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*The*  
**QUARTERLY**

*Periodical of*

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Pensacola                              Assistant Editor, Jacksonville

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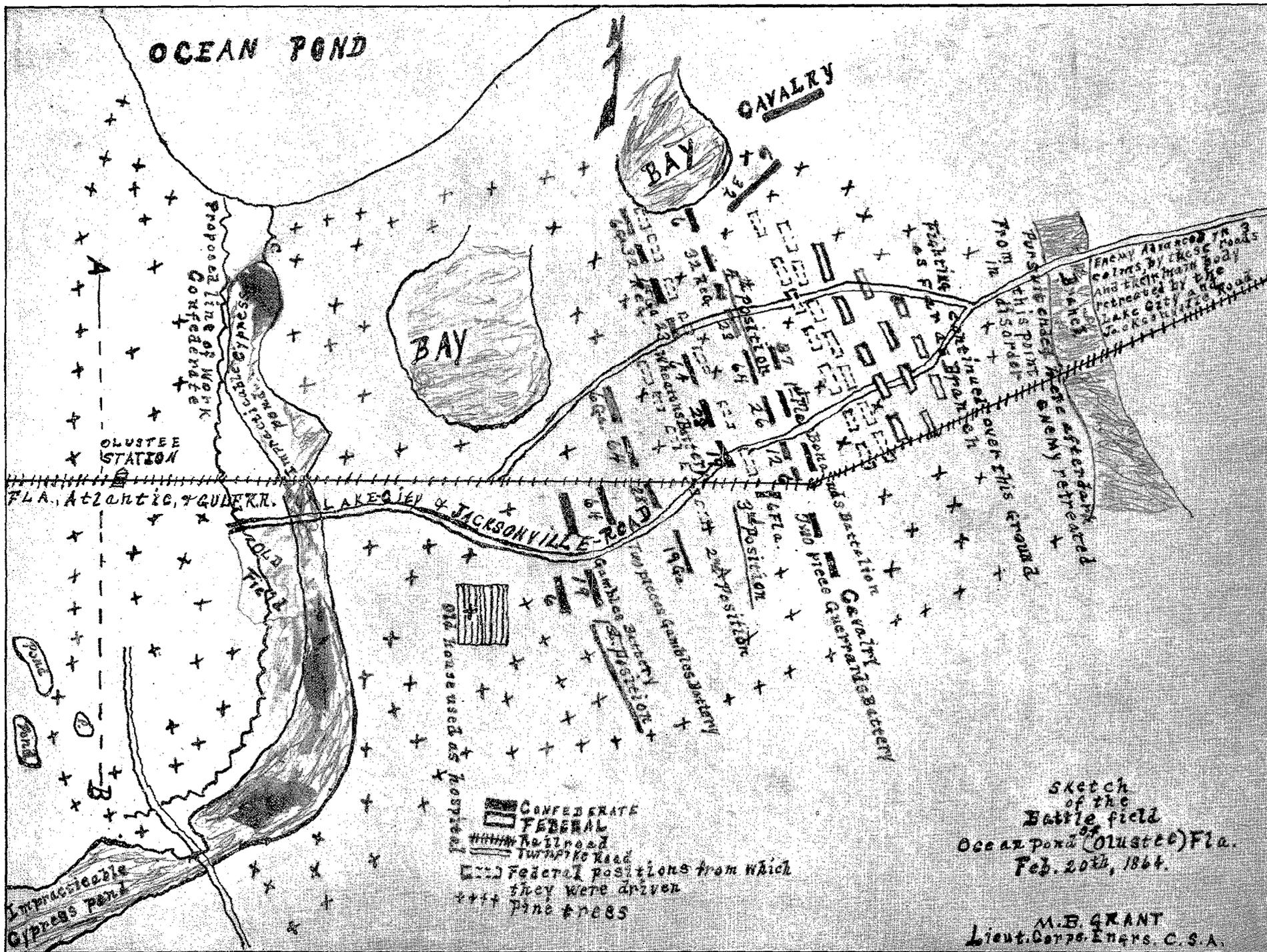
In Memoriam

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## THE BATTLE OF OLUSTEE (OCEAN POND), FLORIDA

### INTRODUCTORY

This account of the battle of Olustee has been prepared at the invitation of the Florida Historical Society from the reports contained in *War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. A careful study of this source leaves one unsatisfied where the aim has been to arrive at definite facts of such nature as would enable a fairly complete record to be offered. It is undoubtedly true that these official records must give more accurate and complete information than any others, since the reports were generally made within a few days after the events occurred and have the sanction of official responsibility for accuracy and completeness. Yet that which is sought does not exist. Purported facts relating to the same occurrence are greatly at variance, while important elements necessary for analyzing and deducing other facts are entirely missing.

In attempting to locate troops and to present a picture in concrete form, acceptance has been given to a map prepared by Lieut. W. B. Grant, Corps of Engineers, Confederate Army, and Engineer Officer of the Confederate force at Olustee. He was present at the time of the battle, made observations of events and had conferences with higher commanders of Confederate organizations. From this evidence and a survey of the area, he prepared a sketch to accompany his official report. Study of reports on both sides leads to the belief that no better map representation can be made. Details concerning Union troops are necessarily incomplete, yet Lieut. Grant's representation

with respect to those troops is as complete and definite as a study of the reports of Federal commanders would reveal. Of course he did not have access to those reports. Reference is frequently made to this sketch in this article and much space is thus saved in explanation of troop movements and positions.

In offering an account of the engagement, controversial subjects arise with respect to delinquencies of individuals and some other matters. Discussion of these questions has not been attempted but has been purposely avoided. Many comments might be made which would reflect adversely on various individuals and organizations; but since it is impossible to gain an insight into the truth of the many factors and conditions, it would seem to be inappropriate and gratuitous to express definite opinions. Effort is made to eliminate collateral features and to confine matters to events bearing directly on the battle itself. A treatise on the subject has not been the aim.

As is usual in most military engagements, each commander credits the opposing force with much greater strength than it possessed. It is believed that the designated organizations shown and the total strength given for each force are reasonably correct. It appears that opposing numbers were about the same -except that the Federals had an advantage in artillery of four guns-sixteen to twelve.

It is most difficult to deduce the approximate hour at which events happened. Some Confederate reports contain statements which assist in this, but Federal reports are very defective, except in respect to one or two items. By comparison and by the application of the factors of space and time, attempt has been made to arrive at reasonable estimates as to time and place.

The following constitute the material considered :

**War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies:**

Series I, Vol. XXXV, Part I. Reports, pp. 274 356 ; Miscellaneous, pp. 463-465, 473-474, 479, 482, 488, 495, 542, 557, 559-560, 578, 580, 582-588, 594, 599-601, 603-5, 613-614, 619-22, 632-633.

Series I, Vol. XXXV, Part II. pp. 3, 333-339.

Series I, Vol. LIII, pp 24-26, 308.

It is believed no other volumes of these records contain any data pertinent to the operations culminating in this battle.

Through the courtesy of the Florida Historical Society, I have had access to a valuable paper prepared by Miss Susan Burdett, of Jacksonville, entitled **The Military Career of Brigadier General Joseph Finegan of Florida**. The author's research has been extensive and her presentation relative to the battle covers admirably the main features of that engagement.

**BATTLE OF OLUSTEE, FEBRUARY 20, 1864**

Origin of the Operation-On January 13, 1864, President Lincoln addressed a letter to Major General Q. A. Gillmore, commanding the Department of the South, with headquarters at Hilton Head, S. C., directing that steps be taken "to reconstruct a loyal State government in Florida." Effort along these lines was stated as being already under way by "some worthy gentlemen."

Florida appeared to offer the best chance for such a possibility due to its relative military helplessness and easy approach. Also success in this venture would afford tangible evidence of progress in reestablishing a state government within the Federal union under the "late proclamation on the subject," dated December

8, 1863. This move, no doubt, had more of the political than military motive, as the nomination of a president would take place during the coming months. President Lincoln accordingly sent his private secretary, John Hay, commissioned as major for the purpose (later Secretary of State under President Roosevelt) to confer with General Gillmore and to deliver some blank forms, the use of which he would explain, "to aid in the reconstruction." The reconstruction was to be accomplished "in the most speedy way possible." It was an unusual procedure for the President thus to issue orders directly to a military commander for a military expedition and without the War Department having official knowledge of the undertaking.

***Federal Preliminary Measures*** - In executing the directions of President Lincoln, General Gillmore promptly communicated both with the Secretary of War (Mr. Stanton) and the General-in-Chief of the Army (General Halleck) stating his purpose to "occupy the west bank of the St. John's River, in Florida, very soon-preparatory to an advance west at an early date," and asking for troops to replace those he intended to withdraw from stations in his department for use in Florida. So far as can be determined no additional troops were furnished. Later General Halleck was informed by General Gillmore of the purposes of the expedition, which are summarized as follows: to procure an outlet for cotton, lumber, and other products ; to cut off one source of Confederate food supplies ; to secure recruits for his colored regiments ; to "inaugurate measures for the speedy restoration of Florida to her allegiance." The last purpose was explained to be in accordance with President Lincoln's personal instructions.

In keeping with his plans, General Gillmore directed Brigadier General Truman Seymour to proceed

with a specified body of troops from Hilton Head by water to Jacksonville, and to depart on the night of February 5-6, so as to arrive at Jacksonville on the 7th. This was carried out and the landing was made on that date. The troops of the expedition are not here enumerated, as all troops reported as participating in the Battle of Olustee are shown later. The number landed at Jacksonville are given as about 7000.

***Confederate Preliminary Measures*** - At the time of the arrival of the Federal expedition at Jacksonville, Brigadier General Joseph Finegan, commanding the District of East Florida (all of Florida east of the Suwannee River) with headquarters at Lake City, had the following numbers of organizations under his command, all being Florida troops: Two battalions and three independent companies of infantry, seven companies of cavalry, two batteries of artillery comprising a strength at the end of January, 1864, as present for duty, 89 officers and 1178 men. This force was well scattered over the territory, because the Federal troops occupied Jacksonville and various localities within 50 to 75 miles of Jacksonville. The strength of the Confederates in the immediate vicinity of Lake City, and considered ready for use at time of the landing of the Federals at Jacksonville, cannot be ascertained. On February 7th, General Finegan promptly notified General Beauregard of the Federal expedition. General Beauregard commanding the Districts of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, with headquarters at Charleston, took immediate steps to strengthen General Finegan's forces. Orders were sent on February 8th to the Commanding General, District of Middle Florida (Brigadier General W. M. Gardner) at Quincy and the Commanding General at Savannah, directing prompt action in furnishing maximum reinforcements. Three days later General Finegan re-

ported 490 infantry, 110 cavalry and two pieces of artillery available at Lake City. The bulk of these troops came from middle Florida in compliance with General Beauregard's orders. Between February 10th and 19th (the exact date not obtainable), reenforcements were such as to make General Finegan's force available for employment, reported by him, as approximately 5200 infantry and cavalry, and three batteries of artillery-12 guns, with strength about 250. This force was then concentrated at or near Olustee, twelve or, thirteen miles east of Lake City. The troops thus assembled consisted of the following numbers of organizations or major portions thereof :

Infantry : Florida, 2 (3) battalions ; Georgia, 8 regiments, 1 battalion. (It is not certain whether the 2d Florida Battalion was present or employed in the battle).

Cavalry : Florida, 1 regiment, 1 battalion ; Georgia, 1 regiment.

Artillery: Florida, 1 battery; Georgia, 2 batteries.

***Events Following Landing of Federal Troops at Jacksonville (Prior to battle) Federal*** - On February 8th, (one day after landing), 3 columns-2 Infantry and 1 mounted-strength not determinable, were dispatched toward Baldwin, 18 to 20 miles west of Jacksonville, with the mission of penetrating into the interior, seizing supplies and equipment and destroying those of value to the Confederates, and reconnoitering the situation and gradually moving a field force westward to hold certain territory and overcome any Confederate force that might resist. At this time there seemed to be no intention of employing the landing force to attempt penetration as far as the Suwannee River (about 100 miles west of Jacksonville, and 40 miles west of Lake City) with the determination of destroying the railroad there and severing the two dis-

tricts of Florida. In fact, the immediate intention of General Gillmore did not contemplate advancing beyond the Little St. Mary's (designated generally in Federal reports as the south prong of the St. Mary's River or South St. Mary's) 30 to 35 miles from Jacksonville.

The mounted column above mentioned, commanded by Colonel Guy V. Henry, advancing more rapidly than the foot troops, encountered on the 8th, about twilight and later, a scattered Confederate force of about 350 men of all arms under Lieut. Colonel A. H. McCormick at Camp Finegan (7 miles from Jacksonville) and at Ten Mile Run, where the Confederate loss was four pieces of artillery, captured about midnight, and probably 25 men, 50 animals and a small amount of transportation. The Federal loss is not shown. Colonel Henry reached Baldwin early on the 9th and there captured three railroad cars (one containing a 3 inch rifled gun and caisson and other supplies to the value of about one-half million dollars. Baldwin was the crossing of two railroads: The Fernandina and Cedar Keys and the Central of Florida (probably now the Seaboard Air Line) which were very important lines to the Confederates. With the capture of Baldwin, Generals Gillmore and Seymour proceeded there, arriving late on the 9th.

On the morning of the 10th, Colonel Henry advanced to the Little St. Mary's at Barber's (a plantation). Here he was opposed by Major Robert Harrison with two or three companies of cavalry, which were enroute from Camp Cooper (near Fernandina) to join General Finegan. After some fighting the Confederates withdrew, apparently on discovering the superior strength of the Federals, and continued toward Lake City. Federal casualties appear to have been about twenty killed and wounded ; the Confeder-

ate losses about five. The Federals promptly advanced on Sanderson, seven or eight miles to the west, and remained there until the next day, the 11th. Contact with Harrison's Cavalry seems to have been lost, and nothing was captured by Henry at Sanderson.

On the morning of the 11th, Colonel Henry set out towards Lake City, and around 10 a.m. was opposed about three miles east of that place by General Finegan, whose position was hastily intrenched. Finegan's strength is reported by him as 490 Infantry, 110 Cavalry and 2 guns--consisting largely of reinforcements from Middle Florida. Heavy skirmishing with the Federals resulted and after several hours Colonel Henry withdrew to Sanderson. The Federal strength by number is nowhere officially stated, but consisted of one regiment of mounted infantry and a battalion of cavalry with four pieces of artillery--which latter were not used in the engagement. Civilians living along the highway estimated the Federal strength as 1400, but it was probably less.

On the 14th, a detachment, reported as fifty Federal cavalrymen of Colonel Henry's command from Sanderson, entered Gainesville (about fifty miles distant) and captured large stores of supplies. Gainesville is reported to have been held for fifty-six hours, during which period the Federals were attacked by Captain Dickson, whose strength is claimed to have been two companies of cavalry. The Federal detachment returned to Sanderson on the 17th.

On the 15th, General Gillmore left Jacksonville for his headquarters at Hilton Head. Various conferences had been had with General Seymour, which indicate definite instructions to General Seymour and which made clear that his advance in force would not be beyond the Little St. Mary's and that that point and

Baldwin were to be strengthened so as to be held without question.

Between the 17th and 20th no distinctive operations are reported by the Federals. To include the 19th, Federal troops, to be employed the next day near Olustee, were concentrated at Sanderson and the vicinity of the Little St. Mary's.

*Confederate.* - During the period from February 8th to 19th, the Confederates were concerned mainly with the concentration of troops at and near Lake City. Previous contacts with Federals between there and Jacksonville have been noted, and the last in that general area was on the 11th near Lake City. From then until the 19th inclusive, there is shown a rising strength in Confederate forces. Reports of General Finegan set forth the following troops as being at or near Lake City: February 11th, 600 infantry and cavalry and 2 guns; 13th, 2250 infantry and cavalry and 10 guns; 19th, 5200 infantry and cavalry and 3 batteries (12 guns). Between the 11th and 19th the increase was due to Georgia reinforcements. This force was placed in camp at Olustee and had made some progress in entrenching its position, altho the "proposed line of work" (shown on map) was not completed by the 19th. Points marked "C" and "D" were separate intrenchments and ready by the 17th. No doubt a limited amount of preparation along the "proposed line of work" had been made by the 20th.

***Opposing Forces, Their Information, Plans and Orders.*** ***Federals.*** As previously stated, the Federal force was commanded by Brigadier General Truman Seymour, and consisted of the following, the strength stated by him to be "near 5500 officers and men and 16 guns:"

Colonel Guy V. Henry's Mounted Brigade:

2 Squadrons, Independent Battalion, Mass. Cavalry, Major  
A. H. Stevens

40th Regiment, Mass. Volunteers (Infantry), (Commander  
not shown)

Horse Battery B, 1st U. S. Artillery (4 Guns), Capt. S. S.  
Elder

Colonel J. R. Hawley's Brigade (Infantry):

7th Connecticut, Capt. Skinner (10-365)

7th New Hampshire, Col. J. C. Abbott (30-675)

8th U. S. Colored Troops, Col. C. W. Fribley (21-544)

Colonel W. B. Barton's Brigade (Infantry) :

47th New York, Col. H. Moore

48th New York, Major W. B. Coan

115th New York, Col. S. Sammon

Colonel James Montgomery's Brigade (Infantry) :

54th Massachusetts (Colored) Col. E. N. Hollowell (13-480)

1st North Carolina (Colored) Lt. Col. W. N. Reed

Battery E. 3d U. S. Artillery (6 guns) Capt. John Hamil-  
ton

Battery M, 1st U. S. Artillery with

1 section James' Rhode Island Battery (6 guns) Capt. L.  
L. Langdon

No data is at hand for deducing the battle strength of each organization above, except in four cases shown in parentheses. In these cases the first figure is the number of officers, the second the number of men. The three batteries may be taken as 75 men each, their approximate battle strength.

On February 20th, the Federal commander's information regarding the Confederate strength, location and dispositions was apparently quite indefinite. In his final report on the engagement (March 25, 1864) General Seymour stated that he had no "doubt as to the propriety of a conflict on equal terms." On February 22d, in a partial report, he states that "according to the best information" the Confederates were 4000 to 5000 strong. After the battle (in the same report) he states that "the enemy was greatly superior in force."

The plans of General Seymour, merely for the general employment of his force, were formed at Baldwin on the 17th. On that date he wrote to General Gillmore, then at Hilton Head and who had left General Seymour's headquarters on the 15th (see above), that he had decided to move to the Suwannee River for the purpose of destroying the railroad there. On the 22d (after the battle) he stated to the same authority that he moved from Barber's (on the Little St. Mary's) on the 20th "with the intention of meeting the enemy at or near Lake City and of pushing the mounted force to the Suwannee River, to destroy if possible the railroad bridge at that stream." This plan of action was, as stated, entirely contrary to instructions of General Gillmore, who, in a sharp letter to General Seymour on the 18th, in reply to the latter's letter of the 17th, said, among other things: "You must have forgotten my last instructions, which were for the present to hold Baldwin and the Saint Mary's South Fork as your outposts to the westward of Jacksonville-." Whatever may have been the lure and reasons, General Seymour clearly disregarded the orders of his chief.

No orders are found for the advance, but the march toward Lake City, on the 20th, was commenced in the following order, starting about 7 A.M. from Barber's (Little St. Mary's) and joined by Henry's mounted force at Sanderson :

Henry's mounted force with Elder's Battery, (from Sanderson).

Hawley's brigade, with Hamilton's Battery.

