken" and Spain declared war on England.¹⁰

General Campbell brought a "Detachment of Royal Artillery, the Third Regiment of Waldeck and two Provincial Corps—the Pennsylvania and the Maryland Loyalists"—from New York to reinforce the garrison at Pensacola.¹¹ In addition to the Sixteenth and the Sixtieth regiments, Governor Peter Chester of West Florida had organized three independent companies.¹² Still other troops had been raised by Colonel John Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern District, who before the arrival of Campbell, was acting under instructions from General Sir William Howe.¹³ Germain gave complete authority over all troops in the Province to Campbell,¹⁴ who not only kept those troops found at Pensacola, those which he brought, the Indians recruited by Colonel Stuart, and his subordinates, but those organized by Governor Chester. Campbell was soon requesting of General Sir Henry Clinton a company of Negroes which was under Clinton's command,¹⁵ and later urged his

8. Campbell to Bernardo de Galvez, January 24, 1779. Galvez became governor upon a declaration of war by Spain upon England, June 21, 1779. See John W. Caughey, *Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783*, (Berkeley, 1934) 152.

9. Galvez to Campbell February 4, 1779.

10. Caughey, *Galvez*, 149. The Spanish in Louisiana had adopted earlier a policy of benevolent neutrality towards the Americans. Openly the Spanish were neutral but secretly they were supporting the colonies. See Cecil Johnson *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1943), 200-220.

11. Campbell to Germain, Dec. 26, 1778, in Campbell papers. The Waldeckers were German mercenary troops from the principality of Waldeck. See Max Von Elking, *Die Deutschen Hulfstruppen un Nordamerikanischen Befrenings Kriege, 1776 bis 1783*, 2 vols. (Hanover, 1863) for the detailed report of the experiences of these troops in the American Revolutionary War. These reinforcements numbered about 1200.

12. Germain to Campbell, April 1, 1779, in Campbell papers.

13. *Ibid.* Also see Campbell to Clinton, March 22, 1779.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Campbell to Clinton, February 10, 1779. Also Campbell to Germain, March 22, 1779.

commander-in-chief to send English troops to West Florida.¹⁶ These efforts were augmented by additional levies of Indians and provincials from West Florida.¹⁷ With the increasing number of troops came added difficulties: the problems of adequate quarters and sufficient provisions. Meeting these demands gave Campbell much concern.¹⁸

The proper defense of this province was the *sine qua non* of General Campbell's mission. In letters to Clinton and in others to Germain the British commander in West Florida wrote in detail his own plans for defense and sought confirmation or alterations.¹⁹ There was the plan of erecting a fort at Manchac on the Mississippi river near Baton Rouge, and of sending troops, laborers, supplies and food to make secure this western outpost.

Germain thought that Fort Manchac should be erected at the "Entrance of the Mississippi into the Iberville at or near the place where Fort Bute stood."²⁰ Campbell informed General Clinton of the dangers of such a location. First, this site was overflowed by the Mississippi when in flood stage. Second, the surrounding land was so low that water stagnated the entire year and rendered the whole area "extremely sickly." Third, the Iberville was not really a river but was "perfectly dry for a considerable distance" during most of the year. Fourth, and last, the engineers believed that this location, at some reasonable date, would be "carried away by the Mississippi" whereby "the Course of this river may probably be greatly altered."²¹ These arguments, apparently, were not confirmed by General Clinton, be-

16. See *id.* to *id.*, June 14, 1780, for a statement that Campbell had requested troops of Clinton.

17. *Id.* to Clinton, February 10, 1780. The English commander in West Florida discussed efforts to secure military support from the Indians and the raising of two troops of light dragoons in the province.

18. For an excellent example of the program for defense and for barracks which Campbell tried to achieve see Campbell to Germain, February 20, 1779, in Campbell papers.

19. Campbell to Clinton, February 10, 1779.

20. Germain to Campbell, quoted *ibid.*

21. Campbell to Clinton, February 10, 1779.

cause ultimately the opinion of the English Foreign Office prevailed and Fort Manchac was begun some miles north of where Bute stood.²²

Troops sent to this outlying post, in too many instances, deserted to the Spanish. In short, wrote Campbell, "the fidelity of all except the Veterans of the Sixteenth Regiment is not to be depended upon."²³ The Regiment of Waldeckers was "totally unfit for active service" in the "woods and wilds" of West Florida. The provincial soldiers from Maryland and from Pennsylvania were composed largely of Irish vagabonds—deserters from the rebels who by "natural Fickleness and Instability of their Disposition" were "most unfit to be trusted in any post where there was the least Temptation to desert."²⁴

General Campbell ventured the opinion that it was absolutely necessary "to detain two large Sloops at Pensacola." With these he would transport "heavy artillery and stores, if possible, up the River Mississippi" until roads could be made overland. These sloops would aid further in establishing a proper landing place at Manchac. Finally, they would be of infinite service in conveying the regiment of Waldeck to the entrance of Lake Ponchartrain from whence smaller vessels would complete the task to Manchac.²⁵

Location of the fort, loyalty of the soldiers and provincial transportation were not the only problems which confronted Campbell in his desire for a successful military administration in West Florida. Payment of the troops was in arrears. Since October 1778 only small paper notes had been issued for money, wrote Campbell in February 1779. His Majesty's service was impeded

22. The location of Fort Manchac was on the Mississippi river twelve miles south of Baton Rouge. Consult William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York, 1927), 191, 195.

23. Campbell to Clinton, February 10, 1779, in Campbell papers. "Jail birds and German troops" deserted "even from Mobile and Pensacola."

24. *Ibid.* In February 1779, seventeen men of the Maryland Loyalists deserted in a body with arms and about 100 pounds of ammunition per man. They seemed to be returning to their homes.

25. *Ibid.*

further by the "want of Ship Carpenters" which could be secured only in England or possibly in New York. Furthermore, a naval force must be stationed in the Mississippi river to cooperate with shore batteries if navigation on the river was to be controlled.²⁶ Added to these difficulties was a scarcity of officers, more especially of artillery officers. Captain Johnstone had been an invalid for more than a year, Lieutenant Wilkinson had been ordered to Saint Augustine in East Florida, two other officers were prisoners of the rebels, still another had been detained on duty at New York and a sixth was laboring "under Insanity of Mind."²⁷ All of these were artillery officers but official ranks were equally depleted in the Waldecks and in the provincial regiments.

The Indian Department revealed great confusion due largely to the expected death of Colonel John Stuart, who was thought to be in the "Last Stage of Consumption." Though at least two men in this department thought themselves adequate, there was not a single person qualified to "succeed to the Arduous Duty of that office."²⁸ When Stuart died a short time later, Campbell's worst fears were realized. Governor Chester, with Campbell's advice and consent, resorted to appointing a commission of five men to carry on the work handled by Stuart.²⁹

No adequate defence of the province could be realized until the neglected harbors of Pensacola and Mobile were strengthened. The former did not even have the protection of one frigate and there was "not a single Gun mounted to prevent an Enemy from Entering" the harbor. True, there were "two Sloops of war of fourteen guns each" but each was unworthy of being "Ranked in the list of the Royal Navy of Great Britain." Likewise,

26. *Ibid.*

27. Campbell to Clinton March 22, 1779.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Colonel John Stuart died March 21, 1779. For a discussion of this topic see Governor Chester to Germain, March 23, 1779, and *id to id*, April 1, 1779, in Chester's papers in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson. Hereafter referred to as Chester papers.

the harbor of Mobile was practically unprotected. The "fort and barracks there are in a similar state to the other military works in this Province, Almost a Scene of Ruin and Desolation." Both "must be deserted or repaired" and 50,000 pounds sterling would not restore the fort alone to its "Original State."³⁰

There was yet one other fort in West Florida, namely, Fort Panmure at Natchez. This fort Governor Chester repaired before General Campbell's arrival, but after "the Pannick occasioned by [Captain James] Willings Descent" from Fort Pitt to the lower Mississippi in February, 1775,³¹ there had been a "revival of loyalism" at Natchez and the situation was "reported to be good."³²

Finally, there was a general want of materials, a great need for tools with which to work, and a necessity for an increased number of artificers with which to proceed in the construction of defence projects throughout the entire province.³³ The general health of the military personnel was fair but new supplies of medicine were needed before the sickly season began in June.³⁴

The acuteness of conditions in West Florida prodded Germain to action and he "immediately laid the dispatches before the King."³⁵ Shortly, the Right Honorable Lord informed this commander of the King's troops that George III was in agreement with the steps already taken by Campbell and of the acts contemplated further by him. Supplies and provisions had left England in January in a convoy for Pensacola via Jamaica. Alexander Cameron had been appointed Superintendent of Indian affairs in the Southwest and was to be under the commander-in-chief, General Clinton. If Clinton had no instructions for the new appointee, he was to follow Campbell's orders.³⁶

30. Campbell to Clinton, March 22, 1779, in Campbell papers.

31. For a good discussion of Captain James Willing's expedition see Caughey, *Galvez*, 102-134.

32. Campbell to Clinton, March 22, 1779, in Campbell papers.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. Germain to Campbell, June 24, 1779.

36. *Ibid.*

In the late spring of 1779 Campbell reported to Germain the progress of the numerous activities under his supervision. Construction of the Fort at Manchac was proceeding with the use of cypress logs and clay. Until more carpenters could be secured, the building program there would be quite slow. The officers' barracks at Pensacola was literally "falling to pieces." Parts of this building dated from the Spanish period and part from early English occupancy but now Campbell was proposing "to build a New House on the location of the present old Spanish House." In praising Captain John Ferguson of the sloop of war *Sylph*, by whom this message was sent to Germain, as a man of truth, Campbell added that "the genuine Language of Truth is not always to be met with from this country." The persons perverting the truth were "most commonly swayed by Faction or Interest in Lands."³⁷ In short, lying in the Province of West Florida was caused by political or economic motives.

The annual fleet from England arrived early in April, but one ship, the *Lord Townshend*, with its cargo of provisions was totally destroyed in Port Royal Harbor, Jamaica and two other vessels apparently had been lost. These misfortunes created a distressing situation in that Campbell, who anticipated a twelve months' supply of provisions, was reduced to only fourteen weeks supply of flour. Cattle there were in the province, which could be had in one way or another, but, as a substitute for flour, there was only a small amount of Indian corn.³⁸ Requests for assistance had been made to Clinton and to Governor Dalling but Campbell was not optimistic that any success would attend his efforts.³⁹

The relations between the military and the civilian government were not always ideal. General Campbell

37. Campbell to Germain, May 10, 1779.

38. *Id.* to *id.*, April 7, 1779, Indian corn was secured and when parched, was mixed with the flour.

39. Mention is made of these requests for assistance *ibid.* Campbell had news of a scarcity of provisions in Jamaica. He was forced to send the letter to Clinton via Saint Augustine and even then he was doubtful of the letter reaching its destination. See *ibid.*

and Governor Chester disagreed on several significant problems. Their opinions clashed in the proper steps to be taken in the Indian Department after the death of Stuart.⁴⁰ The governor appointed a commission of which Campbell was a member to direct Indian affairs until "His Majesty's Pleasure should be known." Very soon friction arose among the members of the commission as to whom should be recommended as Stuart's successor with Campbell seemingly in the minority. Anyway, he resigned from the commission, and gave as his reason the grave consequences which would ensue if the Governor's recommendation was accepted by the Foreign Office and by His Majesty.⁴¹ Again, these two men differed on the location of Fort Manchac and the acreage of land which should be allocated for the fort and its environs.⁴² Finally, Chester complained that Campbell failed to consult him, as the general should have done, about the defense plans for the Province.⁴³

Spain declared war on England on June 21, 1779. Four days later a letter from Whitehall marked "Secret and Confidential," went to General Campbell at Pensacola. His Majesty, George III, and Lord George Germain had been in conference to consider "the proper measures to be adopted for making an impression upon the Dominion of Spain." The object of greatest importance was an attack upon New Orleans which was to be "executed with Force already prepared in West Florida." The English intelligence, wrote Germain, represented the Spanish forces at New Orleans to be "greatly inferior." Further-

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.* Governor Chester recommended Charles Stuart, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs to be Superintendent upon Colonel John Stuart's death. When Charles Stuart noted the opposition to his appointment, he requested of Governor Chester that another be named. Alexander Cameron, who had been Deputy Superintendent of the Cherokee Nation became Superintendent at Pensacola. See Campbell to Germain, September 14, 1779.

42. Campbell submitted to Germain duplicates of reports submitted to Colonel Dickson by Captain Miller and another by J. Graham on the best location of the fort. Both Miller and Graham were engineers. *Ibid.*

43. Chester to Germain, November 15, 1776, in Chester papers.

more, the inhabitants were "generally indisposed to the Spanish Government." If General Campbell thought possible to reduce the Spanish fort, he was ordered to proceed at once to make preparations. These preparations included: (1) secure from Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker as many armed vessels as could be spared from Jamaica, (2) collect all forces which could be drawn together in the province, (3) take as many faithful Indians as the Superintendent could supply, (4) draw on the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury for all expenses.⁴⁴ This secret communication reached Campbell safely but when it was dispatched to the English garrisons at Manchac, Natchez and Baton Rouge the message fell into the hands of Governor Galvez at New Orleans.⁴⁵

In the meantime, Governor Galvez had secretly organized the Louisiana province for war. "The independence of America," stated Campbell, "was publically recognized by the beat of the Drum at New Orleans on the 19th day of August," 1779.⁴⁶ Forthwith, the Spanish and their Indian allies marched against the English forts on the Mississippi.⁴⁷ So successful were they that they "nearly effected the Reduction of the western part of West Florida" before General Campbell at Pensacola had the "smallest Communication of Galvez having Commenced Hostilities."⁴⁸ Why Galvez did not follow up his successes along the Mississippi with an immediate advance on Mobile and Pensacola "is difficult to conceive."⁴⁹

44. Germain to Campbell, June 25, 1779, in Campbell papers.

45. Caughey, *Galvez*, 150. The Spanish governor informed his government that he understood the attack was to be from English forces all along the Mississippi, from Canada southward, supported by a force from Pensacola. No such extensive plan of attack was proposed in Germain's note to Campbell. See *ibid.*, 149-150 and Germain to Campbell, June 25, 1779, in Campbell papers.

46. *Id.* to *id.*, August 5, 1779, in *ibid.*

47. General Campbell to Lord George Germain, 14th September, 1779, *ibid.*

48. *Id.* to *id.*, 15th December, 1779, *ibid.*

49. Richard L. Campbell, *Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida* (Cleveland 1892), 116. Apparently, Galvez did not know the real conditions in the British forts. He felt insecure without aid in men and ships from Havana. His Mississippi river campaign was essentially defensive and not offensive. See Caughey *Galvez*, 171-175.

On September 14, Campbell was ready to embark with five vessels and two flatboats and with five hundred men, ample provisions, and a large supply of gifts for the Indians. He was proceeding to the attack of New Orleans when news arrived of Galvez's attack on the Mississippi. "This news," wrote Campbell, "disappointed all my Hopes and ardent desire of fulfilling his Majesty's expectations, and converted my attention from that of attacking [New Orleans] to making Preparations for [the] Defence"⁵⁰ of Mobile and Pensacola.

For this surprise attack and the defeat of his Majesty's forces, Campbell offered several explanations.⁵¹ Geographically, the Isle of Orleans, "seventy leagues in length, fertile, populous and rich," commanded the communication, by water, in the west. The Natchez-Manchac district on the west was divided from the Mobile and Pensacola district in the east by a large tract of wilderness which was inhabited by the Choctaw nation of Indians. Militarily, these Indians were not dependable for the English. The Spanish had numerically superior forces and were better equipped than were the English. Personally, Governor Chester was "indifferent in his conduct [of the defense of the Province] and would not proceed one Tittle beyond the strict and most limited Construction of the Law to save West Florida." Finally, despite information of the Foreign Office to the contrary, there was no division in loyalty among the inhabitants of Louisiana. "Sometime ago," stated Campbell, "the Spanish sway was hateful to their French Subjects" but Governor Galvez had adopted "Cajoling and lenient Methods" of dealing with the French. He had been very successful in winning their affections.⁵² Of

50. Campbell to Germain, December 15, 1779, in Campbell papers.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.* In this same communication General Campbell wrote extensively of ample supplies having arrived from England and from Jamaica. Evidently, these ships had arrived within a few days and not early enough to transport any of the provisions to the forts in the west. Campbell demanded of Chester the privilege of invoking military law but the governor only called the Council into session. The governor and the Council voted against granting Campbell this power.

course, this was made easy by the alliance of their respective Majesties against England.

With the details of the attack upon and with the terms of capitulation of Manchac and Baton Rouge we are not concerned here. It might be well, however, in passing to note that to Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Dickson, who was in charge of the defeated English forces at Fort Manchac, but who had moved to Baton Rouge shortly before the attack, the terms were "honorable to the troops and Favourable to the Inhabitants."⁵³ With this conclusion General Campbell apparently was in agreement since he forwarded a copy of Dickson's report to the Foreign Office with the hope that these terms would meet with Germain's approbation.⁵⁴ In the Campbell papers there is a testimonial signed by fifty-nine inhabitants of Natchez and another signed by one Harry Alexander, "for and in the name of all the Inhabitants of the Settlement" of Baton Rouge expressing appreciation for the defensive stand of the English troops and assuring continued confidence in General Campbell for his efforts in behalf of the province.⁵⁵

With the loss of the Mississippi area, General Campbell and Lord Germain, quite naturally, centered their attention on the defense of the eastern part of the province. More specifically, this meant the defense of Mobile and Pensacola. Germain expressed disappointment that the English forces were "so easily and so speedily subdued" along the Mississippi,⁵⁶ and declared to Campbell that now the "safety of what remained to His Majesty of West Florida" was their chief object, "until circumstances will admit of sending you such a Force as may be sufficient to enable you to act offensively."⁵⁷

At some length, Campbell was instructed from Whitehall. The English forces at Jamaica and in the

53. See Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Dickson to General Campbell, October 20, 1779, *ibid.*

54. See Campbell to Germain, December 15, 1779.

55. Harry Alexander to Campbell, September 21, 1779; also Inhabitants of Natchez, to *id.*, October 4, 1779.

56. Germain to Campbell, April 4, 1780.

57. *Ibid.*

Leeward Islands would give the Spanish ships and troops at the Havannah "full Employment in defending their own possessions," so Campbell would have only Galvez's forces at New Orleans with which to contend. Since Pensacola was of great importance to the court of Spain, every precaution was to be taken against a surprise attack. In case of attack "a vigorous defence" must be made until "Succour can arrive from Jamaica."

The proper management of the Indians was of greater significance than ever. Efforts should be made to "connect the Chickasaws with the Cherokees and Creeks to act jointly" in behalf of the English. The defection of the Choctaws should be anticipated. Campbell was to seek neutrality with a pledge from them to prevent any attack being made through their country. To prevent Indians being used by the Spanish as spies Superintendent Cameron was to discontinue any constant place of residence and was to visit among all nations of Indians. Moreover, this was the best way to cultivate the friendship of the Indians as well as to counteract the intrigues of the Spanish among them. Furthermore, such a procedure would lessen the number of gifts and provisions necessary to placate these people. Lastly, the superintendent must realize that on every occasion he was subservient to General Campbell.⁵⁸

For the first time since Campbell arrived in Pensacola he had ample provisions and supplies. This sufficiency of these necessities greatly pleased Germain "as the difficulties of procuring any considerable Quantity in the Country must now greatly increase and the Risk" of their getting safely to General Campbell from England was much augmented. Great care would be taken to keep a large stock at Jamaica so that "in case of accidents a supply may be drawn from thence." It was, he concluded, to Jamaica that General Campbell "must look for immediate Assistance of every kind."⁵⁹

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

In the meantime, the commander of West Florida reported to General Clinton on steps taken in the recent past and acts anticipated in the near future to prepare for Governor Galvez's reception. First, the Pennsylvania and the Maryland Loyalists depleted by "Death and Desertion" had been combined into one corps.⁶⁰ Second, "two troops of Light Dragoons" had been raised to "protect the Frontier Inhabitants from Marauding Parties." These were to be commanded by Adam Chrystie, Esquire, Speaker of the House of the West Florida Assembly. Third, Superintendent Cameron had called a meeting of provincial Indians at Mobile on March 15, at which time it was hoped better relations with the Choctaws could be promoted. Fourth, cultivation of lands already granted was requested by Governor Chester so that additional provisions could be assured. General Clinton was warned again that there were no ships from His Majesty's Navy in the harbors of Pensacola and Mobile.⁶¹

The very day in which Campbell informed Clinton of the latest developments in West Florida, the Spanish were approaching Fort Charlotte and Mobile. Before the English commander learned more of the fate of Mobile, he emphasized to Germain that "the Fate of West Florida was suspended in the balance." Would the province remain in the hands of Great Britain or fall under the dominion of Spain? Certainly, General Campbell was not very optimistic. His resources for defense, he stated, were not very flattering to his hopes. But Germain could rely on the general's using what he had to the very best of his ability and to "the Good of the King's service." There was great expense in calling upon the "Indians for Military service in this Quarter of the world but this was no time to introduce a system of Economy and Retrenchment of Expenxe in dealing with these people."⁶²

60. Campbell to Clinton. February 10, 1780, *Ibid.* Campbell had asked Clinton on February 10 and on March 2, 1779 for confirmation of this anticipated union but he had received no answer from the commander in chief.

