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**The
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FLORIDA'S PART IN THE WAR WITH MEXICO

by T. FREDERICK DAVIS

(The capture of a battalion of United States troops by Mexican forces on the Texas side of the Rio Grande, the disputed boundary, followed by an expedition into Mexico proper by General Zachary Taylor precipitated the Mexican war.

When reports of these events reached Washington, Congress on May 12, 1846, passed "An Act providing for the prosecution of the existing war between the United States and the Republic of Mexico".

The following day, the act was approved by the President, who issued his proclamation that war existed between the two republics. The Mexican Congress declared war against the United States May 23, 1846, before our declaration was known in Mexico.

A treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico was tentatively agreed to at Guadalupe Hidalgo, near Mexico City, February 2, 1848, when hostilities practically ceased. After some modification of the terms, the treaty was ratified by the United States on March 10 and by Mexico on May 30, 1848. Peace was officially proclaimed by President Polk on July 4, 1848.)

When the Mexican trouble arose in 1846, Florida had just celebrated its first anniversary of admission to statehood. Political and social adjustments to meet the new situation had not been completed; and there still remained the after-effects of two major calamities—the bank-business panic of 1837-42 and the Seminole war, 1835-42. Though sunlight was beginning to break through rifts in the business depression, the memory of the Indian war, Florida's own war, which was almost without a parallel for its withering and deadly influences upon all elements of prosperity¹, was still fresh in the minds of the people. Amidst these conditions, news of the declaration of war against Mexico was not received in Florida with unbridled enthusiasm—the majority of the people in street language were "fed up" on war.

Not long afterwards there was started in the North a political propaganda against this war which grew into a bitter national issue; it was called by

1. See Gov. Moseley's message to the legislature, Nov. 27, 1847.

the opponents "Polk's War". Customarily the early Florida newspapers took vigorous sides on nearly every political question, and this was no exception. Altogether, the circumstances in Florida were calculated to produce a lukewarmness here towards the Mexican war, which induced the editor of a prominent Florida newspaper to remark, "Whether the war is right or wrong, no patriot will thro mbarrassments in the way of a speedy and honorable termination". As to Florida's national patriotism, the record will show.

PRELIMINARY ACTIVITIES

The dispute between the United States and Mexico over the Texas boundary reached a stage early in 1846 portending war. Recruiting to bring the navy of the southern district to full war strength was begun in the Gulf region in February, 1846. On May 4, the citizens of Pensacola held a public meeting for the purpose of enlisting volunteers for the army on the Texas frontier², which was followed by a requisition upon Governor Moseley by the commandant of Pensacola navy yard for two companies to garrison the fortifications at that place, the marines there being deemed insufficient³. All of this was prior to the receipt in Florida of notice of a formal declaration of war, and no official action by the governor was taken.

The act of Congress approved May 13, 1846, practically declaring war on Mexico, provided for a volunteer army of 50,000 to reenforce the regulars, to be determined by apportionment, and for an enlistment of one year unless sooner discharged⁴. Florida's quota in the apportionment was half of

2 Tallahassee *Floridian*, May 16, 1846.

3. Tallahassee *Floridian* Extra, May 18, 1846.

4. The enlistment period for volunteers was later changed to "for the duration of the war with Mexico".

a regiment comprising 390 foot soldiers ⁵, to be prepared for service as needed ⁶. Within ten days after the receipt of the President's proclamation of war, the governor of Florida received notice of a contemplated requisition for five companies of volunteer infantry, to be held in readiness for future orders, the battalion to have an aggregate strength of 385 men, or 77 men to a company ⁷.

Commenting upon this requisition, the Tallahassee *Floridian* ⁸ published: "We understand no volunteers from this State will be called for to go out of it, but probably five or six hundred men may be asked to man the forts at Pensacola and St. Augustine, and to reenforce Key West, Tampa, St. Marks and Apalachicola. This, if adopted, is a wise measure. Floridians have as much public spirit and patriotism as the citizens of any other state-but the fact that we have just borne the brunt of the Seminole war . . . the sparseness and scattered character of our settlements, and our exposed condition would render the taking of troops from among us impolitic. . . . We repeat, we do not believe any of our volunteers will be required to go beyond the State."

The comment by the Tallahassee paper was generally considered semi-official, and the result was a prompt organization of companies in many communities, under the current militia law of the State. Some localities organized two companies, and Jefferson county had three. These commands, however, were organized in the spirit of home protection, on the principle of the modern "home guards", in the service of the State for duty within the State.

5. *Niles' National Register* (Baltimore), May 30, 1846, p. 196.

6. *Tallahassee Floridian*, May 23, 1846.

7. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1846.

8. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1846.

CALLED TO THE COLORS

Five companies, forming the original quota assigned to Florida, were at length called into service. Three of them were sent to Mexico, where they suffered very great casualty from disease, the nature of which was never indicated in the returns but has been suggested as yellow fever, dysentery and malaria in the coastal regions and diseases of the lungs in the mountains⁹. One of the Florida companies at one time was reduced to an aggregate strength of only 23 men through death and sickness¹⁰. Their experiences were terrible.