Barton's brigade, with Langdon's battery.

The trains and medical vehicles.

Montgomery's brigade.

It would appear that Hawley's brigade, at least, marched in three parallel columns (by regiment), and that Henry's troops did not continue to lead the ad-

vance at the time first touch was had with the Confederates.

Specific performance of Henry's mounted force during the march and the succeeding battle is not contained in any of the reports.

**Confederate.** As previously stated, the Confederate force was commanded by Brigadier General Joseph Finegan, and consisted of the following, he reporting his "whole effective force as infantry 4600; cavalry less than 600 ; artillery, 3 batteries-twelve guns" :

First Brigade (infantry), Brigadier General A. H. Colquitt:

6th Georgia, Colonel John T. Lofton

19th Georgia, Colonel James H. Neal

23d Georgia, Lt. Colonel James H. Huggins

27th Georgia, Colonel Charles T. Zachry

28th Georgia, Colonel Tully Graybill

6th Florida Battalion, Lt. *Colonel* John M. Martin

Chatham (Georgia) Artillery (4 guns), attached, Capt. John F. Wheaton.

Second Brigade (infantry), Colonel George P. Harrison, 32d Georgia:

32d Georgia Volunteers, Major W. T. Holland

1st Georgia Regulars, Captain H. A. Cannon

64th Georgia Regulars, Colonel John W. Evans

1st Florida Battalion, Lieut. Colonel Charles F. Hopkins

Bonaud's Battalion (Ga.), Major A. Bonaud

Guerard's (Ga.) Battery (4 guns), attached, Captain John M. Guerard.

Cavalry Brigade, Colonel Caraway Smith, 2d Florida Cavalry:

4th Georgia Cavalry, Colonel Duncan L. Clinch (250)

2d Florida Cavalry, Lt. Col. A. H. McCormick (202)

5th Florida Cavalry Battalion, Major G. W. Scott (140 approx.)

Reserve: Florida Light Artillery (4 guns), Captain R. H. Gamble.

Colonel R. B. Thomas was assigned as Chief of Artillery.

No data is at hand for deducing the battle strength of each organization above, except in three cases shown in parentheses. These numbers probably cover the strength for both officers and men. The batteries

may be taken as 70 men each, their approximate battle strength.

General Finegan's information about the Federal strength that could probably be employed in any serious advance, pointed to a force of three regiments of infantry, some cavalry and artillery. He, like his opponent, seemed not to have maintained reconnaissance with the other's main force ; and consequently had no specific knowledge on which to base definite plans. Higher Confederate authority had no general plan of action other than to reenforce General Finegan to the maximum that could be taken from other sources, with the purposes of enabling him to offer successful resistance to a serious westward advance by the Federals. With this idea of resistance General Finegan intended to entrench a position at Olustee, as shown on map. Here both flanks would be covered: to the north by Ocean Pond, to the south by a swamp, while the front presented very difficult, if not impassable, ground. He hoped to be able to entice the Federals into attacking this position ; and on belief that they had advanced to within about three miles of the position around noon, he sent his cavalry, supported by the 64th Georgia and two companies of the 32d Georgia, with orders to "advance and skirmish with the enemy and draw them to our works." The remainder of the force was "prepared for action," but in what manner is not stated. These measures constitute the initial plans for meeting the Federals.

Verbal orders no doubt covered all the above plans ; and nothing is found of record to change that assumption.

**The Terrain.** - The attached sketch fully shows the details of the area on which the battle was fought. Those familiar with this type of Florida topography recognize it as perfectly flat with pine growth and a

covering of thin grass, weeds and straw. No definite clearings existed except the small fields near and within the battle area. The ground, except the pond and marsh areas, was readily passable. The pine trees afforded cover for individual riflemen, but no irregular ground approaches nor that type of cover for groups or masses existed.

Concealed maneuver of forces could be made at reasonable distances from either opponent due to the screening afforded by the pine growth, and should the Confederates remain at their position, that position could be turned from the south. Should that be attempted, it would also offer flanking opportunities to the Confederates against the turning force. The area on which the fight did occur should have presented chances to the Federals for forcing the Confederates, through proper flanking, against the larger bay and with promise of serious results to them. Likewise, had it been practicable for the Confederates to have forced the issue farther to the rear of the actual battle area, and have rested their left flank on the large bay and while the bulk of their force was massed to their right, correspondingly serious results to the Federals might have resulted. This successful Confederate action could have forced the Federals against either or both bays, with no outlet except the narrow ground between the two bays and the large perfect obstacle of Ocean Pond directly to the rear.

It would appear most improbable that the Federals would or could attack the Confederate position partially prepared as shown at Olustee, because it could be reached only by narrow columns on the railroad and road from the east and over the road shown from the southeast. Such a plan of final attack could offer no chance of success. Likewise, would the Confederates be handicapped should they attempt to move

forward from that position to attack the Federals formed up to the east and south and within attacking range. Each force, under these circumstances, would be limited to an artillery duel that could gain no decisive ends.

In the failure of either force to maneuver for the purpose of decisive flanking action, a straight meeting engagement, with movements directly forward, would result in an encounter in the open without advantage of ground to either. And that is what happened.

#### THE BATTLE

The order of march of the Federals toward Lake City and the initial steps taken by the Confederate commander to gain touch with them are mentioned above.

Somewhere between Sanderson and before the Federals had reached the area at the eastern boundary of the sketch (Hawley's brigade marching in the lead with its three regiments in line of regimental columns), the 7th Connecticut was ordered to go forward as a protecting force about one-half mile ahead of the column with skirmishers properly provided. This regiment consisted of four companies formed provisionally from the original ten companies comprising the regiment, and employed two companies as skirmishers. The 7th New Hampshire and 8th U. S. Colored continued to follow abreast of each other, the former being on the right, with the line of march on the road for that regiment and the 8th Colored advancing via the railroad. The position and location of Henry's mounted troops are not known.

The skirmishers (leading companies, 7th Connecticut) encountered the Confederate cavalry (probably small groups of scouts) about four miles east of Olus-

tee, which would be near the road junction shown towards the eastern edge of the attached map. This first contact occurred probably about 12:30 P. M.

As nearly as can be judged, the Confederate commander sent forward his cavalry about. 11 A. M.; followed, about noon, by the 64th Georgia and two companies of the 32d Georgia, as a support to the cavalry, with orders to "skirmish with the enemy and draw them to our works." The remaining Confederate forces were held at camp and "placed under arms and prepared for action."

When the two forces first gained contact, the skirmish line of the 7th Connecticut apparently was not checked, but steadily advanced while the Confederate cavalry fell back. The Federal skirmish line arrived in the vicinity of the crossing of the highway and railroad at about 2 P. M. (two and one-quarter miles east of Olustee). Here they were met by Confederate infantry. The presence of this infantry came about as follows :

About 12:30 P. M., General Finegan directed General Colquitt to move forward with three regiments of his brigade and Gamble's Battery (shown in above table as, "Reserve") and to take command of all Confederate troops at the front. He was further directed to drive back the Federal force if not too strong, and to ask for needed assistance. The three regiments Colquitt took were the 6th, 19th and 28th Georgia regiments ; General Finegan believing at that time that the Federal force consisted of three infantry regiments, with some cavalry and artillery. The 64th Georgia, two companies off 32d Georgia and Smith's cavalry had already preceded the force Colquitt had, and, under the orders, became a part of his command. The battle, proper, was here initiated with no definite plan except to attack whatever was met. All employment

of troops throughout the fight was apparently left to General Colquitt. With this decision, the thought of drawing the Federals to the Confederate position was given up. The reasons for such a change of plan is not indicated. However it would seem very doubtful whether the Federals could be so enticed, and seemingly General Finegan believed his force at least equal to the Federals and was not fearful of risking a fight in the open.

Details are not available, but no doubt the Connecticut skirmishers were first attacked by elements of the 64th and 32d Georgia regiments around 2 P. M. about where the railroad and highway cross. This attack resolved itself into what is shown on the map as the "2 position" for the Confederates and the "1st position" for the Federals.

The 7th New Hampshire and 8th U. S. Colored regiments had probably been following the 7th Connecticut at about one-half mile as ordered, and as the latter fell back from the "1st position" the other two Federal regiments were ordered to deploy and attempted to do so on what is indicated on map as the "2 position" for the Federals. In the meantime the 7th Connecticut continued its withdrawal and passed to the rear of the other two regiments. This withdrawal probably began between 2:30 and 3:00 P.M.

The Federal commander's (Seymour's) plan, as stated by him, was to place all three Federal batteries approximately on one line (and near the locality shown as "captured guns"), to have these batteries supported and protected by his attacking infantry in that vicinity, and with the other necessary portion of his infantry to attack the Confederate left after the Confederate line had been subjected to heavy punishment by the fire of Federal artillery.

In attempting to execute this plan of action the 7th

New Hampshire and 8th U. S. Colored regiments undertook to get into position on either side and somewhat forward of the artillery which was trying to get to the assigned. locations chosen for the batteries. These positions are mentioned above. The 7th New Hampshire, an experienced regiment, in making this deployment became involved in confusion through trying to conform to a change of orders after the deployment had been started. This circumstance, aided by the fire of the Confederates, brought about real disorder and eventuated in final uncontrolled retirement of the regiment. The 8th U. S. Colored, not experienced and without much training, after partially getting into its position, was strongly affected by the action of the 7th New Hampshire on its right; and, under the effect of Confederate fire, also ultimately gave way badly. The action of these two regiments greatly hampered the employment of the Federal artillery. The artillery fire was masked to a great degree, for the infantry became mixed with the personnel of the batteries.

In this state of confusion the batteries also lost both men and animals from Confederate fire, and were forced to abandon their positions. Being unable to withdraw all their guns, six of the sixteen pieces were captured as the Confederates reached the former battery positions. These events were critical incidents in the battle, and probably occurred during a period from 3:30 to 5:00 P. M.

The movements of the Confederates which brought about these conditions were, in general, as follows:

Upon becoming engaged with the 7th Connecticut and believing the Federals were bringing a strong force to the scene of action, General Colquitt directed the cavalry to take position well out on the flanks and to protect them -one regiment on each flank. Clinch's

regiment went to the left and McCormick's to the right ; each general location is shown on the map. At the same time he sent orders to other troops of his brigade to join him. These orders brought forward the 23d Georgia, 6th Florida and Wheaton's Battery. These troops had already been started forward by General Finegan. They soon reached their destination and were placed as shown in "3d position"; Wheaton's battery (Chatham Artillery) replacing Gamble's battery which, through loss of animals and injury to limbers had been reduced in efficiency. About 1:30 P. M. General Finegan ordered other troops to Colquitt's, assistance, and under the order Colonel Harrison moved forward from camp. He took with him the 32d Georgia (less two Companies already with Colquitt), 1st Georgia Regulars, and one section of Guerard's Battery. The troops left at camp were the 1st Florida Battalion, Bonaud's Battalion, 27th Georgia and one section of Guerard's Battery. Shortly after 3:00 P. M. Harrison's troops had reached the battle position and were generally located as shown in "3d Position." Harrison, by Colquitt's orders, was placed in command of the left portion of the line, which presumably consisted of the 1st Georgia Regulars, 32d Georgia and 6th Georgia. Colquitt commanded the remaining organizations on the right. The section of Guerard's battery which accompanied Harrison was originally placed on the right of Colquitt's command. The combined effort of the Confederates produced a slow advance which at about 4:30 P. M. caused the 7th New Hampshire and, 8th U. S. Colored to withdraw finally from their position.

Before the two Federal regiments just mentioned had made their final and confused retirement, Barton's brigade had appeared in line towards the Confederate left front, and originally took position farther forward

than is shown on the map. However the pressure from that part of the Confederate line slowly pushed them back to the vicinity indicated on the map.

With the increase of Confederate effort and the pressure on Barton's brigade, Montgomery's brigade (54th Mass. and 1st N. C.) arrived on the field; and with the 7th Connecticut (re-organized after its earlier experience) placed between these two, the fighting continued. The Federal lines, however, were being slowly forced back.

During the period from about 4:30 to 5:00 P. M. the 6th Florida Battalion, on the Confederate right, changed its front of attack, and assisted in causing the gradual withdrawal of the 54th Massachusetts and 7th Connecticut. At about 5:30 P. M. the Confederates had reached the vicinity of what is shown as "4th Position." Also about this hour, the ammunition of the 6th and 32d Georgia regiments (left of the line) had become practically exhausted ; and for probably twenty minutes, in this condition, their position was held, and until replenishment of ammunition could be accomplished shortly before 6:00 P. M.

The Confederates were gradually bringing their full strength into action and around 5:30 to 6:00 P. M. the last troops held back near Olustee had reached the field. These were the 1st Florida Battalion, Bonaud's Battalion, 27th Georgia and the second (remaining) section of Guerard's Battery. This infantry was placed forward of the center of the line to hold the Federals (see map) while troops on the original line were being supplied with ammunition ; the section of Guerard's Battery went into position to the left and rear of Wheaton's Battery (see location between "3d and 4th Positions").

With the arrival of the above troops and after ammunition had been supplied, General Colquitt ordered

a general advance, instructing Colonel Harrison to place the 6th and 32d Georgia so as to flank the Federal right. These results were brought about shortly after 6:00 P. M. and caused the general retreat of the Federals.

The Confederates followed for about a mile. The Cavalry had been ordered to take up the pursuit, but acted very timidly and apparently did not proceed farther than the road junction shown on the eastern side of the map. The cavalry had been joined about 4:00 P. M. by Scott's Battalion of Cavalry, which took position near McCormick's cavalry, on the Confederate right flank. On account of approaching darkness, the reported exhaustion of the infantry and lack of supplies, General Finegan did not attempt to press his opportunity but yielded to the recommendations of his subordinates that no serious pursuit be undertaken. Neither the Federal nor Confederate cavalry appears to have accomplished anything of value preceding, during or after the fight. Aside from indications that each was placed on the flanks of their own infantry during the action, the Confederate cavalry gained nothing from its opportunity and orders to pursue, while the Federal cavalry's positive activity of any nature is not ascertainable. The greater portion of the Federals proceeded unmolested that night to Barber's (about 13 miles), and the 7th Connecticut, as rear guard, is shown as having reached there about midnight. Some sources state that the Federal cavalry also performed rear guard duties.

On the 21st the retreat of the Federals brought them to Baldwin ; and on the 22d the movement was continued to the vicinity of Jacksonville. The Confederates arrived at Sanderson on the 22d and on the 26th General Finegan had his troops near McGirts Creek, 12 to 13 miles from Jacksonville.

Losses.-The officially reported casualties recorded for each force are as follows :

**FEDERAL**

(The figures on left of dash are officers; on the right, men)

| <i>Organization</i>                      | <i>Killed</i> | <i>Wounded</i> | <i>Missing</i> | <i>Aggregate</i> |
|--|---------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| 115th N. Y. Vols .....                   | 2- 27         | 4- 204         | 1- 58          | 7- 289           |
| 47th N. Y. Vols .....                    | 3- 27         | 4- 193         | 0- 86          | 7- 306           |
| 48th N. Y. Vols .....                    | 1- 16         | 1- 153         | 0- 44          | 2- 213           |
| 7th Conn. Vols .....                     | 1- 4          | 0- 42          | 0- 22          | 1- 68            |
| 7th N. H. Vols .....                     | 1- 16         | 7- 64          | 0-120          | 8- 200           |
| 8th U. S. (Colored)....                  | 1- 48         | 8- 180         | 1- 72          | 10- 300          |
| 1st N. C. (Colored)....                  | 2- 20         | 8- 123         | 0- 77          | 10- 220          |
| 54th Mass. (Colored) _                   | 0- 13         | 3- 62          | 0- 8           | 3- 83            |
| 40th Mass. Mtd. Inf .....                | 0- 2          | 1- 28          | 0- 5           | 1- 35            |
| Ind. Bn. Mass. Cav .....                 | .....         | 0 - 5          | .....          | 0 - 5            |
| Btry. B. 1st U. S. Art.<br>(Horse) ..... | 0- 33         | 1- 12          | .....          | 1 - 16           |
| Btry. E. 3d U. S. Art....                | 0- 11         | 4- 18          | 0- 6           | 4 - 35           |
| Btry. M. 1st U. S. Art...                | 0- 4          | 1- 21          | 0- 6           | 1 - 31           |
| Part. Btry. C. 3d R. I.<br>Art .....     | 0 - 1         | 0 - 5          | .              | 0- 6             |
| <b>Total .....</b>                       | <b>11-192</b> | <b>42-1110</b> | <b>2-504</b>   | <b>55-1806</b>   |

Some of the officers killed and wounded are given as follows :

| <i>Organization</i>     | <i>Killed (5)</i>         | <i>Wounded (11)</i>       |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 8th U. S. (Colored      | Col. Fribley . . . . .    | Major Burritt             |
|                         | Lt. Dempsey               |                           |
| 1st. N. C. (Colored)... | Lt. Col Reed              |                           |
| 115th N. Y. ....        | Capt. Vanderveer.....     | Col. Sammon               |
| 7th N. H. ....          | 1st Lt. G. W.Taylor ..... | 2d Lt. H. J. Davis        |
| 47th N. Y. ....         | .....                     | Col Moore                 |
| 48th N. Y. ....         | .....                     | Capt. N. A. Elfing        |
| 3d Art. ....            | .....                     | Capt. Hamilton            |
|                         | .....                     | Lt. Myrick                |
| 1st Art. ....           | .....                     | Lt. McCrea                |
| Organization not given  | .....                     | Capt. R. H. Jewett        |
|                         | .....                     | 1st Lt. H. W. Littlefield |
|                         | .....                     | 1st Lt. E. G. Tomlinson   |

## CONFEDERATE

(The figures on the left of dash are officers; on the right, men)

| <i>Organization</i>   | <i>Killed</i> | <i>Wounded</i> | <i>Missing</i> | <i>Aggregate</i> |
|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Colquitt's Brigade:   |               |                |                |                  |
| 6th Florida Battalion | 1 - 8         | 4 - 69         | .....          | 82               |
| Chatham Art. ....     | .....         | 0 - 3          | .....          | 3                |
| 6th Georgia .....     | 1 - 4         | 2 - 54         | .....          | 61               |
| 19th Georgia .....    | 1 - 7         | 7 - 81         | .....          | 96               |
| 23d Georgia .....     | 0 - 2         | 4 - 62         | 0 - 2          | 70               |
| 27th Georgia .....    | 0 - 7         | 8 - 59         | .....          | 74               |
| 28th Georgia .....    | 0-10          | 6 - 79         | .....          | 95               |
| Gambles Btry. ....    | 0 - 2         | 0 - 3          | .....          | 5                |
| Total .....           | 3-40          | 31-410         | 0 - 2          | 486              |

## Harrison's Brigade:

|                          |        |        |       |     |
|--------------------------|--------|--------|-------|-----|
| 1st Fla. Battalion ..... | 0 - 3  | 0 - 47 | ..... | 50  |
| Bonaud's Battalion ..... | 1 - 11 | 2 - 93 | 0 - 2 | 109 |
| 1st Georgia .....        | 1 - 2  | 1 - 24 | ..... | 28  |
| 32d Georgia .....        | 0-15   | 6-143  | ..... | 164 |
| 64th Georgia .....       | 2-15   | 9 - 79 | 0 - 2 | 107 |
| Guerard's Btry. ....     | .....  | 0 - 2  | ..... | 2   |
| Total .....              | 4-46   | 18-388 | 0 - 4 | 460 |
| Grand Total .....        | 7-86   | 49-798 | 0 - 6 | 946 |

No casualties are shown for cavalry organizations.