61. *Ibid.*

62. Campbell to Germain, February 12, 1780.

On March 14, 1780, Fort Charlotte and Mobile capitulated to "His Catholic Majesty's Arms under the Command of Brigadier General Don Bernardo de Galvez."⁶³ In immediate command of the English forces at Fort Charlotte was Captain Elias Durnford. General Campbell had left Pensacola with reinforcements as early as March 5 but heavy rains, swollen streams and muddy roads had retarded his progress. When his scouts reported the display of Spanish colors over the fort, Campbell began his homeward trek. The troops returned to Pensacola on March 18 and 19 "without one man being sick." There were, however, three desertions and four men were drowned in the Perdido river.⁶⁴

With the surrender of Mobile, West Florida was "reduced to the District of Pensacola alone." Unless Pensacola was "speedily relieved by a naval Reinforcement from Jamaica," there was "every Reason to Expect that this place" would soon be "invested and besieged."⁶⁵ "One Single Frigate," lamented Campbell to Germain, "would have prevented our late Disaster" at Mobile.⁶⁶ Vice-Admiral Parker promised aid if a sufficient reinforcement arrived from England,⁶⁷ and General Campbell was "flattered with a Possibility of Relief and Support."⁶⁸ Although Galvez had actually boarded ships with over 2,000 men for the immediate capture of Pensacola, when he learned of the anticipated aid from Jamaica, he disembarked for further preparations and in the hope that reinforcements would arrive from Havana.⁶⁹ Thus the fears of both Campbell and of Germain were assuaged temporarily.⁷⁰

63. *Id.* to *id.*, March 24, 1780.

64. *Ibid.* According to one careful student, Campbell had "eleven hundred regulars, Indians and field artillery." See Caughey *Galvez*, 183. Campbell was not so specific to Germain.

65. Caughey to Germain, March 24, 1780, in Campbell papers.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker to General Campbell, February 29, 1780.

68. Campbell to Germain, March 24, 1780.

69. Caughey, *Galvez*, 187.

70. Germain wrote Campbell on July 4 that he had little "hope this letter will find you in possession of Pensacola unless speedy succor should arrive from Sir Peter Parker." See Germain to Campbell, July 4, 1780, in Campbell papers.

While Governor Galvez was preparing for his advance against the English at Pensacola, the rivalry between Governor Chester and General Campbell flared up again because the governor sought to restrict the general's authority over his Majesty's forces.⁷¹ The issue at stake was the awarding of contracts for supplying the provisions of the approximately 3,000 men in the environs of Pensacola.⁷² Seemingly, Germain forced an acceptable solution. Again, Chester displayed indifference to arousing civilians to support Campbell's defense program.⁷³ The English were very active in bettering their relations with the Indians. Germain was informed that as many as 1600 Indians, including men, women and children, were collected at one time. By delaying their attack, the Spanish had exhausted the patience of the Indians, as well as most of the English provisions and presents.⁷⁴ Galvez learned of the increasing favor of the English with the Indians and addressed a "humanitarian appeal" to Campbell:

"The Indians who are in the English Interest believe that it is their Duty to Pillage and destroy all the Inhabitants which are of another Nation. Those who have taken part with Spain, think that by right of retaliation they may commit like Hostilities against the English Inhabitants . . . In order that a War which We carry on through duty and not through hatred might not be rendered still more bloody I hope your excellency will join me in a reciprocal agreement which may shelter us from the horrid imputation of inhumanity."⁷⁵

71. See *ibid.* Also *id.* to *id.* July 27, 1780; *id.* to Governor Peter Chester, July 28, 1780; *id.* to J. Robinson Esquire, July 27, 1780; Chester to Campbell, July 28, 1780; Campbell to Chester, 28th July, 1780; all *ibid.*

72. J. Robinson Esquire to Governor Chester, October 31, 1779, in Chester papers.

73. Campbell to Germain, January 5, 1781, *ibid.*

74. Campbell to Germain, May 15, 1780, in Campbell papers.

75. Galvez to Campbell April 9, 1780, *ibid.*

To this idealistic appeal Campbell replied that he “never Encouraged, Countenanced or Authorized Depredations to be committed by Indians, whether on Spanish, French or English Inhabitants: on the Contrary I have always prohibited, restrained and absolutely forbid the smallest act of Licentiousness, Rapine or Cruelty whatever.” Indians who were attached to England had been “kept together under proper leaders and reserved for the purpose of resisting an Invading Enemy.” Campbell asserted that they had not “in one instance Committed even the most insignificant Acts of Wantonness, Pillage, Cruelty or Devastation.”⁷⁶ But, the English general concluded, that he rejected all proposals for not employing Indians in his defense of Pensacola “as insulting and injurious to reason and common sense.”⁷⁷

Having disposed of the Indian issue with Galvez, Campbell sought from Vice-admiral Parker relief for the merchants and traders whose ships were tied up in the Pensacola harbor by an embargo, which had been clamped upon them by Governor Chester. The shippers, according to Campbell, wanted either a convoy to protect their vessels to Jamaica or the repeal of the embargo so they could take their chance against the enemy. Would the admiral “be positive and explicit” in his answer as to whether “Reinforcement and Protection” could be granted? Campbell desired both.⁷⁸

Mid May came with no Spanish attack on Pensacola. In a lengthy letter to the Foreign Office, Campbell gave two reasons for the unexpected delay. First, there was “an arrival of Naval Reinforcement from Jamaica,” which, fortunately, the enemy had “estimated higher and of greater Force than it really merited.” Second, the dread of the Indians “appeared not only from pri-

76. Campbell to Galvez, April 20, 1780, in Campbell papers. This is the letter of which Caughey in his *Galvez*, 189, says that if written “the letter has not been located.” A copy of the original is in the Campbell papers, Record Office, London. A certified typed copy is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

77. *Ibid.*

78. Campbell to Vice-Admiral Peter Parker, May 13, 1780, in Campbell papers.

vate Intelligence" but was "greatly strengthened and Confirmed by a proposal. . . not to employ them on either side."⁷⁹ He might have added that Galvez probably had not received his expected reinforcements from Cuba.

The English had utilized these months to strengthen the fortifications in that part of West Florida which yet remained in their hands. There was, however, much which remained to be done.⁸⁰ They would, said Campbell, "Ever be unprotected until we have a separate Squadron from that on the Jamaica Station allotted for the Gulf of Mexico."⁸¹ Renewed efforts had been made to Clinton for reinforcements.⁸² Now that Charleston had surrendered, Campbell thought his chance with Clinton would be improved.

In mid-summer Campbell aired his views on the Indian problem once again to the Foreign Office. "Extravagance and unbounded waste had crept into the management of this Department." The division of the area into two districts was an excellent idea but the inconvenience of being detached from Pensacola had caused the Creek Indians some distress. At all times the department must be conducted with "Consequence and Dignity." Any program of dealing with the natives, said Campbell, must include: (1) "Civilizing these barbarians," (2) Conveying to them "a more fixed idea of Property," (3) "Establishing them in Communities and Settlements on Navigable Rivers," (4) "Planning our Townships and building Comfortable Habitations for them to live in," and (5) encouraging, "by Premiums, Intermarriage between them and the European settlers." Until such a plan was made effective, Indians would be a great expense, especially so when their favor was "courted by contending parties."⁸³ Supplies for the inhabitants and gifts for the natives were en route, declared Germain.⁸⁴

79. *Id.* to Germain, May 15, 1780, *ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Id.* to *id.*, June 14, 1780.

82. *Ibid.*

83. Campbell to Germain, July 22, 1780. The other headquarters for Indian relations was at Augusta, Georgia. Colonel Brown was in charge. See Germain to Campbell, November 1, 1780, *ibid.*

84. Germain to Campbell, September 6, 1780.

From everywhere there was confirmation of the continuance of Spanish designs on Pensacola. The attack would come, declared the English general, in early fall. Two conditions were becoming grave in West Florida. There was no money with which to pay carpenters, artificers and laborers. Consequently, they had ceased to work and thereby, to Campbell's mortification, preparations for defense had stopped. Desertions were growing in popularity as the certainty of the attack became obvious. Sixteen men of the Maryland and Pennsylvania Provincial Corps had very lately deserted.⁸⁵ Could not those soldiers who were disposed to desert be sent to Jamaica? Germain thought so.⁸⁶

As the heat of summer began to give way to the coolness of fall, Campbell was still in "possession of Pensacola and its harbor, the most valuable part of the Province to Great Britain." With the speedy arrival of reinforcements and with the "advanced state of the new Constructed Fortification," it was hoped that they would "long remain a part of His Majesty's Dominions."⁸⁷ Supplies were ample but the danger was that, in case of attack, they might not be able to protect what they had received recently. One possibility, heretofore not mentioned to the Foreign Office, Campbell now disclosed. It was possible, he wrote, for Galvez to receive aid from La Vera Cruz and "to attack Pensacola by land from Mobile, without any Capital Reinforcement from the Havanna."⁸⁸

Again, in November 1780, Germain informed Campbell that it was "the King's Wish" that Governor Dal-ling, Vice-Admiral Parker and he collaborate in an attack on New Orleans. General Campbell was to do all in his power to render the attack successful.

Recent dispatches from the English general in West Florida had given "His Majesty great Satisfaction" in the judicious measures which had been taken in defense

85. Campbell to Germain, July 22, 1780.

86. Germain to Campbell, November 1, 1780.

87. Campbell to Germain, August 6, 1780.

88. *Id.* to *id.*, September 22, 1780.

of Pensacola, in the fortunate arrival of a convoy from Jamaica, in "the formidable appearance of so large a body of Creek Indians" and in the deterrence of Don Galvez from his attack. Germain optimistically hoped that Galvez would find it difficult to continue his garrison at Mobile.⁸⁹

Throughout the autumn and early winter of 1780 Germain learned from Campbell of further failures of the Spanish in their efforts to win the friendship of the Choctaw Indians, of further defence work which had begun at Red Cliffs to help defend Pensacola harbor, of the need of clothing for the provincial troops—Pennsylvania and Maryland loyalists—, ⁹⁰ of a fresh attempt at "invasion and attack" which hung precipitously over the province but which failed to materialize because of a tropical storm, of final defense preparations for the Spanish reception having been completed, of the giving of ammunition to the Chickasaws to defend their country, of the gathering of all Indian warriors possible at Pensacola,⁹¹ and of his failure to secure the cooperation of the civil authority in establishing military law.⁹²

Tired of waiting for the Spanish to assume the initiative, Campbell, in January, sent Colonel Von Hanxleden with more than 500 men to seize "The Enemy's Post at Mobile Village." "Taken somewhat by surprise, the Spaniards suffered some losses"⁹³ but, due to heavy casualties, the English thought it "prudent to Order a Retreat."⁹⁴ The miscarriage of the venture was attributed to the early death in battle of Colonel Von Hanxleden.⁹⁵

A month later, the English general was confessing that the intelligence, which he had given the Foreign office of the proposed Spanish attack on Pensacola,

89. Germain to Campbell, November 1, 1780.

90. Campbell to Germain, October 31, 1780.

91. *Id. to id.*, November 26, 1780. Over 500 additional Choctaw warriors came to aid in defending Pensacola. See *id. to id.*, January 5, 1781.

92. *Ibid.*

93. Caughey, *Galvez*, 194.

94. Campbell to Germain, January 13, 1781, in Campbell papers.

95. Campbell to Germain, January 7, 1781. *Ibid.*

was not well founded.⁹⁶ Yet, further information was ventured that the enemy was apprehensive of the English receiving reinforcements which “would enable them to retaliate and attack” the Spanish in Mobile. Frankly, no such military aid was expected from any source, but Vice-Admiral Parker had “promised naval aid.” Furthermore, for some weeks no ships loaded with supplies had arrived at Pensacola. This fact, coupled with the “immense consumption of Provisions by the Indians,” with an added allowance of food to laborers who were working on defense projects, with the necessity of supplying some of the transports with victuals and with the maintenance of a large number of refugees, had caused a shortage of necessities.⁹⁷ Finally, a new and more extensive plan for the defense of Pensacola was sent by a trusted bearer— Lieutenant-colonel Stiel— who was retiring from the army after nearly fifty years of service⁹⁸ — to the Foreign Office.

The same hurricane which destroyed the Spanish fleet from Havanna, “intended for the attack of Pensacola,” also wrecked a greater part of the English Jamaica Squadron. The loss was so great that Vice-Admiral Parker would be unable to send aid to General Campbell. “Mortality among the Troops in Jamaica had been so considerable that Governor Dalling judged it unsafe to lessen his Force.” When an opportunity presented itself, declared Germain, to augment Campbell’s forces he would certainly avail himself of the circumstances. In the meantime, the English commander was admonished to retain the Indians, continue to cultivate their friendship and to take every precautionary measure possible against any surprise attack.⁹⁹

96. *Id. to id.*, January 11, 1781.

97. *Id. to id.*, February 15, 1781.

98. *Id. to id.*, February 23, 1781, *ibid.* Campbell sent messages to Germain introducing him to men returning to England. He suggested that the Foreign Office question these men about conditions in West Florida in order that “official and Authentick Information” may be received “from every corner.” See *id. to id.* February 23, 1781. This is a second letter of the same date.

99. Germain to Campbell, March 7, 1781.

Early in March 1781 the long awaited attack on Pensacola was begun. On the twenty-first, General Campbell made a humane proposal to Governor Galvez that "the town and Garrison of Pensacola shall be preserved entire and without Wilful Damage by either Party during the Seige of the Royal Navy Redoubt, and Fort George and its adjoining works, where I propose to contend for the Preservation of the Province of West Florida to the British Crown."¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, in the night, before the Spanish Commander replied officially, one of the British officers in charge of a fort burned several houses.¹⁰¹ Whether or not this act was committed with the knowledge of Campbell is not known but it gave Galvez grounds for accusing the English commander of insincerity. "The word humanity," wrote Galvez, "so often reported upon Paper is little known in your heart."¹⁰²

Detachments from Mobile and New Orleans arrived late in March and with the coming on April 19 of reinforcements, naval and army, Spanish and French, from Cuba, Galvez began actual operations against Pensacola.¹⁰³ Too late, Germain promised Campbell further aid.¹⁰⁴ According to the English general, the enemy naval force consisted of "at least Fifteen Ships" and the land forces of not less than six thousand men who were "furnished with every requisite for carrying on a Seige of the greatest Consequence."¹⁰⁵ In reality, Galvez's forces numbered slightly more than 7,000 men.

On May 7, Campbell wrote a long letter to Germain in which he revealed many of the details of the Spanish campaign thus far. The fighting up to that point had been done largely by parties of Indians sent out as skirmishers against the Spanish. However, on the night of May 1 the Spanish had succeeded in reaching a small

100. Campbell to Galvez, March 21, 1781.

101. Caughey, *Galvez*, 205.

102. Galvez to Campbell March 22, 1781, in Campbell papers. This letter is quoted entirely in Caughey, *Galvez*, 205.

103. *Caughey, Galvez*, 208-209.

104. Germain to Campbell, April 12, 1781, in Campbell papers.

105. Campbell to Germain, May 7, 1781.

hill from which they could shell the advanced redoubt protecting Fort George. Early on the morning of May 8, "an unfortunate shell from the enemy exploded within the fort and precipitated its destiny." The explosion killed almost a hundred English soldiers, destroyed the redoubt and left Fort George completely exposed to enemy fire. By three o'clock that afternoon, General Campbell had run up the white flag and asked for terms. The defeated commander procured "an honorable and advantageous capitulation."¹⁰⁶

With much feeling, General Campbell wrote: "It has been my Misfortune . . . to be employed in an ill fated Corner of his Majesty's Dominions . . . My Endeavors have unremittingly been exerted for West Florida's preservation to the British Empire since I took upon me the military command, and if my Labors and Exertions to that End shall but find favor with my sovereign. I shall forget the Frowns of Fortune and be happy in the Royal Approbation."¹⁰⁷

106. *Id. to id.*, May 12, 1781.

107. *Ibid.*

NOCOROCO

A TIMUCUA VILLAGE OF 1605 NOW IN TOMOKA STATE PARK
by JOHN W. GRIFFIN and HALE G. SMITH¹

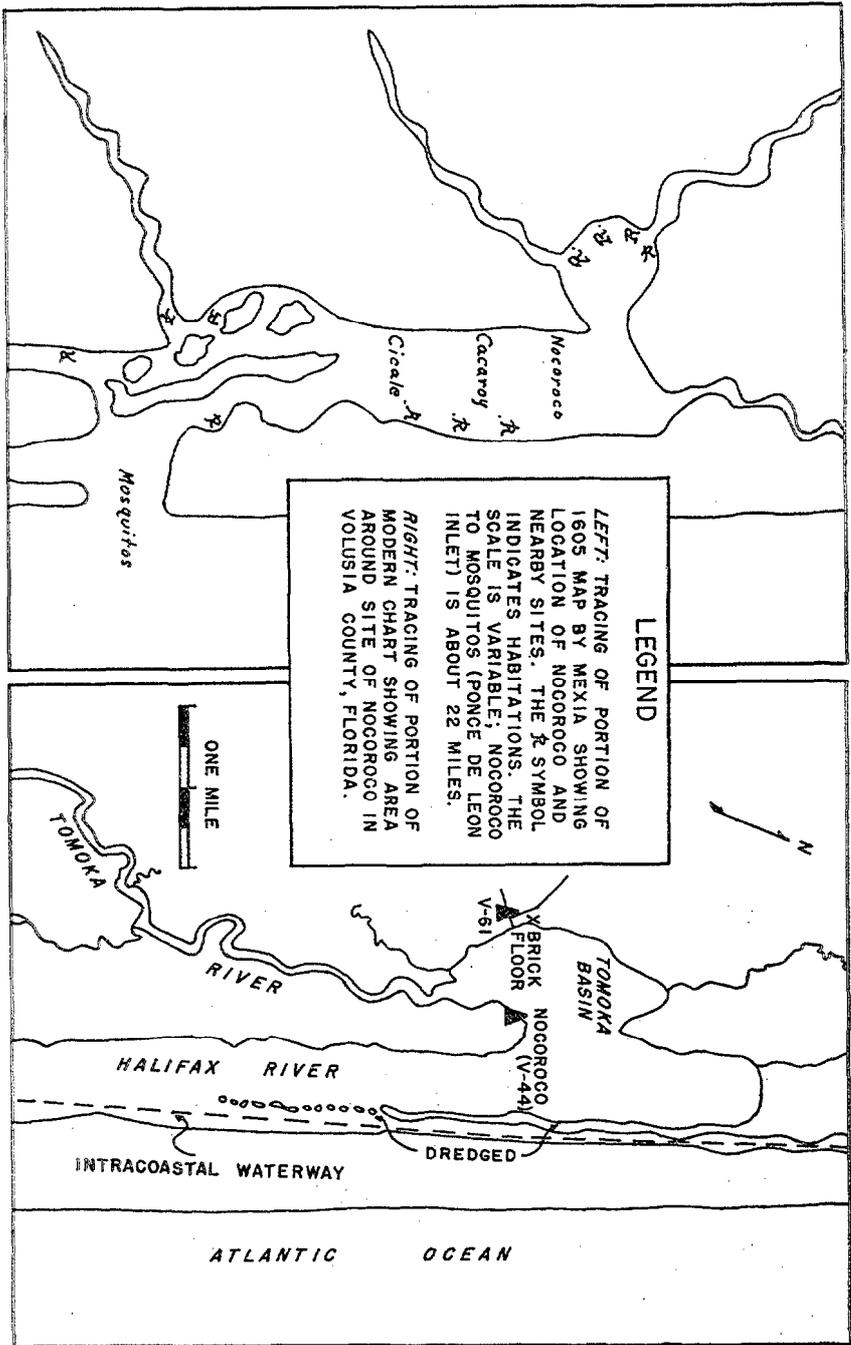
INTRODUCTION

In 1605 Alvaro Mexia was sent on an expedition down the east coast of Florida by Governor Don Pedro de Ybarra of Spanish East Florida. Mexia followed the inland waters as far south as St. Lucie Inlet, and upon his return to St. Augustine compiled a map and itinerary which are invaluable in the study of the archaeology of the early historic period in the area.²

South of St. Augustine, Mexia noted no Indian villages until reaching the area of the headwaters of the Halifax river. The site reported in the present paper is the northernmost named village on his map. A tracing of that portion of the map showing this area and a tracing of a modern map of the region, included in this paper, disclose the general accuracy of Mexia's mapmaking, considering the time at which it was done. The location of the village of Nocoroco is well indicated on the map, and supplementary evidence is to be found in his narrative:

Continuing your way for a distance of five leagues, a footpath is taken through the gullies, traversing a woods of live-oaks and you emerge at a bay which is called Nocoroco, where canoes are boarded. This bay has a gravelly bottom and there is a cove on the west side and on the flats of said cove are four villages. On the point of land extending on the south is the town of Nocoroco. A dense wood of live-oaks runs along the west side of the bay, and along the east shore stretches a thorny thicket.

