

THE JUMPER FAMILY OF THE SEMINOLE NATION

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

The name "Jumper" was celebrated in Florida from the time of the negotiation of the Treaty of Payne's Landing through the several Seminole Wars, and it became equally well known in the Indian Territory.

Lieutenant George Archibald McCall, Fourth United States Infantry, in a letter to his brother from the Seminole Agency, July 15, 1823, described Chief Micanopy as slow of speech and rather too indolent to rule harshly: "In fact he leaves official matters very much to the management of his Minister of State, as I may call him, a man who possessed great cunning and effrontery. This person, 'bold in council, but cautious in the field' never distinguished himself by deeds of enterprise or courage, and has received the name of *Hote-mathla*, in English, 'Home Warrior'; he is known, however, more generally, if not exclusively, by the name of 'Jumper.'"¹

Upon the death of the aged Micanopy he was succeeded by his nephew, Jim Jumper whose reputation was tarnished by some questionable business transactions with a white man regarding Seminole slaves. He was succeeded by John Jumper who was prominent in Florida for many years as a treaty maker, and later in the western Seminole Nation as a minister of the gospel.

Governor William P. Duval wrote to Thomas L. McKenney from Tallahassee, April 7, 1826, that it would be unavailing to urge the Seminole Indians to emigrate west of the Mississippi, and they refused to go unless the Creeks were removed:²

The deputation of chiefs who will accompany Colonel Humphreys, the agent, to Washington, will, no doubt, be more inclined to listen to the Secretary of War than to any other person. I would consider it an important point gained, could the chiefs be induced to send out a party to explore the country under the proper person. The great number of deer, elk, and buffalo would be a strong temptation to them to settle west of the Mississippi. These people are in dread of the western Indians; and the Secretary, to succeed, must satisfy the chiefs that the United States can and will protect them from the western Indians.

These articles of agreement were agreed upon at Payne's Landing on the Ocklewaha River the ninth day of May, 1832, between James Gadsden and the above named chiefs:³

"The Seminole Indians, regarding with just respect, the solicitude manifested by the President of the United States for the improvement of their con-

¹ *Letters from the Frontier*, Philadelphia, 1868, p. 146. (The spelling of the Seminole chief's name, *Micanopy*, is a variant among other forms *Mikanopi*, *Micamopy*, etc.—Ed.)

² *American State Papers*, 1834, "Indian Affairs," Vol. 2, p. 697.

³ Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1903), Vol. 2, pp. 249-50.

dition, by recommending a removal to a country more suitable to their habits and wants than the one they at present occupy in the Territory of Florida, are willing that their confidential chiefs, Jumper, Fuck-a-lus-ti-had-jo, Charley Emartla, Coa-had-jo, Holati-Emartla, Ya-ha-hadjo-Sam Jones, accompanied by their agent Major Phagan, and their faithful interpreter Abraham, should be sent at the expense of the United States as early as convenient to examine the country assigned to the Creeks west of the Mississippi river. . . ."

The delegation appointed to explore the country intended for the Seminoles reached Little Rock from Cincinnati on board the new steamboat *Little Rock* November 9, 1832. The party was composed of John Blunt, an intelligent Indian chief of one of the Apalachicola bands; Charley Emathla, Jumper and Holohti Emathla, accompanied by their interpreter Abraham. They left on November 6 for Fort Gibson according to the *Arkansas Gazette*.

While awaiting the arrival of the United States commissioners at Fort Gibson, the Creeks took the visiting Seminoles on a buffalo hunt where they had an opportunity to learn of the marauding Indians of the plains; while they were favorably impressed with the land they objected to being located near the Wichita, Kiowa and Comanche who were principally occupied in horse stealing.

Jumper was a foremost leader but Micanopy was the hereditary chief: "*The nominal Chief of the nation is Micanope; though Jumper, who is exceedingly intelligent, and I suspect the most influential Chief in the nation, has always taken the lead in Council. Ocoole, however, I should think the more active Chief as well as a better General; Jumper, being now rather old, Ocoole, I should say, is about 35 years old, and Jumper about 55.*"⁴

Regular troops and volunteers were ordered into Florida under General Edmund P. Gaines and when about to cross the Withlacoochee River on February 27, 1833, he was attacked by several hundred Indians under Osceola, Jumper and other leaders. The Indians kept the United States troops surrounded at that place for ten days until a truce was proposed and Captain Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Jumper, Osceola, Micanopy, Abraham and Caesar participated in a conference. It was agreed to allow the Indians to withdraw from the river and cease hostilities.

