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BILLY BOWLEGS (HOLATA MICCO) IN THE CIVIL WAR

(Part II)

by Kenneth W. Porter

E LIAS RECTOR, as an ardent partisan of the Confederacy, must have particularly wished in subsequent years that his report of Billy Bowleg's death had been more than just a rumor, for Bowlegs was one of the principal chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes who supported the Union in the Civil War. Although a number of Seminole chiefs, along with representatives of all the other Civilized Tribes, were bullied or cajoled into signing a treaty with the Confederacy, before the war was over it was estimated that two-thirds of the Seminole Indians and practically all their Negroes were within the Union lines. Reasons for the alignment of the Civilized Tribes in the Civil War are complicated. The Choctaw and Chickasaw, located farthest to the south and east and always more inclined than other southern tribes to be conciliatory toward their white neighbors, were nearly all thoroughgoing Confederates, but the Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees were badly split. In general, the half-breed element also tended, along with such full-bloods as they could influence, to support the Confederacy. The majority of conservative full-bloods, with no interest in being "accepted" by the dominant element in the South, at first sought neutrality in the conflict, and then, when it became an impossibility, supported the Union cause. The Indian Negroes, who occupied a position of considerable influence among the Seminoles, and even among the Creeks and Cherokees were far more independent than white-owned slaves, knew immediately where their interests lay. Moreover, as badly as the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles had been treated by the United States government and its armed forces, their treatment by southern territorial and state governments and volunteers had been far worse; such little protection and fair treatment as they had received had come from Washington and from regular army officers.

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The factors which influenced a large element in the Creek and Cherokee tribes to shun alliance with the Confederacy operated even more powerfully on the Seminoles. The half-breed element among the Seminoles was insignificant. The Confederacy had to depend on such "good" Christianized full-bloods as John Jumper-and even he was reportedly most reluctant at first to throw off his allegiance to the Union. Negro influence among the Seminoles, on the other hand, was particularly strong-although there is no precise information as to the influence exerted upon Billy Bowlegs and other chiefs by their black advisors such as is abundantly available in regard to the First and Second Seminole Wars. Cynics might suggest, also, that the Seminoles, having recently fought two wars against the United States, were not anxious again to test their strength against its power. Whatever the reasons, the two leading Unionists among the Seminole were Billy Bowlegs and Halleck Tustenuggee, one of the last chiefs to surrender in the Second Seminole War. It is not surprising, in view of these circumstances, plus Bowlegs' personal popularity and hereditary position, that probably a larger proportion of the Seminoles were Unionists than even among the Creeks and Cherokees.

Although Chief John Jumper and other Seminole chiefs were persuaded-some say bribed-to sign the Seminole treaty of August 1, 1861, with the Confederacy, Billy Bowlegs, his brother-in-law Long John or John Chupco-who may also have been his son-in-law and was to be his successor as headchief-and the Mikasuki chief Halleck Tustenuggee, all refused to sign and eventually withdrew to Kansas and joined up with the Union forces. ¹

The Seminole, the smallest of the Five Civilized Tribes, could not be expected to take the lead in organizing the neutralist and eventually the Unionist force. This leadership was assumed by

1. War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Ser. IV, Vol. 22, 513-27; Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865, 332-33; Annie Heloise Abel, The Slaveholding Indians, 3 Volumes (Cleveland, 1919-1925), I, 198-99. The Treaty of August 1, 1861, mentioned "Eliza Chopco, daughter of Billy Bowlegs." Billy Bowlegs in 1858 had an 18-year-old daughter named Elizabeth, by his first wife, and it is possible that she subsequently married Long Jack, brother of his "young wife," thus acquiring in the white man's opinion, the surname of "Chopco" or "chup-co." Harper's Weekly, II (June 12, 1858), 376-78.

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Opothla Yahola, a wealthy and respected Creek full-blood who established headquarters near the mouth of Deep Fork and called upon Creeks, Seminoles, and other Indians for support.