1. Archaeologist and former Assistant Archaeologist, respectively, Florida Park Service.
2. A translation of the Mexia *Derroterro*, by Charles D. Higgs, will be published by Yale University in a forthcoming volume on Florida archaeology. The writers wish to thank Dr. Irving Rouse for copies of the sections used in the present report. A copy of the map is in the Lowery Collection, Library of Congress, numbered WL 98.



Using the information given by Mexia, we set out in search of the village of Nacoroco, and found it in the location indicated by our seventeenth century informant.

The site of Nacoroco is in Tomoka State Park, Volusia county, in the position indicated on the map.³ The point of land on which the site is located is variously known as Fairyland Point, Sunset Park, or Mount Oswald, the latter being the name given on the Coast and Geodetic Survey charts.

The vegetation of the area today may be characterized as a young hammock. This apparent youth is to be explained by the fact that much of the land was cleared during the British occupation of Florida (1763-83), and perhaps remained under cultivation until the Seminole wars. This would give only slightly more than one hundred years for the present growth to have accumulated.

Changes in the immediate area have undoubtedly taken place since Mexia's visit in 1605. Our explorations indicated that much of the site had been washed into Tomoka Basin, the bay of Nacoroco of Mexia. Uprooted palm trees and a sharp wave-cut bank indicate that shore-line erosion is still active.

Mexia mentions habitations on the western shore of the bay. Today the shore-line on that side is a wide marsh, but in back of the marsh lies a sand ridge. That this marsh may have accumulated quite rapidly is indicated by a buried brick platform on the west shore of the bay, in the place indicated on our map. This platform is probably related, as a landing, to the sugar mill west of it, and was therefore likely laid down sometime between 1766 and 1835. Since that time, seven to nine inches of muck have accumulated over the brick floor. Beneath the floor, ten to twelve inches of muck rest on a blue clay.⁴

3. The site is numbered V 44 in the survey of the Florida Park Service. Tomoka is a corruption of Timucua. Some preliminary information appeared in Griffin, 1948b (see References, post). Antonio de Prado mentioned a place called Nacoroco in 1569, but the location was not as explicit as that given by Mexia. See Connor, 1925, Vol. I, p. 291.

4. It was found that this clay could be fired into pottery, although no extensive tests were made.

Davis has said that saw grass peat in the Everglades region can accumulate as rapidly as one foot in 225 years.⁵ Such a rate of growth would account for the thickness of muck over the brick floor; and, if we assume a regular growth, would also fit very nicely into a theory that very little of it had accumulated at the time of Mexia's visit.

In view of the evidence for the accumulation of muck around Tomoka Basin, it appears likely that Mexia's description of the bay as gravelly bottomed may also be correct. Deposits of coquina rock⁶ are common in this region; the point on which Nocoroco was located is underlain by it. Although the writers cannot state that the bottom of Tomoka Basin is such a formation, it does outcrop along the shore of the point, and it is possible that the present depth of muck covering the basin bottom is largely a recent accumulation, and that Mexia saw a larger area of bottom which was coquina rock.

The area around the basin on which villages were located according to Mexia is most probably the sand ridge which lies back of the marsh on the western shore of this body of water. The two small habitation sites to either side of a little stream indicated on Mexia's map are probably the two small shell middens we located in a similar position and numbered as V 61.

DESCRIPTION AND EXCAVATIONS

The site of Nocoroco is a black earth and shell midden, with the former predominating. In thickness it ranges from 16 to 20 inches, with occasional deeper pockets representing aboriginal pits. The midden runs along the shore of the Tomoka Basin for approximately 700 feet, its north end lying at the junction of dry land and marsh near the tip of the point' of land on which it is located. The midden is scarcely more than fifty feet wide at any point, but the presence of quantities of cultural materials on the beach exposed at low tide, together

5. Davis, 1946, p. 74.

6. This rock is of the Anastasia formation, Pleistocene period.

with the evidence of continuing shore-line erosion, leads to the conclusion that much of the site has been washed away. In most areas of the site the dark midden deposit overlies three to six inches of yellow sand, which in turn rests on the highly irregular surface of a coquina rock stratum. In areas of the site near the southern end the depth of sand is much greater, because of the sand dune or ridge which bears the name of Mount Oswald.

A total of sixteen five-foot squares were excavated by four inch levels. The vast majority of the material recovered came from levels two and three, that is to say, from between four and twelve inches beneath the surface. Pockets of shell, mostly oyster and clam, were encountered at this same depth, and were about two feet in diameter on the average. This eight inch thick accumulation may be taken as representing the actual village level.

Portions of a human skull, badly broken by palmetto roots, were found at the base of an uprooted palm along the shore of the basin near the north end of the site. Beyond identifying the bones as Indian, and noting that they came from the midden, nothing can be done with the fragments.

In addition to the writers, the excavations were conducted by E. M. Murphy, Jr., Shirley Cumming and Lois Watkins. Our thanks are due them.

ECONOMY

As previously noted, the midden at Nacoroco is largely a black earth accumulation, with pockets of shell and some larger shell accumulations. This type of midden is distinctly different from the more common ones of the region, which are mostly shell. The shells which do occur at the site are listed below:

<i>Ostrea virginica</i>	Common oyster
<i>Venus mercenaria</i>	Hard shell clam, quohog
<i>Tagelus gibbus</i>	Short razor clam
<i>Arca</i> sp.	Ark shell
<i>Donax variabilis</i>	Coquina

<i>Modiolus plicatulus</i>	Horse mussel
<i>Busycon perversum</i>	Left-handed whelk
<i>Murex fulvescens</i>	

Of these, only the oyster and the Venus clam occur in any numbers. Glancing over the list one is forced to conclude that the gathering activities of the people, so far as shellfish are concerned, and with the exception of the coquina, centered around tidewater areas.

Animal bones were not well preserved and were usually quite fragmentary. Among the mammals the deer seems to have been the most prevalent source of food. Other mammalian bones, as well as fish, turtle and alligator remains, were also found. Although these have not been completely analyzed the picture seems to be one of use of most forms available in any numbers.

Agriculture is postulated for the site, although no positive evidence of it was found. The relatively small amount of bone and shell in the midden may possibly be taken as an indication of other sources of food. Also, of course, we are dealing with a historic Timucua site, and ethno-historical sources definitely indicate the practice of agriculture.

Whether we may postulate a decrease in the importance of shellfish at this time period is not certain. The midden, when compared to others, would suggest this, but the excavation of other sites of the period more favorably located for this pursuit may alter the picture. It is also conceivable that one or more of the shell heaps on the peninsula nearly opposite the site may represent the shellfishing operations of the people of Nacoroco. It is known, too, that the Timucua occupied villages seasonally, and Mexia indicates the same for peoples south of Nacoroco, so that we may be dealing with the result of seasonal activities. In any case, the site itself would indicate that shellfishing was an important but not a dominant activity.

7. Swanton, 1922, p. 359.

CERAMICS

Potsherds constituted the bulk of the cultural materials found at Nocoroco. The vast majority of the sherds fall into nine distinguishable types. A few sherds which do not fall into these types are described separately. *It should be understood that the type descriptions given below apply to the site of Nocoroco and are not necessarily identical in all details to specimens of the same types found elsewhere.*

TYPE: ST. JOHNS PLAIN

259 sherds

Definition as a type: James B. Griffin, 1945.

Paste:

Method of manufacture: Segmental coiling.

Temper: None.

Texture: Well-mixed homogeneous paste, usually even in texture, but with some contortions and laminations. Chalky to the touch.

Color: Surfaces are buff through light brown to gray. Core is generally black to gray-black.

Surface finish: Surfaces generally smoothed; some scraped surfaces.

Hardness: 2.0 to 2.5.

Decoration: None.

Form:

Body: Shallow bowl predominates.

Rim: Straight or slightly incurved.

Lip: Both flat and rounded. Some flat and beveled inward.

Base: Usually rounded, one sub-conoidal base found.

Thickness: 4-17 mm.

TYPE: ST. JOHNS CHECK STAMPED

162 sherds

Figures a-b on pottery plate.

Definition as a type: James B. Griffin, 1945.

Paste: As in St. Johns Plain.

Decoration:

Technique: Impressed with stamp, probably carved wooden paddle.

Design: Checks, ranging from 3 to 10 per inch, averaging 5 to 7. Narrow to wide lands, generally in proportion to checks. Checks are generally square, some are rectangular, and a very few are diamond shaped. Stamping is generally neatly applied, but there is some overstacking.

Distribution: Apparently over entire vessel exterior.

Form: As in St. Johns Plain.

TYPE: ST. JOHNS SIMPLE STAMPED

9 sherds

Figure d on pottery plate.

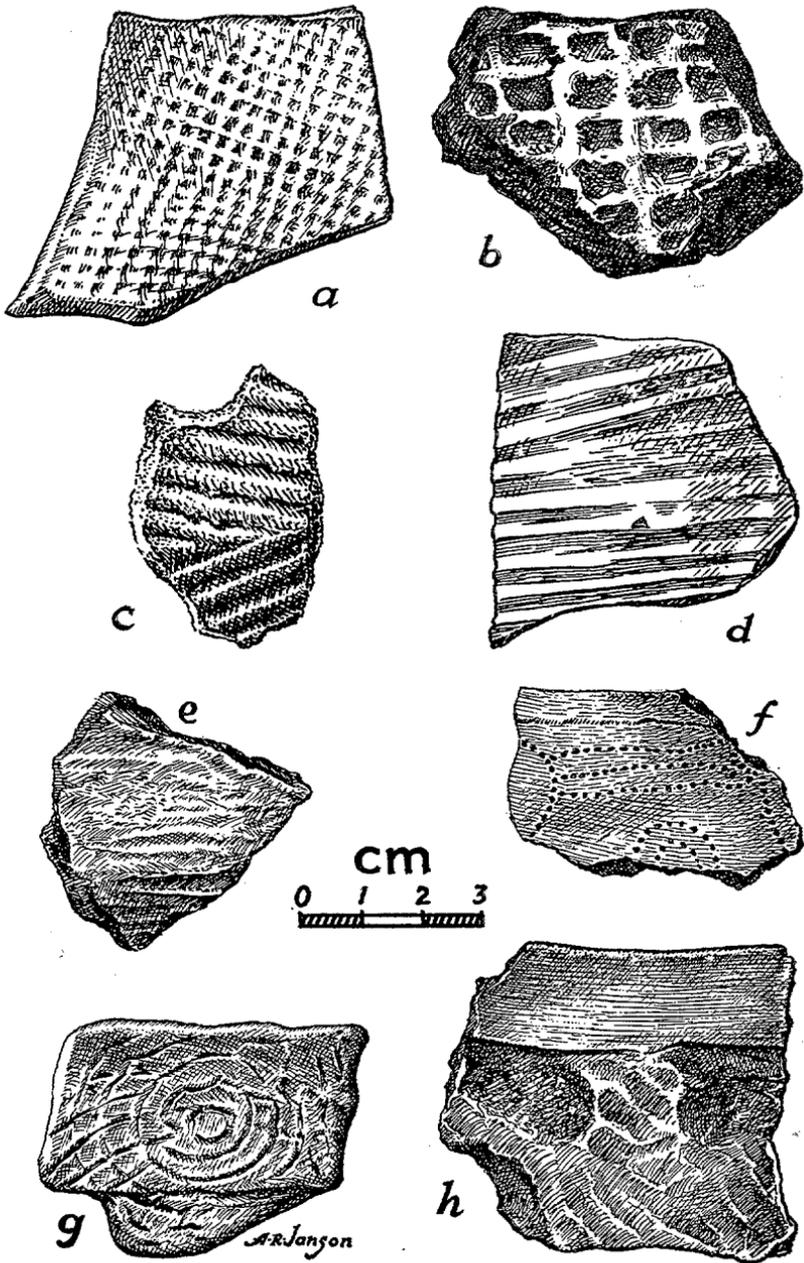
Definition as a type: This paper.

Paste: As in St. Johns Plain.

Decoration:

Technique: Impressed with stamp, probably carved wooden paddle.

Design: A series of parallel straight lines, alternating as lands and troughs. Some overlapping of stamping, but it is not the



regular crossed simple stamping found in some San Marcos Stamped (Smith, 1948).

Distribution: Vessel exterior, extent unknown.

Form: As in St. Johns Plain.

TYPE: ST. JOHNS SCORED
3 sherds

Definition as a type: This paper.

Paste: As in St. Johns Plain.

Decoration:

Technique: Surface scored by instrument leaving shallow grooves.

Design: Roughly parallel scored lines, similar to Halifax Scored (see below). Better examples resemble simple stamped.

Distribution: Vessel exterior, extent unknown.

Form: Probably as in St. Johns Plain.

TYPE: HALIFAX PLAIN
270 sherds

Definition as a type: This paper.

Paste:

Method of manufacture: Segmental coiling.

Temper: Medium large amounts of quartz sand.

Texture: Well mixed, compact, homogeneous. Gritty to the touch.

Color: Core and surfaces generally same color; buff through brown to gray-black, some reddish.

Surface finish: In general the exposed temper gives an appearance like sandpaper, some however are smooth.

Hardness: 2.0 to 2.5, rarely 3.5.

Decoration: None.

Form:

Body: Shallow bowl predominates.

Rim: Straight or slightly incurved, some slightly outcurved.

Lip: Both rounded and flat.

Base: Little evidence.

Thickness: 4-11 mm.

TYPE: HALIFAX CHECK STAMPED
7 sherds

Definition as a type: This Paper.

Paste: As in Halifax Plain.

Decoration:

Technique: Impressed with paddle, presumably of carved wood.

Design: Checks, very similar to those on St. Johns Check Stamped.

Sample too small to indicate size range accurately.

Distribution: Apparently over entire vessel exterior; one sherd has a stamped lip.

Form: Presumably as in Halifax Plain.

TYPE: HALIFAX SIMPLE STAMPED
18 sherds

Figure c on pottery plate.

Definition as a type: This paper.

Paste: As in Halifax Plain.

Decoration:

Technique: Impressed with paddle, presumably of carved wood.

Design: A series of parallel straight lines as in St. Johns Simple Stamped. Some overstamping.

Distribution: Apparently over entire vessel exterior.

Form: As in Halifax Plain, except as noted below.

Base: One base sherd with teat-like support (tetrapod?)

NOCOROCO

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TYPE: HALIFAX SCORED

16 sherds

Figure e on pottery plate

Definition as a type: This paper.*Paste:* As in Halifax Plain.*Decoration:**Technique:* Surface scored by an instrument leaving shallow grooves.*Design:* Roughly parallel scored lines, frequently cross each other.*Distribution:* Over much, if not all, of vessel exterior.*Form:* Apparently as in Halifax Plain.

TYPE: TOMOKA PLAIN

29 sherds

Definition as a type: This paper— A tentative type.*Past:**Method of manufacture:* Segmental coiling.*Temper:* These sherds have reddish-brown inclusions in the paste, averaging about 1 mm. in size, although some are larger. At first glance they appear to be sherd fragments, but are more likely iron inclusions in the clay from which the vessels were made. Otherwise the paste is like St. Johns Plain. The type is retained as a tentative category until more is known about it.

Similar sherds are known from other sites in northeast Florida.

All other attributes as in St. Johns Plain.

In addition to the bulk of the potsherds which fall into the groups described above, there are a few sherds which deserve comment. Seven gritty sherds, decorated with a complicated stamp, were found; six were in the surface collection, one in Level 1. The best example is shown as Figure g in the pottery plate. These sherds are probably related to the complicated stamped types of the St. Augustine Period.⁸ One sherd, from level 3, has a decoration which appears to have been executed with a cord wrapped dowel (Fig. h). Another gritty sherd, from level 2, has a curvilinear design executed in very fine, sharp punctuations (Fig. f). About eight sherds, from levels 1, 2 and 3, mostly of the Halifax paste, have short segments of incised lines on them, but in no case was it possible to see them as larger elements. One sherd in the surface collection appeared to have been cord-marked, but this is not certain due to a badly worn surface.

The distribution of the sherds found at the site by levels, is given in the accompanying table. It will be noted that the excavated specimens from the various squares

8. Smith, 1948, Pl XXXI, particularly fig. h.

are pooled; examination disclosed no differences from square to square. The surface category includes material washed out of the midden and found on the beach.

Certain comments on the table are in order. Looking first at the quantity of sherds per level in the excavated sample, we note immediately that 286 of a total of 363 came from levels 2 and 3. These are the same levels that contained the shell pockets, and as we have previously said, these two levels are assumed to mark the occupation zone of the site.

Considering next the proportion of sherds of the St. Johns Series to those of the Halifax Series (chalky vs. gritty), we find that in each level of the excavated sample there are approximately equal numbers of sherds of the two series. Apparently, if we assume that there was not later complete mixture— and there is no evidence of such mixture— the two series were contemporaneous and occurred in about equal amounts. The implications of this will be discussed shortly.

Comparing this situation with the surface collection, a difference is seen. 62.5% of the surface collection is made up of chalky sherds, and only 37.5% are gritty. Nowhere in the excavated sample does the chalky St. Johns pottery account for more than 55.0% or less than 49.95% of the total. The discrepancy is within the range of possible sampling error, but in view of the range of only 5.05% in the five excavated samples, the 7.5% difference between the maximum of the excavated samples and the surface collection is suggestive. There is a possibility, then, that our excavations do not reveal the total picture of the site.