The Seminole delegation when preparing to leave Florida for the West asked that their agent, Major John Phagan, should accompany them: "the government could not, at this time, appoint a better agent."⁵

⁴ Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1930), p. 329.

⁵ National Archives, Office Indian Affairs: 1832 Seminole (Emigration) Jas. Gadsden, Commissioner Negotiation. Letter addressed to Secretary of War, November 15, 1832. The Indians complained bitterly against Phagan and on their return to Florida he was removed for defrauding the Indians (Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* [Norman, 1930], p. 322.

S. C. Stambaugh wrote Secretary of War Lewis Cass from Fort Gibson, April 3, 1833, that as soon as the treaty between the Creeks and Cherokees was signed in February, by which the Creeks assigned a country embracing a home for the Seminoles, the delegation lost no time in examining the country. They were absent thirty-two days and made a choice of the area between the main Canadian and North Fork rivers, extending west from the mouth of Little River about twenty-five miles.⁶

Montfort Stokes, Henry Ellsworth and John F. Schermerhorn were the commissioners appointed by president of the United States to meet the delegation of Seminoles at Fort Gibson and learn their opinion of the suitability of the country for their future home. These were the men who induced the Seminoles to sign the Additional Treaty at Fort Gibson on March 28, 1833—a treaty which the delegates were not authorized to sign for their tribe and which caused years of fighting and untold suffering for the whites and Seminoles in Florida.

On their return home the delegates were ridiculed and upbraided by the rest of the Seminoles for being circumvented by the whites.⁷

The only way they avoided chastisement, was to deny the assertions of the agent (John Phagan), and express their readiness to co-operate in opposing the fulfillment of the treaty.

Had the delegation been permitted to return to Florida unbiased, without extraneous influences, and they allowed to submit the question of emigration, accompanied by their opinions of Arkansas, not an Indian would have consented to the relinquishment of their country.

Arlaka or Sam Jones, Halpatter-Tustenuggee or Alligator, Jumper, and Black Dirt, openly and unreservedly declared their dissatisfaction with Arkansas—with the land, climate, and means of subsistence.

The treaty with the Seminoles was acknowledged at Fort Gibson on March 28, 1833.

It was then when Micanopy, through Jumper, refused to abide by the treaty, that his name was struck from the council of the nation, as also four others. It is not possible to read the petitions of those Indians to be saved from a connexion with those western Indians, to be mingled with the Creeks, and exposed to the treachery and thieving habits of the Pawnees, without feeling the deepest sympathy

Jumper said, "At Camp Moultrie, they told us all difficulties should be buried for twenty years from the date of the treaty, made there (September 18th, 1823) : that after this, we held a treaty at Payne's Landing, before the twenty years were out, (by nine years,) and they told us we might go and see the country, but that we were not obliged to remove, &c., &c. When we went to see the land, we had not sold our land here, and we were told only to go and see it. The Indians there steal horses, and take packs on their horses: they steal horses from different tribes. I do not want to go among such people. Your talk (addressing the agent,) seems always good, but we don't feel disposed to go west."

⁶ National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs.

⁷ John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), pp. 76-79.

After Charley Emathla and Holati Micco had spoken, Jumper again addressed the meeting: "We are not satisfied to go until the end of the twenty years, according to the treaty of Camp Moultrie."⁸ In his speech Jumper said:⁹

When we saw the country we said nothing, but the whites that went *with us made us sign our hands to the paper*, which you *now say* signifies our consent to remove; but we thought the paper said only *that we liked the land*, and when we returned, our nation would decide upon removal. We had no authority to do more. My people cannot say they will go. We are not willing to go. If their tongues say yes, their hearts cry no, and call them liars.

The country to which you invite us is surrounded by hostile neighbors, and although it may produce good fruit, the fruit of a bad neighborhood is blood, that spoils the land, and fire that dries up the brooks.

When in the west I said to the agent, "You say the Seminoles are *rogues*, but you wish to bring us among *worse rogues*, that we may be destroyed by them. Did they not steal our horses, and were not some of us obliged to return with our packs upon our own backs?"