About two and a half years later, in a letter from Neosho Falls, Kansas, to President Lincoln on March 10, 1864, Paskofa, then second chief of the Seminoles, described in a long and very informative letter the sequence of events which terminated in the division of the Seminoles between the Confederacy and the Union. Paskofa wrote: "When Pike had got all the principal men among the Cherokees and the Creeks, he came to the Seminoles and held a council. . . . When he arrived we were all astonished to know what he was after. . . . Pike and Chiefs of other tribes told us that we must fight for our Country. If we did not fight that the cold people [the Northerners] would come and take our Country from us. When Pike told our Chief [John Jumper] this, he Said he did not know what to do-then he turned to his lawyers [advisors]. . . . They said they had the word from the President, it was written in a book, and . . . they must obey the law. Pike told us that the Cherokees, Chocktaws, Chickasaw, and Creeks had agreed to fight for their Country, and . . . that they were a-going to make a very strong law, and any one who was able to fight and would not, Should be punished by law - Opo-the-o-ho-la heard of Pike's Speech and Said that he would have nothing to do with the South, and moved a short distance away and Camped out-after he had moved out, John Jumper Signed an agreement with Pike to help him. When he had made this agreement he turned to me and said. Pas-ko-fa, you are one of the Captains, you must raise all the men you can . . . to fight for our Country-I told Jumper that we had made an agreement with the President, and . . . I would not break the law-When I told Jumper those things, we had Sharp words for about four weeks. . . . I then turned to So. nuk. mik. kos-and asked him what we Should do. he told me that he was going to follow Old Gouge [Opothla Yahola's nickname]. . . . We then gathered our people together, and went to Gouge's Camp-" 2

2. Paskofa to the President of the United States, March 10, 1864, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D. C. (photostat copy in the possession of the author). "Old Man Gouge . . . was a big man among the Upper Creeks. His Indian name was Opoeth-leva-hola, and he got away into Kansas with a big bunch of Creeks."

In the meantime, representatives of anti-Confederate factions in several tribes sought assistance in Kansas, St. Louis, and Washington. A delegation of four Creeks, two Chickasaws, and two Seminoles called on Major George A. Cutler, Creek agent, at Leroy, Coffey County, Kansas, on November 4, 1861. The Seminole spokesman, "Choo-Loo-Foe-Lop-hah-Choe," called for assistance in the way of arms, clothing, and other things for the "Loyal Seminoles." He declared: "All people who come with Billy Bowlegs are Union- Chief in place of Billy Bowlegs Shoe-Nock-Me-Koe this is his name."

While these Indians were meeting in Kansas, in the Territory, Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, Choctaw agent and Confederate sympathizer, was determined to break up this "neutralist" movement before it became too dangerous. He moved on Opothla Yahola's camp with 1,400 Confederate Indians and Texas cavalrymen, but discovered, on November 15, 1861, that the chief and his allies had quietly departed for Kansas. The Confederates started a pursuit which Pascofa describes: "When we had all got together we learned that the Rebels were about to have a fight with the Union people. Then Billy Bowlegs Spoke to all of his people, and Said. we will go North to the President we will Suffer whatever he Suffers, all who want to Join Pike can do so, but . . . he would go on the Side of the President . . . and all who wanted to go north would move out, . . . and meet the Union Soldiers. When we Started, they [the Confederates] made up a great many Soldiers and overtook us-where we had camped about thirty miles away-Billy Bowlegs and Opotheahola the two principal [sic] Chiefs did not raise their hands against them, they tried to get out of their way, but they overtook us and Said that we were running away. And that they would make us feel their law- Billy and Gouge ordered us to fight them." 4

and Seminoles during the war." Quoted by B. A. Botkin, Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery (Chicago, 1945), 132.

3. Abel, Slaveholding Indians, II 62-69, fn. 141. It is primarily on this

^{3.} Abel, Slaveholding Indians, II 62-69, fn. 141. It is primarily on this statement that those who accept the Rector-Murrow report of Billy Bowlegs' death in 1859, but are aware of a Billy Bowlegs who was a leader among the Loyal Seminoles, base the theory that there was "another Billy Bowlegs (So-nuk-mek-ko)" who headed "the Seminoles who favored the Federal government." Carolyn T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XXXIII (Winter 1955-1956), 530-31.

^{4.} Paskofa to the President, March 10, 1804, National Archives.