If we compare the percentage of decorated sherds to plain sherds in each of the ceramic series, an interesting point is observed. A consistently higher percentage of St. Johns sherds are decorated than is the case for the Halifax series. In samples containing more than ten

Society: Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 27, Issue 4
 DISTRIBUTION OF SHERDS BY TYPE AND LEVEL AT NOCOROCO
 Percentages are for each level

LEVELS	ST. JOHNS SERIES				TOMOKA PLAIN	HALIFAX SERIES				MIS- CELLA- NEOUS	TOTALS
	Plain	Ch. Stamp	Scored	Simple St.		Plain	Ch. Stamp	Scored	Simple St.		
Surface.	160 38.25%	72 17.6%	3 .72%	8 1.92%	28 6.75%	119 28.6%	2 .48%	2 .48%	16 3.85%	7 1.67%	417
1	17 33.4%	9 17.65%	.....	1 1.92%	.....	20 39.25%	.....	.....	1 1.92%	3 5.85%	51
2	28 21.65%	39 30.02%	.....	.....	.....	50 38.8%	1 .77%	8 6.2%	1 .77%	2 1.55%	129
3	44 26.5%	38 22.95%	.....	.....	.....	67 40.5%	4 3.52%	6 3.6%	.....	7 4.2%	166
4	9 43.0%	1 4.75%	.....	.....	1 4.75%	10 47.75%	.....	.....	.....	.....	21
5	1 12.5%	3 37.5%	.....	.....	.....	4 50.0%	.....	.....	.....	.....	8
Excavated Totals.	99 26.4%	90 24.0%	.....	1 .27%	1 .27%	151 40.25%	5 1.33%	14 3.74%	2 .55%	12 3.2%	375
TOTAL.....	259 31.5%	162 19.6%	3 .36%	9 1.09%	29 3.54%	270 33.0%	7 .85%	16 1.95%	18 2.2%	19 2.32%	821

sherds of each series the following is true:

	Minimum % Decorated	Maximum % Decorated
St. Johns Series	34.25%	47.0%
Halifax Series	13.0%	20.0%

Looking at the specific decorated types brings other differences to our attention. Whereas check stamping as opposed to simple stamping and scoring is dominant on St. Johns sherds, the reverse is true of the Halifax sherds, as shown below:

	Check Stamping	Simple Stamping and Scoring
St. Johns Series	93.0%	7.0%
Halifax Series	17.1%	82.9%

Thinking that there might be significance in the angle at which the check stamping was applied, in relation to the lip, the rim sherds of both check stamped types were analyzed. It was found that in both the St. Johns and Halifax types the check stamping was applied at right angles to the lip and on a diagonal to the lip in about equal amounts. One Halifax Check Stamped sherd had the right angle treatment on the rim, and beneath a clearly defined thickened rim was diagonally stamped. Although no differences between the types were noted at Nacoroco, the results are placed on record for possible future use in comparison with other samples.

The matter of check size on St. Johns Check Stamped was investigated, and comparisons were made with other samples. A previous study of check stamped pottery from Green Mound, a large shell heap south of Daytona Beach, had indicated that check size varied with time period.⁹ Periods two, three and four at Green Mound contained check stamped pottery; period four was the latest in

9. See J. W. Griffin, 1948b, for this analysis. J. W. Griffin, 1948a, contains other information on the site. The pottery data in this latter source is generalized and somewhat inaccurate. The gritty pottery mentioned there is not to be confused with the Halifax series. In fact, when compared to the Halifax ware, it does not seem very gritty, and probably represents either one end of the range of St. Johns ware or occupies a position between St. Johns and Halifax much as Belle Glade Plain does between Biscayne Chalky and Glades Gritty.

time. Measurements of the number of cheeks per inch were taken and plotted with the result that it was seen that in period two the cheeks tended to be large, in period three small, and in period four large once more. The period four checks ranged from three to nine per inch, with well over 30% of the sherds falling at four per inch.¹⁰ At Noco-roco, the sherds from levels two and three formed a curve very much like that for period four at Green Mound, except that the peak fell at five checks per inch. The surface collection, however, yielded a more depressed curve when graphed, with the peak falling at seven checks per inch, representing less than 20% of the sample.

The close agreement between the two excavated samples in this matter of check size, and the difference between them and the surface collection, may be taken as supporting evidence for the conclusion that our excavations did not reveal the total picture of the site. The similarity between the excavated samples at Noco-roco and period four at Green Mound, and the presence of scored pottery in both cases, leads to the conclusion of rough contemporaneity, although the presence of the Halifax series at Noco-roco and its absence at Green Mound suggests a time differential.

On the other hand, the surface collection at Noco-roco, with its larger amounts of small checks leads to the conclusion that in portions of the site now washed away another, and presumably earlier, horizon was also present. It is suggested that this horizon was close to that represented in period three at Green Mound.

There are several reasons for interpreting the excavated levels at Noco-roco as slightly later than period four of Green Mound, and these may now be summarized.

(1) There are similar decorative techniques and designs at the two sites. (2) However, the heavy concentration of Halifax series is not present at Green Mound. (3) Gritty pottery from this section of Florida is known only from historic levels, such as the Saint Augustine

10. J. W. Griffin, 1948b, fig. 10.

Period and Nacoroco itself. Nacoroco, however, does not qualify as fully developed Saint Augustine; it is on the way, but not quite there. The best documented Saint Augustine material is from the moat of Castillo de San Marcos and post-dates 1686¹¹, while our specific documentation for Nacoroco comes from 1605. This time difference, coupled with space and the more heterogeneous Indian population of the city of Saint Augustine, is adequate for understanding the differences.

In summary, two pottery wares, one chalky and one gritty, are present in equal amounts in the excavated portions of Nacoroco. Both of these wares have plain, check stamped, simple stamped and scored types. The chalky St. Johns series contains a far higher percentage of check stamping than the Halifax, while the reverse is true for simple stamping and scoring. We may assume that the idea of check stamping, long associated with the region and with St. Johns pottery, was taken over but slightly by the makers of the Halifax pottery. Conversely, the simple stamping, known to occur frequently on the gritty San Marcos ware, occurs frequently on the Halifax ware and is rarely used by the makers of St. Johns pottery. The decorative motifs used on two wares with divergent histories are seen influencing each other.

Actually, this statement raises more questions than it answers. Since it is established that the two wares were contemporaneous at Nacoroco, and in approximately equal amounts, are we to assume that half of the potters of the village made one kind of pottery, and half another, with but slight influence on each other insofar as decorative ideas were concerned? Since there is too even a distribution to allow us to postulate that one ware or the other was brought to the site wholly by trade, we must accept this conclusion, unless our excavations failed to reveal a fairly short period of contemporaneity and replacement.

In terms of the potters, what would this mean? How does a village become divided into groups making two

11. Smith, 1948, p. 314.

distinct wares? There are several possibilities, of which we may mention two. We might assume that two groups of people, previously separated, were living together at the site. This did happen in late times, and it is possible that a group living nearer to Saint Augustine, and hence more directly influenced by the development which we know as the Saint Augustine Period, moved southward to escape direct Spanish domination. In this connection, we remember that Mexia notes no villages between Nocoroco and Saint Augustine. The Indians were either drawn toward the city itself or withdrew to a greater distance, depending on a number of factors. This, then, is a tenable interpretation.

On the other hand, we may be dealing with such a short time period at Nocoroco that our stratigraphic techniques are not fine enough to give an accurate picture of culture change. In this case we might assume that while some of the potters clung to traditional ways (St. Johns), others followed a new pattern (Halifax). Eventually the change would become complete. Such a hypothesis would explain the transfer of motifs in a small number of cases, but so would the previous hypothesis.¹² No final answer to the meaning of the observed conditions can be offered at present, but it is of interest to speculate on possible meanings.

ARTIFACTS

Very few artifacts, other than potsherds, were found at Nocoroco, and only four came from the excavations.

In level two an object fashioned from a portion of a Busycon shell was found. This was a more or less parallel sided "spoon" about 75 mm. long and 34 mm. wide. Basically, the shape is the same as the more familiar shell gouge, but the beveled lip is lacking, and there is less flare from rear to front.

In level three a broken split bone awl was found. The section recovered was made of deer bone, was 58 mm. long, and ground to a point.

12. A combination of these alternatives is also tenable.

A fragmentary pair of rusted iron scissors was found in level four. No evidence of intrusion was noted; the scissors apparently lying in undisturbed midden deposit. These scissors were at least six inches deeper than any of the later historical material at the site, and must be assumed to belong to the aboriginal occupation rather than to the later English occupation to be mentioned shortly. In size the scissors are almost identical to the smaller pair from the Goodnow Mound in Highlands county,¹³ except that the blades may be somewhat narrower.

Along the beach of the basin, and presumably washed from the site, were several artifacts. There is a broken chert projectile point of the stemmed variety with the offset of the stem greater on one side than the other, suggesting that it possibly was a knife. A shell hammer made from *Busycon perversum* has an ovate haft hole, about 47 by 21 mm., in the top rather than on the whorl. A *Venus mercenaria* shell has a hole near the hinge which was apparently knocked out from the inside, although water wear has smoothed the opening considerably. This is possibly a net weight.

Two objects found on the beach may belong to the village of Nacoroco, but could equally well be considered as belonging with the historic material from the British period. One of these is a rectangular piece of chipped flint, about 24 by 14 mm. in size, which could very well be a gun flint, although it is not made of the traditional European flint. The other is a Spanish olive jar sherd which could very well be from the Nacoroco occupation.

THE OSWALD PLANTATION

Several times in the preceding pages we have referred to an occupation of the area during the British period. Evidence of this occupation was discovered, and should be included in this report to clarify the historic situation.

Following the transfer of Florida to Great Britain in 1763, an effort was made to colonize the region. As

13. Griffin and Smith, 1948, p. 17 and pl. IV. B.

part of this effort large grants of land were made by the Crown, and one of these was to Richard Oswald in 1766.¹⁴ His grant consisted of 20,000 acres on the Halifax and Tomoka rivers and was known as Mount Oswald.

Considerable improvement was undertaken during the brief British period, and the memorial of his heirs, filed in 1786, setting forth the lass upon transfer of Florida back to Spain, estimated the value of the grant as 9,298 pounds, 10 shillings. Witnesses called by the Crown did not value the property and its improvements so highly. The improvements at Mount Oswald itself, which is on the site of Noco-roco, were given as follows:

A settlement or plantation called Mount Oswald on which are 400 acres cleared, 100 acres of which are river swamp completely dammed in with large and sufficient banks, drains floodgates &c& fit for planting, the rest in pasture fit for Tillage, rice land at 60/ (per) acre, high land @ 45/ (per) acre.

The buildings consisting of a dwelling house, a large barn, stable, kitchen; overseas house cornhouse and other out houses.

Even if this is an overstatement of the true extent of improvements, it is obvious that land had been cleared and buildings erected. It is of interest to note that some of the marsh near the site shows evidence even today, in the form of embankments, of the improvements for rice cultivation.

Along the shore of Tomoka Basin, and concentrated near the high southern portion of the site of Noco-roco, we found bricks, broken pottery and porcelain, clay pipe stems, bottle fragments, nails and other rusted pieces of iron. Some of this type of material was found in the top level of our excavations, but it did not go beneath that.

14. Richard Oswald (1705-1784) was a man of considerable wealth and holdings. He helped, as British representative, in the drafting of the preliminary treaty ending the American Revolution. The American representatives were Franklin and Jay. This and all other information on the history of the Oswald plantation in Florida is from Siebert, 1929.

A representative collection of the pottery was submitted to M. W. Thomas, Jr., of Colonial Williamsburg, who supplied the information summarized below:¹⁵

Some of the pottery is Delft. At Williamsburg large quantities are almost always indicative of seventeenth century sites, but smaller quantities are often found with sites of later periods. There was not much Delft in our collections from the Oswald plantation.

There are some fragments of White Stoneware or White Salt Glaze. At Williamsburg this particular color and pattern is usually associated with the period 1720-30, but it was made as late as 1770.

There was a small amount of blue and white Chinese Export China. This is a ware which has been made over a considerable period of time, but its greatest popularity in Virginia seems to have been in the period of 1760-80, the exact time period of the Oswald plantation.

Some Creamware was present. This ware was developed and manufactured by Josiah Wedgwood about 1760, was taken over by other potters, and is still manufactured today. The particular pattern is listed in Josiah Wedgwood's pattern book of 1770 as "Shape No. 1," and is given the name of "Old Feather Edge."

Several fragments of what is referred to as transfer-printed Staffordshire were found. This type was first made in the early part of the nineteenth century, and the patterns in our collection are of types very common at Williamsburg between 1830 and 1840.

Thomas notes that considering the pottery in and of itself the time range could cover a period of from 1680 to 1840. In view of the known date of the founding of the Oswald plantation, 1766, and the unlikely circumstances that Indians or Spaniards in earlier times would have had much English pottery, we believe that the wares which can date early must be referred to the latter part of their time range and considered as definitely a part of the Oswald site. This refers to the Delft and the White

15. Personal communication, Sept. 13, 1948. We wish to thank Mr. Thomas for this information.

Stoneware. The Chinese Export China and Wedgewood's "Old Feather Edge" fall exactly into the period of the Oswald plantation. The transfer-printed Staffordshire is later than the Oswald occupation, and must be referred to one of the plantations present in the area in the early part of the American occupation. Most of these were destroyed during the Seminole wars and were not reoccupied later. Surprisingly enough there seems to be very little debris in the area that can be attributed to the latter part of the nineteenth century or the present century, even though the area has long been a favored fishing and picnicing spot.

Future work on the Oswald plantation should reveal an interesting story of life in Florida during the British period.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Excavations were conducted in a documented Timucua village of the early seventeenth century in eastern Volusia county. The site is known to have been occupied at the time of Mexia's visit in 1605, but its time range to either side of this date is unknown. The finding of a pair of scissors well down in the midden confirms the documentation of the site. Shore-line erosion has destroyed most of the site, but enough remained to contain some information.

While archaeological exploration gave direct evidence only of hunting, fishing and shellfish gathering, it is to be assumed from the relatively small amount of evidence of these pursuits in relation to the total midden bulk that agriculture and root and seed gathering were also practiced. This would indicate an economy for the site in keeping with that of the Timucua as indicated by early written sources.¹⁶

Aside from ceramics we found little direct evidence on manufacturing, but it is possible to draw some inferences from our limited material. Woodcarving was well-developed, as indicated by the paddle impressed pottery. Cordage is implied by the sherd decorated with

16. See Swanton, 1922, for a summary of Timucua culture.

wrapped dowel impressions and the possible cord-marked sherds. Chipped stone was rare, in keeping with historic comments on the Timucua. There was some evidence of shell tools, and these are mentioned in the early accounts. Art seems to have been mainly geometric, both rectilinear and curvilinear, if we take pottery decoration as indicative. The tattooing shown in the LeMoyne drawings is mostly curvilinear geometric, but there is some mention of realistic representational art among the Timucua, particularly in painted deerskins. Water transportation may be inferred from the presence of some beach shells and the distance from this source by foot and proximity by water. The presence of one human skeleton indicates that burials were at least occasionally placed in the village, a custom noted historically among the Timucua.

We placed the site, or at least the excavated portions of it, since the surface collection gave evidence of earlier occupation as well, as following closely upon the top level of Green Mound, but before the full flowering of the Saint Augustine Period.

The materials present at Nocoroco indicate a time of culture change; the full details of which are still obscure. Future work on historic Timucua sites in eastern Florida should yield much interesting information, and taken in conjunction with the accounts and drawings of the late sixteenth century, should provide a well-rounded picture of Timucua life.

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THE FOUNDER OF THE "SEMINOLE NATION" SECOFFEE OR COWKEEPER

by KENNETH W. PORTER

(This article is suggested by the notes of the late Howard Sharp who, during the last year or so of his life, despite old age, poor health, unavailability of adequate materials, and lack of professional training, carried on a remarkably intelligent and original program of research into the early history of the Seminole Indians. His notes, prior to his death, were sent to Julien C. Yonge and to the author of this article in the hope that they might be used in the advancement of Florida history. Many of the sources on Secoffee and Cowkeeper employed in this paper were mentioned in the Sharp notes, although I have of course checked them all, added to them, and drawn my own conclusions. But while I do not accept all the theories presented in the Sharp notes, I do regard the identification of Secoffee and the demonstration of the separate identity of Cowkeeper as fundamental contributions to Florida Indian history, which do much to correct a century-old confusion.)

THE PROBLEM

For nearly a century the generally accepted account of the origin of the Seminole has been "that the first group of Seminoles came into Florida in 1750, under a chief named Secoffee," to quote Dr. John R. Swanton, chief contemporary authority on their origins and early history, whose source is the anthropologist Daniel G. Brinton,¹ although Dr. Swanton states that he does not know Brinton's authority. Brinton, though he gives no direct authority for this statement, does, however, refer, on the same page, though in another connection, to a work of the previous year which could well have been his immediate source, namely, Congressman Giddings' anti-slavery work, *The exiles of Florida*.² Giddings' source is hardly in doubt; he makes free use of a history of the Florida war by an army officer, published a decade earlier, from whose account, it is probable, nearly all subsequent references to Secoffee as founder of the Seminole nation are directly or indirectly derived. "In the year 1750, a noted Creek chief by the name of Secoffee, broke out from the nation, and with many followers settled in the section of country called Alachua, about the

1. Swanton, John R., *Early history of the Creek Indians and their neighbors*, Washington, 1922, p. 398; Brinton, Daniel G., *Notes on the Floridian peninsula . . .*, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 145.

2. Giddings, Joshua R., *The exiles of Florida*, Columbus, 1858, p. 3.

centre of the peninsula, and by far the most fertile part . . . To the Spaniards he was an inveterate foe. To the English, up to 1784, he was a most valuable ally . . . He died in the year 1785, at the advanced age of seventy, and was buried near the present site of Fort King. He was, in fact, the founder of the Seminole nation . . . his two sons [were] . . . Payne and Bowlegs”³

I have found no printed authority earlier than Sprague (1848) for Secoffee as “founder of the Seminole nation,” but a volume published a decade later presents much the same account, giving as authority, however, an entry of Aug. 29, 1838, in the diary of Judge Robert Raymond Reid,⁴ later a governor of Florida Territory. The source of Reid’s statement—more than half a century after the date given for the death of “Secoffee” and therefore certainly not at first-hand—is, however, unknown. Possibly Sprague, while on duty in Florida, was permitted to consult Reid’s diary. Probably all references to Secoffee as the founder of the Seminole nation subsequent to 1848, with the exception mentioned above, are derived directly or indirectly from Sprague.

Other authorities, earlier than Sprague—and even earlier than Reid’s diary-entry—seem, taken at face-value, to contradict this description of Secoffee as founder and head-chief of the Seminole nation. The naturalist Bartram, for example, who visited Cuscowilla, the principal town of Alachua, in 1774, does not mention any chief named Secoffee (although according to Sprague he should have been alive and in residence then and for more than a decade later) but says that the principal

3. Sprague, John T., *The origin, progress, and conclusion of the Florida War*, N.Y., 1848, pp. 18-19. George R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida . . . 1512 . . . 1842*, Philadelphia, 1871, quoted by Dr. Swanton in another connection on the same page on which he expresses ignorance, as to Brinton’s source, makes, on p. 271, the same statement, in an abbreviated form, as Sprague, and gives *The Florida War* as his source. Dr. Swanton omits both Giddings and Sprague from his bibliography. The most recent use of this statement which I have noted is in Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida during the territorial days*, Athens, Ga., 1944, pp. 224-225.

4. Miller, Stephen F., *The bench and bar of Georgia*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1858, I, 221.

chief was "called the Cowkeeper." Cohen, a Charleston volunteer who spent a few months in Florida in 1836 during an early stage of the Seminole War, wrote that "Miconope," who was then looked on as the Seminole head-chief, was "the nephew of King Payne," whom Sprague and his followers mention as a son of Secoffee, and "has a crown which was given to 'Cowkeeper,' uncle of old Payne, by the British government." Elsewhere Cohen writes that King Payne was the "grandfather of Micconope,"⁷ but this contradiction is easily explained, since in the matrilineal Seminole society a chief's successor was more likely to be his sister's son than his own, whereas white observers were likely to assume the contrary. At any rate, this statement indicates that, according to Cohen, Payne's predecessor, whether father or uncle, was named Cowkeeper rather than Secoffee. Cowkeeper, however, is obviously a nickname, so Dr. Swanton logically reconciles the account of Sprague and his followers with the information in Bartram and Cohen by assuming that Secoffee "was probably the one known to the English as 'the Cowkeeper.'" The late Howard Sharp, however, convincingly contends that this identification is erroneous.

It is my purpose to trace as far as possible the histories and characters of the Creek chiefs respectively known as Secoffee and Cowkeeper and to determine on which of these, if either, may be conferred with greatest propriety the title of "founder of the Seminole nation."

"Seminole" should be defined. Though in common usage it is applied to all Indians, and particularly all hostiles, residing in Florida at the time of the First (1817-1818), second (1835-1842), and Third (1855-1858) Seminole Wars, so-called, and their descendants, and is even given that significance in sundry official documents and statements, the officers engaged in the Second Seminole War, at least, ultimately learned to give it a more

5. Bartram, William, *Travels . . .*, Philadelphia, 1791, pp. 168, 182.

6. Cohen, M. M., *Notices of Florida*, Charleston, 1836, p. 238.

7. p. 33.

restricted meaning, in such references as "Seminoles, Mickasukies, Tallahasseees, and Creeks," "Seminoles, Creeks, Tallahasseees, Mickasukies, and Uchees," etc.⁸ The Seminole, in the narrower sense, meant the Indians whose center, up to 1813, was the Alachua savanna, and who acknowledged a special allegiance to head-chiefs Payne (dec. 1812),⁹ of Cuscowilla, Bowlegs (dec. 1818-1821), of Suwanee Old Town, Mikonopi (dec. 1848), of Okihamki and Pilaklikaha, and, after the removal of the latter to the Indian Territory, to Billy Bowlegs. It is the predecessor of these chiefs whom we must trace.