Some of the officers killed and wounded are given as follows:

| <i>Organization</i>  | <i>Killed (10)</i>     | <i>Wounded (22)</i>    |
|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 6th Fla. Bn.....     | Lt. Thos. J. Hill      |                        |
| 6th Georgia.....     | Lt. Combs              |                        |
| 19th Georgia .....   | Johnson (Adjutant).... |                        |
| 28th Georgia.....    |                        | Capt. Crawford         |
| 1st Fla. Bn .....    |                        | Lt. Col. C. F. Hopkins |
|                      |                        | Lt. S. K. Collins      |
|                      |                        | Lt. T. Williams        |
| Bonaud's Bn. (Ga.).. | Lt. W. W. Holland..... | Lt. J. W. Hall         |
|                      | (Fla. Co. attached)    | Lt. C. Pierce          |
| 1st Georgia .....    | Capt. H. A. Cannon ..  | Capt. A. F. Hill       |
|                      | Lt. Dancy .....        | Lt. P. H. Morel        |

|                       |                           |                      |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 32d Georgia .....     | Major Holland .....       | Capt. W. D. Cornwell |
|                       | Lt. R. J. Butler .....    | Lt. W. T. Moody      |
|                       |                           | Lt. W. L. Jenkins    |
|                       |                           | Lt. J. H. Pittman    |
|                       |                           | Lt. Morris Dawson    |
| 64th Georgia.....     | Lt. Col. Jas. Barrow..... | Col. J. W. Evans     |
|                       | Lt. P. A. Waller .....    | Maj. W. H. Weems     |
|                       |                           | Capt. R. W. Craven   |
|                       |                           | Lt. J. S. Thrasher   |
|                       |                           | Lt. M. L. Raines     |
|                       |                           | Capt. J. K. Redd     |
|                       |                           | Lt. T. M. Beasley    |
|                       |                           | Capt. R. A. Brown    |
|                       |                           | Lt. J. F. Burch      |
| 4th Georgia Cavalry.. |                           | Col. D. L. Clinch    |

**Medical Provisions.**- The Federals had twelve ambulances for medical transportation as well as means for setting up a first aid station. At the beginning of the fight equipment and transportation were brought forward rather close to their troops ; but due to the confusion of retreating troops and the wounded as well as danger from Confederate artillery fire, the medical station and ambulances were withdrawn to the eastern side of the small stream and marsh shown on that section of map. Meager information indicates that this location was used for probably three hours ; the wounded arriving there by walking, by litter, on animals, wagons, caissons, ambulances and whatever mode of transportation that could be utilized. In the evacuation of the casualties from this battlefield station, many wounded had to be left, but those able to walk or for whom transportation of any nature existed were taken to Barber's during the night. From there by rail and wagon, cases were forwarded to Jacksonville.

No information is obtainable concerning the definite handling of Confederate casualties or the medical service available. The smaller number of casualties

probably offered less of a problem and the town of Lake City was not far distant. It was used for hospitalization. The Federal wounded falling into the hands of the Confederates were, in part, sent to Tallahassee, and no doubt some cases were handled in Lake City.

GEORGE F. BALTZELL, U.S.A.

*Colonel Infantry*

THE **NEW CITY** OF PENSACOLA  
A Real Estate Development of 1835-1837

The Jacksonian era was a period in which our youthful republic was intensely concerned with the problem of making accessible her potential resources through the medium of internal development. Nowhere were the growing-pains of internal improvement more acutely manifested than in the country's newest acquisition, the Territory of Florida. The magic phrase, "internal improvements", became the shibboleth of all progressive citizens of the Territory, and in a society of pioneers such as inhabited Florida, where was there to be found an unprogressive citizen? <sup>1</sup> Proposals for roads, canals, and railroads followed one another with breath-taking rapidity. Out of the nebulous mass of suggestions and newspaper discussions, certain projects gradually assumed a practicable aspect. One of the most important of these was the plan to connect the deepwater harbor of Pensacola with the cotton-growing regions of southern Georgia and Alabama by means of a railroad to Columbus on the Chattahoochee River. And hand-in-hand with this projected railroad development went a land boom in the immediate vicinity of Pensacola which is comparable, in speculative intensity and relative increases in land values, to the real estate development which Florida experienced in the third decade of the present century.

The Pensacola railroad project assumed definite

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<sup>1</sup> Toast at a dinner to William Guy, Esq., March 5, 1825, at Pensacola: "*Internal Improvements*. - The surest bond of union and prosperity." *Pensacola Gazette*, March 12, 1825. On a similar occasion, to General Call, September 18, 1824: "Internal Improvements. - Give Florida her share and she will return in value an hundredfold." *Ibid.*, September 25, 1824.

form in December, 1833, when citizens of Pensacola, at a public meeting, decided to apply to the Alabama legislature for a charter.<sup>2</sup> In the charter of the Alabama, Florida, and Georgia Railroad Company, which was granted December 4, 1834, appeared the names of a representative group of Pensacola citizens of whom four, John A. Cameron, William H. Chase, Walter Gregory and Thomas M. Blount, seem, in the light of later developments, to have been the prime-movers of the project. Whether or not these men conceived the idea of a real estate development simultaneously with the plan for a railroad or developed it later is not evident, but at least five months before the Alabama charter was granted, they had quietly taken steps to secure control of the land which was to become the site of the New City of Pensacola.

On July 2, 1834, Cameron wrote to Dr. W. J. Watson of Marianna on behalf of "a friend" who desired to purchase land and was interested in the Moreno grant, a tract of 800 arpents lying on Pensacola Bay east of the city of Pensacola.<sup>3</sup> This Moreno grant, or Shackleford tract, as it was more generally called, was the very heart of the lands the associates had determined upon for the terminus of their railroad and the site of their real estate development. Other lands necessary to the project were the Rivas grant of 300 arpents lying between the Shackleford land and Bayou Texar, and certain public lands of the United States

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<sup>2</sup> At the same time a Florida charter was applied for and received, but the territorial legislature later accepted the Alabama charter and the railroad was begun under its terms. *Executive Documents*, 23 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 126, gives the Alabama charter.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. Cameron to Dr. Watson, July 2, 1834. Certified copy. An arpent is an old French unit of measure roughly equivalent to an acre.

to the west of the Shackelford tract.<sup>4</sup> Acquisition of the public lands was relatively simple as they could be purchased through the federal land office. Titles to the Rivas and Shackelford tracts, however, had been divided by a series of sales of undivided interests in the lands, and several forced sales had resulted in a number of claims and counter claims to' ownership of the parcels involved. The tedious and difficult task of seeking out and satisfying the numerous claimants to the two tracts was confided to Gregory, who, as president of the Bank of Pensacola, could move in the matter with a minimum of public notice.

The larger tract had been granted to Francisco Moreno by the Spanish government on October 21, 1817.<sup>5</sup> Establishment of a territorial government for Florida in 1821 seems to have occasioned a speculative flurry in land and on June 9 Moreno sold his grant, with the exception of two arpents on the bay which he reserved to himself, to Antoine Collins for \$800. On August 4 Moreno sold one arpent of the two reserved to John Chebeaux. The other arpent was sold by Moreno to Gregory in December, 1834, for \$500. Chebeaux's arpent was offered in satisfaction of debt at a marshal's sale in February, 1834, and one third of it was conveyed by the marshal to Laurent Millaudon.

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<sup>4</sup> The associates also became interested in two parcels of land known as the Ordozyville and Bell tracts, which will not be considered here as no part of either lay within the New City. Both, however, are within the limits of the present city of Pensacola.

<sup>5</sup> The original Spanish grant is in the Yonge library. Unless otherwise noted, statements relating to the Shackelford tract are based on *Abstract of the Titles of Land belonging to the Pensacola City Company*, drawn up by George P. Brainard, probably in 1857, when the affairs of the Pensacola City Company were revived.

Title to this arpent appears not to have been satisfactorily cleared by Gregory.<sup>6</sup>

Two days after Collins had bought the land from Moreno he sold it to Nathan Shackelford at a profit of \$200.<sup>7</sup> Shackelford, in December of the same year, recouped the purchase price of the entire tract by selling 150 arpents to Samuel M. Smyth for \$1,000, a price which Smyth doubled when he resold the parcel in 1836 to William H. Chase. Shackelford then laid off a part of his remaining land in city lots and offered them for sale.<sup>8</sup> Early in 1823 he sold sixteen lots and a plot of about six arpents to Joseph M. White for \$1,000. This property, amounting in all to about ten acres, was sold by White to Gregory in May, 1835, for \$4,000. Besides the ten acres purchased by White, Shackelford in 1821 and 1822 sold some thirteen lots to divers persons but Gregory evidently failed to learn of the transactions.<sup>9</sup> The purchasers did not seek to establish their titles until after the period under discussion.

Gregory found it necessary to satisfy three conflicting claims to the title to the remainder of the Shackelford tract before the associates could safely proceed to develop the land. In February, 1823, Shackelford finding himself possessed of extensive

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<sup>6</sup> *List. of. out. Standing claims on the Nathan Shackelford Tract of 800 arpens [sic] which was Granted by the Spanish Authorities to Francisco Moreno, made by Geo. P. Brainard, probably in 1857.*

<sup>7</sup> Title to the tract was confirmed to Shackelford in 1825 by the United States Commissioners who examined all claims under Spanish grants to lands in Florida. *American State Papers, Public Lands, IV, Schedule A, No. 69, p. 182.*

<sup>8</sup> Shackelford's plat is referred to several times in deeds and abstracts among the Pensacola City Company's papers. It has not been preserved.

<sup>9</sup> *List. of. out. Standing claims on the Nathan Shackelford Tract, etc.* Purchasers were: Francisco Moreno, four lots; Antoine Collins, as trustee of Nancy L. P. Windham and child, one lot; George Brown, two lots; Elizabeth Benoit, guardian of Elias Fred. Benoit and Maria Benoit, one lot.

debts and nothing with which to meet them save several tracts of land, including the parcel under discussion, and “one roan horse and White Mule, one yoke of oxen and wagon & twenty five head of cattle”, assigned the entire lot, real estate and live stock, in trust to Dr. Watson and James D. Godbold, who were to use it in paying Shackleford’s debts.<sup>10</sup> On September 16, 1823, a judgment for debt was obtained against Shackleford but execution was delayed. On November 12 of the next year another judgment was obtained by a second creditor of Shackleford and was executed November 1, 1825, when the tract was sold at sheriff’s sale to Dr. Watson for \$160. Three years later, November 4, 1828, the first judgment was executed at a marshal’s sale, when the same land was sold a second time to satisfy a debt of Shackleford’s. Benjamin D. Wright bought it for \$152. Thus there were two claimants to the tract, Watson holding a deed from the sheriff while Wright held a deed from the marshal.

Shackleford then proposed to buy back the land from Wright, who agreed to sell all except ten acres known as the oak grove or The Oaks. The consummation of this agreement is uncertain. In later years Wright did not recollect deeding the tract to Shackleford, and certainly no deed was recorded, nor did Shackleford make any payment on the property. Wright did remember saying once, however, that he had made a deed for Shackleford.<sup>11</sup> Whatever the truth of the matter, Shackleford’s children claimed the land under this “sale” and also under a Spanish law giving a widow a dower right to one half of her husband’s estate. The second basis for claiming the

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<sup>10</sup> *Nathan Shackleford to Wm. J. Watson & James D. Godbold*. Certified copy of deed.

<sup>11</sup> These facts were related by Wright to Geo. P. Brainard late in the 1850’s. *List. of. out. Standing claims on the Nathan Shackleford Tract*, etc.

land was fully as uncertain as the first<sup>12</sup> but Gregory felt it wise to make some settlement. In March, 1835, he obtained from Edward and Sampson Shackelford a quit-claim to the land for which he gave \$900.<sup>13</sup>

When Watson answered Cameron's letter of inquiry in 1834 he stated that he believed himself to be the sole owner of the land with the exception of the 150 arpents held by Smyth. Wright's claim he held unsound on the advice of Joseph M. White, one of the best lawyers in the Territory, but in order to avoid a law suit he professed his intention of compromising with Wright by deeding him The Oaks in return for a quit-claim to the rest of the property.<sup>14</sup> This was done the next month. So far as selling the property was concerned, Watson was not anxious to part with the whole but would have liked to retain a half interest in anticipation of "a new course of things springing up or developing themselves around Pensacola," which, though long delayed, might be of benefit to his children. He did, however, offer the tract for \$1,200. Cameron countered with an offer of \$1,000, remarking that "I think upon reflection you will deem one thousand dollars a very high price-more I think than four times as much as you were offered for it last spring."<sup>15</sup> Watson died before the deal could go through but in February, 1835, the administrator of his estate accepted Cameron's offer. In December of that year Wright sold the associates his ten acres at

<sup>12</sup> If the children had any claim under the dower right it would not hold as against the purchasers of the land at the forced sales. *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Edw'd Shackleford Sampson Shackelford for Interest in Shackelford Tract.* The deed gives the consideration as one dollar for each, but Wright told Brainard that it was \$900.

<sup>14</sup> W. J. Watson to J. A. Cameron, August 4, 1834.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Cameron to Dr. Watson, August 18, 1834. A certified copy.

The Oaks for \$500, giving them a comprehensive deed to the entire tract of 800 arpents.

The Shackelford tract had been purchased for the sum total of \$8,900, but the associates were not to acquire the Rivas tract so cheaply. That parcel had fallen into the hands of a group of New Orleans speculators, one of whom had sufficient perspicacity to retain his holdings until they were so badly wanted that the associates were willing to pay a handsome price for them. The 300 arpent tract had been granted by the Spanish government in 1806 to Gabriel Rivas and had passed, on Rivas death in 1808, into the hands of Gregorio Caro, who paid \$500 for it.<sup>16</sup> In October, 1817, Caro sold the tract for \$572 to James Fitzsimmons, Samuel Smyth and John Chebeaux, and the next year Chebeaux purchased Fitzsimmons' holding for \$300.<sup>17</sup> Smyth held his undivided third until April, 1836, when he sold it, together with 150 arpents of the Shackelford tract, to Chase for \$2,000 each.

Chebeaux seems to have been acting as agent for himself and two friends in New Orleans, Laurent Millaudon and Louis de Morant. The transactions between the three, however, are not clear. In 1823 Chebeaux stated that he, Millaudon and Smyth were owners of the tract in the proportions of five, seven and six-eighteenths, respectively.<sup>18</sup> At some time before 1834 de Morant evidently acquired three-eighteenths

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<sup>16</sup> Unless otherwise noted statements concerning the Rivas grant are based on *Abstract of title of the Pensacola City Co'y made by Geo. Brainerd [sic] May 28, 1858 - To a tract of 300 Arpens [sic] confirmed by the U. S. of America to John Chebeaux. This tract lies between the Shackelford tract & Bayou Texar.*

<sup>17</sup> The tract was confirmed to Chebeaux by the United States Commissioners in 1825. *American State Papers, Public Lands, IV, Schedule A. No. 46. p. 182.*

<sup>18</sup> *List for Monsieur Antonio Molino of the titles which I sent him of the several properties in which I am interested in Pensacola.* Signed by Chebeaux, May 17, 1823. Certified copy.

from Millaudon, for in November of that year Millaudon obtained a judgment against de Morant's unknown heirs-at-law, and in February, 1835, Gregory bid the interest in at public auction for \$3,376. Chebeaux, also, was unable to cancel an indebtedness to Millaudon save through the forced sale of his interest of five-eighteenths. John Brosnaham and Henry Michélet, who purchased the land in January, 1834, for \$80, made what proved to be a fortunate speculation, for before the year was out they had resold the property to Gregory for \$1,200. Millaudon was astute enough to retain his four-eighteenths of the tract until January, 1837, when he sold to Chase for \$31,800, making the total cost of the tract \$38,376.

The extensive purchases of the associates, coupled as they were with the project for a railroad, could not but raise speculative activities in Pensacola to a feverish pitch. So intense was the interest, indeed, that the *Pensacola Gazette* mentioned it several times, an unusual thing in view of the fact that the editor was prone to feel that local happenings were too well-known in the small community to warrant comment in the columns of his weekly. In the issue of January 10, 1835, the *Gazette* stated, "Every business transaction is done, and every sale or purchase of real estate, is made, with reference to the Rail Road." The forced sale of de Morant's interest in the Rivas tract for \$3,376 elicited the remark, under the characteristic caption, A SYMPTOM, that, "One year ago it would not have brought \$75,"<sup>19</sup> And in June the editor boasts that "property has risen in value, within the last three months more rapidly than it has ever done, even in New Orleans or Mobile." In fact, appreciations in land values of from ten to fifty fold had made the buy-

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<sup>19</sup> Pensacola Gazette, February 14, 1835.

ers "more willing to purchase than the holders are to sell." <sup>20</sup>

If these speculative increases in prices were to be justified by corresponding increases in the actual value of the land, it was necessary, of course, that the plan for a railroad be pushed to a successful conclusion. For the accomplishment of this, in turn, it was imperative that outside capital be enlisted in the enterprise. It is true that the entire capital stock of the railroad had been subscribed for locally when it was offered in December, 1834, but since the charter stipulated an initial payment of twenty-five cents on each share, sale of \$1,500,000 of stock had resulted in only \$3,750 in cash. <sup>21</sup> Furthermore, many persons had subscribed for the purpose of facilitating organization of the company and with the intention of selling their stock before they should be called upon for substantial cash payments. Chase, who had been elected president of the railroad and whose captaincy in the engineering corps of the United States Army would give him ready entry into northern social and financial circles, appears to have assumed the task of seeking financial aid. In this he was assisted by Gregory, who had lived in Boston before taking an active part in the organization of the Bank of Pensacola in 1831 and may consequently have had northern financial connections.

Chase and Gregory succeeded in interesting in their project a group of New York and Philadelphia business men who appear to have been connected with the United States Bank. At least one of the group, Charles A. Davis, of New York, already was greatly interested in Florida, as he was a trustee of the Apalachicola Land Company. The other men were Morris Robinson and Samuel S. V. Wilder, of New York, and

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, June 20, 1835.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, December 20, 1834.

Thomas Biddle, Elihu Chauncey and Samuel Jaudon, of Philadelphia.<sup>22</sup> No record of the negotiations has been preserved but their trend can be inferred from events which transpired later. The northern men were interested, but hesitated to assume the great risk involved in financing a railroad to serve a relatively undeveloped region without more adequate security than the optimistic prophecies of a profitable freight business, which were all the railroad company had to offer. This difficulty was surmounted by an ingenious proposal whereby the Territory of Florida was to endorse a bond issue to be used in building the railroad. As an additional inducement, the northern group was to be included in the real estate activities of the associates, which gave promise of great profit for all involved. In pursuance of these plans the Pensacola Land Company was organized to handle the real estate interests of the enlarged group of associates, and the Pensacola Association, composed of the six northern men, Chase and Gregory, was formed to float the proposed bond issue.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Several of these men were intimately connected with the United States Bank. Charles A. Davis was elected a director of that bank in January, 1835. He was also a director of the State Bank of New York. *American Almanac*, 1836, p. 113; J. G. Wilson, *The Memorial History of the City of New York*, III p. 347.