During a council with the Seminole chiefs and General Wiley Thompson on April 22, 1835, Micanopy opposed the removal of his people. The next day the chief was not present, claiming to be ill. The old Chief Foke Luste Harjo, had always advocated removal and in a speech he denounced all who opposed the movement. As a result of this speech eight of the principal chiefs and eight sub-chiefs signed the article which affirmed the treaty of Payne's Landing.

Micanopy, Jumper, Holati Micco, Coa Harjo, and Arpiucki still opposed and the agent questioned Jumper as to whether Micanopy intended to abide by the treaty or not. Jumper confessed that he was authorized to report that Micanopy would not, so the agent declared that he no longer considered him as chief and "that his name should be struck from the council of the nation; that he should treat all who acted like him in the like manner In consequence of this, the names of the above mentioned opposing chiefs were struck from the council of the nation."¹⁰

Another council was held at Fort King on April 24, 1835. "Jumper, a shrewd and sagacious warrior, was put forward as the speaker of the nation." The council members had decided to adhere to their opposition to the treaty, and declare that they would never execute it, and when these sentiments were made in the presence of the agents of the government, "accompanied by tones and gestures

⁸ Thomas L. McKenney, *Memoirs, Official and Personal; with Sketches of Travels Among the Northern and Southern Indians* (New York, 1846), Vol. I, pp. 278-279.

⁹ Samuel G. Drake, *The Aboriginal Races of North America* (New York, 1880), pp. 433, 464-65.

¹⁰ Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America*, Frederick Webb Hodge and David Bushnell (eds.) (Edinburgh, 1935), Vol. 2, pp. 340-41. The above account was taken from *The War in Florida, by a Late Staff Officer, [Woodburn Potter]* (Baltimore, 1836), p. 83 *et seq.*

which could not be mistaken, "General Wiley Thompson of Georgia, who had replaced Phagan as agent, "upbraided them in a most earnest manner for their infidelity, and total disregard to truth and honor. This caused harsh language in return for the chiefs, reiterated by the agent, until the council was in a perfect uproar."

General Duncan L. Clinch interposed his authority, advice, and arguments and threatened the use of troops if they persisted in their course. This had the effect desired by the whites and after a consultation between Osceola, Jumper and others, eight chiefs consented to abide by the treaty, but five obstinately refused and of course Jumper was one of them.¹¹

Not knowing of the conference, or of the treaty that was to be negotiated later, General Clinch in command of ten companies of regular troops and some territorial soldiers with Agent Wiley Thompson advanced to drive out the Indians.¹²

On the morning of December 28, 1835, Major Francis Langhorne Dade, heading his troops on the way to Fort King, was shot from ambush and before the day was ended all but three of his soldiers had been killed. This attack was led by Micanopy, Jumper and Alligator who lost only three men. Osceola met the victors that night in the Wahoo Swamp and his medicine men decorated the ones who had distinguished themselves in these two opening fights in the Second Seminole War.¹³

From Fort Brooks, Tampa Bay, February 9, 1836, Captain George A. McCall wrote his father that he knew the Seminoles well and that he fully appreciated their character as a warlike people; their spirit and character were easily read in their proud and independent bearing, and he predicted a *seven years' war*.

The officer was also perfectly familiar with the country to which the Seminoles would retire when pushed, and he understood the difficulties that awaited the white men when they followed the Indians into the Big Cypress Swamp.¹⁴

The knowledge I possess of this country I obtained from several Indians, especially from Jumper, who had hunted there regularly for many winters Jumper is one of the most intelligent men of the nation, and I have no

¹¹ John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), p. 84.

¹² Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-30; Holman Hamilton, *Zachary Taylor* (Indianapolis, 1941), pp. 123-24.

¹³ *Seminole Indians in Florida*, Department of Agriculture, Tallahassee, August, 1941 (No. 107), pp. 4, 5.

¹⁴ George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontier* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 295. "Koonta" is better given as "Coonti," a cycadaceous plant (*Zamia integrifolia*), or the breadstuff obtained from it by the Seminole of Florida; spelled also *koontie*, *coontie*, etc. Kunti is the name of the 'flour' in the Seminole dialect. (Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* [Washington, D. C., 1912], Part 1, p. 341).

doubt that his description of the country, given at a time when no apprehension of war with the United States was entertained, may be fully relied upon. This country, he stated, absolutely abounded in game of every description, and that the "koonta," a very good species of the arrow-root, grew plenteously everywhere. Thus the Indians may live and grow fat on the borders of the "Big Cypress."