SECOFFEE-SEEPEYCOFFEE

The late Howard Sharp is, so far as I know, the first person to endeavor to trace the history of Secoffee to the period before the alleged 1750 movement into Alachua. He identifies him with the "Sepe Coffee" of Fitch's journal,¹⁰ and thus as no less a person than the son and heir of Emperor Brim of Coweta, principal chief of the Lower Creeks.¹¹ The similarity between Secoffee and "Sepe Coffee" or Seepeycoffee, and the failure of any other name in the least resembling either of these to appear in this period and region, seems to make the identification almost certain.

We first encounter Seepeycoffee,¹² whom Bolton refers to as "the usingulo Chipicasi (Seepey Coffee)", on

8. Sprague, 97, 507, 270, 438. In ten lists of three or more groups, Seminole and Mikasuki are always included, Creeks are added nine times, Tallahassee, six, Uchee, five, Choctaw, Hitchiti, and "Spanish Indians," once each. Sprague, 296, 350, 444, 501, 510, 512.
9. An army surgeon in 1837 referred to "bona fide" Seminoles, of old King Payne's tribe." *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VI (Jan., 1928), 137.
10. "Tobias Fitch's journal to the Creeks, 1725," Mereness, Newton D., ed., *Travels in the American colonies*, N.Y., 1916, pp. 173-212, esp. 184, 194, 209.
11. The name of this remarkable Indian statesman is given by Fitch, within a few pages (182-187) as Brunnis, Brimins, Brinimis, Brinimes, Brmimis; by others as Brim, Brims, Breen, Bream, and even Prean. I arbitrarily selected the form used in the text as the shortest and simplest.
12. Bolton gives the English form of his name as Seepey Coffee, Crane as Seepeycoffee, Fitch, a contemporary but a most eccentric speller, as we have seen, as Sepe Coffee. Since Crane devotes more attention to him than any of the other authors, I shall, apart from direct quotations, use his form.

July 10, 1717, at St. Augustine, come "to pledge obedience" to the Spanish king, "accompanied by Talialiche, the great general and captain of war," who is later called "Talachaliche," and whom Bolton refers to as "Chislacaliche," and by a Christian chief called Adrian and 57 followers. "They asked for arms and ammunition for themselves and their people." Not only the purpose of Seepeycoffee's mission to St. Augustine, but also his principal companion, is of significance.

Emperor Brim of Coweta, a master-diplomat, consistently followed a balance-of-power policy among the French, Spanish and English. In 1711 he had accepted a commission from the English at Charleston, preparatory to an attack on the Choctaw allies of the French, and in the following year promised soon to wait on the governor "to acknowledge his Loyalty and Obedience to the British Nation."¹³ In 1715, however, alarmed at the growth of English power and the bad conduct of their traders, he was the master-mind of a revolt, commonly called the Yemassee War after the tribe which spear-headed the attack, which united the southern tribes for a campaign against South Carolina.¹⁴ In this attack the Coweta war-chief "Chichilli," Brim's brother, "advanced as far as Stono river."¹⁵ The Carolinians rallied, however, and beat back the attack, forcing the hostile tribes to withdraw farther from the frontier, the Yemassee taking refuge under the walls of St. Augustine and the Lower Creeks removing to the Chattahoochee river.

Emperor Brim decided that diplomacy now called for at least a temporary policy of friendliness toward the English, but in the year following the war, Cherokeeechee (Cherokee killer), Brim's brother and war-chief, known to the Spaniards as Chislacaliche and Talichaliche, and to the English usually under such shortened and corrupt forms of his name as Chichilli, Chigilly,

13. Crane, Verner W., *The southern frontier, 1670-1732*, Philadelphia, 1929, pp. 95-96.

14. Crane, 169.

15. Stevens, William Bacon, *A history of Georgia*, 2 vols., N.Y., 1847, I, 227.

Chigellie, Chiggley, Chuggilley, Chekill, etc., built a fort in the forks of the Chattahoochee and Flint “where, for a time, the pro-Spanish faction of the Apalachicola maintained a center of anti-English intrigue.”¹⁶ It was in company with this fierce war-chief and leader of the pro-Spanish faction, who was also his uncle, that the young heir to Emperor Brim had visited the capital of Spanish Florida.

When the delegation to St. Augustine, accompanied by a Spanish escort, arrived at Coweta, “they found there twelve Englishmen and a negro from Carolina, of those who had been previously engaged in destroying the country, who were on horseback . . . when his son, the cacique, . . . saw that his father, the Emperor, was consenting to the presence of the Englishmen there, he attempted to take up arms against his father.” A battle nearly ensued between the two factions, but “the said Osingulo and the great general of war, Talichaliche, together with the Christian cacique Adrian” took “the part of the Spaniards and accompanied them back to this city [St. Augustine], with the exception of the said Osingulo, who started hence for Pensacola in quest of arms and ammunition and men in order to drive the English away and punish those dissatisfied Indians who obeyed his father.” Thus Secoffee, or Seepeycoffee, son and heir of the Emperor Brim of Coweta, first appears in history as a passionate partisan of the Spanish and opponent of the English in the triangular struggle for the southwest in which the Indians were the pawns.¹⁷

The emperor and his heir were, however, speedily reconciled— if, indeed, they were ever actually alienated except for diplomatic purposes— since the wily politician Brim, it seems, deliberately maintained factionalism among the Lower Creeks so that neither Spain, England, nor France could feel entirely sure either of their friendship or of their hostility— a policy productive of presents

16. Crane, 134.

17. For the delegation to St. Augustine and return to Coweta, see: Bolton, Herbert E., ed., *Arredondo's historical proof of Spain's title to Georgia*, Berkeley, 1925, pp. 65-67 ; Swanton, 125; Crane, 257-258.

from all the rival nations. With the emperor himself regarded as leaning toward the English, what could be more appropriate to this policy than for his heir and his war-chief to be partisans of Spain, with the result that the Coweta would be wooed by both parties? Early in 1718, consequently, despite the threatened civil war of the previous summer, the old emperor held a council at Chewale, on the Tallapoosa, to welcome Creek ambassadors returning from Mexico City and their Spanish escort, at which Seepeycoffee was officially designated as his successor.¹⁸ But after this gesture of friendship toward Spain, recognition was extended to the other participant in the triangular struggle: "Seepeycoffee hurried down to Mobile; henceforth he was rather a pensioner of Louisiana than of Florida."¹⁹

The English were not neglectful of their interests in the chief town of the Lower Creeks. Brim had at least two and perhaps three sons in addition to Seepeycoffee, among them "Ouletta, . . . the English candidate for the Creek succession." Seepeycoffee continued to orient himself toward the French and in 1723 it was reported that he had gone again to Mobile. But the hopes of the English for a friendly successor to Old Brim's throne were temporarily dashed within the year when "Ouletta was slain by the Yamasee," leaving "Seepeycoffee, the old antagonist of Charles Town," still "the accepted heir of Brims."²⁰

In this emergency the English decided to take action. The Coweta, even the Spanish faction, could not be expected to feel altogether friendly toward the Yamasee after the insult of their killing a member of the royal family, so Tobias Fitch was sent to the Lower Creeks in an attempt to win them over to the English. Fitch left a journal of his experiences in which, of course, he portrays his activities in the best possible light, but which

18. Crane, 259.

19. Crane, 260.

20. Crane, 264-266. Ouletta was also referred to as "hollala" or "Hoblala" (Fitch, 183); a better form of his name would probably be Holata, a Creek title meaning "chief."

is nevertheless a useful— indeed the only— source for these negotiations.

On Aug. 2, 1725, Fitch met “old Brumis” and 45 headmen of the Lower Creeks and delivered to them a “talk,” to which “Old Brimis” replied, in part, “As my son Hoblala is dead, there is not left of my Family but Seepey Coffee who is fit to take upon him The Charge that I have . . . Tho I must Confess that Sepey Coffee has not been your Freind a great while but Rather a Freind to the French and Spaniards. But he has had so much said To him that he Will now prove as True to you as ever he did to them and I hope your king will let him Succeed his Brother Since its the General oppinion of my People That he Should.” “Sepe Coffee” then spoke, saying: “Tis true I have been in the French and Spanish interest a great while, and the first of it was when the war broke out with you, and the heads of the whole nation sent me to the French and Spaniards to make a peace with them, and I did, and after that it created a farther acquaintance and I assured them of my friendship in particular and have continued to be their friend according to my promise. But since I find that I disoblige my father and friends by it I have now left their interest and have not seen any of them for some time. I am now designed for war. My father has obliged me to go out against some of his enemies. If I live to return I will, if I can be admitted, go down and see your great king.” The enemies referred to were the Yemassee who had killed his brother.

On Aug. 7 Fitch was “at the Apalachocolo town” where he met a couple of Spaniards, accompanied by four Indians and a Negro interpreter. “Sepe Coffee seemed to show the Spaniard great favor which he did to prevent There having a mistrust of his Friendship and Discover His Designes against the Yemassees as he informed me afterward.” Fitch subsequently returned to Coweta, to which the St. Augustine delegation had preceded him, at the head of a force of friendly Creeks from Casita, “sent to old Brimins, Sepe Coffee and

Chigley and as many more of the head men as was in town to come to the square," and delivered a "talk" in which he claimed the Negro interpreter as a runaway slave, to which Brim acceded.

During Fitch's absence at other towns, the expedition against the Yemassee departed, "Sepe Coffee" leaving behind him a "talk" which said: "I am now going against the Yemassees and hope at my return to show you that I am really your friend and not the Spaniards' or the French's, and if your king should send a commission for me and if you cannot stay till my return leave it with my father but I should be very glad to see you at my return." The expedition against the Yemassee was not very successful as the enemy had received timely warning from some of the pro-Spanish element among the Lower Creeks, but Fitch on Dec. 15 nevertheless delivered the desired and promised "commission to Sepe Coffee to be commander in chief of this nation under his father Emperor Brim's directions, the meaning of which commission is to take all orders that shall come from my king and to hear no talk but what comes from him, and to be sure to put all his orders in execution, and that all men in this nation is to pay the said Sepe Coffee due obedience as their king during the time that Sepe Coffee continues to be true and trusty to my king, and no longer." Seepeycoffee thanked him for this highly qualified authority and so Fitch departed.²¹

Considering the highly impersonal character or Seepeycoffee's expressed loyalty, which was unlikely to be fanned into warmth by the arrogant and indeed insulting language employed by Fitch on numerous occasions, and the lack of any particular value in the royal "commission", it is not surprising that in the following year "Chekill, Long Warrior of Coweta," was carrying a present from the Spaniards to the Upper Creeks, and a trader reported that, as for Brim and Seepeycoffee, "he had seen them at Apalachicola . . . hastening to St. Augustine . . . 'to make a firm peace

21. Fitch, 182-187, 194, 208-209; Crane, 268.

with the Spanish and not to regard the English any more.” And in 1727 when Chekill was warned against receiving Spanish traders, he replied: “Brim bid me ask you what harm it did to receive the Spaniards, French, or any White People; he could see no harm in it.”²² In pursuance of the balance-of-power policy, Brim, after showing favor to the English in 1725, was, in the next couple of years, leaning toward the Spaniards. But Cherokeeechee or Chekill, the war-chief, remained consistently anti-English, and Seepeycoffee, the heir-apparent, was but little less so, despite his brief protestations of loyalty at the conference with Fitch.

Interim

A chasm appears in the record so far as Seepeycoffee is concerned for nearly a generation after 1726, that is, until 1756, with but a single stepping-stone between. Emperor Brim died sometime before the founding of Georgia in 1732. At the Savannah conference, May 18, 1732, between Oglethorpe and the Lower Creeks, the Coweta were represented by “Yahou-Lakee, their king or micco; Essoboo, their warrior, the son of Breen, (lately dead) whom the Spaniards called Emperor of the Creeks . . .”²³ This is the first and last reference I have found to these Coweta chiefs and I am unable to identify them further. Other sources state that Brim was succeeded by his son Malatchee, born about 1711, and thus a mere boy at the time when Seepeycoffee was regarded as heir apparent (1718-1725). He was probably favored over Seepeycoffee by the Carolinians, and may have been appointed through their influence; but, if so, they gained little, for “old Chigellie” acted as regent, Malatchee being but a youth at his father’s death, and continued to be referred to as “chief man of the Creek Nation,” “King of the Coweta,” etc.; into 1741, and although Malatchee chafed under his authority and

22. Crane, 269, 271.

23. “A brief account of the establishment of . . . Georgia . . . February 1, 1733,” Peter Force Tracts, vol. I, Washington, 1835.

eventually threw it off, he finally followed in his uncle's anti-English footsteps.²⁴

What, however, of Seepeycoffee? The only hint I have found as to his activities 1726-1756 is in a letter from Manuel de Montiano, Governor of East Florida, Nov. 11, 1737, to Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas: "Chief (Cacique) Sacafaca, of the town of Charlicarliche, . . . came expressly and voluntarily from those remote provinces (who left the same news at Apalache), to advise me, that the Indians in English interest descend in small bands to maraud those coasts; and that their chiefs have an order from the English to meet in Council, to treat of various affairs . . ." ²⁵ In "Saca-faca" can be recognized our old friend (or acquaintance) Secoffee or Seepeycoffee, known to the Spaniards a score of years earlier as Chipacasi, but still active in the Spanish interest, and in his "town of Charlicarliche" we recognize Cherokeeleechee's town, that center of Spanish intrigue among the Lower Creeks, warriors from which were even accustomed to join with refugee Yemassee and runaway Negroes in raids on the Carolina frontier.²⁶ When Seepeycoffee had refused or been forbidden the succession to his father, he had evidently retired to and become chief of his uncle's town, while that uncle served as regent to Seepeycoffee's youthful brother Malatchee.

Seepeycoffee does not put in a recognizable appearance again for nearly a score of years. Malatchee "ruled" as emperor but his uncle exercised the actual

24. Candler, Allen D., ed., *Colonial records of the state of Georgia*, IV, 1904, pp. 565-566 (hereafter referred to as GCR); Owen, Thomas McAdory, *History of Alabama*, 4 vols., Chicago, 1921, II, 748; GCR, XXVII, 2, XXXV, 352, XXIII, 123.

25. Sprague, 341; 342; Coe, Charles H., *Red patriots*, Cincinnati, 1898, p. 8. Capt. Coe, apparently under the spell of Sprague—who never identifies Secoffee with Saca-faca—says that this letter proves "that the Seminoles were then living in Florida." If "Saca-faca" is regarded, as Capt. Coe does regard them, as the leader of the Seminole into Florida, it proves exactly the opposite, since it states specifically that "Saca-faca" was the "Cacique" of "Charlicarliche," which was not in Alachua or in Florida at all but at the forks of the Chattahoochee and Flint.

26. Crane, 247-248.

authority. In the summer of 1739 "Chiefs Chislalache (Chigilly) and Malatchee arranged for a meeting at Coweta" with Oglethorpe. "At the end of ten days the Creeks renewed their allegiance with England and declared that no Spaniard should settle north of the San Juan River and Apalache."²⁷ But in the following year "The Cherokee killer" revealed himself under his true colors. An expedition against St. Augustine was in preparation and "old Chigellie, their chief Mico at present," was reported as opposed to Lower Creek participation in the war with Spain.

Cherokeeleechee's "nephew Malatchie, . . . the son of old Bream, the former. Mico," favored the war, however, probably in part because it offered an opportunity for distinguishing himself, and in part because it gave him an opportunity to escape from his uncle's domination—the young emperor was, after all, now in his late twenties.²⁸ Malatchee accordingly accompanied Oglethorpe to the unsuccessful siege of St. Augustine, but the break with his uncle— if break it was and not a mere subterfuge such as would have been dear to the heart of that crafty strategist Emperor Brim himself— was not permanent, for "Chuckilly," "Chigeley," "Chiggelae," etc., continued to be spoken of as the chief man of the nation through 1741, as "Guardian of Malachi" late in 1746, and as late as 1750 was mentioned in association with Malatchee, most commonly as "War king" or "King of the Warriors." As late as 1755 there was mentioned "Chiggilli . . . one of the wisest and Headmen of the Nation." By 1747 Malatchee, either through Cherokeeleechee's influence or by a decision of his own, after following the trail to St. Augustine blazed by his father, uncle, and brother, was urging the Creeks to join the Spaniards, and after 1749, when the territorial claims of his cousin Mary Musgrove, the half-breed woman whose mother was sister of Emperor Brim, had been rejected by Georgia, he definitely went over to the French. His

27. Bolton, 83-85; GCR, XXX, 154.

28. GCR, IV, 565, 566; Owen, II, 748.

adhesion was signaled by a three day visit at Coweta sometime in 1750 by "several Frenchmen . . . besides some Indians and Negroes, that attended them, who . . . were much caressed by the Cowetaws, especially by Malatche, who they called their King; . . . the French brought Colours, which were set up in the Square by Malatche's orders," and when two English traders who were present "asked Chigillee and Malatche; what they meant by doing this, and if they had no English Colours in their Town, or if they were turn'd all Frenchmen, . . . they seem'd to take no Notice, . . ." ²⁹

Seepeycoffee– Sampiaffi

Malatchee's death, late in 1755 or early in 1756, gave his brother Seepeycoffee the opportunity to emerge from his obscurity of a generation. The "Opiya Mico," as he sometimes styled himself, was succeeded by his son Tugulki (Tugulkee, Tougulki, Tougoulki, Togulki, Tugulkey, etc.), otherwise known as The Young Twin, who had been born at Coweta in 1740. "For a few years before actually assuming the office, Tougoulki's uncle Sampiaffi, acted as his guardian," as Chigilly had served as guardian to The Young Twin's father.³⁰ "Sampiaffi" is evidently a version of "Seepeycoffee"; it is unlikely that two of Brim's sons could have had names so closely resembling one another. When we consider that "Seepeycoffee" is derived from that most original of all spellers of Indian proper names, Tobias Fitch, and that, under Spanish pens, the original name, whatever it was, became both Chipacasi and Saca-faca, the transmutation to "Sampiaffi," in sundry variations, is easy to understand. In fact, "Sampiaffi" was perverted by the whites to "Skimpoiaffe" and this in turn on occasion to "Stumpee" and even to "Stump-finger!"³¹

29. Corry, John Pitts, *Indian affairs in Georgia, 1732-1756*, Philadelphia, 1936, pp. 107, 131; Alden, John Richard, *John Stuart and the southern frontier*, Ann Arbor, 1944, p. 30; GCR, 43, 64-65, XXI, 465, VI, 341-342
GCR XXVII, 2, XXX, 352, XXIII, 123, XXXVI, 298, XXVII, 360, 426, 468 VI 341-342.