Samuel Jaudon was cashier of the United States Bank. Nicholas Biddle, in a letter to W. B. Lewis, Oct. 21, 1829, characterized him as "a gentleman of high character and capacity-inferior to no other Officer in the Bank & with very few equals in the country for intelligence and knowledge of business." (R. C. McGrane, *The Correspondence of Nicholas Riddle Dealing with National Affairs*, 1807-1844, p. 81.)

Thomas Biddle must have been the head of Thomas Biddle & Co., an important Philadelphia brokerage firm which had extensive dealings with the United States Bank. If so, he was a relative of Nicholas Biddle. *Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives*, 22 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 460, pp. 385, 390.

<sup>23</sup> Report of the Commissioners of the Bank of Pensacola, p. 25.

It was decided to use the Bank of Pensacola as the medium through which the bonds should be issued. Blount, who was a member of the Legislative Council, introduced and secured the passage, in February, 1835, of an act amending the charter of the Bank of Pensacola to authorize an increase in its capital stock and the purchase of shares of the Alabama, Florida and Georgia Railway Company to the amount that its directors might deem expedient.<sup>24</sup> To enable the bank to purchase stock it was authorized to issue bonds to the amount of \$500,000, bearing interest at six per cent, and maturing January 1, 1860. These bonds were to be endorsed by the governor of Florida in the name of the Territory, the endorsement guaranteeing both principal and interest. In order that the Territory might be properly protected it was provided that the bank should hypothecate to the Territory all of its capital stock, railroad stock and other property, and that no dividends should be paid by the bank until the bonds had been extinguished or a fund provided for that purpose.<sup>25</sup> Control of the bank's directorate was secured by the Pensacola Association through the purchase of a large block of the newly authorized stock. In conformity with the amended charter, the bank issued \$500,000 of bonds in April, 1835. They were sold at their face value in December of the same year by Chase, acting as agent of the Bank of Pensacola, to Biddle, Jaudon and Chauncey, agents of the

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<sup>24</sup> Blount was one of the most influential members of the council, being chairman of the committee on finance and a member of the judiciary committee and committee on banks. This act was introduced, passed and approved by the governor, John H. Eaton, in exactly one week. *Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1835, pp. 14, 78, 105, 113.

<sup>25</sup> *Florida Acts*, 1835, p. 303.

Pensacola Association.<sup>26</sup> The bonds were ultimately resold in England.<sup>27</sup>

The Pensacola Land Company was not formed until December, 1835, when the financing of the railroad was assured. Gregory, who had been acting as the purchasing agent of the associates until that time, on December 4 transferred to Chase, as agent for the Land Company, the interests which he had acquired by purchase in the Rivas and Shackelford tracts. He also transferred to the company 560 acres of public lands which he had entered in his own name at the federal land office.<sup>28</sup> The company's property was in nine shares, of which Chase, Gregory, Cameron, Blount, William M. Booth and Joseph M. White each held one share.<sup>29</sup> The remaining three shares were divided in halves between Davis, Robinson, Wilder, Biddle, Chauncey and Jaudon. Some idea of the value which members of the company placed upon their property is given by an advertisement that appeared in the *Pensacola Gazette* of August 20, 1836. Thomas M. Blount, as agent for the owner of one of the nine original shares, advertises it in subdivisions of eighteenths, each offered for \$6,000 cash. At that rate the entire ninth would have brought \$108,000, while

<sup>26</sup> *Report of the Commissioners of the Bank of Pensacola*, p. 25.

<sup>27</sup> The bonds were repudiated by the territorial legislature in 1842 and have never been paid. They are still listed on the books of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders, London. *Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Council of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders*; p. 417.

<sup>28</sup> Deed, Walter Gregory to William H. Chase.

<sup>29</sup> Joseph M. White was the territorial delegate in Congress and it is likely that he was offered an interest in the project to ensure favorable Congressional action toward the railroad, for which a right of way through the public lands could be obtained only by grant of Congress.

Booth was from New York but does not appear to have been a member of the Biddle group as he was not included in the Pensacola Association.

would be cotton, great burlapped bales of it exposing the creamy whiteness of their contents at open ends, cotton from the rich, black bottomlands of the Alabama and Coosa rivers and from the fertile red clay uplands of the Chattahoochee. Cotton, always more cotton, which piled on the yet unbuilt wharves of the New City would act as a magnet to steamboats and sailing ships, brigs, barques and brigantines, sloops and schooners, until the splendid harbor would be filled with the shipping of the world, and the coffers of those living in the New City would be overflowing with the gold and commerce of trade. It was a gilded vision to resolve itself from the billowing black smoke of a fire that had never been lighted under the boiler of a toy-like locomotive that was never to run down Railroad Street in the New City of Pensacola. Yet there were many who saw the vision ; and seeing, believed ; and believing, bought lots in the New City.

The public auction, at which one-fourth of the building lots held by the Pensacola Land Company was offered for sale, was extensively advertised. In their literature, distributed by agents in Mobile, Tuscaloosa, Conecuh and Limestone counties, Alabama, Montgomery, Natchez, Columbus, New Orleans, Philadelphia and New York, the company's members described themselves as gentlemen "of respectability, intelligence and large capital" who purposed to develop Pensacola.<sup>31</sup> These qualities evidently appealed to the buying public, for at the sale of lots which took place January 3, 4, 5, 1837, buyers were present from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, New Orleans, and Cuba. It was even reported that agents of European houses attended the auction.<sup>32</sup> The circumstances of the sale can only be imagined. Elegant gentlemen

<sup>31</sup> *Pensacola Gazette*, September 24, 1836.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, January 7, 1837.

the holdings of the company would have been worth only a few thousand dollars short of a million.

The summer of 1836 saw actual construction of the railroad started. All during the fall and winter the little town was *abustle* with the arrival of laborers, who had to be brought in from the North, and the unloading of rails, cars and *even* locomotives. For the first time since the purchase of Florida, ships from England came to Pensacola, bringing iron for the road, while brigs and barques and schooners from the eastern seaboard were frequently anchored in the spacious harbor. At the same time the Pensacola Land Company was laying out the Rivas and Shackelford tracts and a part of the public lands entered by Gregory, into the New City of Pensacola. The survey lines were run and a plat of the city drawn by George E. Chase, a brother of Captain Chase.<sup>30</sup>

From this plat a pleasant town could be envisaged, with broad streets and prim squares, the latter bearing with complacent dignity their glorious names of Cabot, Galvez, Jackson. The streets, laid off from north to south, gave refreshing promise in their titles of Cypress, Magnolia, Cedar and Live Oak, while the avenues, running east and west, by their names brought into one company the fathers of our country and the promoters of the New City. There was even a spacious park where Bayou Texar narrows its blue waters into Pensacola Bay. But the glory of the plat was Railroad Street, a magnificent thoroughfare of 120 feet through the heart of the city, down the center of which the would-be purchaser of lots could picture a puffing, wood-burning, diminutive locomotive chugging away at the breath-taking speed of some twelve miles an hour. And loaded into the cars of the train

<sup>30</sup>*Plan of the New City of Pensacola with part of the Old City and vicinity in West Florida by G. E. Chase, 1836.* There is a copy in the Yonge library, Pensacola.

of the pleasant winter sun consisted of coonskin cap or shuck hat. A motley throng that followed, ankle deep in white sand, the blatant yet persuasive voices of the auctioneer who, trained in salesmanship through long years of hammering down cotton samples and prime field hands, led from one choice lot to another. Through and above his strident tones came the busy rat-tat-tat of hammers from the spot where a hotel under construction gave tangible evidence of the seriousness of purpose of those intelligent and respectable gentlemen who were developing the city.<sup>31</sup> And perhaps from some moss draped clump of live oaks was wafted the promise of barbecued meat that had been preparing through a long night over red embers bedded in a shallow pit.

From the standpoint of the number of lots sold and of the total sales price, the three-day auction was a great success. The amount of cash actually received by the Pensacola Land Company, however, left something to be desired. The *Pensacola Gazette* of January 7, 1837, states that the company realized \$580,000, an approximately correct statement, as a check of the list of lots sold gives a total of \$556,180.<sup>32</sup> Of that amount the greater part was in notes secured by mortgages

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, January 7, 1837.

<sup>32</sup>*Sales of Pensacola City Lots of 3d 4th & 5th January 1837.*

Five hundred fifty-six parcels were sold, there being from one lot to fifteen lots in each of these. The largest purchaser was R. C. McAlpin, he securing thirty-seven parcels totaling one hundred sixty-seven lots, and ranging in price from fifty dollars to eleven hundred ninety dollars per lot. Another large purchaser was Walker Anderson of Pensacola who bought twenty parcels totaling sixty-eight lots, the majority of which were at high prices. Among other Pensacola residents purchasing were Geo. Barkley, Pedro Yneistra, Thos. M. Blount, Geo. Willis, Chas. LeBaron, Henry Hyer, Jasper Strong, J. Catlin, John Campbell, Geo. Walton, Owen Avery, W. A. Bell, W. H.

on the lots, <sup>35</sup> for only \$47,942.07 was paid in cash, <sup>36</sup> hardly enough to defray the expenses of the company in purchasing the land and promoting the sale. <sup>37</sup> Prices of the lots ranged from \$50 to \$1,775 with an average of \$439.92 for the 1,287 lots sold. <sup>38</sup> Lots fronting the proposed line of the railroad, of which only 61 of the entire 200 were sold, ranged in price from the high of \$1,775 each for two lots on the corner of a square one block from the waterfront, to \$260 on the edge of the city. The choicest lots in the city, those fronting the railroad in squares seven and eight, which were on both waterfront and railroad, were not offered for sale. In general, prices of lots were in direct proportion to their nearness to the railroad and water, while corner lots brought better prices than inside ones.

A few days after the sale the Pensacola Land Company was reorganized as the Pensacola City Company,

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Chase, B. D. Wright, J. A. Cameron. Other buyers were Thomas Brown, of Tallahassee, afterwards governor of Florida; John N. C. Stockton; Thos. S. Bates, E. D. Washburn, Andrew Baxter, and Thos. Hodson, all of Mobile; J. Peebles, of New Orleans; E. Bryan, of New York; D. Hodge, of Apalachicola; R. Semmes, U.S.N., later commander of the Confederate cruiser Alabama; Commodore Dallas, U.S.N.; and other officers presumably then stationed at Pensacola.

The *Pensacola Gazette* of September 15, 1849, estimated that the lots sold in 1837 "brought at the rate of 6 millions for the whole property."

<sup>35</sup> A large bundle of these notes and mortgages still remain uncanceled among the papers of the Pensacola Land Company and its successors.

<sup>36</sup> The estimate of cash payments is from *Statement of Sales of Lots at Pensacola January 1837, shewing [sic] the price of each lot, the am't paid on each purchase & the notes outstanding*, which evidently was tabulated in the 1850's.

<sup>37</sup> The company seems to have been unable to pay the territorial auction sales tax, for incorporation of the Pensacola City Company in 1838 was made conditional upon payment of this tax by the company. *Florida Acts, 1838*, p. 73.

<sup>38</sup> A sale of lots in Port Leon, terminus of the Tallahassee railroad, shortly before completion of that line to Port Leon in 1839, showed a price range of from \$200 to \$2,570, with an average of \$1,001.06. Only 31 lots were sold, however, for a total of \$31,050. *Apalachicola Gazette*, April 20, 1839.

a joint stock company which was incorporated in February of the following year by the Legislative Council. The new company included all of the original members of the Pensacola Land Company except Joseph M. White, who probably had sold his interest at a handsome profit to the new members, James D. Graham, engineer and later president of the railroad, James H. Leverich, Jackson Morton, Henry Hyer and Charles LeBaron, all of Pensacola. The Pensacola City Company held a second sale on May 1, 1837, at which 127 lots were disposed of for a total of \$34,415, or an average of \$271.73.<sup>39</sup> This decrease in the average price of the lots sold was partly due to the fact that many were not desirably located, but it was undoubtedly due in great measure to the disturbed business conditions immediately preceding the financial crisis of 1837. The low price in this sale was \$50 while the high of \$910 was for a lot on Railroad Street next to a corner that had brought \$1,550 in January and directly opposite the two lots that had sold for \$1,775 each.

Shortly after the May sale, with its indication of a decrease in real estate values, the none too stable interlocking interests of the bank, railroad and Pensacola City Company were caught in the panic and left in a condition beyond repair. The Union Bank of Florida and the Mobile banks closed early in May, as did many of the strongest institutions in New York, Philadelphia and New Orleans. The Bank of Pensacola managed to hold out until June 5, when it closed its doors to protect its specie reserve, which probably consisted of unexpended funds from the sale of railroad bonds. Construction of the railroad continued in a half-hearted fashion into the summer but inevit-

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<sup>39</sup> *Schedule of Lots sold in New City of Pensacola, May 1, 1837, by William H. Chase, acting trustee Pensacola City Comp'y.*

ably, for lack of funds, dragged to an end. Failure of the bank and railroad could mean only failure for the real estate project. The New City of Pensacola was never to materialize as its promoters had dreamed it.

**DOROTHY DODD**

## SOLDIERS CONNECTED WITH FLORIDA HISTORY SINCE 1812

Military history forms the major part of the record of peoples and nations. This is especially true of our own country. We owe our government, our territory, and our continued existence to war or the intention to make war. No other state in the Union has been a battle ground over so many years as Florida. From its discovery, men have regarded it as a prize worth fighting for. The native Indians loved it so that they were unconquerable in their determination to die on its soil rather than find existence elsewhere. The Spanish, the French, and the English contended with each other for its mastery over centuries and the Red-man was a brave and relentless enemy of all. On its soil more tragedy is written than on almost any other spot of the earth's surface. Human life was cheap through centuries, and nowhere has the adage that all is fair in war been more shamefully proved. Those who enjoy today the blessings of its abundance and its privileges owe a debt to the men and women of preceding generations whose courage and sacrifices have bequeathed the State as a priceless legacy.

In accepting the request of the Florida Historical Society to speak of the soldiers of Florida, I desire to show my appreciation of the service of the Society in encouraging the study of our history and thus creating in the present generation a pride in the State and an enlightenment on one of the most adventurous stories ever told.

It would be too great a task to summarize the warfare prior to the Territorial status of the State. Time

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Note.-This address was delivered before the annual meeting of The Florida Historical Society, Feb. 10, 1931.

also forbids a detailed review of the military operations since that time. It is therefore my purpose to point out the patriotic spirit of the people, reflecting their struggle for existence, rather than to stress the part played by individual leaders.

The area including our Florida came into the possession of the United States through the chaotic conditions that prevailed in the Spanish colony and that became intolerable to the neighboring population. The small infiltration of Americans undertook to set up an independent government, but their efforts were too feeble to contend with the situation. With very little shadow of reason, Gen. Jackson appeared at Pensacola in November, 1814, with his volunteers and captured the Spanish forts. He quickly abandoned his advantage and hurried to New Orleans where he distinguished himself. However, his name became linked with Florida and this operation laid the foundation for his assignment to the command of the expedition that later wrote so much of history. The operations that began against the Spanish in Florida in 1817 were unquestionably without authority of the government, just as were many of Jackson's actions without authority of law. The bitter controversies that arose over the policy of the government to validate them reflected the real purpose of the United States to possess Florida as a natural intention of many years standing. There was never any intention of repudiating Jackson's treaty with the Spanish government of May 27, 1818. The adjustment was made by payment for the territory and it became a part of the United States through the treaty ratified February 19, 1821. It was logical that Jackson should be the first governor, though he occupied the office only a short time.

No sooner did the infiltration of settlers begin than the terrible conflict with the Seminoles commenced and ended only in their extermination. The story came

down to me in childhood through my grandparents who experienced the beginning and through my father who shared in its tragedies even as a boy. It is written in the annals of the Army and it has been made real to me through familiarity with the records of regiments and of leaders who gained their practical knowledge of warfare in the fastnesses of Florida.

While the regular army performed the major service of the campaigns, it is the purpose of this paper to emphasize the cooperation of the citizen soldiers whose help was invaluable. The first militia organizations were formed in 1835 under Gen. Call. The troops were ably commanded by Col. Warren, Col. Hernandez and Gen. Clinch. The historic calamity of the massacre of Maj. Dade's command of regulars on December 28 of that year has obscured the signal success over the Indians at the battle of the Withlacoochie on December 31 where the Florida troops under Gen. Clinch crossed the river under severe fire and by extending the line of the regulars contributed to the victory.

The war now assumed proportions of the first magnitude. Gen. Winfield Scott was placed in command January 21, 1836, and Gen. Gaines, of his own initiative, conducted an expedition from New Orleans to Tampa. We find the Florida regiments under Col. Sanchez from Alachua, and Col. Warren from Duval participating in the operations. Col. Charles Fitz Patrick of Tampa, Col. Gadsden, Maj. Gardner, Maj. Peterson, Maj. Leigh Read and others were conspicuous for their efficiency. Gen. Scott said:-

"The handful of regulars who were with me in the field never faltered in difficulty or danger; and if now and then they yielded the post of honor, it was purely in compliment to their countrymen fresh from civil life, who were cherished and assisted on every occasion. Those particular volunteers . . . . . generally brought with them to the war high chivalry, which

always inspires the wish of personal distinction, and this was frequently and nobly obtained in individual detachments." When Gen. Scott was relieved, it appears that the control of the operations devolved upon Gen. Call. In October, 1836, Gen. Jessup was ordered to Florida with his troops to cooperate with Gen. Call. Gen. Call, with Florida and other troops placed under him, attacked the Indians, October 21, 1836, at Wahoo Swamp on the Little Withlacoochie. Col. Warren's mounted Floridians and Maj. Gardner's Middle Floridians formed two of the columns for attack. Col. Benjamin K. Pierce in local command reported that Col. Warren, Lt. Col. Mills, Maj. Louis Fleming, Capt. Walker, Adj. Beckham, Lts. Beaton, Hooker and Ross and Capt. Fremouth with his St. Augustine Cv. behaved with great energy and bravery. Capts. Moniac, Ron, Watson, Boyd, Pierce, Searles, Johnson, Galt, Porter, Van Ness, Tompkins and Maitland and Lts. Burke, Nauman, R. H. Lee, and Hale with their companies are mentioned for conspicuous services. Ross, Maitland and a number of men were wounded. The attack was unsuccessful and the troops withdrew to Volusia.

In the summer of 1837, the Franklin County volunteers engaged the Indians at Alaqua. Capt. George S. Hopkins and Private Clark were wounded. Lieut. Robert Myers and Sergt. William W. Loring, afterwards a famous general, were members of the company. The names of participants in these campaigns are interesting as showing the racial origin of the early inhabitants of the State. Gen. Hernandez took a leading part in the campaigns of 1837 and 1838. The capture of Osceola and other chiefs, by violating the safe conduct which they had a right to expect, may have contributed to the campaign but it will ever be repugnant to the standards of civilized war. In this year, there appears the figure of Gen. Zachary Taylor who

gave proof of the ability that he subsequently displayed in Mexico. With about a thousand regulars and volunteers he marched down the Kissimmee, meeting stout resistance. He attacked the Indians at Lake Okeechobee on Christmas Day. His losses included 5 officers and 22 men killed and 111 officers and men wounded. Few campaigns have seen such hardships as were borne by the troops during this operation.

Hostilities were resumed in 1840. The Territory raised a force of 600 volunteers under Cols. Bailey and Blackburn and L. M. Collins, who served eight months. An additional force of four companies of mounted troops was organized but, as it was refused by the Federal government, the Territory was unable to maintain it. Later, the War Department authorized the formation of a regiment of volunteers and a brigade of 1500 cavalry under the command of Gen. Leigh Read.