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The running fight which followed was an epic of courage and endurance. It lasted six weeks or more, through the bitter cold of the Oklahoma hills and plains, and did not end until within ten miles of the Kansas boundary. To begin with Opothla Yahola's forces consisted of 800 to 1,200 warriors, mostly Creek and Seminole, but also Cherokee, Chickasaw, Delawares, and a "mixed multitude" of semi-civilized Quapaw, Keechis, and others from the Southern Plains. There were also two or three hundred Negroes, in addition to some full-blood deserters from the Confederate ranks. The principal commanders were the Creek Opothla Yahola and Micco Hatki (White King), and the Seminole Billy Bowlegs, John Chupco, and Halleck Tustenuggee. The latter seems to have been the principal field-commander of the Seminole contingent. There was perhaps also a mysterious warrior named "Little Captain," who is said to have commanded "in all the Late battles."

The first battle of the Civil War in the Indian Territory was fought at "Round Mountain"-perhaps "Twin Mounds west of Yale"-on November 19, 1861. ⁵ The Confederate Indians and Texans suffered heavy losses and withdrew, still fighting, first across the Red Fork of the Cimarron and then, under cover of darkness, across the Arkansas. They took up a strong position at the horseshoe bend of Bird Creek, known as Chusto Talasah (Little High Shoals), northeast of Tulsey Town. The Seminoles reopened the action on the morning of December 9, and after four hours of hard fighting, Colonel Cooper and his Confederate force fell back, first to Fort Gibson and then into Kansas where they took up a position on Shoal Creek (Chustenahla), a tributary of the Verdigris.

A third engagement began on December 26, when a strong force of well-disciplined Confederates under Colonel James Mc-Intosh attacked the Union Indians who by this time were low on both food and ammunition. The latter were posted near the summit of a wooded hill behind trees and rocks, with the Semi-

5. Angie Debo suggests this in "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountain," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XXVIII (Summer 1949), 187-206. Actually, the site of the battle is uncertain. Edwin C. McReynolds in his Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State (Norman, 1954), 205-08, located it "North of the Cimarron River"; later, he decided that the probabilities are in favor of its being south of that river. See McReynolds, The Seminoles (Norman, 1957), 297.

noles, "under the celebrated chief Halek Tustenuggee . . . in front on foot." The Confederates moved steadily up the hill, and de Indians could not beat them off. By four o'clock, with their ammunition nearly exhausted and their lines broken in many places, the Indians began to retreat and scatter and soon were in full fight. Snow-covered ground and a cold sleety northwest wind added to the misery of the fugitives. Frozen bodies marked their flight and, of those who reached Kansas, many had frozen hands or feet necessitating amputation. Stragglers kept arriving in the refugee camps for months after the battle. On January 28, 1862, Opothla Yahola and Halleck Tustenuggee wrote to President Lincoln from Fort Leavenworth, begging assistance for their people. The Mikasuki signed the letter "A-Luk-Tus-Te-Nu-Ke, his X mark, Head Chief of the Seminole Nation."

About a month later Billy Bowlegs arrived. In a letter dated February 28, 1862, William G. Coffin of the southern superintendency noted, "there are two amongst them [the refugees] at least . . . that I think would make good Commanders Billy Bowlegs & Little Captain the latter a Creek that commands in all the Late Battles and they supposed that he was killed but he got in a few days since Billy has also recently arivd." ⁸ On April 15, 1862, a dozen loyal Seminole "Chiefs & Headmen" wrote W. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, asking to be "recognized as the Seminole Nation" and to have their "dues and annuities . . . paid . . . regularly as heretofore." Among those

^{6.} Opothla Yahola's running fight is described in McReynolds, Oklahoma, 205-08, and in The Seminoles, 292-302, and also in Jay Monaghan, Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865 (Boston, 1955), 220, 226-27. Monaghan refers to a Seminole faction "led by Billy Bowlegs and Alligator," who "flocked to Epothleyoholo's standard," and is also the authority for the death at Chustenahla of a Seminole named Alligator who "died rather than surrender." One wonders, of course, if the Alligator who died at Shoal Creek could have been the war-chief Alligator from the Second Seminole War. But I have been unable to find any other reference to an Alligator among the Union Seminoles, although "Hal-pa-ta," a town chief, was one of the Seminole signers-or alleged signers-of the treaty with the Confederacy; War of the Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. VIII, 6, 23; Edward E. Dale and Gaston Litton, Cherokee Cavaliers (Norman, 1939), 111-13; Wiley Britton, The Civil War on the Border, 1861-1862 (New York, 1891), 165, 174. Paskofa's account, oddly, mentions only two battles.