General Gaines directed Captain Ethan Allen Hitchcock to meet the body of Seminoles who approached the camp, unarmed and under a flag of truce. With an orderly the Captain went to see the visitors and found Osceola, Alligator, and Jumper who talked for the Indians.

Jumper said the Indians did not want fighting; they wished for peace and that enough men had been killed: "If white men came to plant, they wished to know it; but they wanted the troops to go away." The Indians refused to go into the camp to talk with General Gaines. If he wished to see them then he must meet them on neutral ground.¹⁵

During June, 1836, Captain Hitchcock had several interviews with President Jackson and Secretary of War Lewis Cass in which he explained the situation of affairs in Florida. He took occasion to repeat the interview of General Gaines with Chief Jumper when he was trying to enforce the fraudulent "treaty" of 1832.

Jesup arrogantly ordered the Negro interpreter to tell the Indians: "They *must* all go to their new country." The interpreter repeated the command and gave the chiefs answer:

"Well, massa, he say he like dis country berry well and no wants leab um."

"But tell him," pursued the General, "that they *must* go—if they do not go they will be carried away—tell him that Primus."

"Well, massa, I told um. He say like dis country where fader live and mudder. Don' want no new country."

"But tell him, Primus, that they *must* go to the new home west. Tell him that the Great Father at Washington will send much, much troops and cannon and drive them all out. Make him understand that."¹⁶

After the Negro had interpreted the General enquired what answer he had received and the Negro replied:

"Putty much same t'ing he say 'fore, massa—Bress God, dis berry fine country. Fader, mudder, live here and chil'n—he no wanto go nowhere t'all."

¹⁵ W. A. Croffut, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field—Diary of Major-General Ethan Allen Hitchcock* (New York and London, 1909), p. 94.

¹⁶ Old Primus became a faithful interpreter after the capture of Jumper and Osceola (Sprague, *The Florida War* [New York, 1848], p. 112).

President Jackson indulged in a forced laugh but appeared not much impressed.¹⁷ He was determined that the Indians were to be forced to leave and no expression of love of country from them softened his hard heart.

General Jesup sent a prisoner to Jumper on January 28, 1837, trying to get a parley, while he took up a position at Lake Tohopikalega, near the Cypress Swamp. The prisoner returned the next day bringing favorable talks from Alligator and Abraham. Two days later Abraham visited the General in his camp and on February 3 he brought in Jumper and Alligator who agreed to meet General Jesup at Fort Dade on February 18. The Indians stated that their families were suffering and that they were tired of fighting.

Ben, a slave belonging to Micanopy, was captured and he declared that Jumper and Abraham were in the vicinity and would come in if sure of their lives. Ben was delegated to report to Jumper that a liberal treaty would be made.

It was not until March 5 that the General got a hearing with Holatoochee (nephew of Micanopy), Jumper, Abraham, Little Cloud and several others at Fort Dade. When Jumper was asked what time the Indians would be ready to remove it was apparent that they were only trying to gain time; he replied that they could not be prepared until the autumn. Jesup declared that was out of the question and Jumper displayed anger at being suspected.

On the following day the Indians added to their number representatives of Alligator, Coa-coo-chee and Peace Creek John and a treaty was drawn up and signed. All hostilities were to cease by April 10, 1837, and all were to remove. The Indians frequented the camp of Jesup to make sure of rations and Jumper and a number of other prominent tribesmen were there.

A rumor was circulated among the Indians that as soon as Jesup got a sufficient number of them in his power, he would handcuff and ship them to Arkansas. The Seminoles agreed to remove on the condition that their Negroes were to accompany them, and with that understanding Micanopy, Jumper, Alligator, and Coa-coo-chee took their followers to Tampa to await transportation aboard ships. During the time they were in Tampa slave owners invaded the Indian camp in search of Negroes and the Indians were so incensed at the breach of faith that they stole away from the camp overnight. Jesup, who broke every pledge he ever made to the Indians, and who regarded a flag of truce as a rag without meaning, subsequently showed his character in the seizure of Osceola.