The subsequent operations disclosed such names as those of Canby, Worth, Sprague, W. T. Sherman, Joseph E. Johnston, P. F. Smith and David E. Twiggs who here learned the art of war in which they were destined to be distinguished. The operations from 1835 to 1844 employed 20,000 volunteers and 4,000 regulars. Fifteen hundred lost their lives.

The population of the State was too **small** in 1845 to permit the allocation of a regiment to it for the Mexican War. However, two companies of volunteers were organized.; The independent company was officered by Cpts. Williams and W. I. Keely, 1st Lt. Hopewell Dorsey and 2nd Lts. A. H. Bright and John Parkhill. The other company was commanded successively by Capt. George Holmes and Capt. R. G. **Livingston** who died at Guadaloupe. 1st Lt. D. M. Stewart died at Vera Cruz. The other officers were 1st Lt. Ramon B. Sanchez and 2nd Lts. William L. Scott and Joseph Woodruff. William W. Loring became an offi-

cer of some distinction even at this time. He won the rank of colonel and lost an arm as he entered the City of Mexico at the head of his regiment. A sword was presented to him by the citizens of Apalachicola. Many Floridians enlisted in the troops from adjoining states. Florida volunteers also replaced the regular troops withdrawn from St. Augustine and Tampa for the Mexican War.

Indian troubles in 1849 again caused six companies of militia to be mustered into service for six months. Two of these came from Leon, two from Columbia, one from Alachua, and one from Duval. In 1850, the Legislature endeavored to force the Indians out by authorizing the organization of a brigade of two regiments under Gen. Allen G. Johnson. It did not become operative.

In 1855, hostilities with the Indians were again provoked by the action of the War Department in ordering Lts. John M. Schofield and A. P. Hill to survey a route for a line of posts across the peninsula, thus including the land occupied by the Indians. Three companies of mounted volunteers and some infantry were accepted by the Federal government. Other mounted companies under Capts. F. M. Durrance, L. G. Lesley, William H. Kendrick, and Abner Johnson and a detachment under Lt. Addison, in all about 400 men, fought three engagements in 1856, in which Lts. Carleton, Whiddon and Wm. Parker were among the killed. The organization of a brigade was begun at Ocala in April 1856 under Col. A. G. Johnson. At the expiration of the six months enlistment of the first troops formed, new companies were organized under Capts. T. L. Sparkman, L. G. Lesley and Robert Bullock, for Federal service. New State companies were enrolled under Capts. F. M. Durrance, W. H. Kendrick, Abner Johnson and E. T. Kendrick. These were commanded by Gen. Jesse Carter. In Alachua, two com-

panies under Capts. A. J. T. Wright and Stewart were placed in the field under Maj. M. Whit Smith. In 1857 Gen. Harney was authorized to enroll eight or ten Florida companies. In 1857 the State had a regiment in the United States service under Col. S. St. George Rogers and ten independent companies. In a skirmish at Palm Hammock, Capt. John Parkhill was killed. A boat company of Florida Volunteers under Capt. Micker was mustered in to hunt the Seminoles along the streams and on Lake Okeechobee. Their wanderings have perhaps not been surpassed by any inland voyage of discovery.

Secession was considered by Florida as early as the Legislature of 1860. By it, the militia was reorganized and funds placed at the disposal of the Governor for the purchase of munitions. It is noted that secession was opposed by such men as Gen. Call, Gen. M. Parkhill, McQueen McIntosh, War d, Allison and Wright. The convention which met in December, 1860, was strongly for secession. The resolution adopted January 7, 1861, stated that "the State of Florida is hereby declared a sovereign and independent nation." At this time the white population numbered 77,747. The men of military age and fitness should not have exceeded 7,000. There was no money in the treasury and little in the hands of the people. Nothing else is as contagious or so compelling as the fever of war. The State cast its lot unquestioningly with the Southern Confederacy.

The Governor appointed Maj. Gen. Wm. H. Chase, a native of Massachusetts and an ex-army officer, to command the State forces. The first move was against the forts and the Navy Yard at Pensacola. Alabama troops assisted by the Pensacola Rifles under Capt. E. A. Perry took possession of the Navy Yard January 12, 1861. The Federal troops abandoned Forts McRae and Barrancas and moved to Ft. Pickens on January

10th. Southern leaders in Washington advised against an attack on Ft. Pickens whose commanding officer refused to surrender. One company of volunteer infantry under Capt. Perry A. Amaker from Leon County and one company under Capt. J. P. Anderson from Jefferson County occupied Chattahoochie Arsenal. Ft. Clinch on Amelia Island was occupied and on January 7th, Ft. Marion was seized. Defensive works were begun at the mouth of the St. Johns River and were occupied by the Jacksonville Light Infantry under Capt. Holmes Steele. Forts Taylor, Jefferson and Pickens were held by the Union troops throughout the war.

Upon the establishment of the government of the Confederacy, state troops were discontinued and all enlistments were for the Confederacy. The 1st Regiment was organized from Middle and West Florida for service at Pensacola. It was mustered in on April 5th. It was known as the 1st Florida Infantry and was commanded by Col. J. P. Anderson. The officers were generally distributed over the sections of the state. It reached Pensacola April 12th. At the same time a company was formed in Key West to cooperate with Union troops.

The 2nd Florida Infantry was mustered in at Jacksonville, July 13, 1861, under the command of Col. Geo. T. Ward. Among the officers are found the names of Rogers, Daniel, McClellan, Call, Perry and Fleming, representing the leading families of the state. One of the first to volunteer as a private was William A. Forward, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. These regiments filled the quota of the first call of President Davis.

The 3rd Regiment was mustered in July 10, 1861, with Wm. D. Dilworth as colonel. The companies of the early regiments bore the names of local units reflecting the martial spirit of the people. This regiment was stationed in local defenses.

The 4th Regiment was organized in July 1861, under Col. Edward Hopkins of Jacksonville. It was assigned to duty on the Gulf coast. The first four regiments were enlisted for one year and were reorganized under the Conscript Law early in 1862.

In addition to the four regiments, the 1st Special Battalion of six companies was formed under Capt. Charles F. Hopkins and several companies of artillery were enlisted. Two other companies took part in the Mississippi River operations in the spring of 1862.

Two regiments of cavalry were formed by the Governor for State use. Independent companies for another regiment were enrolled. The 1st Florida Cavalry was organized for the Confederate government under Col. W. G. M. Davis.

The first Florida troops to join the army of the Confederacy was the 2nd Infantry that left Jacksonville July 15, arriving at Richmond July 21.

The first casualties sustained by Florida troops was during the attack on Ft. Pickens on October 9th. Among the killed was Lt. Bradford whose name was given to the county in which I passed my childhood. November 22 saw an artillery duel between Ft. Pickens and Fts. McRee and Barrancas that produced other casualties. Thus the first blood was shed on Florida soil.

In May, 1862, the Confederacy withdrew the troops from Pensacola and the 1st Florida Infantry was dispatched to Corinth, Mississippi to aid in the Battle of Shiloh. Pensacola was reoccupied by Federal troops.

In March a naval expedition moved on Fernandina. Col. Hopkins withdrew his troops from its defense. Jacksonville was occupied by Union forces March 12th. Small outpost engagements followed with the defending troops. At the same time, the Florida troops withdrew from Fort Marion and the Union forces found it unoccupied. Jacksonville was evacuated April

8th, but St. Augustine and Fernandina remained in possession of the Union troops. The remainder of the 10,000 troops furnished by Florida were organized early in 1862.

The 5th Regiment was commanded by Col. H. C. Hatley.

The 6th Regiment was formed at Chattahoochee Arsenal in March under Col. J. J. Finley.

The 7th Regiment was mustered in at Gainesville in April with ex-governor Madison S. Perry as Colonel.

The 8th Regiment was formed under Col. R. F. Floyd. All of the 1st Florida Cavalry went to the front and eventually served as infantry. The 2nd Florida Cavalry under Col. Caraway Smith was formed for the defense of the State.

In the summer of 1862, the 2nd Florida Battalion was organized by Capt. Theodore W. Brevard. Five other battalions were formed. Before the close of 1862, 130 companies were mustered into the Confederate service.

It would be a long story to follow the fortunes of the Florida troops. It is sufficient to say that they shared in the most important campaigns and sustained in full measure the toll of battle. 1862 saw a naval descent on St. Marks, a skirmish near Pensacola, a bombardment of the position on Tampa Bay and the second occupation of Jacksonville by Union troops for a short time. This was repeated in March, 1863, when a detachment of negro troops was sent to Palatka where an engagement took place with the cavalry under Capt. J. J. Dickison. Later Pensacola was abandoned by the Union troops and Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay was twice attacked.

The burdens of the war now fell heavily upon the State. The conscript law took all able-bodied men, leaving the women to toil in the fields. The government prescribed the crops and exacted a large portion

of the produce. Disease was abroad in the land. Lawless impressment of property and personal revenge under color of conscription demoralized the people. The Florida troops were sharing in the fiercest fighting. At Chancellorsville, Gen. Anderson reported "Brig. Gen. Perry and his heroic little band of Floridians showed a courage as intrepid as that of any others." The Brigade lost 21 killed and 87 wounded. At Gettysburg, again Anderson reported "Perry's Brigade under command of Col. David Lang advanced as bravely, as perseveringly and as far as any troops could have done in the same situation. They were hotly engaged and suffered heavier losses in killed and wounded in proportion to their numbers than any brigade in the army." So great were the losses in the 2nd Florida, that on the third day the regiment was led by Capt. Seton Fleming, one of the junior officers. Here were engaged the 2nd, 5th and 8th Florida. In the West, the 1st, 3rd and 4th were with Gen. J. E. Johnston for the relief of Vicksburg and with Bragg at Chickamauga. At the latter also were the 1st Cavalry and the 6th and 7th Regiments which took a prominent part in the capture of Snodgrass Hill. The losses here were 555. Later the Florida troops composed the Florida Brigade under Finley in the Army of Tennessee where they fought desperately at Missionary Ridge. Here they held steadfastly till swept over by the enemy assault and many were killed or captured.

With a view to establishing a Federal state government in Florida, an expedition of 7,000 men under Gen. Truman Seymour. was sent to Jacksonville February 7, 1864. The advance under Col. Guy V. Henry, brushed away the slight Confederate resistance and proceeded rapidly towards the Capital. Col. McCormick's cavalry was driven back. The Milton Artillery was captured and Maj. Robert Harrison's two companies of the 2nd Cavalry at the south fork of the St.

Mary's were compelled to retreat after making a stand of several hours. Sanderson was reached on the 10th and the advance was approaching Lake City on the 11th. Brig. Gen. Finegan in command of the Confederates had appealed to Gen. Beauregard at Charleston for assistance. Colquitt's Brigade was dispatched from Charleston to the aid of Finegan. In the meantime, Gen. W. M. Gardner in Middle Florida and Finegan collected about 600 men and opposed Col. Henry's troops two and one-half miles east of Lake City. The Federal troops then withdrew to Baldwin and Sanderson and intrenched till the 18th. An expedition to Gainesville had a skirmish with the East Florida Cavalry. Other Confederate reinforcements were sent from Harrison's Georgia troops, Clinch's cavalry and some smaller units. On February 13, Finegan had 4600 infantry, 600 cavalry and three batteries of artillery at Olustee. They occupied a skillfully placed and intrenched position. On the 20th Seymour advanced to the attack. The subsequent events of this battle constitute one of the most unique and picturesque engagements of the war. Instead of waiting for the assault, the Confederates advanced and the opposing forces met in the woods. The result was a defeat of the Federal troops who withdrew to the St. Mary's. The Confederates lost 7 officers and 86 men killed and 49 officers and 798 men wounded, and 6 missing. Total 946. The Federal troops lost 11 officers, 192 men killed, 42 officers and 1110 men wounded, 506 missing; total 1861. Five guns, 1600 rifles and 130,000 rounds of ammunition were captured. Seymour withdrew to Jacksonville and the Confederates took position near the city. On March 1, there was a skirmish at Cedar Creek where considerable forces were engaged. Operations about Palatka occurred in April, ending with the capture of the garrison of Welaka and Fort Butler by Capt. J. J. Dickison.

In March the operations elsewhere caused the withdrawal of the Federal troops. Gen. Finegan proceeded to Richmond and the Florida battalions and companies under him were formed into the 9th, 10th and 11th Regiments of Infantry. Perry's Brigade had lost so heavily in the Wilderness that it was consolidated with Finegan's whose command was engaged at Cold Harbor. Here the losses were very heavy, including Maj. Perkins B. Bird, Capt. Reynolds and Capt. Seton Fleming who fell gallantly leading the 2nd Florida. An officer wrote of him :-"No one in the 2nd Fla., nay, even in the Brigade and our division, has been so universally lamented, for he was a favorite with all who knew him." The Brigade continued at Petersburg and to a long list of distinguished names who had fallen, were added those of Col. Thompson B. Lamar of the 5th, and Lt. Col. John W. Pearson of the 9th.

In the West, the Florida Brigade bore its part in the Atlanta campaign, at Franklin, Murfreesboro, Nashville and the retreat through Mississippi. Here again, many distinguished names were among the killed and wounded, including in the latter Gen. Finley.

For the defense of the State the ages were extended to include all between sixteen and fifty and later to all who could bear arms. A number of additional home guards were thus organized. Jacksonville remained in Federal hands and raids were sent out to considerable distances, resulting in skirmishes. Marianna, Milton, St. Marks, Gainesville, Green Cove Springs, Palatka and St. Andrews Bay were among the places that witnessed sharp fighting. The Brigades in the east and the west shared in the last fighting and the surrender.

To single out a few individuals for distinction is a tribute to their leadership and does not in any way dim the courage, the sacrifice and the merits of the

thousands who in their spheres, were equally deserving :-

Thus history gives an especial place to Gen. Edward Kirby-Smith of St. Augustine, one of the seven full generals of the Confederacy.

Major General William W. Loring who served from Florida in the Indian and Mexican wars and a general officer in the Army.

Brig. Gen. Francis A. Shoup, of St. Augustine, who had resigned from the Army.

Maj. Gen. Martin L. Smith who had served in Mexico.

Maj. Gen. W. H. Chase of Pensacola.

Maj. Gen. James P. Anderson, who entered the war as colonel of the 1st Florida Infantry.

Brig. Gen. McQueen McIntosh.

Brig. Gen. Joseph Finegan.

Brig. Gen. Edward A. Perry.

Brig. Gen. William S. Walker.

Brig. Gen. G. M. Davis.

Brig. Gen. Jesse J. Finley.

Brig. Gen. William Miller.

Brig. Gen. Robert Bullock.

Brig. Gen. Theodore W. Brevard.

Col. David Lang.

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During the years preceding the Spanish War the National Guard of Florida was organized and developed in accordance with the State and Federal laws. In 1898, it consisted of 20 companies, including two batteries of light artillery, organized into five battalions. When the call came for 125,000 volunteers, the entire twenty companies were assembled at Tampa. The quota allotted to Florida was one regiment of twelve companies. These were selected and the regiment formed under Col. W. F. Williams. Upon the resignation of Col. Williams, Maj. C. P. Lovell was made

colonel. It is of local interest to note that the name of C. Seton Fleming appeared again on the rolls as that of the sergeant major. The regiment remained at Tampa for some time and was sent to Fernandina when it appeared necessary to guard the coast. Later, it went to Huntsville, Alabama, where it remained until it was ordered back to the State. Its standing was described by the Governor when he said:-“The regiment had no superior in the volunteer service and the high encomiums poured upon it and its superior band by distinguished officers of the regular army were a source of pride to all Floridians.”

The eagerness with which men volunteered for service and the chagrin felt by the companies which could not be included in the quota demonstrated the martial spirit of the people and their fervent loyalty to the Republic. At the same time, Florida was represented by many officers and men in the Federal and other forces. Upon the organization of Immunes, one company of Florida troops was assigned to the 3rd Regiment and saw service in Cuba. Six officers and 95 men from the Florida Naval Militia served with the regular navy.

This war was notable for Florida, because Tampa was made the base for operations against Cuba and the 5th Army Corps sailed from that port. At the same time, the 7th Army Corps was encamped at Jacksonville and later proceeded to Cuba. The naval forces were based on Key West. All Florida ports became centers of intense military activity, thus demonstrating the strategic value of the harbors and coast line of the State.

After the war, the National Guard of Florida was increased to two regiments of infantry and a battalion of light artillery.

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For some time prior to the World War, the National Guard and the War Department had urged legislative action which would provide Federal Aid and improved organization for the State forces. A leading part in this effort was taken by Gen. Foster, Adjutant General of Florida. The result was the Federalization of the National Guard in the National Defense Act of June 16, 1916. During the Mexican Border troubles in 1916, the 2nd Florida Infantry and Field Hospital Co. No. 1, served from July, 1916, to May, 1917. When war with Germany was recognized the quota of the National Guard assigned to Florida was two regiments of infantry, one field hospital company and three companies of coast artillery. The 1st Regiment was commanded by Col. Samuel C. Harrison and the 2nd Regiment by Col. Albert H. Blanding. Later, the 1st was discontinued and the companies assigned to other commands. Col. Blanding was made a brigadier general. The 1st and 2nd Regiments and Field Hospital Co. No. 1 were incorporated in the 31st Division. The three companies of coast artillery became the 3rd, 4th and 6th Companies at Key West, Tampa and Pensacola. The National Army troops from Florida were incorporated in the 81st Division. The total number of men from Florida in the various forces was 41,443 of whom 36,105 were in the army. The record of their services is merged with that of the great National Army of over four million men. They contributed their full share to the achievements of all our armed forces. Thirty-two are known to have received the D. S. C. and twelve who were born in Florida received the D. S. M. The Roll of Honor numbers 1061 of whom fifteen officers and 82 men were killed in action, 1 officer and 28 men died of wounds ; 45 officers and 587 men were wounded.

The Florida National Guard is today efficiently trained and ably administered by Brig. Gen. Vivien

Collins, the Adjutant General. The members of the Officers Reserve Corps within the State are enthusiastic and responsive to the duties of their status. The Reserve Officers Training Corps units reflect the martial spirit of the youth and the patriotic convictions of the citizens.

Between 1821 and 1892, a period of 71 years, eleven cadets appointed from Florida, graduated from West Point. Of these, two became generals, three major generals and one brigadier general. Up to 1930, 125 have been appointed to West Point, 63 have graduated and eleven are still cadets.

We hope that our country may not again be forced to call its manhood to arms. Should such a recourse become necessary to maintain the sovereignty and the liberties purchased by blood and sacrifice, the history of Florida soldiers guarantees that her sons of the present and the future will not dim the glory of those of the past.

CHARLES P. SUMMERALL

UNITED STATES TROOPS  
IN SPANISH EAST FLORIDA, 1812-13

IV

[Author's Note. The publication of this series of papers comprising the correspondence of Col. Thomas A. Smith, commander of the detachment of United States regulars that invaded Spanish East Florida in March, 1812, began in the July, 1930, issue of the QUARTERLY. This should be consulted for an explanation of the American invasion, and also for the details concerning the discovery of these important Florida records. -T. FREDERICK DAVIS.]

**Col. Smith to F. Howard (copy).**

Camp New Hope, St. John's,  
22d October, 1812.