30. Owen, II, 748, 765; Alden, 55 n. 48.

31. Owen, II, 765; GCR, VIII, 168, 325, 309, VII, 661.

Tugulki's first public appearance was at the Council of Savannah, Nov. 3, 1757, though a talk from him was received by the Georgia council the previous month; Sampiaffi spoke for him. Tugulki soon denounced the treaty of neutrality signed by the Creeks on this occasion (he probably signed as "Mico Coweta, great King"), which also ceded the Bosomworth lands claimed by his father's cousin, and with "other warriors of Coweta town" went "off to Mobile to plot with the French."³² In July, 1759, and the first days of August, he "held numerous secret conferences with the Cherokee . . . He proposed a joint Creek-Cherokee attack on the English traders for August 24 and a subsequent assault on the frontiers."³³ But nothing came of the conspiracy and in October, "Togulki the young Emperor" and "Skimpoiaffe his Uncle," at the head of a party of Creek Indians, appeared at Savannah before Gov. Ellis and his council. The uncle delivered a speech full of complaints concerning the bad conduct of a trader and the white people's killing of the game. The Spanish influence was now almost non-existent outside the walls of St. Augustine, since the repulse of the Spanish attack on Georgia in 1742, so Seepeycoffee, now known as Sampiaffi, Skimpoiaffe, and Simpoiaphie, had no recourse, save in verbal protests.³⁴ On June 22, 1761, therefore, the White King Sempoyaffee sent a talk to the council at Savannah reporting that a white man had been killed and promising to punish the offenders.³⁵

As "Sampiaffi" he, with his nephew, attended the Congress of Augusta, November 5-10, 1763, at which the Indians present, mostly Lower Creeks, took a haughty attitude, threatening to seize Negroes and cattle crossing the agreed-on boundary.³⁶

32. Owen, I, 771; Alden, 94-95; GCR VII, 648, 657-667, XXVIII, 119.

33. Alden, 81.

34. Owen, I, 765; GGR, VIII, 160-170, 309.

35. GCR, VIII, 553.

36. Owen, I, 765; Alden, 184-185; GCR, XXXIX, 338, 350-351, 372.

The Picolata Congress and Treaty of 1765

At the Picolata congress of November, 1765, "A Indian, Sempoyaffe, speaking for the young lieutenant, complained of encroachments on Indian lands in Virginia [sic] and of the high prices of goods." After the treaty was signed, "Sempoyaffé" and others were made Small Medal Chiefs by Governor Grant of East Florida. Perhaps if he had refrained from these complaints he might have been made, as some were, a Great Medal Chief instead.³⁷

One of the chiefs who had been invited to Ft. Picolata did not arrive until December, "having missed the congress through sickness," This was "Cow Keeper . . . the headman at Alachua . . . the Indian town nearest St. Augustine . . . Grant made him a Great Medal Chief and loaded him with presents and provisions." This incident alone suffices to distinguish "Seepeycoffee" or "Sempoyaffé" from The Cowkeeper.³⁸

Although a talk from the Young Twin Tugulki was received by the Georgia council, January, 1764, he seems not to have attended the Pensacola conference, May, 1765, and although he was at the Congress of Picolata, November, 1765, "Sempoyaffé" was noted as "speaking for the young lieutenant" rather than for The Young Twin. "Thlehulgee" [sic] & another Indian" are said to have gone "to the Havannah in novr. 1766" and not to have "returned to the nation" until February, 1768, arriving "well drest &c," apparently having been landed from "a Spanish vessel lying at the mouth of the Appalachicola." If this is correct, "Young Twin" could not have attended the congress at Picolata, November 21-23, 1767, to which he, "Sampoyafey," and other

37. Mowat, Charles Loch, *East Florida as a British province, 1763-1784*, Berkeley, 1945, pp. 21-23. Alden (230), mentions "Sempoyasse of the Cowetas" as among the chiefs of the Lower Creeks with whom John Stuart, the Indian agent, parleyed at Ft. Picolata; probably he mistook a double-f for long ss. The Indians called southern backwoodsmen in general "Virginians;" the enroachments were probably by "Virginians" rather than in Virginia.

38. Mowat, 23; Alden, 231 n. 90.

Coweta were invited in August.³⁹ I do not find him mentioned subsequently.

“Scutchabe, the Young Lieutenant of the Cowetas,” on the other hand, appears frequently and conspicuously at least from early 1763 until 1775, often in association with Seepeycoffee; he may have taken The Young Twin’s place, possibly having been his brother. I first encountered his name under the date of April 5, 1763: “Scothaby and Simpoiaphie of the Lower Towns.” “On May 26 [1765 at Pensacola] . . . Captain Aleck and Escotchabie [appeared] for the Lower Creeks.” He also attended the Picolata congresses in November, 1765 and 1767.⁴⁰

The Young Lieutenant and “Sempayaffee the White King of the Cowetas,” with other head men of the Coweta, were united in a “talk” of June 18, 1766, dispatched to Gov. Wright, in which the White King of Coweta was the spokesman. “Sempoyaffee hears that the white people have gone and settled over the bounds and hears that they want to settle Latchaway [Alachua], and he and all the head men desire that the governor and superintendent would desire that the white people not to go over the bounds set, for they all know that the hounds were set at the Treaty and they say that if they catch one of them settling over the bounds they will kill all their cattle and if that will not do they must take other means to prevent their settling over the bounds.” A member of the spokesman’s family, the previous year, had given a practical illustration of the possible “other means;” “In September,” it was reported, “Sempiaffee’s son and a party of Creeks murdered three white men”—vagabonds who had encroached on Indian territory.⁴¹ Here, we have old Seepeycoffee, now Sempayaffee,

39. GCR, XIV, 119, IX, 115, XXVIII, pt. 2, p. 6, 257; Alden, 184-185; Mowat, 21-23; FHQ, XXI 52; PRO, CO, v. 548.

40. GCR, IX, 72, XXXVIII, pt. 2, p. 257; Alden, 205-206, 230; Mowat, 23. On Oct. 11, 1759, The Lieutenant of the Cowetas is mentioned along with Tugulki and “Skimpoiaffe” and the Long Lieutenant was a signer of the treaty of Nov., 1757. GCR, VII, 667, VIII, 168. Possibly these are also references to The Young Lieutenant.

41. GOB, XXXVII, 154, 159-161, 167; Alden, 233.

still protesting as best he can— the English, rather than the Spanish, now being in control of Florida— against encroachments on Creek lands. The “talk” also displays a special interest in “Latchaway” or Alachua; “in 1768 the Creeks considered their hunting grounds in East Florida their most valuable lands.”⁴² It was, however, his last important recorded appearance, though “Sim-pihaphy” was among the headmen who spoke at the Chehaws Square, November 2, 1771, and was mentioned as “a principal Head Man in the Cowetas,” April, 1774.⁴³ He probably died not long after as, judging from activities extending as far back as 1715, he must now have been in his eighties, or nearly so.

“Escotchabie, who was more friendly to the Spanish than any other Creek chief,” (though the Spanish were no longer at St. Augustine but situated more remotely at New Orleans and Havana), endeavored to alarm Indian agent Stuart by telling him in May 1769, that “a conference between the Spanish and representatives of the whole Creek nation was planned for September of that year . . . at the mouth of the Appalachicola River.” David Taitt, on a mission for the Indian agent, found “Scutchabe, the Young Lieutenant of the Cowetas,” at “Clay-Catskee” (Likatcka, or Broken Arrow), April 28, 1772. His son, he said, had been at Havana and he intended to go there himself. On the following day Taitt “went to the Coweta Square where Scutchabee, Sem-poyeffa, and some other head men were present.” “Sem-poyeffa” said that his son had gone to war against the Choctaw.

Under Escotchabie the Coweta continued to be an irritation to the English, if nothing more. A Lower Creek outbreak, for which “the Cowetas . . . were chiefly responsible,” occurred in January, 1774. But “when Escotchabie was picked up in 1775 by a Spanish fishing vessel and carried to Cuba, he returned without ‘talks’ or presents.”⁴⁴ And this is the last I know of The Young

42. Alden, 295; GCR, XII, 148.

43. GCR XII, 148-150, XXXVII, pt. 1, p. 256.

44. Alden, 326-327, 306-308; Mereness, 548-549; Swanton, 229.

Lieutenant, Escotchabie. Nor do we hear more of his associate "Sempoyeffa."

Seepeycoffee, "the founder of the Seminole nation"?

Was Se(epey)coffee "the founder of the Seminole nation"? Nothing in the preceding record tends to bear out this claim and much to disprove it. It is true that he is lost to view, save for one brief reappearance, between 1726 and 1756, and that it was during this period "that the first group of Seminole came into Florida in 1750, under a chief named Secoffee," according to Sprague, as paraphrased by Brinton who is then quoted by Swanton. Nothing in "Secoffee's" activities after his reappearance in 1756, however, suggests that he was, or had been, a chief in Alachua. In 1737 he had been the chief of Cherokeelechee, a Coweta town; in 1756 he became guardian of the young emperor of Coweta. He is always thereafter associated with Coweta, sometimes described as the White King of Coweta. History leaves him at the Coweta Square in company with the Young Lieutenant of Coweta. He is never described as located in Alachua. True, he protests in 1766 against the supposed intention of the whites to "settle Latchaway," but Alachua lay in East Florida and East Florida was at this time the chief hunting-ground of the Lower Creeks, of which Coweta was the principal town. It was natural, therefore, that the Coweta spokesman should be jealous for the integrity of Alachua against settlement by whites and should express himself in a protest in which he was associated with four other Lower Creek chiefs, none of whom were ever said to have been settled in Alachua.

And, as already pointed out, "Sempoyaffé" at the Picolata congress, November, 1765, spoke for the Young Lieutenant of the Coweta; while "Cow Keeper . . . the headman at Alachua . . . missed the congress through sickness" but arrived the following month.⁴⁵

The Secoffee of Sprague was to the Spaniards "an inveterate foe. To the English . . . he was a most valuable

45. Mowat, 23; Alden, 231, n. 90.

ally . . .” Does this apply to Seepeycoffee alias Sampiaffi, etc., etc.? To ask the question is almost to answer it. We first encounter Seepeycoffee while on a visit to St. Augustine, in 1717, in company with the war-chief and Spanish partisan Cherokeeleechee (Chekill), his uncle, where they have gone to pledge allegiance to the Spanish king; on his return he nearly raises a civil war because his diplomatic father is temporarily leaning toward the English. In 1725, to be sure, he accepts an English commission and goes out against the Yemassee – though probably rather to wipe out the stain on the family and tribal honor caused by the death of his brother than because the Yemassee were enemies of the English– but in 1726 both he and his father were on the way to St. Augustine.

He is lost to sight for over a decade, but reappears in 1737 as chief of the notoriously anti-English town of Cherokeeleechee and on a visit to St. Augustine to warn the Spanish commander against English machinations. The Coweta are, in the meantime, being governed by his brother Malatchee under the tutelage of his uncle and old associate Cherokeeleechee (Chekill), and Malatchee, after a brief period of orientation toward the English, probably inspired by jealousy of his uncle and guardian, is, during his last years, definitely pro-Spanish, pro-French, and anti-English. He reemerges in 1756 as regent for his brother Malatchee’s son Tugulki, who, during his brief reign, is consistently anti-English. Seepeycoffee himself, though the decline and, after 1763, disappearance of Spanish authority in Florida weakens his capacity for anti-English activity, is nevertheless conspicuous in the various “talks” as a protestant against English traders and English encroachments. During his last years he is associated with the Lower Creek chief most distinguished for his persistent friendship toward the Spanish. Among his last important recorded public utterances is a threat to English settlers who encroach on Creek lands– a threat which one of his sons had carried out even before it was uttered by participating in

the killing of three encroaching whites. Is *this* “an inveterate foe” to the Spaniards? “a most valuable ally” to the English?

Cowkeeper

Cowkeeper’s name could, however, with entire appropriateness be substituted for Secoffee in Sprague’s quotation. “Their [the Seminole’s] earliest and most notable eighteenth-century settlement was one founded at Alachua, directly west of St. Augustine, by a band of Oconee Creeks who had gone into Florida as allies of Oglethorpe under the leadership of the belligerent chief Cowkeeper . . . Cowkeeper’s Indian name was Ahaya.”⁴⁶ The naturalist Bartram tells the story of this migration and settlement without mentioning the chief’s name. The Oconee, he says, left their old town about 60 years earlier, i.e., shortly after the Yemassee outbreak, settled for a time among “the Upper Creeks”—the term which this author applies to those who are usually referred to as “the *Lower Creeks*,” applying the term “Lower Creeks” to the Seminole in Florida— but finally moved southeast to Alachua, where they built a town called Cuscowilla. They fought the Spaniards, and the Indians who were in the Spanish interest, and, being joined by other Creek bands, extended their settlements from the Alatomaha River to the bay of Apalache.⁴⁷ After the failure of the Spanish expedition against Georgia in 1742, “the influence of the Spanish . . . hardly extended beyond the walls of their fort . . . After that year, in fact, the Spanish posts . . . were loosely besieged by the Seminoles,” i.e., by Cowkeeper’s Oconee and their allies.⁴⁸

Cowkeeper usually kept to the south and maintained little contact with the Creeks who remained within English territory. On September 13, 1757, a special meeting of the Georgia council was, however, summoned to re-

46. Alden, 9-10. Ahaya is a not very common Seminole name. I have encountered it elsewhere only once. It was borne by a guide for United States troops early in 1842. Nat’l Archs., War Dep’t, QMGO, Capt. G. Wright, Jan. 24, 1842, to Maj. S. Cooper (W47).

47. Bartram, 378; Swanton, 150-181.

48. Alden, 12.

ceive the Cowkeeper, described as a Creek chief, and 50 Indians. Cowkeeper said that he had come only to see the governor; he had not been in the nation— the Creek nation— for four years, and hence had no instructions for a “talk.” It is evident that he did not regard himself at this time as entirely detached from the “Muskogee confederacy” or as entitled to speak formally without superior authorization. The governor mentioned that he had always been a friend of the English and Cowkeeper replied that his employment was making war on the Florida Indians— the Yemassee and other mission Indians who were allied with and under the by this time rather futile protection of the Spanish.⁴⁹

It is not surprising that, in 1764, after the cession of Florida to Great Britain, Cowkeeper should have been reported as “very friendly to the English” and that Indian agent John Stuart should in July of that year have “held a friendly conference with representatives of the Seminoles headed by Cowkeeper, at St. Augustine.”⁵⁰ “In December, 1765, . . . the Cow Keeper came to the capital with his family and attendants . . . having missed the congress [of Ft. Picolata] through sickness. The Cow Keeper was the headman at Alachua . . ., the Indian town nearest St. Augustine . . . Grant made him a Great Medal Chief and loaded him with presents and provisions.” “Sempoyaffé,” who had spoken at this congress, had been made only a Small Medal Chief.⁵¹ Perhaps Cowkeeper felt that a tardy arrival was particularly impressive and dignified. At any rate several years later it is recorded that “several Indians who arrived too late for the ceremony, including the Cow Keeper and Long Warrior, heard a friendly talk from the new governor [Tonyn] on March 13, 1774.”⁵²

The naturalist Bartram visited Cuscowilla in 1774, where he met “the Cowkeeper and other chiefs.” “The chief, who is called the Cowkeeper,” he reported, “is a

49. GCR, VII, 626-630.

50. Alden, 190 n. 42, 198.

51. Mowat, 23.

52. Mowat, 24.

tall well made man, . . . about sixty years of age," with a fierce expression of countenance. He had numerous Yemassee slaves, taken in war, who served him with fear and trembling.⁵³

The American Revolution found and left the Cowkeeper thoroughly loyal to his old allies. In February, 1777, he was serving with the British and, at the conclusion of the war, when the British were forced to cede Florida to Spain, the "Cowdriver" [sic] "assured Governor Tonyn that if the great man over the water would give them large canoes and land for hunting, most . . . would be willing to withdraw with the Governor." But Tonyn did not feel that his destination, the Bahamas, would be suitable. "Delegations of Indians were at St. Augustine in the closing days of April and on to the middle of May [1783] . . . Among these Indians were the Cowdriver and other chiefs, who are said to have . . . declared that on the departure of the English they would . . . kill every Spaniard who should thrust his head beyond the lines of St. Augustine."⁵⁴

Here, surely, is the chief who, after "the recession of Florida to Spain," is reported to have "embodied a large force and took the field; but the exposure and exertion incident to active operations in the summer season was too much for an enfeebled constitution. He died in the year 1785, at the advanced age of seventy, and was buried near the present site of Fort King . . . Finding himself approaching his end, he called his two sons to

53. Bartram, 168, 182, 183.

54. Mowat, 120; Siebert, Wilbur Henry, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*. 2 vols., DeLand, Fla., 1939, i, 144. From the context, it is obvious that the "Cowdriver" is identical with the Cowkeeper. Both are nicknames appropriately applied to any chief noted for large herds of cattle, though the former, perhaps, emphasizes an aggressive method of acquiring such herds. It is of some interest, though probably of little significance in this connection, that, nearly half a century later, in 1832, the same nickname reappears, attached to another Seminole chief. "Mulatto King, or Vacapuhassee, the cowdriver, . . . head chief of Choconicla . . . Mulatto is a half negro and Indian, was always a bitter enemy of the Americans, is bad tempered, insubordinate and mischievous, and would be more so but that he is totally without courage." 23rd Cong., 1st sess. Sen. doc. 512, vol. IV, p. 685. For other references to Mulatto King, see: Swanton, 407; Sprague, 22-24.

his side, . . . and in a most fervent and pathetic manner detailed his plans, enjoining upon the former [Payne], who was to succeed him, the prosecution of the expedition. He required him to put to death fourteen Spaniards, which number, added to the eighty-six slain by his own hand, aided by kindred, would make one hundred, which had been revealed to him by the Great Spirit as requisite to secure the peace and happiness of his soul in a future state." Sprague says that this chief was Secoffee,⁵⁵ but surely he could have been no other than Cowkeeper.

55. Sprague, 18-19. Even the age of Sprague's chief coincides with that of the Cowkeeper, who was about 60 in 1774 and would thus have been about 70 in 1785. Secoffee, on the other hand, if identical, as we believe, with Brim's son Seepeycoffee, would have been in his nineties.

A CONNECTICUT YANKEE AFTER OLUSTEE

edited by VAUGHN D. BORNET

Camp near Jacksonville, Fla.⁵⁶

Feb. 29th, 1864.

My own dear Lina:—

. . . We are having a little time to rest, not having done anything since last Saturday, except come out on inspection yesterday, and inspection and muster today. Our tents have been sent for, and we shall soon have a shelter again. We have been now over three weeks without any shelter, sleeping out doors through rain and storm; but I have stood it all remarkably well.

We have never had such a time before in this department, and I hope may not again soon, for it is *wearing* to us all. Marching forty miles and fighting five hours within twenty hours, is something that we can't stand very often. A few more such battles would use up a good share of us.

I understand our total loss is 1700 killed wounded and missing; one *third* of our whole force. The loss of the 7th Conn. is 79. But very likely you have seen a full account of the battle in the papers, and know more about it than I do. Thankful am I that I am among the two thirds that came off with a whole skin. How long we shall wait I don't know; but I guess some time, for they don't like the idea of getting under the fire of our gunboats, and they don't feel *particular* about giving our Spencer rifles a chance to play on them from behind breastworks; so I guess we shall rest in peace unless we go out after them, and I hardly think we shall do that at present.

I sent you a letter the other day, but I don't know a thing I wrote. I guess it was a queer letter, for I was so tired and in so much of a hurry, expecting every minute to be called on for something, that I don't suppose I wrote anything so that you could read it. Well, it will let you know that I am still *alive*, and that is the main object of my letters. . . .

56. The first half of this series of letters by Private Milton M. Woodford, Seventh Connecticut Volunteers, USA, appeared in the last issue of this *Quarterly* under the title "A Connecticut Yankee Fights at Olustee."

Sat. March 5th

I have been waiting and waiting to get the mail that came with the "Veterans";⁵⁷ but *they* have not come yet from the Head [Hilton Head, S. C.], and Major Sanford has the mail. Well, I sha'n't wait any longer; but if I can have time, shall finish up this and send it along. I am afraid you will be disappointed sometimes by not getting letters from me every time a steamer arrives at N. Y.; but I am busy, *busy* all the time. It is guard, picket, fatigue, police, or some kind of duty all the time, and I don't find time to write between the hours of duty. . . . I don't know how long we are going to be so busy, but I hope we may have a little more time one of these days. I suppose Gen. Seymour will have us drill every day as soon as we can get a place cleared up. Well, it is all [over] inside of six months. Just six months from *today* my time will be out, and I shall be with you as soon after as possible.

Sunday Morning

Last night we fell into line and marched down to the city to receive the Veterans; but when we got there found they had not come; but the boat that *did* come brought a mail, and in it a letter for me. I suppose Major Sanford has the mail that came with him yet. I don't know what good it does him to keep it back when he might just as well have sent it along. May it do him *lots of good*. You see I am inclined to find fault. I should not be a real *soldier* if I didn't, more or less. I am glad to hear from you again, and glad the children are getting better. If you had such weather as we have here, you would all feel better. Peach trees are in full bloom. People are planting corn, and in the city they get early garden sauce,⁵⁸ such as green peas and the like from St. Augustine, every day.

There is not much land under cultivation just about here, or there would be plenty of it *here*. This is a rich

57. Enlistees who accepted the army's offer of a leave if they would reenlist for a three year period.

58. A colloquial and dialectic expression for "garden vegetables eaten with meat."

country naturally, and the place to make money in times of peace for all of going *West*,⁵⁹ if people only knew it. A good many are finding it out though, and when the war is over, very many Northern men will move *South*; but I hardly think I shall be one of the number. Give me *old Connecticut* for a *home*.