^{7.} War of the Rebellion, ser. I, vol. VIII, 534.

^{8.} Abel, Slaveholding Indians, I, 277, fn. 370.

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signing were "Billy Bolegs, head Chief," "Pas-Ka-fa," and "A-ha-luk-tus-ta-nuck-ke."

Bowlegs soon had the opportunity to demonstrate the same qualities of a "good Commander" which he had displayed in earlier years in Florida. During the spring of 1862, the Federal authorities decided on an attempt to re-take the Indian Territory and organized two cavalry regiments, three infantry regiments, two batteries of artillery, and also two regiments of mounted rifles recruited from among the refugee Indians. The First, the Indian Home Guard, consisted of eight companies of Creeks and two of Seminoles; the Second was mostly Cherokee. The Union was much less generous in granting commissions to loyal Indians than the Confederacy, which commissioned the Cherokee Stand Watie first colonel and then brigadier-general, and the Seminole John Jumper a major and later "an honorary lieutenant colonel." The records do not show that the United States ever commissioned an Indian at a rank higher than captain. In May 1862, Billy Bowlegs was made captain of Company A, First Indian Regiment, and "A-ha-luk-tus-ta-na-kee" was named captain of Company B. 10

From July 3, 1862, until late March 1865, the First Indian Regiment, usually in association with two other Indian regiments and with fighting units from Kansas, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Arkansas, and Colorado, participated in over thirty actions. Most of these were in the Indian Territory near Fort Gibson, which the Union permanently occupied early in 1863, and in northwestern Arkansas. After a skirmish at Illinois Creek, Arkansas, on December 7, 1862, Colonel Stephen H. Wattles of the First Indians noted that for their conduct in this battle "Capt Billy Bowlegs, of the Seminoles," as well as "Captain Jon-neh, of the Uches, and . . . Captain Tus-te-nuk-chup-ko" (Long Warrior), of the Creeks, were "deserving of the highest praise." ¹¹

At the end of November 1862, Colonel William A. Phillips, commander of the Third Indian Regiment, was ordered to utilize all the Indian regiments and to re-occupy the Indian Territory.

^{9.} Billy Bowlegs et al. to W. P. Dole, April 15, 1862, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

^{10.} Abel, Slaveholding Indians, II, 108, fn. 256.

^{11.} Frederick H. Dyer, (ed.), Compendium of the War of the Rebellion, 3 Volumes (Des Moines, 1908), II, 676-77, 986; War of the Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. I, 93-94; Monaghan, Civil War on the Western Border, 252-273; McReynolds, The Seminoles, 305-306.

The Seminole refugees at Neosho Falls, Kansas, "put up a pitiful plea" for permission to return home, and "Their old chief, Billy Bowlegs, well-known . . . because of his exploits in Florida," added his voice in a letter of March 2, 1863: "The South counseled us to go with them but we adhered to the old Government. We do so still. The love of the Country caused me to enlist in the U. S. Service, where I still remain. I have not set foot in my Country since but hope to do so & see some of the property I left there. My people still rejoice in that hope." The letter was signed "So nuk mek ko his X mark (Billy Bowlegs) Head Chief Seminole Nation," which is the principal evidence to support the theory that Billy Bowlegs' "real name" was "So nuk mek ko" or some form thereof. Billy Bowlegs wrote again on May 13 from Fort Gibson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dole, expressing the hope that the United States would soon clear the Indian country of "the secesh" so that the loyal Indians could take their children home. This time he signed himself "Billy Bowlegs King of the Seminoles & Capt. Co. F. 1st Indn. H. G." 12