Sir :

I have made so many verbal representations to yourself & Mr. Ruddle of the irregularity of supplies to the Troops under my command, that I can no longer forbear requiring of you to furnish agreeably to the contract all of the component parts of the ration when the return is made, & if it is not in your power to do so, I wish to be officially informed of the failure of the Contractor, that other measures may be resorted to, to obtain regular supplies. I cannot forbear expressing my fear that some nefarious practices have been used to distress and if possible compel me to abandon this Province. The manner in which our supplies have been forwarded, by small and leaky boats & intrusted to persons without character or the means of making good losses and distruction, is a strong evidence that there is either treachery or a want of arrangement in the Contractor's Department. I am therefore compelled in justice to the Troops intrusted to my care and my own honor to make this last appeal to you as Agent of the Contractor at this place. Be pleased to

accept assurances of my high personal respect and confidence,

I am, sir, your obt. servt.,

***Col. Smith to Maj. Thomas Bourke, A.D.Q.M.G. (copy).***

Camp New Hope, St. Johns,  
25th October, 1812.

Dear Sir:

Since my last letter the affairs of this Province have assumed an aspect altogether different from any which it has heretofore had. My retrograde movement has drawn none of those ill consequences after it which were so much to be expected. From the unhealthiness of the Troops everything was to be apprehended from an attack & it is but within these few days past that my sick list has decreased. Even now we parade little more than half our force. It is generally reported that the Province is about to be ceded to the United States ; of this I have no positive information. However, I received an order directing Capt. Woodruff with his Company to join the regiment to which he belongs stationed at Baton Rouge, M. T. <sup>40</sup> His route will be by Fort Hawkins.

Genl. Floyd arrived in our neighborhood a few days ago. He will set out on Monday for the Lotchway Towns with a force of two hundred & twenty men. Newnan with a part of his Volunteers are among the number. I have been compelled, notwithstanding the small force I have, to detach fifty men upon this service. I found unless that assistance was afforded the expedition would have fallen through. I would not have taken the responsibility of this measure on myself, but having received an order "not to act offensively against St. Augustine" I conceived the Troops

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<sup>40</sup> M. T. is abbreviation for Mississippi Territory.

in no immediate danger. The necessity also of chastising the insolence of the Indians & checking their depredations were strong inducements. Woodruff, Appling, Haig & Stallings will be on the expedition.<sup>41</sup>

The Spaniards have lately received another reinforcement of ninety blacks from the Havana. The Dons had everything prepared on the 10th Ulto. for an attack on my Camp. The Gates were thrown open, the Troops paraded & preparations made for the sacrifice of a handful of half starved sickly men. But when his Donship reviewed his sable Warriors he declared himself not for the fight & then sent out ninety Negroes accompanied by Indians who attacked Williams.

The loss of Newnan in his different actions amounted to seven killed and fifteen wounded, two of whom have since died.

For your tender of service be pleased to accept my thanks & believe me with sincerity,  
Your friend,

***Col. Smith to Gen. Flournoy (copy).***

Point Petre, 7th Nov. 1812.

Sir :

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communications of the 8th & 25th Ulto. I transmit herewith an extract of a letter received from his Excellency, Govr. Mitchell, which with former instructions I conceive would warrant my acting offensively against St. Augustine, but as it is evident from your communication of the 8th, that Orders have been issued from the War Department that have not reached me, I feel embarrassed & at a loss what course to pur-

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<sup>41</sup> No further mention is made of this expedition; it was presumably postponed for reasons indicated in the following letter of this series.

sue. The expense of transport will be considerable, indeed waggons cannot be procured in this quarter. I have hired four of those employed in transporting the baggage of Colo. Chambers at five dollars per day until I hear from you. The funds at my command are by no means competent to the objects to be effected. I wish authority to draw for such sums as may be found absolutely necessary & to procure sufficient transport. I enclose a return of the Regt. under Colo. Chambers (they are well armed and equipped) four Companies of which have been sent to my Camp on the St. Johns ; the others are training here & will follow as soon as I hear from the Governor, unless otherwise ordered. To occupy the position before St. Augustine will have no good effect unless I am permitted to attack the Town, which must be destroyed to produce any effect on the fortress. The Inhabitants with the Troops would crowd the place so much that it could not hold out long.

The two Companies of Riflemen with me are one without subalterns, the other has but one. I have repeatedly represented this thing to the War Department without its being remedied. Capt. Woodruff has received orders to join his Regt. on the Mississippi. This movement if carried into effect will deprive me of two active Officers & about fifty men, which will make the regular force under my command small indeed. Lt. Ryan, one of the Officers is a principal witness relied on to support the charge against Capt. Ridgeway. I am therefore induced to request, if it can be consistently done, that the movement may be suspended.

My present encampment is thirty miles north of St. Augustine immediately on the bank of the St. Johns & about ten miles above the Cowford. The only mode by which dispatches can be sent with safety

to or from St. Mary's is by water; they are equally safe without being sent under cover to the Intendant <sup>42</sup> and would reach me sooner,

The Contractor is not here. I expect to see him tomorrow & will get him to inform you what supplies of Provender can be procured & at what notice. It is absolutely necessary that there should be some Dragoons attached to my Command ; the expense will be considerable, but I hope that will not be an obstacle to their being employed. I have apprized the Governor of the contents of your letter of the 8th Ulto, & your orders to Colo. Chambers. If he does not direct me to the contrary, I will as soon as it can be done occupy my old Camp before St. Augustine until a favourable moment of attacking the Town offers, when I will either take the Place, destroy the Town, or be beaten out of the Province. The two Companies of Regular Troops you mention would certainly be very serviceable, as I have not the most implicit confidence in Militia. My little Detachment I know will do their duty. I am conscious of your having done everything in your power to secure them & I hope the day is not far distant when they will have an opportunity to convince you they are grateful for your care.

I have the honor to be sir  
with high respect  
Your obt. servt.

***Gov. Mitchell to Col. Smith (original).***

Milledgeville, 7th Novr. 1812.

Dear Sir:

I received your favour of the 20th October by the last Darien mail. I am much gratified at the return of Col. Newnan's Detachment with so little loss-he

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<sup>42</sup> The position of Intendant was the same as Mayor.

is certainly indebted for it to the want of information on the part of the Indians of his march. If they had been apprised of his intention to go against them, they would have had a larger force collected, and in all probability such a one as would have cut him off, notwithstanding their gallantry and firmness. I rejoice however at the issue.

Our Legislature have been in session near a week, and I believe they will adopt some decisive course in regard to the Seminole Indians, and in all probability the whole Province. The intention of going against these Indians from any quarter ought to be kept if possible a profound secret, until the expedition is prepared to be put into immediate operation, for the moment they know it, they will carry off all their women and children, destroy all the provisions they cannot secret, and take shelter in the Spanish Garrisons or prowl about the woods like wolves, and occasionally shoot down some of their enemies, when they will themselves be invisible.

I embrace the present occasion to inform you, that in consequence of my ill health, the active duties in which at this season of the year I am engaged as chief magistrate of the State, and with all the distance at which I am placed from the scene of action in regard to the agency which I held under the General Government for the affairs of East Florida, I have relinquished that agency, and consequently the command attached thereto. Col. Monroe has intimated to me the intention of the President to confide that agency in future to Major General Pinckney, of whose appointment however I have not yet heard, altho I have no doubt it is, or will be made. If you have not yet heard from him on the subject, it will probably be best for you to act under the orders you have received heretofore from me, until you do hear from him.

It has been a subject of considerable regret to me, that whilst I was at St. Mary's acting for the United States, I was not permitted to act upon those circumstances which in my judgment authorized the immediate commencement of offensive operations against the Spaniards, as well as upon principles of sound policy, as to satisfy the insulted honor of the nation. The Senate undertook to decide against the measure which they either did not understand, or from some base motive were determined to defeat. I am well assured that your opinion corresponded with my own upon this point, and I cannot in justice to my feelings, close this letter without assuring you of the sensibility with which I reflect upon your numerous difficulties, dangers and privations, and of my admiration of the fortitude, courage, and perseverance with which you supported yourself under them all. It will however be a subject of still greater mortification to me, if after all this, you are not permitted to reduce the Province to obedience to the U. States. Whatever may be the event, or your future destiny, be assured of-

The sincere regard & esteem  
of your fellow citizen,  
[signed] D. B. Mitchell

**Col. Smith to Gen. Pinckney** (copy).

Point Petre  
14th Novr. 1812

Sir :

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 3d Inst. I transmit herewith a return of the Detachment under my command. Four Companies of the Regt. of Militia have been ordered to my Camp on the St. John's. The remaining six are training here & would have followed in a week (but for the receipt of your favour) with the view of commencing active

offensive operations against St. Augustine. The Infantry are destitute of Clothing of every description & the Riflemen are deficient of Winter Clothing, say Coats, Vests, and Pantaloons. There is a sufficient quantity of Common Tents for my Detachment & one additional Company, but there is a want of Wall Tents. We are almost entirely without Camp Kettles, Tin Pans, &c. I have one 18 & 24 Pounder mounted on traveling carriages. The 24 is without fixtures or implements & only 62 round shot. The 18 has worn springs & rammer & 140 round shot. The two field pieces attached to my command are without harness & a great deficiency of Ammunition, there being only about 110 round shot & 48 rounds of Canister. I would have applied to the Asst. D.Q.G. in Savannah for such stores as might have been necessary, but as the arrangements will now rest with you I will by the next mail transmit a return of Ordnance, Military Stores, &c., on hand from which you can better judge of what may be wanting, as I am not apprised of what employment we are to have. The Public Service suffers much for the want of a Quarter Master & you will perceive that I have not an Artillerist to manage the Ordnance or to attend to the duties of that Department. Indeed there is but one Subaltern to the two Companies. of Riflemen with me. I have represented the deficiency to the Department of War repeatedly without its being remedied. I have at present four waggons employed on Public Account to transport the Stores and baggage of the Detachment. I have thought it most prudent not to discharge them until I receive your orders, as others cannot be procured in this quarter. The Militia are without Shoes and their Clothing thin and only calculated for the Summer. I am apprehensive that exposure will make the sick list considerable. The only means by which their condition can be ameliorated is to have them regularly paid every two months. My

Detachment has pay due them from the last of February. They are so worn out with fatigue and debilitated with disease that one fourth of those reported for duty are unable to undergo the hardships of a Campaign. Will it not be prudent to send the sick and wounded to this place? The Clothing being sent to the Officers commanding Companies I am unable to make a correct return of what is on hand or what is wanting to complete until I return to Camp, which will be in a few days. In consequence of my having so few men for duty I was compelled to order the little Detachments from Picolata & Davis' Creek to my present encampment, which is immediately on the south <sup>43</sup> bank of the St. John's, thirty miles from Augustine & within one mile of the main road leading to it from the Cowford.

I enclose herewith an extract from the last letter received from Govr. Mitchell. He had authorized me previous to the attack on our convoy to do the Spaniards all the injury in my power, even to the taking of St. Augustine if I was fired on again. I considered the Authority to act ample, but the time when I could do it with any probability of success had passed, the Fortress and lines being much improved & my command so reduced by sickness that I could scarcely furnish the necessary guards. Commodore Campbell has ordered four Gunboats into the St. Johns ; two are near the mouth to protect our Provision boats, the others abreast of my encampment to act as circumstances may require.

I have the honor to be sir  
with high respect  
Your obt. servt.

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<sup>43</sup> More properly the east bank, as the St. John's River at this point flows in a northerly direction.

***Col. Smith to Gen. Flournoy (copy).***

Camp New Hope, St. Johns  
3d Jany., 1813

Sir :

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 26th Ulto. In consequence of the unhealthiness of the Detachment, I considered it prudent to erect temporary huts to protect them from the weather, which would have been completed in six days if I could have procured a few waggons. Four deaths have occurred since you left here, some of them very sudden. Neeley's Volunteers are so badly clad that they cannot perform duty, and unless they can be furnished with Clothing I conceive had as well be discharged as they are at present only an unnecessary expence. They are awkward though brave & would never dishonor their Country if they were furnished with the common comforts of life.

A party of the Patriots went to Diego Plains a few days since & from their carelessness lost one of their party, supposed to have been killed or taken by a party of Negroes from St. Augustine, as considerable sign was discovered. The man lost had fallen in the rear a short distance in crossing a swamp. Every search was made for him without success.

By information received from Augustine, Bowleggs was there & the report in Town was that as soon as the nights were favourable they were to renew hostilities & that neither age nor sex was to be spared. A number of slaves have lately deserted their Masters & gone to Augustine from the St. Johns.

The application having been renewed for the arrest of Dr. Hall, I conceive it a duty to Order it. You will perceive the necessity of sending a Surgeon to supply his place as early as possible. I wish one of the Militia ordered to join me if his services can be dispensed

with. You will receive herewith a monthly return of the Troops under my command.

I have the honor to be sir,  
with high respect  
Your obt. servt,

***Col. Smith to Gen. Flourney (copy).***

Camp New Hope, St. John's.  
31st Jany. 1813.

Sir :

I enclose herewith an Inventory of the Contractor's Stores at this Post. We are at present using Potatoes instead of bread & all in the neighborhood will not last the Detachment more than four or five days. The reliance for beef is on three or four worthless fellows who think it probable (if there should be no Indian sign discovered) that they can find sufficient quantity to last us ten days.

Holder was shot in compliance with the sentence passed on him yesterday evening. Day's grave was prepared & he brought out & ordered to kneel at the foot of it, when his pardon was read. No circumstances attended the execution worth communicating. The example, if I can judge from appearances, will have a good effect.

I find Capt. Farrar's Company have not been mustered since they were enlisted & consequently not paid. There are no papers with the Company that will enable the Officer at present commanding it to make out a Muster Roll. The men will consequently be deprived of their pay until those papers are forwarded. There is a man of the Regt. of Riflemen (Wm. Bonds) at Ft. Hawkins who I wish transferred to Capt. Woodruff in the place of John Riley, a lad whose father is in the Regt. of Riflemen. I wish to be informed whether the Inspection returns are to be forwarded to the Adjt. Genl. or to Maj. Boote. I send duplicate

returns of the Detachment at this Post as I am not clear that it would be regular in me to make a return to any person but yourself. The Ordnance return shall be forwarded in a few days.

I find on a settlement of the debts contracted on Public account that I am deficient of about 500 dollars which I wish sent on by the earliest opportunity after the arrival of Mr. Russell. There is not more than four or five hundred bushels of corn that can be purchased on the St. John's & it is even doubtful whether that quantity can be procured.

I am sir with high respect  
Your obt. servt.

***Col. Smith to Zephaniah Kingsley (copy).***

Camp New Hope, St. Johns,  
2d Feby. 1813.

Dear Sir:

I leave this place tomorrow night for your house with two hundred & twenty men. From three to three hundred & fifty more will meet me at Newnan's battle ground on Saturday about 12 o'clock. I wish you to have your flat sent over tomorrow evening to assist me in getting the horses, baggage, &c., over. Tell Mr. Summerlin I calculate on him as a guide. I expect him to have everything prepared without delay. Our provision boat has not arrived, but is hourly expected. I shall be cursed by [being] hard prest for Provision, but nothing shall stop me. If you can possibly furnish any pack horses have them ready. One dollar pr day shall be paid for them. I shall want the necessary fixtures &c. as we have no leather here to make them. Prepare as many as you can. The Indians will be beaten & you are secure. Let me hear from you by the bearer.

I am respectfully sir  
Your Obt. Servt.

**Col. Smith to Gen. Flournoy (copy).**

Camp New Hope, St. Johns  
24th Feby. 1813

Sir :

Your Orders directing an expedition against the Lochaway Tribes were received on the 2d Inst. I immediately set about preparing the necessary outfit, with a desire to form a junction with Colo. Williams<sup>44</sup> commanding the Tennessee Volunteers at the time & place appointed. Having not more than ten or twelve hours' notice for preparation, added to the difficulty of procuring pack horses, I was not, with all our dispatch, enabled to meet him till a day later than was expected.

Our Detachments united thirteen miles from Pain's Town. No one of our Guides was acquainted with the route from this point to Bolegg's Town, which would have given an opportunity to attack the Towns separately & at the same hour next morning.<sup>45</sup> Consequently we were compelled to move together against Paine's Town, which was entered at daylight, but the Indians from every appearance, had fled some weeks before. I continued in possession of the Town. Colo. Williams with his Detachment took the path to Bolegg's. They had not advanced far before two Indians were seen & pursued by his advanced Guard ; one was killed and the other, tho wounded, escaped in a hammock. Their march was continued two or three miles further, when his advanced Guard again discovered Indians in Camp, charged on it, killed one & took seven Prisoners. Understanding from the Prisoners a Negro Town late-

<sup>44</sup> Col. John Williams, commanding 240 mounted, uniformed and fully equipped East Tennessee volunteers, who were recruited in a few weeks in consequence of a spirited proposition from Col. Williams and Maj. Gen. John Cocke. They offered their services to the President, but marched before the acceptance, requesting that it be sent after them. (Niles Weekly Register, Jan. 9, 1813, p. 300.)

<sup>45</sup> Payne's town is shown on section charts as being 11/4 miles north of the present town of Micanopy, Alachua, County.

ly settled was within two miles, Colo. Williams determined to visit it & return that night to my Camp at Pain's Town. But apprised either by the wounded Indian, or alarmed by the guns fired upon the Camp, they hurried away precipitately, which prevented many from being taken Prisoners. We learned from the Prisoners that the Indians were informed three moons ago, by a letter from the Creek Nation, that an American force intended to invade their country, that many of them returned to the Creeks for safety.

Our encampment was continued near Pain's Town until the 10th. In the meantime both Detachments were engaged collecting provisions & food for horses from the adjoining hammocks. On that day Colo. Williams set out for Bolegg's, about five miles from Camp.<sup>46</sup> A spirited skirmish ensued between the Volunteers & a force consisting of both Indians and Negroes. A messenger was dispatched to notify me of the event. I went out with a part of my force, intending to act with the Volunteers, to penetrate the Swamp, & fall in the rear of the enemy, but met them returning to Camp, having made the experiment I designed and finding the hammock in that direction impenetrable. In this affair about fifteen Indians & Negroes were killed with many wounded. On the part of the Volunteers, Lieut. John M. Smith was lost & Maj. Stevens wounded. For further particulars I refer you to Colo. Williams' communication.

The next day was employed in destroying the Negro Town shown us by the Prisoners. This effected we

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<sup>46</sup> According to 1st Howard, p. 25, brought to my attention by Fred Cubberly of Gainesville, Governor Coppinger granted Domingo Acosta "1000 acres of land at Bowlegs' old plantation and situate northwesterly and contiguous to the same Bowlegs' prairie, westward of Payne's town." A survey of this Acosta grant in the office of Arthur T. Williams, Jacksonville, records the location of Bowlegs' old plantation as one-half mile south of old Wacahoota in Levy County, eight miles W-SW of the present town of Micanopy, being in S1/2 of Sec 9, T 12 S, R 19 E.

marched on the 12th to Bolegg's, expecting the Indians would upon the same ground dispute our passage between two hammocks to the Town. They however, made no formidable stand, fired many distant shots without effect & retreated to the interior of the Swamp. In this last skirmish four of the enemy were killed & some wounded.