You say you have heard of fighting down here. If they call Col. Henry's skirmish a *fight*, I don't know what they *will* say about the battle of Olustee. I hope my last letter will go straight through, for you will hear of the battle and will worry yourself sick about me, I am afraid.

I am surprised to hear that Lyman is on his way down here. I supposed he would stay there till his time was up. I have had but one letter from him since I came away. I presume he is with the "Vets"; if so, I shall probably see him today. I am anxious to have the boat come up, for I want to see him if he is with them. All of my New Britain chums are gone, and I feel almost *lonesome* sometimes.

Afternoon

The "Vets" have come, and we have escorted them to camp; but Lyman is not with them. I was in hopes to see him, but shall have to wait.

The boys are looking very well, but I guess have had a good deal of a *time* since they went away. I don't envy them their prospects of three years service. We have now quite a respectable regiment in regard to *size*, and if we ever get another so fair a sight of the rebels as we did at Olustee, we will make them fear us more than they do now, and they dread us now more than any other regiment in this department.

I hope you have not had any false reports about who was killed or wounded. I see there are some incorrect reports in some of the papers. You will know by my letter that I am safe. I hope you have it by this time.

59. The popular "Go west, young man" slogan coupled with the romantic lure of gold and silver strikes in the Far West must have made westward migration a popular subject for casual discussion among Union soldiers.

I have just received your letter of the 13th, the one Major Sanford has had a week or so. . . .

You say you hear that the 7th are *mounted*. We were *all mounted* by three times our number of Rebs at Olustee, but further than that I know nothing of the 7th being mounted, although we have heard we *were* to be; I hardly think we shall, and for my part, hope we *sha'n't*, for I don't care to learn the drill just for six months. If I was a "Vet", [I] should think more of it. . . .

Tell Carrie, I guess the *snakes* won't bite Papa, for he has seen but *one live* one since he came to Florida. Love and kisses for the little darlings, and very much to yourself and all, from

Milton.

Camp near Jacksonville, Fla.
Mar. 11th, 1864

My own dear Lina:—

. . . We are all anxious to get news from the North, as we have rumors of the movements of troops in other departments. We hope to hear of success *somewhere* if we are not so fortunate.

I hear that there is to be an *investigation* of the circumstances in relation to the battle of *Olustee*; I hope it will be *thorough*. . . .

We are still at Jacksonville, and I think will be in this vicinity for some time; but there is no knowing what minute we may take wing.

Last Sunday we had our tents brought out to us, and we put them up and slept in them *two nights*. Tuesday we took them down and stowed them away in a building down in the city. The officers' tents are left standing, as *they* don't *like* the idea of lying out doors through a rain storm, nor sitting in the sun when it doesn't rain. It has rained like a flood for thirty-six hours, and the man who can keep dry is a lucky boy. I am told the reason of our tents being taken away is, that we are to have *shelter tents* sometime.

I wish I could draw a correct picture of our camp, but I can't nor describe it either, and won't *try*. I don't

know as I care to give you any idea of it, come to think; for you would *imagine* it worse than it really is. It is nothing to be a soldier when one *gets used to it*.

Sunday, 13th

When I had written so far the other day, I heard my name called; went out to answer to it, and was presented with a letter from the Chief Commissary, saying that I could obtain my *ration money* by calling at his office. Our Lieut. very kindly gave me a pass to the city and I went down, and found that the "red tape" was finally unwound, and the money was paid without further ceremony. The amount was \$25.60. I will inclose \$20.00 in this for you. It may come in *handy to have* in the *house*. I don't know when pay-day will come, and don't know as I shall get more than *two months* pay when it does; but *hope* to get the *back pay*. It will be good when it *does* come at least.

After I got the money, I took advantage of the time that still remained to me before my pass ran out, to visit the grave-yard where Edgar M. Woodford [Quartermaster Serjeant], Seventh Connecticut Volunteer Regiment] was buried. The burying ground is in sad condition, the fences all torn down around the entire lot; and those that stood around the *small* lots. Any thing that will *burn* is apt to suffer when soldiers are encamped near.

I found Cousin Edgar's grave with a board at the head, with his name and the date of his death. His wife and family would feel sad indeed if they knew just how the place looks.

It made me feel sad and home-sick to pass through the streets, now deserted by their former owners, and see what *war* has done for this once beautiful place [Jacksonville]. What would our Northern places be if Jeff should succeed in invading the Northern states! If anything that I have done has tended to keep him away, I am amply rewarded for all that I have done within the last three years; and were it not that I owe a duty to

my *family* as well as to the *country* I presume I should not leave the army till the war is over. I *hope* the war *may* be ended by the time my time is out. At any rate I shall consider that I have done all that duty requires of me, and return home with a consciousness of having done all that can reasonably be required.

In the afternoon I was detailed for picket duty. I only came off picket twenty-four hours before, but it takes about half the company every day. Had a very pleasant time, no rain and a very comfortable night; no Rebs came to disturb us. One man thought he was in danger; he saw a man approaching on horseback and fired at him. The ball did not take effect, and the supposed enemy proved to be the Major in command of the picket, who was going around to visit his men.

I have seen something the last two nights on picket that I never saw before. I have heard of "Jack-o-lanterns" and "Will-o-the-wisps", but I never expected to see them, and never *did* till the nights I speak of. It is a kind of phosphorescent light that rises from the swamps,⁶⁰ and looks like the light of a lantern. Sometimes it moves slowly, as though it was carried by some person; then again, it goes swiftly, and clear up into the tops of the trees. The first one I saw went so swiftly that I knew at once that it could not be carried by a man, otherwise I should have called the attention of the officer to it. Since then I find that others have seen a number. I would rather see them than rebels.

Lyman and I are tent mates. You may say "I thought your tents were taken away"; so they are: but "gump"⁶¹ comes in play in the army sometimes. We have some stakes driven into the ground with poles across, and a piece of old canvas spread over, which keeps off the sun, and with the aid of rubber blankets, *some* of the rain. There are five of us in our "shbang" (that is the soldier's name for such kind of houses) all good, steady fellows; how different it seems from camping in *Camp*

60. The light of "will-o'-the-wisp (*ipnis fatuus*) is due to phosphorescent gas and its movement to air currents. It seems to have been a favorite subject for novelists.

61. Gumption: Common sense.

Parole. Nowhere that I have been do I find so steady a set of men, take them as a whole, as the *old* members of Co. A, 7th C.V.

I conclude by what I hear, that soldiers have not gained a very enviable reputation by what was seen of the "Veterans" while they were home. People who do not know, and who do not stop to think, may think that all are alike. The innocent always suffer for the guilty, and always will, I suppose; but *you* know of *some* soldiers who are not like *some* who have just been home.

Well, I must wind up this rambling letter. I am ashamed of my letters lately. I can't get time to write but a few minutes at a time, and then I am more or less confused; but you must make allowances. I know you will. . . .

The time is fast passing away, and soon I shall see you if we are spared. Pray for me Lina, that I may be kept from evil and protected from danger. . . . I am as ever, your own

Milton.

Camp near Jacksonville, Fla.

March 17th, 1864.

My own dear wife:—

. . . We have been busy all day, and now I am sitting on the ground with three others, around a short piece of candle that gives a dim light and that will not last long, trying to talk to you. O if I could talk to you Lina. . . .

By the last mail we got papers with accounts of the battle of Olustee, but had I not been an eye witness, I should not be able to get much of an idea of it from the papers. Some cut Gen. Seymour pretty hard. I hope some one will cut him hard enough to get him out of this department. He has led more men to death, and accomplished less in so doing than all the generals in the department beside. The troops here consider him their enemy. He gives them no rest, while in camp, and when he goes into battle he seems to be entirely indifferent

to the loss of the men. This is rather hard talk I know, but it appears true to me. I am glad of one thing; he won't be likely to have force enough to make another advance at present,⁶² and perhaps a better general can be found by and by. If the Rebs think best to attack us here, let them come; they will be likely to find different work than when they had us in their trap at Olustee.

Thursday 24th

. . . Last Friday we went out on picket and stayed three days, and in the three days I slept about six hours. We never had so severe picket duty as now. Gen. Seymour, the "soldier killer" is trying to make up for his carelessness at Olustee by excess of caution now. It may be all very well for him, but it is death to soldiers.

We were favored by having very fine weather until the last day in the afternoon, when it began to rain, and it did rain just as though it had a certain amount of raining to do and only a limited time to do it in. Consequence— before we were relieved we were wet to the skin and the rain still pouring. I pitied the darkies who came out to relieve us, for it bid fair to be as foul weather for them as it had been fair for us. We came in and found everything wet. All the other regiments here have shelter tents but ours, but we have to get along as best we can.⁶³ If Gen. Seymour could hear all that is said about him, and the wishes for his not-very-welfare, he would be either sorry or mad, I don't know which.

Monday night it just poured, and in the morning we were about as well soaked as would have been necessary if we had been "salt horse". By the way— we shall be as near that as anything unless we have a change of

62. Brig. Gen. Seymour was nevertheless very anxious to advance when and if he could assemble sufficient men and material. Seymour to Chief of Staff, Dept. of the South. Mar. 14, 1864, *Off. Rec.*, Series I, Vol. XXXV, Part II, 18; same to same, Mar. 17, 1864, *Ibid.*, 22.

63. Private Woodford's miserable living conditions at this time, it would seem, should be kept in mind when reading his strictures against his commanding officer. But there is general agreement that Gen. Seymour was responsible for the Federal defeat at Olustee.

diet soon. Have had nothing but salt meat since we came here. We all got up wishing "Old Seymour" all sorts of wet lodgings, and some, *warm* ones. . . .

Yesterday morning it cleared off, but the wind blew cold, and today is a real Conn. March day. Tomorrow may be hot enough to roast an egg.

While we were out on picket, the rebel cavalry came down on our out-post cavalry pickets and drove them in as far as our line of infantry pickets, but did not think proper to come any further, but were in turn driven two miles beyond our former line of outposts.

Tuesday night two secesh⁶⁴ river steamers were brought down the river. They were captured above here by our gunboats which run up the river a hundred miles or more. . . .

This afternoon we shall have to move our camp, which is the fifth time we have moved camp since we came here. We don't move far, only just enough so that every man must pull down his little shanty, and build it up again, or else sleep out doors entirely. Well, it's all inside of six months.

Our regiment is larger now than it ever was before. Two squads of recruits have arrived lately, and we now number 1080 men. There is some talk of taking out the old members who did not re-enlist and forming a separate battalion of them, perhaps put them into heavy artillery. I think it would be a good idea, but there may be nothing in the report. I think the danger of an attack is over, from the fact that the officers begin to "put on airs".

An order was read on dress parade last night to the effect that we must always salute an officer when we meet one, whether on duty or not. Of course we expect to obey orders; but it is the office, not the officer that we intend to salute.⁶⁵ An order from Gen. Seymour was read, congratulating the troops on their heroic

64. Confederate.

65. A correct interpretation of military etiquette, as American privates and seamen have usually been quick to discover and declaim!

conduct in the late battle; said the repulse was neither a disaster nor a disgrace. The miserable old traitor! I cant find words to express my contempt, so will stop.⁶⁶ With love, love, *love*,

Your own
Milton.

In the woods near Jacksonville,. Fla.
March 27th, 1864.

Dear Lina:—

Wonder how and where you are today. I am on picket, watching Rebs. Came out last night to stay three days, and if it don't rain, expect to have a very comfortable time. For some reason we are having it easier than the last time I was out, for we are on duty two hours and off four hours. When they allow us that, I prefer picket to camp duty (although it is rather more dangerous) for we get rid of a good deal of the unnecessary ceremony and red tape that we have to observe in camp. On picket we are not required to salute any officer, whether on duty or not. To be sure, some officers try to put on style on picket, but they make very little headway with the old soldiers. We know that we are only required by the regulations to do our duty, and we think we know what that is, as well as some can tell us.

We are stationed about a mile outside of our camp. Other regiments' line of pickets meet ours on each side, and the whole form a line from the river below the town to the river above, and so close are we together that a cat could hardly get through without being seen or heard.

Outside of us are the mounted men posted on the different roads, and wherever a force of the enemy would be likely to try to come down. I think Jacksonville is pretty safe, at any rate Mr. Reb better not try to take it with a *small* army. What a pity we could not have

66. General Orders, No. 13, Hdqtrs. Dist of Fla., Mar. 10, 1864, signed by R. M. Hall by order of Brig. Gen. Seymour, told the troops: "In your repulse there was perhaps misfortune, but neither disaster nor disgrace, and every officer and soldier may forever remember with just pride that he fought at Olustee." *Off. Rec.*, Series I, Vol. XXXV, Part I, 297-8.

had a man to command here who had just a little caution about him, before that battle was fought. We held all at that time that was worth holding in this vicinity, that is Baldwin and the rail-road from here there, besides thousands of dollars worth of resin and turpentine that might have been brought off in a very few days, but which was burned in the retreat; then we could have saved some of the cattle that run in the woods; people who were so inclined could have come into our lines; and some of the objects of the movement into Florida might have been realized; but some one wanted to get glory or something else, and so every thing must be risked (and lost) that he might get fame. Well, he has got his name up, but I don't envy him. Ninety-nine persons out of every hundred in this department would shout for joy if he should be removed. His congratulatory orders, praising the men for their "heroic daring and unflinching courage" in the late battle, does not soft-soap them in the least. They think of the remark he made when the men were nearly worn out with hard marching, sore-footed and hungry. One of his officers ventured to ask if he was not marching the men harder than they could stand it. "No", he said, "this is just what I want; I shall get rid of the poor trash, and get at the cream of the army".

We had a report yesterday that a General had come to relieve him, and you should have heard the men cheer. The officers don't dare to say much, but they would rejoice as much as any of us. . . .

Milton.

Head Quarters Hawley's Brigade.
Jacksonville, Fla;
April 5th, 1864.

Dear Lina:—

I want to talk to you. Won't you come and sit down a little while? I wish you would. I am on guard at Col. Hawley's headquarters in the city. He lives in a nice cottage house just at the out edge of the place. It is a

very pleasant place, or was before the war. The streets around here are shaded by nice large trees, and the houses are neat and comfortable, very different from most of the houses I have seen South. The place reminds me of New Britain some, and still it doesn't look like it. I believe I should rather be in New Britain just now. Wonder how it would seem to get into a place where the people were not all soldiers. In five months from today I hope to be in such a place; or in a fair way to get there soon. Five months will soon pass away, but I get almost impatient thinking of it. What may take place between now and then, none of us can tell. I hope, and we all hope that the war may be brought to a close by that time. I shall be surprised if there is not some heavy fighting this Spring in some of the Departments.

I hope we may be successful. Great things are expected of General Grant.⁶⁷ I hope he may accomplish all and more than is expected of him; but I must say I have fears that he will not be able to.

I don't like the way our people have, of making a little god of a man when he is successful. I don't think any one man is going to save this country, not even General Grant. We are apt to trust the arm of flesh. We want more faith in God, and less of man worship. For my part, I am sick of hearing and reading so much of these great and good officers. In nine cases out of ten, if the truth were known, these very men are guilty of practices that would disgrace a private citizen or soldier. I do not know of an officer of any note in this Department who does not keep himself more or less soaked with liquor, if I have been rightly informed; and many of them I should not consider profitable companions at home; and some, I guess, would not care to have their families informed of their doings here.

So when I see a general, or any officer, puffed up so highly, I can't help but think that the man who wrote the piece did not really know what he was talking about.

67. Grant had been promoted by Lincoln to Lieut.-General and raised to command of the Union armies shortly before this time (Mar. 9, 1864).

Every thing is quiet here at present; three companies of our regiment are up the river somewhere; what they are doing I don't know. They have sent down ten prisoners and a large torpedo, which was intended to blow up another steamer, I suppose. Our folks have to keep a pretty sharp lookout for such things for it doesn't take long to put one down, and they are not very pleasant things to sail over. I think we shall have to move camp again soon. We have cleaned up the ground around our present camp very nicely, dug out all the stumps, built beautiful gothic houses⁶⁸ to live in, and, in fact, have got all ready to move again.

By the way, I must tell you about our houses. We have been expecting to have shelter tents for over a month; but for some reason they don't come. All the other "nigger" regiments have them, and we still live in hopes.

Perhaps you don't know what a shelter tent is. Well, it is a piece of cotton cloth six feet square, with buttons and button holes in three sides, so that it can button onto, or be buttoned onto one or more pieces like it.

It is intended for each man to have one piece, and when we want a tent, two men button their pieces together, drive down two crotches, put a pole across, spread the canvas over, and the tent is done. Three or four can put their tents together when they have time and are allowed to build up with boards or logs, and make a very comfortable place to sleep.

Our officers, ever mindful of the comfort of their men, but much more so of themselves and the appearance of the camp, gave orders. that as our tents were soon to be issued, the men must build frames to spread them on, and they must be all of one size and pattern so that there might be uniformity; and the covering that was intended for two men must cover four; and a pattern was made under the supervision of an officer. The size of the mansion is six feet long, by six and one half wide. The ridge pole is three feet from the floor and the eaves

68. Ironic exaggeration, of course.

six inches. Just take a couple of table cloths and hang them over a pole three feet high and bring the edges to the floor so that the space will be six feet wide, and see how much room there is.

In that space four men must put their arms and equipments, knapsacks, and all they own, then get in themselves if they can.

If four of our meanest officers were obliged to live in one of these holes this summer I would not say a word; but they each have a large wall tent to live in, plenty of room to turn round in and for air to circulate.

Some say growling does no good; I don't know as it does, but something has influenced our superiors to modify their plans a little, and we are allowed to have twenty-four huts in a company, which will leave only three in a hut.

That will be some better, especially as one half of the company will be on guard every night, and consequently not at home.

I can't quite see the policy of making a regiment lie out doors, or use their bedding for a covering for two months, when their tents are lying in a building within half a mile of them; but of course it is all right, for it is orders from our superior officers; and don't they always seek to promote the health and comfort of the men? Of course! (they don't!)

Well, here I am finding fault again. Can't help it; got so used to it comes natural. Guess you think so, don't you?

Col. Hawley is very pleasant to me always; but some of the boys don't like him at all. For my part, I don't see any reason to change my opinion of him yet. I suppose he would like to wear a star instead of the eagle; but I am selfish enough to hope he won't have it to wear before September, for I would rather he would command the regiment than any other man I know of.

He is not in immediate command now; but things are under his control, and will be as long as he is colonel.

Our present camp is in a very pleasant place, on a bluff on the bank of the river, which is quite wide at this place and very deep.

Vessels of the largest size can float here, much larger than can cross the bar at the mouth. The St. Johns is a fine river, and is navigable for over two hundred miles. The boys (those who can get off duty long enough) have fine times fishing; think I shall try my luck one of these days. They catch very large nice ones.

Alligators are plenty. Shall I send you one in a letter?

We also have scorpions, centipedes, rattle "snaix" etc. How should you like 'em? They are nothing when you get used to them; although it is not very pleasant, along at first, to feel a centipede crawling down the back of your neck, or up your trowsers leg. I used to dread them about as bad as I did the Rebs, but I don't mind them now, nor the Rebs either for that matter; I mean so long as they keep away; I shouldn't care to meet them again under the same circumstances as at Olustee, but if they should come down on us here I think we should give them all they could attend to.

O dear! I don't like this kind of guard duty. I would rather be watching Rebs. My duty here is to salute all officers according to their rank that pass my beat; and at night wake the Col. in case of an alarm. I am sick of so much ceremony that amounts to nothing.

. . . Will wind up this yarn and send it along I guess. wish I could get into the envelope and go with it. . . .

As ever, Milton.

On board the Steamer "Delaware",
St. John's River. Apr. 16, 1864.

Dear Lina:—

In my last letter I said I should like to take a trip to Pilatka. I had hardly finished writing when I had orders to pack my knapsack, black my shoes and fix up generally, and report for special duty at the Major's quarters. . .

When I arrived at the Major's I found that our party was to consist of ten men and a sergeant; our duty to go as guard for the steamer "Mary Benton" to Pilatka. We went on board, and for the first time since I have been in the service I really enjoyed a sail.⁶⁹ The "Mary Benton" is a trim little steamer, and her captain a very pleasant man. We had the whole to ourselves, not an officer to domineer over and make it unpleasant for us, and I enjoyed the sail up the river as I have enjoyed nothing for a long time. The weather was lovely and the scenery beautiful, not grand, for there are no hills and rocky cliffs, but the shore is thickly wooded, with now and then a house surrounded by orange trees, and all is green and fresh.