¹⁷ Crofutt, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

When Jumper came, in he was in a decline from a pulmonary affection. "He is a sensible man; but from the state of his health, and consequent low spirits, much disposed for peace."¹⁸

Jesup thought he had all matters in fine shape and by the middle of May he had twenty-four transports lying at Tampa to remove the Indians. On the morning of June 2, he awakened to discover that almost all of the Seminoles had disappeared and all of his strategy had been for nought. From Headquarters Army of the South, Garey's Ferry, Florida, on August 7, 1837, General Jesup dispatched word to Adjutant General Roger Jones in Washington: "I place no reliance on the statement that the Indians are coming in; but I do believe that, so far as Micanopy and Jumper can influence their people, no other depredations than robberies will be committed, still, there would be but little security for the frontier without force to repel any attempt that might be made upon it."¹⁹

The *Army and Navy Chronicle*, August 31, 1837 (Vol. V, No. 9, p. 132), recorded the origin of Jumper and Alligator, the celebrated Seminole warriors, as descendants of the powerful and warlike tribe of Yamassees that had been driven from South Carolina and Georgia into Florida, where they resided for some time near St. Augustine under protection of the Spanish government. There is a tradition among the Seminoles, that they were driven by the Creeks upon an island in the Everglades, where they all perished with the exception of one man and one woman. "Jumper claims descent from these two, as also Alligator, though he is not so pure in blood as the former. These two are the only representatives of that numerous tribe, the Yamassees, who once inhabited the whole coast of South Carolina and Georgia."

The noted leader Jumper is said by some to have been of Yamasee descent, but Cohen²⁰ sets him down as a refugee from the Creeks.²¹

According to Swanton, Mikanopy (or Mikanopi) was the theoretical head chief during the Seminole Wars, "but the brains of native resistance were Osceola . . . and Jumper, who is said to have come from the Upper Towns, but to have been the last survivor of 'some ancient tribe.'"²²

¹⁸ *Army and Navy Chronicle*, Washington, April 13, 1837 (Vol. 4, No. 15), p. 234; Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-45.

¹⁹ *American State Papers*, "Military Affairs," Vol. 7, pp. 844-45. On August 13, 1837 Jesup wrote Jones that he believed Micanopy and Jumper were sincerely desirous of fulfilling the treaty, and had exercised in some degree their influence (*ibid.*, p. 845).

²⁰ M. M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns* (New York, 1836), p. 237.

²¹ John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), p. 107.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 412.

In November, 1837 General Jesup thought that Jumper and Micanopy were ready to surrender but were deterred by fear of Sam Jones who was then in command of the nation. Jones had declared that he would remain in the nation as long as he could induce one man to stay with him and fight the whites. Jones was described as a "well set, neatly formed, and perfectly finished small man, with 'locks' white as the driven snow—aged and venerable, yet active as a hind, and intrepid as a lion, struggling for the home of his childhood and the graves of his forefathers."²³

On December 10, 1837 word was received in St. Augustine that a letter had been received from General Jesup, at Fort Mellon, stating that Jumper, Micanopy, Cloud, and Ohithiola and about thirty or forty warriors had come in to the fort. Sam Jones sent a message by his nephew saying that he would surrender "if Gen. Jesup would treat them well, and apologize for having used the Indians as cowards."²⁴

General Jesup, with his little army of regulars and volunteers, including about one hundred Delaware and Shawnee Indians, left his encampment on the morning of December 19, 1837, and advanced to the southeast towards the camp of Sam Jones and his forces. In the interior he discovered signs of Indians, and through the efforts of Captain Parks, a halfbreed chief, who commanded the Delawares and Shawnees, he induced Jumper, and a few families of the Seminoles to come in and agree to emigrate, under the articles of capitulation of the previous March.²⁵

According to Sprague in *Florida War*, Jessup was informed by Powell and Coe-Hajo that Micanopy, Jumper and Holatoochee and a greater portion of the Seminoles were ready to execute their treaty, but were prevented by the Micasukies. That portion of the Seminoles had resisted in every way the efforts of the government to induce them to agree to emigrate and they threatened death to their tribesmen who capitulated to the whites.

The *Savannah Georgian* reported on December 22, 1837 that Colonel Z. Taylor had received a message by runner from Alligator and Jumper, "two of the most important chiefs in the nation, (the first commanded at Dade's massacre, and the other is the sense keeper of Micanopy,) that they with their families intended to come in forthwith. Since that message, Alligator had been in and left hostages for him, and his family's safe return, and that of Jumper, who is in miserable health and cannot ride or walk."²⁶

²³ *Army and Navy Chronicle*, Washington, December 14, 1837 (Vol. V, No. 24). 382.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, December 21, 1837 (Vol. V, No. 25), p. 394.