We encamped several days at Bolegg's Town & penetrated the hammock on the side opposite that where our men were opposed. These hammocks or swamps are extensive tracts of fertile land covered with thick shrubbery affording a safe retreat to the Indians, & therefore require much caution to penetrate them safely. This circumstance produced more delay than would otherwise have occurred. We burnt three hundred & eighty six houses ; consumed & destroyed from fifteen hundred to two thousand bushels of corn ; three hundred horses & about four hundred cattle were collected, many of which were lost in attempting to drive them in. Two thousand deer skins were found in Bolegg's magazine ; part were used by the troops, the others destroyed. Five of the Prisoners escaped through the negligence of the guard ; the other five are at this Camp & will be sent by the first opportunity to Camp Pinckney.

The weather was extremely bad during the whole of this incursion. The men were much fatigued by their constant employment in scouring hammocks ; the horses were too languid & feeble for further service. Our guides were ignorant of the route to the big hammock town, which, with the reduction of the horses, would have prevented an attack upon the settlement. I agreed with Capt. Ashley & Maj. Dill, who were of important service to us & inasmuch as the Volunteers declined it believing their horses too weak, that if they would collect & drive in the cattle, they should have them on condition it were approved by you. Every Of-

ficer & Soldier of both Detachments evinced promptitude & alacrity in his duties & I feel much pleasure in stating that this campaign may teach them more forbearance hereafter in aggressions upon our citizens.

I have the honor to be sir

With high respect,

Your obt. servt.

***Col. Smith to Gen. Flournoy (copy).***

Camp New Hope, St. Johns,  
24th Feby. 1813.

Sir :

You will receive herewith my communication relative to the Lotchaway expedition. The facts are consonant in most particulars to those which will be reported by Colo. Williams. Your Orders were executed to the full extent, that, under existing circumstances, was practicable. I must request it will conclude my tour of service in the Southern Country ; & earnestly solicit permission to visit without delay my friends in Tennessee. I have been near twelve months in this Province, a period in which if no Peril were encountered, excessive perplexity & vexation were sustained. The purposes of (Government, as for the eight months past, are yet indefinite in relation to East Florida. To the North its views are notorious. Active operations are there certainly & speedily to be prosecuted. To go to Tennessee, recruit a Regiment & co-operate with my Countrymen is a privilege I confidently ask, & hope you will without hesitation grant. I have obtained Capt. Woodruff's consent that Robert Eddington of his Company be transferred to the Rifle Regt. in lieu of two recruits furnished him. John D. King of the Rifle Regt. is infirm & unfit for labourous service. He will be useful in the Hospital Department, & in the event of my going to Tennessee, should be attached to some Company at this Place.

Capt. Cummings is anxious to take charge of a little Indian boy now a prisoner at this Encampment; his father was killed in the Lochaway skirmishes. Capt. Cummings pledges himself that the boy shall be sent at any expence to whatever point subsequent orders or regulations may require.

I want One thousand dollars to meet the contingent expenses of the Detachment in this Province as soon as possible. A part of the sum has been advanced out of my private funds, & the Creditors are very pressing for the payment of their remaining claims.

I have the honor to be sir,  
with high respect  
Your obt. servt.

***Col. Smith to Maj. Lawrence Manning (copy).***

Point Petre, 26th Mar. 1813.

Sir :

The last mail brought me a furlough. You will assume the command that has been confided to me, on the 4th of April. I transmit herewith the last communication from Genl. Flournoy & an extract of a letter from Genl. Pinckney for your government. I requested Genl. Flournoy to let Capt. Cummings have the little Indian Boy, who is a prisoner at this place. Not having received an answer from him, I wish you to authorize Captain Cummings to carry him to Augusta taking his written assurance that he shall be sent back without public expence when it is required.. I wish the Indians' goods sent to the poor wretches at this place by the return of the Boat. I have ordered Mr. Lequeux to your post after he has taken an account of the public property of every description over which he as Q. M. will have any control & made the necessary arrangements for its safe keeping. It will be well if you think his services can be spared to permit him to



go to Charleston & settle his accounts. The return of Ordnance, Military Stores, &c., required to be made to me, will now be forwarded to Colo. Decius Wadsworth, Commissary Genl. of Ordnance, Washington. As soon as the Militia are discharged it will be well to visit the different Posts of command & give such directions as you conceive their safety & the Public service require. I conceive the directions of the Maj. Genl. cannot be strictly complied [with] without keeping out parties of observation to go as far as you conceive your safety makes necessary. It is reported here that a fleet of Gun boats is daily expected at the mouth of the St. Johns. I do not credit the report, but if it should be well founded there is no doubt but they meditate an attack on New Hope. The principal part of the Militia are entitled to their discharge on the first of April. I conceive the Public service cannot be benefited by detaining Captns. Cummings & Saunders longer than the rest. By permitting them to leave New Hope on the last of the present month, they will be able to reach Camp Pinckney in time to be paid & march with the balance of the Regt. Capt. Massias will forward to you some Genl. Orders I have sent for promulgation at his post.

I have the honor to be  
 With high respect,  
 Your obt. servt.

***Col. Smith to Maj. Manning (copy).***

Point Petre  
 27th March, 1813

Dear Major :

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 22d Inst. Your plan for securing your Detachment is a good one & I hope you may have the work completed before the Dons pay you a visit.

You tell me not to laugh at your work. I am no Engineer, but I assure you as far as I am capable of judging a better one could not be adopted.<sup>47</sup>

I received a letter today from Gen. Floyd. One half of his Brigade are ordered to be in readiness for service at a moment's notice. The impression among the knowing ones appears to be that the British will lay Savannah under contribution or in ashes. Some information has been received to warrant this opinion. The Chesapeake is Blockaded by a strong naval force, say five or six line of Battle Ships and ten frigates, and several others off our coast. I am more disposed to believe that So. Carolina or Georgia will be their principal object, as they know as well as ourselves where we are weakest. My God what a scene there will be if they should get a footing in this quarter & put Arms in the hands of our slaves. I hope & trust the Army will be soon organized, for in its present state we can expect nothing but disaster. I expect much from Genl. Davy's experience. Our men will do their duty if properly directed. If I should at any time have it in my power to render you a service I beg you to command me. I expect to join the Northern Army soon, when I will with pleasure communicate to you every information that will interest you.

Tender my respects to the Officers of your command & accept yourself assurances of my high Respect & Esteem.

Adieu,

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<sup>47</sup> Though age-old oaks grow from the embankment, the earthwork erected at New Hope by Major Manning in March, 1813, to protect the camp from an attack by the Spaniards; still remains as a reminder of a little detachment of ragged, half-starved American soldiers, who 118 years ago "carried on" in a foreign land amidst the most distressing conditions incident to the profession of arms. Here, too, is a site well worthy of a historical marker. (See the accompanying chart of Camp New Hope and environs, which shows the detail of the work erected by Major Manning.)

(This account of American troops in Spanish East Florida will be concluded in the next issue of the **QUARTERLY**.)

A JOURNAL OF JOHN FORBES, MAY, 1803  
The Seizure of William Augustus Bowles

[May 11, 1803 (?)] The Coll. [Co]. Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent] assures that the number of Gunsmen included within the Creek agency does not exceed 3500 in addition to which if we put down 1000 for the able men of the Semanolies & Creeks included within the Spanish Limits, makes the effective force of the Creek Confederacy 4500. McGillivray at one time made them out 15 m but never less than 10 m. Olivier took considerable pains to investigate their numbers but at last made them 9700-how this difference - can it be the wish of the agent to hold out the Idea of there being so few in number, in order to depress the spirit of the Indians or make them an object of less consequence in the eyes of Spain? This I cannot solve but I really believe their numbers are more considerable than here represented.

The Traders from whom Olivier took his information, might in some cases have been deceived, but that men who had resided so long in their Towns should have been so Egregiously mistaken is incomprehensible to me & I do not believe it.

Calculation of the Capital adequate to the purchase money of the Creek Lands to the Okmulgy as proposed by the Commissioners-

A perpetual annuity of ten thousand Drs.  
would require a Capital at 8 P cent of..... 125 000

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Note - This journal is a part of the series of documents, survivals of the records of Panton, Leslie and Company and its successor, John Forbes and Company, the publication of which was begun in a late issue of the QUARTERLY. The originals are in the possession of Mrs. John W. Greenslade, who has transcribed them. Apparently a portion of this journal is missing. The series will be continued in the following issues.

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| Payment of our claims .....              | 100 000 |
| to be paid them in hand.....             | 25 000  |
| 2 Blacksmiths Equal to an annuity of 720 |         |
| Drs. @ 8 p ct .....                      | 9 000   |
| Supposed to cover Traders Claims .....   | 9 000   |
|  | 268 000 |

1st The Col. was no doubt influenced by prudential motives from laying hold on Bowles when at the Talassies, has read me his instructions to the Singer when he orders him to take him if he thought it a fit oppy. Besides Mr. Hill [?] subsequently told me that there was a doubt on his mind whether he could be delivered up to Spain if taken by the Agents orders and in that I coincide so far, and think it would be much preferable if he could be laid hold of by the voluntary exertions of the Chiefs who it seems are inclined to do so if he comes to the ensuing meeting.

They would certainly fulfill their engagements to Spain and deliver him up. The Coll. is of opinion that he will come to the meeting, he is the only one I have spoke to that thinks so, he promises to give Stephen F. [son of Gov. Folch] every facility in his power. On the subject of my views he appears to be sanguine, indeed more so than myself had the Indians accepted the proposal of making the okmulga the Boundary.

Thursday 12 - they were to have all claims against them including ours paid an annuity in perpetuo of 20,000 Dollars 25000 Drs. in hand and on annuity of 2 Blksmiths the Grant might have included about 5,000,000 - acres they accepted the minor proposal (which H acknowledges to be disadvantageous to them) on the terms known to the publick

He complains of want of energy in the Govern-ment; he has only received one energetic order since Jefferson's administration Viz to take the troops at

Fort Wilkinson under his command and proceed to St Marks & retake it from Bowles-he was arranging the Expedition when he received accounts of Govr. F's success

His views of civilisation go on with rapidity altho' silently-he has had four hundred farms now fenced [?] he has ploughs agoing 200 spinning wheels & I saw a list of two more bespoke-we have had ocular demonstration of Indians ploughing in their fields-the little Prince & Talassie King are opposed to these measures & he told me in confidence that he has been urged by many of the Chiefs to have them put to Death he even mentioned that he believed he would do it in the course of the summer he found their conduct & Talks so subversive of the laws he had in contemplation He complains of the Spanish Interpreters at Pensacola & St Marks whose talk is sometimes indecent & ill timed but he never once hinted that the Commanders were to blame attributing it rather to the ignorance of the interpreters-he assured me that previous to Bowles' first attack on Appalachy he sent down to Fort St Marks 14 warriors of approved Confidence & valour with a letter to Partell, informing him of the intentions of the Semanolies and that he might put implicit faith in the men sent him, who had orders to remain with & assist the Spaniards- They were not says he even invited to eat a morsell, and were remanded without a single line of acknowledgment- He commented with Some Severity on the Peace concluded at Appalachy with the Semanolies and is of opinion that the terms of it preclude the Spaniards from any expectation of indemnification for the expences they have been at in consequence of the aggression of the Indians- Had it not been for this circumstance there is no doubt but Spain might have obtained all the lands below the Line from Scambia westward untill it meets the old english line which

runs in a S.E. direction from the mouth of Hollow Creek on Tinsa to the head of the Bay of Pensacola

N.B. There is still an old Indian alive who remembers that it excluded the Governor's saw mill but a small deviation was permitted by the Indians in order to accommodate the English. but to return-were the lands obtained up to the american line there is no doubt but that thirty good Plantations might be established which would be fully sufficient to the supply of a Town ten times the size of Pensacola for besides several Spots of good upland, the swamp in general might be brought under cultivation with very little trouble 'Mem' to get copy of Purcell's note of the Line for Govr. Folch. [Probably a part of the journal is missing here.]

Saturday 21

An Indian came over the River & informed us that Hawkins and Duroseaux were arrived, took horse in the afternoon & rode up the River untill we were opposite to the town when we crossed over. it seems the Rascally same king has sent to the lower Towns to inform the Indians that the meeting is put off, that he is to be the head of the assembly. that he will send forth the broken days and that the english are arrived in Augustine and Tampa and that the Indians would see the Red Coates in a very short time.

Sunday 22

Perryman again brought forward the Okalagany grant I told him that the sum asked for the land was too much that the land would be of no use to me & might become of value to the Nation at some future day, and therefore I would advise as a friend to the Nation that they adopt the measure of selling the Lands to the Okmulgie, & keep the Okalagany for some future necessity, when it becomes.

valuable: but that they might see I did not under value their land, I would allow them 30m Dollars for the grant, provided they would extend the line from Okalagany to the Big pond on the East Branch of Appalachy, which would include all the Yaunaica old fields and upon the other proviso that Bowles should be made away-with and the consent of the Mickasuky indians obtained-

Monday 23

Towards evening Aleck Cornel arrived & brought news of the lower towns chiefs being upon the path and with them Bowles: that they would certainly arrive next day Kenages it seems & Mithlogie and all the Mickasooky gang now for  
bella horrida bella !

Tuesday 24

The Plot Thickens: Bowles & his party are within a few miles of us, two runners came in and required that a residence should be pointed for the Semanolies & Bowles. The Singer despatched them for answer, an order to come in a body and their residence should be given them. 2-o'clock P.M. Col Hawkins called me in and put the following papers into my hand which he permitted me to copy-

Col Hawkins to Hopoie Mico

"It being now reported & believed that the "Semanolie chiefs, those in opposition in this Agency, and Bowles will arrive in the course of the day "I must know from you as you have conferred with "the Chiefs of the other Nations & your own, the "course you mean to take to put an end to the dis- "turbances in this land and particularly whether "you can or will as you have assured me, apprehend Bowles, or is it to depend on me. If you find "you cannot I know I can-but as the Semanolie

“Chiefs are here and the effect on them will be important in its consequences to the subjects of Spain, as well as a law to evil doers on our parts I am of opinion it should proceed from the chiefs themselves, and from you as their head.

Answer by Mr. Cornells the Interpreter. “I have taken my measures, I am surrounded by my three Brothers Cherokees, Chickasaws & Choctaws ; I have for some time doubted, as I have not had my Chiefs hearty in aid of me, but now I feel strong; the four Nations are together, and we are nearly of one mind. The Chiefs of the lower Towns of Tuckabatchee & the Semanolies are near us just over the hill--Bowles is with them - I shall send a deputation to them to assign them their quarters ; I shall place Bowles and the Semanolies at my own house in the quarters prepared for the Cherokees. I shall invite him & them to sit down there & eat. I shall then take the Semanolie Chiefs to a Council of the four Nations, give them our determination, apprehend & confine the mischief maker and do with him as I have assured you I will do: you & your White people will remain about your House, and you will attend the Square as usual & is agreeable to you. I feel for your Situation, as you have Mr Forbes with you & the Son of the Governor of Pensacola. I know that you are the only authority here from the United States, and who has a right to do business with us, and that you are our friend, anxious for our welldoing, and that of the four Nations-as soon as he is Secured we shall assemble in the Square and proceed on public business.

N.B. Coll. Hawkins observes that after Mr Cornells had delivered him the above from the Speaker, he added from himself that the Cherokee Chiefs would come in person and give him their hand in token

of having understood & taken the talks which was accordingly done & after very affectionately taking him by the hand the Cherokee interpreter went off to conduct the Semanories to their destined Quarters. 3 o'clock P.M. The Mad Dog and the lower town Chiefs arrived. the latter were conducted to the Quarters assigned them & Bowles and his Semanories were lodged with the Cherokees. The Semanories & other Chiefs went almost immediately to the Square, where they sat in council all the afternoon : about five Coll. H. received a message from the Singer that he found much obstinacy in the Semanorie Chiefs, but that his determination was taken : that he had resolved to root up the evil and to do it in presence of him (the Colonel) of a Spaniard (Stephen) & of an Englishman (me) Several Indians arrived in the course of the afternoon from the lower part of the Nation, but I observe that none of them are armed. this being a White or Peace town perhaps they may have left their Guns in the Woods or some where in the Indian Huts, it is certain that none approached the Square with arms in their Hand. Nine o'clock nothing yet done some messages seem to have passed from the Square to the Col but he has not communicated any of them to me-at half past seven the little Frenchman named Croisierd who came with us from Millers, called Stephen & me, and informed us, that the Cherokees had been speaking with Bowles - that B told them he expected all talks would be made straight now & that he expected he would be made **King of the four Nations** - the Cherokees promised to see & speak with him again, and as the Frenchman serves as Interpreter he has promised to tell us what passes. this information I conveyed to Col. Hawkins, who said Double Head meant to sound Bowles at Eight o'clock. We under-

stood Bowles had gone to the Square and I suppose we must wait the result of their decision which I presume will be declared in the course of this night or Never

Wednesday 25th

Last night Croisiere who had gone to see Bowles about Eight at his quarters returned & waked me at Midnight he told me that he appeared to carry himself with much haughtiness, said that all the Chiefs were gained over to his party excepting four, that those who had thoughts of apprehending him would perhaps be much surprised to find themselves Caught in their own Trap and that Stephen & I had done very ill to come here and expose ourselves knowing that the Indians were at War with the Spaniards- This morning by my desire he called upon him again ; it seems he had heard the Singer say something in Creek to the Cherokee interpreter which alarmed him for Croisiere says his Countenance betrayed great marks of Dejection -there was nothing passed worth relating-all this forenoon the Council was employed in hearing the Cherokee, Chickesaw & Choctaw addresses the former of which according to Cornels report to the agent was singularly dignified & impressive ; it clearly pointed out that their voice was for the Singer & his party & that the Semanolies had by their Conduct merited the curses of the Nation, and was already become detestable to the Cherokees-with astonishing Caution they Avoided the name of Bowles, but said that there was a black Speck in the Sky at one point of the Horizen and their Nation had ordered them to enquire about it -All the afternoon the Singer & Mad Dog have held a Secret Council at a private House which I

believe is not yet broke up (8 o'clock) the Cherokee Chiefs also attended.

In the evening the Cherokee Tasggitigi ordered Croisier to attend him and questioned Bowles about whence he came, what was his employment and whether he had any papers or Commission-His answers were that he came from a Great Prince, King George, to preserve all the red people from having their lands taken from them as the Americans & Spaniards intended to do ; that he had papers & instructions which he never shewed to any white person, but that he would show them to the Cherokees-the Chief told them that it would be doing nothing to show them to ignorant people like them, as he might deceive them, that a man in employment ought not only to have commissions sealed with a Big Seal, but instructions, and if he was a great man the Nation he came from had ordered him to see & have these papers read to them -Double Head who came in in the meantime intimated that if he had papers they *must* be shown -So they left him to his reflections which I suppose are not very pleasant.