The river is very deep and wide, part of the way two and three miles, and part only about one mile wide. It is wider and straighter above Jacksonville than below, and the country is better. About twelve miles up we passed the wreck of the "Maple Leaf," the victim of a rebel torpedo.⁷⁰

You might think it rather risky navigating where such things are liable to be run into; but it is so seldom that one does any damage that it is thought no more of than danger from any other cause, although precautions are taken to avoid them. Gunboats patrol the river all the time, and it would not be particularly safe for a party to be caught putting down one of those machines.⁷¹

[Palatka]

Arrived at our destination about ten in the evening. The next morning (Wednesday) took a stroll through the place. I don't know what to tell you about the place. Some would say it is a rough looking place, but I think

69. The Confederates, however, deemed travel up the river from Jacksonville to Palatka "precarious" because of their success in laying mines in the channel. *Off. Rec.*, Series I. Vol. XXXV, Part I, 369.

70. Sunk by torpedo, April 1, 1864, Maj. Gen. Patton Anderson, C.S.A., to Headquarters, May 14, 1864, *Ibid.*, 370.

71. The Confederate commanding officer hardly agreed with Private Woodford's optimism, needless to say. "A number of torpedoes," he bragged, had been planted by April 1 in the channel of the St. Johns River about 15 miles above Jacksonville. *Ibid.*, 369.

it is beautiful. If ever I get sick of Connecticut and want to find some quiet and lovely spot, I shall think of Pilatka. Art has done very little for the place, but Nature very much. There are but two or three houses that look like northern houses, the rest are of the southern style; but there are orange trees loaded with fruit, lemon trees, fig trees, great magnolias and trees of different kinds, the names of which I do not know, some of them fairly loaded with long grey moss that hangs like drapery from every limb, reminding me of pictures I have seen of fairy land. One or two places give evidence that they are owned by northern men: the houses are large and comfortable and painted; (Southerners whitewash their houses usually) and the grounds are laid out with taste. I wish you could see it. Such a place in Connecticut would be worth an independent fortune.

When we returned to the steamers (for there were four besides ours) we found that the object of the steamers going up was to take the troops away from that point, the white troops having been ordered North.⁷² Our boat was busy all day taking men, horses, mules, wagons, cannon and "sich", over the river and landing them on the other side to march down either to Jacksonville or St. Augustine.

I employed part of the time fishing. The river is full of fish and we caught some nice ones weighing from five to seven pounds. There are some kinds of fish that we choose to kill before handling much. One of them, a large moccasin snake, came swimming along and as he came alongside, the end of a rope hit him on the head and laid him out, and he was taken on board. He looked very much like a rattle snake. Their bite is if possible more poisonous. A man who has lived here says there is no antidote for their poison. He told me a colored girl of his was bitten by one and died almost instantly.

72. Palatka was abandoned by the Union forces, it seems, because the withdrawal of troops from the Dept. of the South for action in Virginia at that time made consolidation of the Union forces necessary. *Off. Rec.*, Series I, Vol. XXXV, Part II, 58.

All day Wednesday and Thursday the boats were busy taking in and discharging men and munitions of war. Just at night Thursday the four remaining regiments came on board the boat, the pickets were drawn in, and the Rebs followed so close that we could see them around the fires that had been built to burn some things that were not worth taking away, but which might have been of use to the Rebs. If they had some field pieces with them they might have done us some damage; but we moved off quietly and were soon out of sight.

We had on board two or three families of refugees, and such another miserable looking set! O dear! It beggars description. I pitied the poor creatures. They look as though they had been starved; had just clothes enough to cover them, southern homespun; their faces a sickly pale, and ignorance stamped on them as plainly as though written with pen or pencil.

I do pity the poor white people of the South, for it is very little real sympathy they get from either party. The Rebs conscript the men, and leave their families to starve; and our folks care little for them because their husbands are in the rebel army. . . .

We arrived at Jacksonville about noon Friday; went ashore and started for camp, when we were told our regiment had gone North two days before.⁷³ Well, here was a fix; the regiment two days on the way to Fortress Monroe, and eleven of us left here. Well, "Uncle Sam" is bound to take care of us somehow a while longer, so we give ourselves no uneasiness about it and let things take their course.

We reported to the Gen. Commanding, and after thinking awhile he gave us orders to report at Hilton Head [South Carolina]. . . . We then went on board the steamer Delaware and took lodgings outside, for privates are not allowed in the cabins, and the hold was altogether too dirty to suit me. In the night it rained. You may think it not very pleasant to Sleep out of doors

73. Special Orders No. 150, Hdqtrs. Dept. of the South, April 11, 1864, *Ibid.*, 48.

in the rain. So do I; but when you get used to it, why it is easy enough.

Got up this morning bright as a pewter sixpence, having had a good night's sleep in spite of the rain. Went ashore, got breakfast, washed, came on board and ate it; blacked shoes and then sat down to write. Perhaps you would like to know what "get breakfast" means. The way I get breakfast is to put some coffee and water into a cup and set onto a fire and boil it, then sweeten and wash down my hard tack with it. . . .

About ten o'clock every thing was ready, and we left the dock with the 47th N.Y. on board. The "Ben Deford" left just ahead of us with the 48th N.Y. and the "Dictator" followed with the 115th N.Y., all bound for Hilton Head.

A large propeller⁷⁴ had on board the 17th Conn. bound for St. Augustine. The day is fine, and we are having a very pleasant trip down the St. Johns. The boat shakes so I can't write decent. Hope you can read it! if you can't I'll read it for you in Sept.

Milton.

74. A screw propelled steamship.

BOOK REVIEWS

Florida, Land of Change by Kathryn Abbey Hanna. [Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948. XII, 445 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliography, and index. \$4.50].

This is the second edition, revised and enlarged, of the volume published in 1941 with the same title under the author's maiden name, Kathryn Trimmer Abbey. To bring the work up to date the last two chapters have been rewritten and enlarged, and a chapter added— "The Blossoming of the Peninsula." New sources have been added to the bibliography to cover these additions; all resulting in a total of thirty pages over the first edition.

The former volume was reviewed at length in this QUARTERLY, the issue of April 1941, from the viewpoint of the historian, and that of the general reader, to both of whom it appealed. It at once took a place in the forefront of Florida histories, and the need for a reprinting is evidence of its continued popularity.

Murray, Paul, *The Whig Party in Georgia, 1825-1853*. Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Volume 29 in the James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. (219 p. \$2.50).

With this study of the Georgia Whigs, Mr. Murray makes a notable contribution to Southern political history, for it is a welcome addition to the not too numerous works in the literature of Whiggery in the South. Like Henry H. Simms's *Rise of the Whigs in Virginia*, it is a highly specialized work which reaches far into the background of the Whig party in one Southern state. However, in its scope and wealth of detail it is more to be compared with A. C. Cole's *Whig Party in the South*. Although this very emphasis on detail will remove the book from consideration for popular reading, scholars will welcome it as a competent research work. Our espe-

* The reviewer, Herbert J. Doherty Jr., a graduate student at the University of Florida, is now at work on his master's thesis "The Whig Party in Florida." *Ed.*

cial interest is in a comparison with the similarities and differences of the party in Florida and our nearest neighbor.

Originally written as a doctoral dissertation, the author deals considerably more with factual material than interpretation. As to its style much is to be desired to improve the readability of the work, but otherwise it is adequate and satisfying.

The first four chapters are given over to extensive treatment of the origins of the political faction in Georgia which allied itself to the national Whig party. The author views the Troup party as the structural base on which the Georgia Whigs were built. Politics in early Georgia history was a highly personalized field of activity. This so-called Troup party took its name from George M. Troup, several times governor, who built his following into a party machine. The opposition was headed by John Clark and was known as the Clark party. The strength of the Troup party was largely drawn from the sections of the state devoted to cotton growing under slave conditions. Such prominent Georgians as Edward Tattnall, John Forsyth, Joel Crawford, William H. Crawford, and John M. Berrien were associated with this faction during the eighteen twenties.

The outstanding issue agitated by this group at that time was opposition to the tariff. The most violent differences between the opposing factions, however, arose over purely state issues. The Troupites favored internal improvements at state expense, particularly railroads and canals. They also favored a state owned banking system, and in 1828 established the Central Bank of Georgia through their control of the Legislature. This was the same year in which the Whig dominated Territorial Council in Florida created the first bank in the Territory over the veto of a Democratic governor.

In 1827 John Clark moved to Florida leaving his party leaderless until most of them found a place in the new Union party, which forced a reorganization of the Troup faction into the State Rights party. At this junc-

ture the Troup party was being weakened by the defection of many of its leaders, while the Clark-Union party was being strengthened by the establishment of several newspapers. One of these, the *Savannah Mercury*, was edited by Cosam Emir Bartlett who later edited the *Columbus Democrat*. Bartlett moved to Florida and for a time ably edited the *Apalachicola Gazette* and represented Franklin county in the Constitutional Convention of 1838. The Union party was the administration party and supported Jackson in the nullification controversy.

The favorable action of Jackson in the Georgia Cherokee problem saved that state from support of the South Carolina stand. Though the Troup leaders were bitterly opposed to the tariff they were not disposed to go so far as nullification of the law of the land. Conservative circles in Florida expressed much the same views, the *Pensacola Gazette*, a moderately Whig organ adding, "It is quite a pity that these kind of State proceedings had not been similarly met in the various cases of Georgia—we should have heard nothing of the Nullifiers in Carolina."¹

Although the Union party worked with the national Democratic party, Mr. Murray points out that the State Rights party was not a part of the National Republican party which preceded the Whigs on the national scene. It was purely a local party of opposition. During the years 1834-1839 the State Rights group was in the minority in Georgia. It was during this era that principles were beginning to overshadow personalism in politics. The State Rights group adopted the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions as their political faith and insisted on the right of nullification while denying the practical political value. This period was one of rapidly expanding national powers, and the parties in Georgia vied for the honor of protecting the state against federal encroachments. In 1835 the State Rights party took a stand for Hugh Lawson White for president. This was

1. *Pensacola Gazette*, Jan. 2, 1833.

their first endorsement of a presidential candidate and presaged the party's alignment with the Whigs.

In the campaign of 1836 the State Rights party began its retreat from nullification views by stating its aims to be the preservation of the Union and the sovereignty of the states. In this election the party began its march back to the leadership of the state, a march which was aided by dissention in the Union ranks over the policy of the Central Bank of Georgia. The Central Bank became the focal point of the storm that brought defeat to the Democrats in the gubernatorial race of 1837. The panic of 1837 made the position of the state owned Central Bank even more precarious and closed down scores of weak banks which had been chartered under the liberal policy of the Union legislatures. These events furnished the grounds for the newly christened "State Rights and Republican Party" to return to power.

This state of affairs was exactly the opposite of events in Florida at this time. Here the Legislative Council, dominated by the planting interests which were to benefit most by the banks and which furnished the backbone of Whig support in this state, had been responsible for a liberal bank chartering policy. When the panic came the anti-bank men were the Democrats who used the opportunity to weld their party into the dominant group it was for a decade after the panic. Such men as David Levy, James D. Westcott, and Robert Raymond Reid sparked the move which discredited the Whigs.

The Georgia elections of 1839 were a complete victory for grim reality over idealism. The Union party proposed direct relief for the economic distress, while the State Rights party proposed economy and "good business methods in state government."

During Tyler's term the Union-Democratic party opposed the revival of a national bank out of loyalty to Andrew Jackson and suspicion of corporations. They favored state banks because of their ability to control them locally. The State Rights-Whig party supported

the national bank idea because of its soundness and their enmity to Andrew Jackson. They opposed the state banks because of their instability and because the Unionists had chartered them.

The first year in which a delegation from Georgia attended the national Whig convention was 1844. From then on the history of the Georgia Whig party becomes more closely identified with the general picture of Whiggery in the South. As the slavery controversy quickened, this became increasingly the case and eventually it came to pass that the controversy not only drew together the Whig factions in the various Southern states but the Democratic and Whig supporters were joined together in defense of the "peculiar institution."

After 1850, when the issue of slavery as a social institution combined with the issue of sectional advantage in the Federal Union, the Southern Whigs slowly lost ground. The author denotes the years 1849-1853 as the period of decline and disintegration of the Whig party in Georgia. This was in line with the general pattern all over the South.

As the Whigs dropped from the picture the Democrats appropriated their county organizations and their leadership, assuming at the same time much of the conservative cast of the old Whig party. Thus by 1860 the South had only one outstanding political party.

This work by Mr. Murray should be of interest to all students of Southern history. Although it is often difficult reading, it furnishes a wealth of information for fact-seekers and ample opportunity for individual interpretation. A student of Florida history will find it particularly interesting to make comparisons in the courses of the Whig party in the two states. The many interesting contradictions only accentuate the characteristics of the national Whig party.

LOCAL HISTORY

Local history must depend in part on tradition. Usually tradition has a basis in fact, but has grown or changed with every retelling. Yet often it was born through a supposition only, or from unintentional error in stating a fact. Yet again, many times, its beginning was pure invention, as in the case of the numerous historical trees— few of which ever had any connection with the event they are coupled with.

Though the careful historian never states a fact of the past without some kind of written evidence, a local historian must record the most important and most likely traditions of his locality.

THE STORY OF FORT MYERS

Karl H. Grismer has recently published another of his histories of Florida West Coast cities— *The Story of Fort Myers*. (348 p. illustrated. St. Petersburg Printing Company, 1949.) In 1924 he published his *History of St. Petersburg*; since when he has published *The Story of Sarasota*, and a revised and enlarged *Story of St. Petersburg*. He has now begun work on a history of Hillsborough county.

Mr. Grismer is evidently in accord with what is said above, for he is careful to make a distinction in each case between tradition and his statements from recorded evidence. After diligent research he has put together with skill all that is known and available of the early history of Fort Myers.

Pensacola has many traditions, which is to be expected, for numerous descendants of its early Spanish and French inhabitants are still there today. Court house records and other documentary evidence authenticate many of its legends, belief in others seems to be fully warranted, some appear to be more than likely, other entertaining tales can readily be swallowed with a grain of salt; but certain of them can be disproved with little

effort, and a few are clearly the inventions of a good story-teller.

Celia Myrover Robinson, an old resident, has gathered the most interesting of these into two recent publications: *Where Romance Flowered, Stories of Old Pensacola*; and *The Crown Jewel, Fabulous Families of Old Pensacola*. The fictional embellishment is here and there admitted by the author; but the greater part are facts, though in some cases it is left for the reader to guess into which of the above categories the legend should be placed.

THE EARLY SOUTHWEST COAST

Florida's Vanishing Era, recently published, has the subtitle "From the Journals of a Young Girl and Her Father 1887-1910." These are Charles A. Dean and Eleanor H. Dean Pearse, who came to the West Coast each winter for these twenty-three years.

The seventy-five pages of text comes directly from their diaries and letters home which pleasingly take you back to the time and the place, and hence are of greater interest and value than reminiscences could be. But of even greater interest are nearly two hundred reproductions of photographs of whatever attracted their attention and interest, especially during the early years. While largely of the Punta Gorda-Fort Myers region, there are a few of the coast from Tampa to Key West. Here are good pictures of the early steamers, the Hamilton Disston of 1891 and many others, of all of the hotels from 1889 on, of street scenes, the principal characters of that era, phosphate shipping from Boca Grande in 1893, cowpunchers driving cattle across the Caloosahatchee, and fishing and hunting.

EARLY ORLANDO

Mr. E. H. Gore, a resident of Orlando for forty-five years, has been gathering the facts and traditions of its early period. The result, now published, is *From Florida Sand to the City Beautiful*. "A Historical Record of Orlando, Florida." (142 p. \$1.25).

Seemingly every activity in the building of the city and in the community life of its people is recorded in detail with names and dates, so the volume contains a mass of several thousand facts seldom similarly brought together in one place. There are fifty reproductions of photographs, mainly of Orlando streets and buildings from near its beginning, an especially interesting feature of the volume.

They All Call it Tropical is the title of a booklet of 77 pages by Charles M. Brookfield and Oliver Griswold. (Data Press, Coconut Grove. \$1.00). The sub-title describes it as: True Tales of the Romantic Everglades National Park, Cape Sable, and the Florida Keys. The Foreword is by Daniel B. Beard, Superintendent, Everglades National Park, and there is an Introduction by John. D. Pennekamp, of the Everglades National Park Commission. There are 23 suitable illustrations.

In Memory of Major Dade

The Colonel William Carroll Lee Chapter (Miami), National Society, United States Daughters of 1812, unveiled a marker at the Dade County Court House on March 11 honoring Major Francis Langhorne Dade.

This is a part of a project of the Daughters of 1812 to place a marker in every county of the United States which is named for an 1812 patriot.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE ANNUAL MEETING

As was announced in the last issue, our annual meeting is being held while this number of the QUARTERLY is in press. We are meeting in Miami on April 8-9, at the invitation of the Historical Association of Southern Florida and the University of Miami, with Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau as chairman of the committee on arrangements and program. A full account of the program with the minutes of the business meeting will appear in our next issue.

A NOTEWORTHY GIFT TO OUR LIBRARY

Since the last number of the QUARTERLY appeared, the Society has received a very valuable gift from Frederick W. Dau. For many years Mr. Dau searched for and collected Florida historical material, much of which he used in writing his *Florida, Old and New*, published in 1934. He has now given our Library more than thirty volumes from this collection, many of them rare and which we did not have. The gift also includes Florida maps, and views of the last century.

Among the rare volumes are:

- John Lee Williams, *A View of West Florida*, Philadelphia 1827. (This is much rarer than the same author's *Territory of Florida*).
- The Early Days and Remembrances of Osceola Nikkanochee*. London, 1841.
- The Life, Adventures and Sufferings of Andrew Oehler*. Trenton, 1811. (This traveller was in Pensacola in 1808).
- The Shipwreck and Adventures of Pierre Viaud*. London, 1766. (Wrecked on the coast of Florida).
- Osceola, Fact and Fiction*. New York, 1838.
- Osceola*, Mayne Reid. 3 vols. New York, 1859.
- Biography and History of the Indians of North America*. Samuel H. Drake, 1841.
- Red Patriots, The Story of the Seminoles*. Charles H. Coe, Cincinnati, 1898.
- Letters of a Traveller*. William Cullen Bryant. New York, 1850. (Several of the letters were written from Florida).
- Excursions in North America*. Priscilla Wakefield. London, 1806 (St. Augustine, Pensacola, Florida Indians).
- America*, Arnold Montanus. 1673.
- La Florida del Inca*. Garcilasso de la Vega. Madrid, 1723.
- Maps of Florida. Bernard Romans. (reproductions).
- The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War*. John T. Sprague. New York, 1848.

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Ringwood, the Rover, A Tale of Florida. W. H. Herbert, New York, 1843.
Cosmographie, History of America. Peter Heylin. London, 1665.
 Florida diary. E. T. Lehman. (St. Augustine etc. 1878-79).

OTHER ACCESSIONS

Gift of Mrs. Richard Sears, descendant of Charles W. Bulow:
 40 Florida views (1886-1887): St. Augustine, steamers on the
 Ocklawaha, Green Cove Springs, Tomoka river, views of the
 Bulow plantation, of Favorita, etc.
 Gift of Mrs. Wm. L. Raub, St. Augustine: large colored view of Key
 West (1875?).
 Gift of W. S. Branch Jr.: *From Florida Sands to the City Beautiful* by
 E. H. Gore.
 Gift of Joe Allen, Key West Press: Guide book, Key West and Florida
 keys.
 Gift of W. A. Broughten, Genealogy of Arnold, Redway, and Earle
 families.
Quincy and Gadsen County. Quincy Chamber of Commerce.
 Biography of Sanchez family.
 Lorant (ed.) *The New World, The First Pictures of America.* 1946.

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East Tennessee Historical Society	Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography
Florida Academy of Sciences	Recruiting News
Georgia Historical Quarterly	Register of The Kentucky State Historical Society
Historical Association of Southern Florida	The Southwestern Historical Quarterly
Historical Outlook	State Historical Society of Missouri
Historical Society of Iowa	State Historical Society of Wisconsin
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