While the Seminoles were in Arkansas, Billy Bowlegs had an experience which he described in detail in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. On the way from Camp Bentonville to Rhea's Mill, he came upon a "secesh" on horseback whom he believed to be a "bushwhacker." Bowlegs was determined to take the man prisoner and rode up pistol in hand. The bushwhacker, however, grappled Billy, who found that since they were both on horses, he "could not tussel as well as if on the ground and so we both fell from our horses and in the fall my pistol fell from my hand." The bushwhacker quickly broke away, seized the fallen pistol, jumped on Billy's nearby horse, and fled. As Billy later commented, "of course, he could of killed me but he Just run away with my horse . . . 2 Revolvers and saddle -[and] Bridle. . . ." Bowlegs in his letter expressed the hope and belief that since he had lost his gun doing his duty, "our Father will give me another gun. . . ." 13

Billy Bowlegs to Dole, May 2, 13, 1863, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Abel, Slaveholding Indians, II, 44-45, fns. 75-77, I, 198-99, fn. 376.

^{13.} Billy Bowlegs to Dole, May 13, 1863, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

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By the spring of 1863, Bowlegs and the Seminoles were actively engaged in "making way for liberty" in the Indian Territory. The Indian regiments had occupied Fort Gibson and for several months were engaged in beating off raids by Stand Watie's half-blood Cherokee horsemen, aimed at making the fort untenable by cutting off its supplies. Late in May, Stand Watie intensified his efforts, and for two months the Indian regiments had their hands full. During a skirmish of June 17 on Greenleaf Prairie when Colonel Wattles of the First Indians found the enemy in line of battle, he "immediately dispatched Captain Bowlegs with 75 men to flank them on the left, and ordered the forces to advance." At first, the Seminoles were able to drive the enemy, but, being nearly out of ammunition and fearing to be cut off, they were then ordered to return to the fort. 14 The Indian and Negro regiments were commended "for steadiness under fire and in many instances for reckless courage" after the engagements at Cabin Creek on July 1, and Elk Creek or Honey Springs on July 17. Among the officers praised were the Seminole captains "No-ko-so-lo-chee and So-nuk-mik-ko." 15 The First Indian Regiment continued to be involved in occasional skirmishes until the end of the war. 16

Billy Bowlegs longed to return to Seminole country. On September 4, 1863, he and Seminole Chiefs "Fos-huchee-hajo, No-ko-sa-lo-chee, Koch-e-me-ko" - wrote to two other Seminole chiefs, "Oak-to-ha" and "Pas-co-va," on the subject of returning to their homes. ¹⁷ But there was to be no homecoming for Billy Bowlegs. Ever since March 1863, smallpox had been afflicting the troops and the "refugee Indians" at Fort Gibson, although by late August it was reported that both the cholera and the smallpox

Dyer, Compendium of the War of the Rebellion, II, 678, 986; Abel, Slaveholding Indians, II, 272; McReynolds, The Seminoles, 306-07; War of the Rebellion, Ser. I, XXII, pt. 1, 348-52.

Dyer, Compendium of the War of the Rebellion, II, 986; Monaghan, Civil War on the Western Border, 278-79; McReynolds, The Seminoles, 310-11; War of the Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, pt. 1, 455-456

Dyer, Compendium of the War of the Rebellion, II, 986-87, lists seven skirmishes and expeditions between July 20, 1863, and March 30, 1865.

^{17.} Abel, Slaveholding Indians, III, 44-45, fns. 76-77; "Pas-ko-fo" et al. to Dole, September 14, 1864, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Billy Bowlegs et al. to "Oak-to-ha" and "Pas-co-va," September 4, 1863, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

had "almost disappeared." 18 However, sometime between the date of his letter of September 4, 1863, and March 10, 1864, Chief Bowlegs succumbed to the disease. 19 Indian Agent G. C. Snow at Neosho Falls belatedly reported on September 15, 1864, the death of "Billy Bowlegs, principal chief, whose loss is very much regretted, as he was an influential man amongst them and I believe generally beloved by all loyal Seminoles." 20 Actually, Bowlegs had died at least as early as March 1864, since Pascofa, on March 10, wrote to President Lincoln: "Billy Bowlegs went into the Army to help his white Brothers and the government. he died in the Service of his country-he left me here with our Agent to take care of the women and Children." Long John or John Chupco, Billy's brother-in-law, and perhaps son-in-law, and his successor as principal chief, also wrote the President: "Billy Bowlegs was principal Chief of the Seminole nation, he went into the army to help his Union Brothers, I went with him-I remained with him untill he died . . . I have taken Billy's place." ²¹