Thursday 26-

All this forenoon the Council has sat hearing a recapitulation of the Talks received from other Indian Nations-The Mad Dog who keeps the different belts of Wampum and preserves the memory of the several embassies that brought them, gave their History before the young Warriors, that they might preserve the records after his Death-Upon the conclusion of this Ceremony Double Head made a long harangue in favor of unanimity, and with many pointed allusions to Bowles-the Singer sent the Agent a Message that tomorrow, he believed, things would be brought to a Crisis-I have

been always of opinion that Spain requires an agent of talents to reside with the Semanories & Cooperate in some measure with Col. Hawkins in his Patristic [?] Views towards this Nation, and a Conversation I have had with that Gentleman to day of which I have taken notes, too long to be inserted here, fully confirms it-

Thursday 26

Half past seven o'clock P.M. Dourousseaux brot a message from the Big Warrior of Tuckabatchies to Col Hawkins & Stephen, "That he would call upon them in the evening to know how they wished him to dispose of Bowles Col H answered that he had made up his mind, & would give his answer so soon as the Application was made - I cannot enough admire the secrecy with which this affair has been carried through and at length brought to a conclusion ; although certainly upwards of two hundred Indians have been privy to the discussions that were going on not a gesture or word escaped any of them that could give an Idea of the result untill the moment they communicated it. even Bowles friends who have been admitted to the discussions have not given the least hint of the dangers that surrounded him. The prudence of the red men in this instance is highly conspicuous, and I must bear. Equal testimony to the manly & liberal conduct of Col Hawkins thro the whole of the Business the gradual improvement he is introducing & the method he pursues to make the red people Govern and Chastise themselves is truly admirable : in this place where I suppose there are upwards of four hundred Strangers, there is not the smallest disorder, noise nor disturbance not a Belt Stole nor a horse missing-the square is always attended & business of a Publick or private nature seems al-

ways to be going on-To day he appointed a Commission of five Persons to decide upon small suits with an appeal to him. two only were brought forward which were heard & sentenced in a short time- the Mad Dog tells me he intends going to Pensacola when the Treaty is over-

Half past 10 the message came - Col H. answered "my wish is that he be put under Confinement immediately and properly secured untill irons are made when he must be conducted to Pensacola under a secure guard of Indians and delivered up to Govr. Folch to satisfy the Spaniards for the "seventeen deaths owing to them by the Nation" he added the "Governor will pay the Nation the sum of four thousand five hundred Dollars as he "promised

the 27

To day the Big Warrior returned & informed that everything would be executed this night; that they were going to elect a king, and after the ceremony they would tie & secure B. that he had seen him this morning, and that he was perfectly easy in appearance but that he was well watched although he did not know it, orders was sent immediately to the Blacksmith to make the Hand cuffs, and they will be here this night.

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Received at Pensacola the 31st May & arrived at Mobile the 1st of June 1803.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
Held at Jacksonville, February 10, 1931

MINUTES

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of The Florida Historical Society (now seventy-four years since its founding) was called to order at the Carling Hotel in Jacksonville, at 10.30 A.M. on Tuesday, February 10th, 1931, by President Arthur T. Williams.

Invocation was offered by the Reverend Harris Mallinckrodt of Fernandina.

The Chair introduced Hon. John T. Alsop, mayor of Jacksonville, who extended to the Society a most cordial welcome to the city. He also called attention to interesting historical locations near by, particularly St. Johns Bluff, near the mouth of the St. Johns River, which, he said, is or should be a national shrine similar to Plymouth Rock.

President Williams thanked him for the warmth of his welcome and expressed his pleasure that the meeting was gathered again under Mayor Alsop's wing. In 1924, he said, the annual meeting was held in Tallahassee, in 1926 at St. Petersburg, in 1927 at Southern College, Lakeland, in 1928 at Rollins College, Winter Park, in 1929 at St. Augustine, in 1930 at Ocala, and now in 1931 it is back at headquarters in Jacksonville. The Society, he continued, has been nursed and fostered throughout its life by the most eminent men of the State, its outstanding jurists, statesmen, business and professional men, and it has never departed from its original simple objective: support of the true and disproof of the false. He gave a brief history of the Society and of its quarterly

magazine, which, he said, under the stimulating direction of its present editors, had attained authoritative rank in its field.

He introduced Judge George Couper Gibbs, "one whose ancestors were renowned in the State, and whose personality has won the esteem of all who know him."

Judge Gibbs gave a rapid comprehensive sketch which brought into clear perspective the evolution of Jacksonville to its present rank. He began by describing the skeleton of the mastodon now on exhibition in Jacksonville just recovered from the depths of Lake Wakulla, which had roamed the district probably fifty thousand years ago ; then pictured the dense forests of the region ; its early Indian inhabitants ; the coming of the white man, the quarrelsome Spaniard and the gentle Frenchman; the two hundred or more years of continuous spilling of blood ; the trying diversion of allegiance from Spain to England and back to Spain again and finally to the United States. Upon this broad and sound foundation he rebuilt in retrospect the village of Jacksonville, with its blockhouse and its four hundred inhabitants; lived again through its devastating fires and pestilence, and memorialized by name the noble citizens who gave their lives for the common good. All of this experience was summed up in a phrase, "the spirit of Jacksonville", which should prompt us and posterity to bear lightly and courageously the vicissitudes still before us. The Judge's talk won him unanimous applause.

The Chair introduced Dr. Cecil R. Oldham, Associate Professor of History at Rollins College.

Dr. Oldham's contribution was a gloria sung to his beloved science. "History is religious training. It insists upon the sanctity of Truth. Truth is the only merit which gives dignity and worth to History. It discloses the false glare of arms."

But a few generations ago history was untaught except to the favored few, when its accuracy was of less importance than its agency in shaping the policies of rulers. At Oxford it was suppressed because of its dilution with politics. The business of the historian is to see history on the same plane as other sciences, and to keep it uncheaped and unperverted in the teaching. "Crests" and "waves" must not be permitted to take the place of individual responsibility.

Until modern times, there was no collation of old records ; until the last two generations history has been but a companion to the study of Law.

"I make no apology for the plainness of this address; a plain setting, indeed, makes the bright gem of Florida history shine more brilliantly."

Dr. Oldham received the grateful thanks of the meeting for his illuminating address.

The Chair introduced Miss Alice H. Lerch, librarian of Rollins College, and formerly of the New York Public Library, who spoke on Florida's first newspaper.

The **East Florida Gazette**, a weekly loyalist paper, was first published in St. Augustine on Saturday, January 11th or 18th, 1783. It should not be confused with **The Florida Gazette**, published in 1821. It was printed by Charles Wright for John Wells Jr.

Until recently its existence was known of only by casual references in other papers, but Worthington C. Ford, searching English archives, found among the papers of Sir Guy Carleton, numbers 5, 14 & 16 of volume I.

Miss Lerch's paper was most interesting to her hearers.

At the request of the Chair, Captain C. Seton Fleming introduced General Charles P. Summerall.

"Florida's most distinguished son" was the Captain's declaration.

The General valued the work of the Society and always read its **QUARTERLY** with keen interest. The patriotic spirit of the people of Florida, as revealed by their cooperation as soldiers whenever help was needed, was his theme. The militia organizations never faltered in danger, and constantly displayed high chivalry.

The regiments and companies which have played a part in Florida's history were all recorded by the General, and his paper, which will be published in the **QUARTERLY**, is a mine of historical wealth.

"The history of Florida soldiers" he concluded, "guarantees that her sons of the present and the future will not dim the glory of those of the past."

Mrs. Francis M. Holt entertained with three short folk songs, gay and graceful in theme and melody. In response to an insistent encore she sang The Suwannee River, and the plaintive, rich coloring of her sustained tones revealed to her listeners a new and lovely expression of the song, and the height to which her artistry has risen.

The meeting recessed for lunch.

More than one hundred persons sat down to lunch in the dining room of the Carling Hotel. Mr. Alston Cockrell was toastmaster and General Summerall the guest of honor.

Mr. Cockrell introduced the General, the president and officers of the Society, and several other ladies and gentlemen who had contributed to its work and welfare.

He then introduced Senator A. M. Taylor, speaker of the occasion.

The Senator said he had been told that there were three noted old landmarks in St. Augustine, represented by Ponce de Leon, Pedro Menendez, and A. M. Taylor.

In 1885 a pageant was given in St. Augustine, representing the landing of Ponce de Leon, and on the last day of the pageant, christened Flag Day, the five flags of Florida were displayed and honored. So much publicity followed this that Spain looked up Ponce de Leon and found that he was buried at San Juan, Porto Rico.

“We got busy and memorialized Congress by act of legislature to procure the remains of Ponce de Leon for Florida. On the floor of the House, Mr. Wetmore moved to amend that the remains of the late lamented Adam and Eve be also procured. However the effort to get Ponce de Leon failed, because he was now a celebrity and would not be given up.”

Menendez also was brought into notice by the pageant, and it was decreed that his remains should be removed to the Cathedral at Aviles, Spain. The Senator was member of a committee which went to Aviles to officially view and confirm the reinterment of the bones of Menendez. The ceremonies and mishaps were described in the Senator’s inimitable way, and we all felt that the honors which came to him through the use of violent gestures combined with the evident goodwill of the interpreter, were fully deserved.

The Senator’s talk was greatly enjoyed, as evidenced by the frequent bursts of applause and spontaneous laughter.

The Society then went into business session.

At the request of the president, vice-president Cumberly took the chair.

It was moved and seconded and carried that the roll call be dispensed with.

It was moved, seconded and carried that the reading of all officers’ reports except the treasurer’s be

dispensed with and that they be published in the **QUARTERLY**.

Treasurer Davis's report was so encouraging that it could not be set aside and it was heard with much satisfaction.

The Building Committee through Mr. J. W. White reported that the times were unfavorable to do anything concrete at present, and Mr. Arthur Williams thought that postponement was very wise. Upon motion the Committee continued with the same personnel.

Upon motion the secretary was instructed to send resolution of thanks to the manager of the Carling Hotel and to the speakers of the occasion for their help in making the meeting a success.

A resolution of gratitude to the officers and particularly to the editors of the **QUARTERLY** was unanimously carried.

The Chair appointed Messrs. White, Cash & Roberts a committee to nominate officers and directors. After a short retirement the committee reported its choice of nominees as follows: For president, Mr. Arthur T. Williams ; 1st vice-president, Mr. P. K. Yonge; 2nd vice-president, Mr. Frederick Cubberly; treasurer, Mr. T. Frederick Davis ; secretary, Mr. Francis M. Williams; assistant secretary, Mrs. Emma Rochelle Porter; for directors, Messrs. Frank Drew, A. J. Hanna, Julien C. Yonge, Mrs. Roy V. Ott, A. H. Roberts, Geo. P. Raney, Jno. P. Stokes, and C. Seton Fleming.

Upon motion, unanimously carried, the secretary was instructed to cast a ballot for the nominees specified, which he thereupon did and they were declared elected.

Mr. A. J. Hanna, of Rollins College, Winter Park, invited the Society to hold its next annual meeting there and the invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Mr. Hanna announced the winners of the Florida Historical Essay Contest as follows:

Virginia Earle, Seminole High School, Sanford

Lillian Jordan, Dania High School, Dania

Kathleen Shepherd, Winter Park High School, Winter Park

Edwin Shinholser, Seminole High School, Sanford

The meeting then adjourned.

FRANCIS M. WILLIAMS

Secretary

Members present were as follows:

|                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| John T. Alsop Jr., Jacksonville       | Mrs. F. P. Hamilton, Jacksonville     |
| Mrs. W. Y. Atkinson, St. Augustine    | Alfred J. Hanna, Winter Park          |
| Dr. Henry Bacon, Jacksonville         | Mrs. George C. Harman, Jacksonville   |
| Frances Martin Bangs, Ocala           | Gertrude F. Jacobi, Jacksonville      |
| Burton Barrs, Jacksonville            | Rev. Harris Mallinckrodt, Fernandina  |
| W. T. Cash, Tallahassee               | Richard D. Meader, Brunswick, Ga.     |
| Harold Colee, St. Augustine           | Mrs. R. V. Ott, Ocala                 |
| Frederick Cubberly, Gainesville       | Shelton Parker, Jacksonville          |
| T. Frederick Davis, Jacksonville      | Rev. E. L. Pennington, Ocala          |
| John C. Cooper Jr. Jacksonville       | Mrs. Garrett Porter, Jacksonville     |
| Mrs. T. F. Davis, Jacksonville        | Garrett Porter, Jacksonville          |
| Mrs. James Dobbin, Jacksonville       | Mrs. Edward Jelks, Jacksonville       |
| Mrs. F. P. Fleming, Sr., Jacksonville | Albert H. Roberts, Tallahassee        |
| Mrs. Herbert Corse, Jacksonville      | James A. Robertson, Washington, D. C. |
| Louise E. Gamsby, Ocala               | Herbert Lamson, Jacksonville          |
| George Couper Gibbs, Jacksonville     | Mrs. E. M. Sanderson, Jacksonville    |
| Mrs. Fannie L. Gilkes, Jacksonville   | Mrs. S. T. Sistrunk, Ocala            |
| F. C. Groover, Jacksonville           | W. T. Stockton, Jacksonville          |
| Mrs. F. C. Groover, Jacksonville      | Charles P. Summerall, Eustis          |
|                                       | A. M. Taylor, St. Augustine           |
|                                       | B. F. Trenary, Jacksonville           |

|                                     |                                    |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Mrs. A. W. Underwood, St. Augustine | Rev. P. C. Wolcott, Jacksonville   |
| Ernest A. Watson, Jacksonville      | W. B. Young, Englewood, N. J.      |
| J. W. White, Jacksonville           | Mrs. W. B. Young, Englewood, N. J. |
| Mrs. A. T. Williams, Jacksonville   | Alston Cockrell, Jacksonville      |
| Lucy M. Williams, Jacksonville      | C. Seton Fleming, Jacksonville     |
| Mrs. F. M. Williams, Jacksonville   | Mrs. Bion H. Barnett, Jacksonville |
| Emily Loyd Wilson, St. Augustine    | Mrs. W. S. Manning, Jacksonville   |

Fifty-four proxies were examined and admitted as follows :

|                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| M. Priscilla Bishop   | Everett Mizell          |
| John H. Carter        | Chas. S. Patterson      |
| S. G. Coe             | Samuel H. Ray           |
| Chas. W. Dabney       | Corinne Robinson        |
| F. C. Groover         | Clinton Scollard        |
| Frank S. Gray         | P. C. Tucker            |
| Maxwell A. Kilvert    | George Welch            |
| C. S. L'Engle         | Julia J. Yonge          |
| John G. McKay         | P. K. Yonge             |
| M. L. Mershon         | Katherine P. Buckman    |
| Alfred E. Newman      | C. E. Chillingworth     |
| Claude J. Rahn        | John Hobart Cross       |
| Mrs. J. W. Greenslade | Mary A. Fleming         |
| E. M. Sanchez         | H. L. Grady             |
| W. H. Siebert         | W. C. Johnson           |
| William Weaver        | Peter O. Knight         |
| W. H. Warnock         | John Massey             |
| J. C. Yonge           | Memorial Library W.P.B. |
| F. M. Blount          | Abbot Chas. H. Mohr     |
| Mrs. John H. Carter   | Kent Pendleton          |
| Geo. D. Cross         | C. R. Reynolds          |
| W. H. DePass          | John G. Ruge            |
| P. L. Gold            | H. L. Smith             |
| F. M. Hudson          | N. S. Thomas            |
| Mrs. W. J. Krome      | Jas. C. Watson          |
| E. J. L'Engle         | Mrs. Sarah R. W. Palmer |
| W. A. MacWilliams     | J. E. D. Yonge          |

**ANNUAL REPORT OF ARTHUR T. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT**

I submit, for the information of the members of The Florida Historical Society, the following report for the year 1930-31:

At the last annual meeting, held in Ocala, the Society's roster held 563 names. Today, it contains 547, a decrease of only 15 members in these times of stress. We are all well aware that the \$2.00 membership fee of the Society is beyond the budget of some of our most earnest and loyal members. Many have indicated the intention of again becoming members when normalcy returns.

Last year we had enrolled twenty Contributing Members. Today, we have enrolled twenty-three members-an increase of three. To these generous friends, who donate more than the required \$2.00, we owe the enlarged publication of our **QUARTERLY** during the past year. Their generosity is indeed appreciated, not only by members of the Society, but by all who read the publication.

We report an increase of two in the enrollment of libraries and universities. We also record an increase of five exchanges, all to well-known historical institutions who send us, in return, their own valuable publications.

Thirty-five new members have been enrolled since the last annual meeting.

We call attention, with great pride, to the report of T. Frederick Davis, treasurer of the Society, which shows a larger balance than reported within the past five years. Our treasurer deserves the warmest praise for this splendid financial support rendered the Society.

The Florida Historical Society should be, and is, proud of its record for 1930. The above figures speak for themselves ; and far beyond statistical evidence,

they bespeak the loyalty and aggressiveness of its members.

Six members have been lost through death, some of whom were prominently identified with the history of the State. They are: General T. J. Appleyard of Tallahassee, E. Baird of Gainesville, Richard H. Edmonds of Baltimore, Elizabeth V. Long of Jacksonville, J. F. Taylor of Pensacola, and Kate Williams of Fernandina. It is the privilege of the Florida Historical Society to honor their memory by setting apart a page in the April issue of the **QUARTERLY** magazine.

**ARTHUR T. WILLIAMS**, President

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

February 11, 1930, to February 10, 1931

*Receipts*

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| <b>Cash</b> on hand last report .....       | \$120.31 |
| Annual dues and contributing donations..... | 880.00   |
| Other sources .....                         | 4.77     |

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**\$1,005.08**

*Disbursements*

**1930**

|               |  |         |
|---------------|--|---------|
| Feb. 12       | Ocala Star, printing programs.....   | \$ 5.25 |
| Feb. 14       | Retd. to H. M. Hampton overpaid dues .....   | 1.06    |
| Feb. 24       | Pepper Printing Co., January <b>QUARTERLY</b> &c. ....   | 121.59  |
| Apr. 5        | Retd. to P. K. Yonge overpaid dues   | 2.00    |
| Apr. 15       | Fla. Times-Union printing notice charter chg. ....   | 4.25    |
| <b>May 1</b>  | Stamps for the secretary .....   | 5.00    |
| May 1         | H. & W. B. Drew Co., for Encyclopedia .....  | 7.50    |
| May 6         | Miller Press, printing & stationery  | 5.50    |
| May 12        | Member's check returned "ins. funds" .....   | 2.00    |
| <b>May 15</b> | Pepper Printing Co., April <b>QUARTERLY</b> , including one year's supply of covers for <b>QUARTERLY</b> ..... | 212.47  |

|         |   |        |          |
|---------|---|--------|----------|
| June 5  | Miller Press, printing & stationery                 | 5.50   |          |
| Aug. 14 | Pepper Printing Co., July QUARTERLY &c. ....        | 146.06 |          |
| Sep. 30 | Dixie Bindery, binding QUARTERLY for library .....  | 1.35   |          |
| Nov. 17 | Pepper Printing Co., October QUARTERLY &c. ....     | 185.84 |          |
| 1931    |   |        |          |
| Jan. 26 | Stamps for Secretary for mailing programs &c. ....  | 12.00  |          |
| Feb. 4  | Miller Press, printing programs, notices &c. ....   | 19.75  |          |
| Feb. 7  | Pepper Printing Co., January QUARTERLY &c. ....     | 167.87 |          |
|         | Copyrighting 4 issues of QUARTERLY .....            | 8.00   |          |
|         | For stamps used during year mailing due slips ..... | 15.70  | \$918.63 |
|         |   |        | <hr/>    |
|         | Cash balance February 10, 1931.....                 |        | \$ 86.45 |
|         | Bills payable .....                                 | None   |          |

Note : Five issues of the QUARTERLY magazine were paid for during the year.

Respectfully submitted,  
 T. FREDERICK DAVIS  
*Treasurer*

***In Memoriam***

T. J. APPLEYARD

EBERLE BAIRD

RICHARD H. EDMONDS

ELIZABETH V. LONG

J. F. TAYLOR

KATE WILLIAMS

285031