²⁵ Joshua R. Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida* (Columbus, Ohio, 1858), pp. 173-

74.

²⁶ *Army and Navy Chronicle*, December 28, 1837 (Vol. V, No. 26), p. 411.

In the battle fought at Kissimee on December 25, 1837, in which the Seminoles were supposed to be commanded by Sam Jones, and the whites by Colonel Z. Taylor, the troops were ambuscaded and had a very severe loss, 32 killed and 122 wounded. Jumper and Alligator and their bands came in; Wild Cat, who escaped from the prison at St. Augustine, was one of the fiercest in the battle.²⁷ This battle was fought at the edge of the Everglades, seventy or eighty miles from Tampa Bay. Taylor's force consisted of the First, Fourth and Sixth regiments, or parts thereof, and of the Missouri Volunteers. Many whites were killed, but only eight Indians were found dead on the field. They were said to have dragged off forty or fifty of their men.²⁸

General Z. Taylor reported from Ford Gardner, Florida on January 4, 1838, that he met "the Indian chief Jumper, with his family, and a part of his band, consisting of fifteen men, a part of them with families, and a few negroes—in all sixty-three souls—on his way to give himself up, in conformity to a previous arrangement I had entered into with him"

Jumper and his party surrendered on December 19, 1837, and they arrived at Tampa Bay a month later and were immediately placed aboard a vessel for Camp Pike near New Orleans.²⁹

The *Army and Navy Chronicle* on January 11, 1838, copied an article from the *St. Augustine Herald* of January 15, saying that Jumper and Holaochee, and 140 Indians, sixty of whom had been captured, were expected there the next day and that they would be immediately transported.

Lieutenant J. G. Reynolds of the United States Marine Corps, who had the contract for carrying the Seminoles to Fort Gibson, reported from the U. S. Barracks, New Orleans, March 26, 1838 to C. A. Harris, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that Jumper was very ill with consumption. Physicians in consultation, declared him to be "in a state of rapid decline," but thought he might live with the utmost care until he reached the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi.

The *Army and Navy Chronicle* of May 10, 1838, mentioned the death of Jumper in the following words: "The distinguished Seminole chief, Jumper, died at the New Orleans Barracks on the 18th ult., and was buried in the afternoon. In his coffin were placed his tobacco, pipe, rifle, and other equipments, according to his people's custom. The military, and a number of citizens attended his funeral, which was conducted with all the honors of war." According to the

²⁷ *New York Observer*, January 20, 1838, p. 3, col. 4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Army and Navy Chronicle*, February 8, 1838 (Vol. VI, No. 6), p. 81; Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 356, Note 10.

Arkansas Gazette, May 9, 1838, Jumper had been confined to his bed for almost two months.

Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock wrote to his brother from Tampa Bay, Florida, on October 22, 1840, giving his opinion of the so-called treaty with the Seminoles:³⁰

The Indians have always held one language in regard to their understanding of the Treaty. They have from the first to last uniformly declared that the deputation to examine the new country had no power to confirm the treaty, but were to return & report the result of their observations when they, the tribe, were to assent or dissent.

The deputation however were induced while at Fort Gibson (as I have heard, even under menaces that they should not otherwise return to their friends) to sign a paper signifying that they were satisfied with the country designed for them in the Treaty. This paper was regarded by President Jackson as completing the treaty and the Senate ignorantly ratifying it, it became to appearance the law of the land in '33 I believe

In his many letters, as well as his journal, Hitchcock disagreed with the conduct of the Seminole War by the Army, and in all his writings, he showed a wonderful understanding of the Indians. All through his service in Florida he had the utmost sympathy for the Seminoles who were being forced from their ancestral home, and who fought to the last to convince the whites that the fraudulent treaty they were forced to sign was unjust to them.

So far as the writer has been able to learn the name of Jim Jumper first appeared in Seminole history when Agent Judge wrote the following letter to Captain Nathan Boone who was stationed in the Indian country with his company of Dragoons.

From the Seminole Agency, August 31, 1844, Thomas L. Judge wrote to Captain Nathan Boone:

The following Chiefs in Council wished their names introduced to your notice Maccanopy, Wild Cat, Young Alligator, Octe, Archl, Yoholo Hajo, Jim Jumper, Tom & C & C.