Billy Bowlegs was buried in the southwest part of the National Cemetery two miles east of Fort Gibson. ²² For unexplained reasons his body has been moved to a new location at least once, and perhaps twice. Since 1947 it has been resting in Grave No. $2109.^{-23}$

18. Wiley Britton, Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border, 1863 (Chi-

cago, 1882), 367-68, 393.

19. Bowlegs' kinsman Wild Cat had died seven years earlier of smallpox while serving in the Mexican army, and eighty of Bowlegs' people in the Indian Territory and Kansas succumbed to the disease in the 1860s.

20. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864, 317; House Executive Document No. 1, 38th Cong., 2d Sess., 461.

21. Pas-ko-fa, Second Chief of the Seminole Nation, to the President, March 10, 1864, and Speech of Long John, Head Chief of the Seminole Nation, to the President, March 10, 1864, Office of Indian Affairs National Archives; Abel, Slaveholding Indians, III, 57 fn. 113, I, 198 fn. 372.

Grant Foreman, Down the Texas Road (Norman, 1936), 31.
Carolyn Thomas Foreman, wife of Grant Foreman, the principal historian of the Five Civilized Tribes, wrote me on June 3, 1947, from their home in Muskogee, Oklahoma, not far from Fort Gibson: "I have lived here since 1898 and have seen many times a grave in the National Cemetery at Fort Gibson with a stone bearing the name Billy Bowlegs. In recent years someone connected with the cemetery moved the marker from the east side of the cemetery to the officers circle." E. S. Mullen, Memorial Division, War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General, on July 7, 1947, stated that "Captain

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History has not treated Billy Bowlegs generously. He has been confused often with other Seminoles, particularly with his uncle King Bowlegs, Holata Micco of the Pease Creek Tallahassees, and "Bowlegs Capikchachuly." The first thirty years of his life are obscured, and there is even some question of his true identity the last four or five years of his life. Some authorities insist that he died early in 1859, and that the Billy Bowlegs of the Civil War years was "So-nuk-mek-ko," an entirely different person. Even his name, Billy Bowlegs, had humorous implications which tended to impair his dignity. His personality, moreover, apparently lacked the vividness of Osceola's and Wild Cat's. He was determined and stubborn rather than daring and aggressive, his mentality was clear and sound rather than brilliant and imaginative, andexcept in the case of the Caloosahatchee massacre of 1839-he was distinguished for moderation and humanity rather than for savagery and bloodthirstiness. Although he was a courageous and skillful warrior, Bowlegs was perhaps even more distinguished as a wily diplomat, and like Osceola and Wild Cat, he was apparently a convincing negotiator. His capacity is best indicated by his achievements. In the very year in which Wild Cat's long struggle was ended by deportation from Florida, Billy Bowlegs achieved a treaty which permitted him and his people to remain there, at least temporarily. Also, he succeeded, through cooperation with the whites, skillful negotiations, masterful delay, and finally guerrilla warfare extending over two years, in delaying his people's departure from Florida for over fifteen years. Finally, when the official head-chief of the Seminoles, John Jumper, was persuaded into an alliance with the Confederacy, Billy Bowlegs succeeded in winning over a considerable majority of his people to the support of the "old treaty," and for two years fought actively and bravely as a captain in the Union army. Billy Bowlegs was a worthy successor to Old Cowkeeper, King Payne, and King Bowlegs, and a worthy kinsman to Wild Cat. He well deserves

Billy Bowlegs, 2nd Infantry, was originally buried in the Southwest part of Fort Gibson National Cemetery . . . but was disinterred many years ago and removed to Grave No. 2109, where the remains now rest."

his Florida war-title of Holata Micco-Chief Governor.

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