Seminole Agency
Aug. 31, 1844

Dear Sir:

The Seminole Council today have the subject of the outrage on Jno. Jumper before them, the ultimatum they arrived at was. A request that I say to you they disapprove of the whole transaction, and are very sorry that it took place; they are willing to pay for the horses; they have no funds on hand at present, but expect some ere long, when they will direct their agent to pay for the Horse; they regret Government has been written to on the subject as it will bring them all under censure for the act of one man which they disapprove of, I will remark that they have taken a very correct view of it and condemn the act without any qualification

"Very Respectfully
Your Obt. St
Thos. L. Judge." ³¹

³⁰ The above letter was addressed to Samuel Hitchcock of St. Louis, Missouri. The typescript in the collection of Grant Foreman was made for him by Mrs. W. A. Croffut of Washington, D. C. from the original.

³¹ Office Indian Affairs: Seminole File J-1684. Ft. Smith, 1845.

To the Seminole Agent
Sir

This is to inform you that the horse herein alluded to has been paid for by Gofer John (Gopher John)—the Amount was thirty dollars, which amount when Collected from the Simenole Should be paid to Gofer John—as it is Now Justly Coming to him—

N. Boone
Capt—³²

Captain Nathan Boone on November 28, 1846, certified that Gopher John paid of his own funds \$50.00 to Sergeant Eldridge for a "horse beast" that the Seminole Indians killed while loaned to Gopher John.³³

The following announcement tells of the death of the Seminole chief:³⁴

The *Cherokee Advocate* announces the death of "Micconopy" (*sic*) who died suddenly, a few days since, at Fort Gibson (in the latter part of December, 1848). Micconopy (Pond King) was the head chief of the Seminole Nation, and was one of the few warriors who, at the head of a mere handful of men, resisted our government for six years, and maintained possession of their country during that time, against twenty times their number of well equipped troops, led by our most experienced generals. We believe that it was to General Taylor, then Col. Taylor, that Micconopy finally surrendered. He commanded the Indians in person at the time of Dade's massacre, and with Osceola successfully resisted the crossing of the Withlacoochee by General Gaines in 1836. It is generally believed that he was opposed to the war with our government, and that he was forced to take up arms by the younger chiefs. He was a large fleshy man, notoriously indolent, but none the less shrewd and crafty.

Jim Jumper, the new chief, was present at a council in June, 1849, to consider sending a party of Seminoles to Florida to try to induce the remaining members of the tribe to emigrate and settle in the West. Among other prominent Indians present were Alligator and Wild Cat.

On March 11, 1850 General D. E. Twiggs wrote to his aide-de-camp, Major William T. H. Brooks, directing him to proceed immediately to Arkansas to induce Jim Jumper and Wild Cat to come to Florida. They were to be offered \$4.00 or \$5.00 per day and four other Indians were to receive \$2.00 a day. This was payment for attempting to get the Seminoles to emigrate. The General reported on April 15, 1850 that Major Brooks had arrived from Arkansas with Jim Jumper, four sub-chiefs, and three interpreters and that eighty-five Seminoles emigrated.³⁵

General D. E. Twiggs reported to the secretary of War on March 27, 1850 that negotiations with the Indians had broken off and they had removed from the vicinity of the army. On May 5

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, J. 96.

³⁴ *The Indian Advocate*, March, 1849, p. 2.

³⁵ National Archives, Office Adjutant General, Old Records Division, T 29, April 15, 1850.

Major W. T. H. Brooks arrived with Chief Jim Jumper, and his party, but they had little influence with the Seminoles. The Indians said they had been deceived by a former delegation and would have nothing to do with them. They even threatened to shoot them if they entered the Seminole country.

The Seminole chiefs were greatly disturbed when they had heard this word:³⁶

Their present Principal Chief, Jim Jumper, a young man, who has no slaves, promised the Agent's brother, William J. DuVal, as they have heard, one third of the blacks that had sought protection at Fort Gibson, provided, he would have them turned over to the Seminoles; and that but a few, if any of the owners of these slaves had any knowledge of this promise, or ever gave their consent to such a disposition of their property—and that their Sub Agent of late has said that one third, or about ninety of the Negroes would not be sufficient remuneration, as he and his brother had expended much of their money in prosecuting the suit against the President of the United States—in hiring lawyers etc, for the recovery of said Negroes, and that more than ninety of them must be turned over to himself and brother. . . .

The Seminoles, of course, rightly supposed that the Indian agent was paid by the government to supervise their affairs without cost to them. The officer, Flint, declared that if the Indians were dispossessed of their slaves, in the manner planned by William J. DuVal, there would be serious trouble and that they would make a claim against the United States for the loss of their Negroes. The Sub-Agent informed one of the chiefs that if they did not give up the blacks that he would withhold their annuity.

Wild Cat (Coa-coo-chee), son of King Philip, was a man of unusual intellect and the shrewdest man among the Seminoles. Army officers predicted him as a future chief, but when Mikanopy died he was succeeded as chief by Jim Jumper (Micco-mut-char-sar), who was probably the son of Jumper who died in New Orleans during removal. "After Jumper became chief and sought to commit the slave-holding members of the tribe to a deal whereby the agent's brother would obtain a large part of their slaves, Wild Cat began to make plans to leave the Indian Territory for another home, and sought to influence some of the Seminole Indians to accompany him."³⁷

John Drennen, superintendent of Indian affairs sent to Hon L. Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs on August 20, 1851, from Van Buren, Arkansas, a long statement from a delegation of Seminoles to the President of the United States, setting forth the views and feelings on several subjects of great importance to them.

³⁶ F. F. Flint, acting adjutant general, Seventh Military Department, Fort Smith, to John Drennen, acting superintendent, Western Territory, Choctaw Agency. Typescript in Grant Foreman collection.

³⁷ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), p. 260.

They had been informed that thereafter they were to be without an agent to represent them before the government and other Indian tribes. In great earnestness they petitioned their Great Father to continue to them those rights as a nation which they had heretofore enjoyed—such as protecting them in the right to exercise “our own laws over our own people—not subject to the wishes of any other tribe of Indians—so long as we do not interfere with them—We object to being placed at the *mercy* of any tribe of Indians, whose interests are not *identical* with our own” They did not wish their nationality to be merged with that of the Creeks although they were willing to live as neighbors with them, but “*unwilling* to become their *subjects*.” The delegation sending this statement was made up of Ya-har-chupe, acting governor; Jim Jumper, Pap-weke John, Tupkian Tustenuchay.

Lieutenant John Gibbons of the Fourth Artillery went to the western Seminoles to attempt to get another delegation to go to Florida, and on December 12, 1853, John Jumper, brother of Chief Jim Jumper, Halleck Tuskenuggee who had headed the 1849 delegation, “Kapitchochee” chief of the party that emigrated in 1850, Toliss Hadjo, son of Sam Jones, and eleven other Indians including Jim Factor the Indian interpreter, and the Negro interpreter George Noble began the journey. They arrived at Tampa Bay January 5, 1854.³⁸

In the spring of 1848, the Reverend John Lilley attended the Seminole council where he met the old Chief Micanopy who gave permission to open a mission school among his people. Soon after the old chief went down to Fort Gibson and died.³⁹

His nephew Jim Jumper was made king under the name of *Mikko Michuassa*.

They say one ought never to speak ill of the dead and he was crippled I suppose from the war, as he must have been a warrior but he did not show much courage. For one day after he was elected chief he came over to Mr. Lilleys to get a tooth pulled and did not show much courage as he went to his horse two or three times to get a drink of whiskey to muster up his courage before he could get it pulled—

He (Jim Jumper) did not live very long, perhaps not a year, and then they elected John Jumper chief.⁴⁰ Put out their fire and whatever other ceremonies they had in electing him

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 252-53.

³⁹ *The Autobiography of Mary Ann Lilley*, typescript in Grant Foreman collection, 39. Jim Jumper's name appears as principal chief signed to a letter written by him, Wild Cat, and nine other Seminoles on March 9, 1849, advising the Comanches to keep the peace (Indian Office Files. Texas File Seminole S. Agy. 3/25/1849 (D 177) Duval, M.).

⁴⁰ Chief John Jumper was a notable Seminole leader in the history of Oklahoma until his death at the age of eighty years on October 9, 1896. He had attained the rank of lieutenant colonel of the Mounted Seminole Volunteers in the Confederate Army during the War between the States. After the war, he continued to serve as chief of the Seminole Nation for over ten years, and devoted his later life to missionary work and preaching in the Baptist Church.—Carolyn Thomas Foreman, “John Jumper,” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (Summer, 1951), pp. 137-52.