For some reason Florida's record in the Mexican war has never been published and the names of most of her patriots in that war are now as unknown as that of the Unknown Soldier at rest in Arlington cemetery. Consequently it is a privilege to present herein, for the first time in print, the complete rosters of the five Florida companies in the Mexican war, made possible through the cooperation and courtesy of Dr. P. M. Hamer, chief, and his assistants of the Division of Reference, The National Archives, Washington.

The companies are here considered in the order of their enlistment in the service of the United States. Four retained their status as volunteers, and one was mustered as Co. K, 13th Regiment of Infantry in the regular army. The volunteer companies were popularly known by the names of their first captains, Johnson, Livingston, Kelly and Fisher. The first private soldier to enlist was James Cannaday, of Belville, Florida.¹¹

9. Letter from C. G. Toepper, Asst. Librarian, Army Medical Library, Washington, Apr. 24, 1941, who investigated this matter for the writer.

10. Letter of Granville Worthington to his family in Columbia county, dated Pueblo, Mexico, Dec. 6, 1847; copy in files of Fla. Hist. Rec. Survey, W.P.A.

11. Earliest date on muster roll.

The original records are in long-hand ; they are well preserved and in most cases fairly distinct, but occasionally it is difficult to determine "a" from "o", "i" from "e" and other similarities. Sometimes the same name is spelled differently in different rolls and returns, such as *Cochran* and *Cochrane*; these instances are identified herein as *Cochran/Cochrane*, for example. Where no authority is cited in the story of the companies it may be understood that the information is derived from the muster rolls and returns of the company. The rosters show name, age at time of enlistment, place of enlistment, and notations; where not otherwise indicated all served their term of enlistment and were mustered out with the company. The asterisk (*) is supplied to distinguish those who died in service.

JOHNSON'S COMPANY

Late in the fall of 1846, the two companies of regulars stationed at Fort Brooke, Tampa, were ordered to proceed to Mexico, and at the same time the President (through the Secretary of War) made requisition on the governor of Florida for a company of volunteers to supply their place. Governor Moseley promptly authorized Captain Allen G. Johnson, of Hamilton county, to organize this company.¹² The organization began December 11, 1846, at Tallahassee, when Governor Moseley enrolled John G. Reardon (later 2d lieutenant), William Fisher (later 3d. lieutenant), and on the 13th Christopher C. Coffee, of Madison, (later 1st. lieutenant). The pay for privates was \$8.00 a month and rations, \$3.50 a month for clothing, and fifty cents for every twenty miles traveled to and from the general rendezvous at Tampa. About thirty volunteers enlisted at Tallahassee, and marched thence to

12. Tallahassee *Floridian*, Dec. 12, 1846.

Newnansville on or about December 19,¹³ where recruiting was continued.

The company was mustered into the service of the United States at Fort Brooke by Captain John T. Sprague, of the 8th Infantry, on January 8, 1847, for a term of twelve months unless sooner discharged. Captain Johnson was not present at the muster, in fact he did not assume command until more than a month afterwards, for reasons not now known. The company, commanded by C. C. Coffee virtually the whole term, remained at Fort Brooke throughout the term of enlistment. Though not sent to Mexico, it performed the important service of restraining the Indians in South Florida from hostile activities.

Upon the expiration of its term of service, the company was mustered out at Fort Brooke by Captain Sprague on January 8, 1848, and was immediately reorganized by Lieutenant William Fisher, many of the old company reenlisting in the new.

Roster of Johnson's Company

January 8, 1847 - January 8, 1848

Allen G. Johnson, Captain. Enrolled at Tallahassee December 10, 1846, by Governor Moseley ; mustered into service at Ft. Brooke February 15, 1847, and assumed command of the Company. Commissioned Major 13th U. S. Infantry March 3, and left Ft. Brooke April 7, 1847.

Mustered in at Ft. Brooke, January 8, 1847:

Christopher C. Coffee, 26, Madison, First Lieutenant. Commanded Company January 8 - February 14 and April 7 - June 18, 1847. Advanced to rank of Captain June 18, 1847.

John G. Reardon, 28, Tallahassee, Second Lieutenant. (F)

William Fisher, 22, Tallahassee, Second Lieutenant. Promoted to First Lieutenant vice Coffee promoted Captain.

Duncan, William J. J., 23, Belville, Fla., First Sergeant.

Cook, James, 25, St. Marks, Second Sergeant. Reduced to ranks August 17, 1847. (F)

13. *Ibid.*, Saturday, Dec. 12, 1846: "They will march for Newnansville on Saturday next."

NOTE : (F) - Re-enlisted in Fisher's Company. (L)-Re-enlisted in Livingston's Company.

West, Ira, 40, Newnansville, Third Sergeant. Resigned January 19, 1847. (L)
White, James, 27, Madison, Fourth Sergeant. (F)
Moffitt, Park A., 26, Tallahassee. First Corporal. Reduced to ranks April 8, 1847. (F)
Zipperer, Solomon, 24, Jasper, Second Corporal. Promoted to Sergeant April 8, 1847.
Pyburn, Jacob, 43, Newnansville, Third Corporal. Resigned January 31, 1847. (F)
Rutherford, Jordan, 21, Madison, Fourth Corporal. Promoted to Sergeant August 17, 1847.
Edwards, Titus, 43, Jefferson, Fla., Drummer. Returned to ranks March 1, 1847.
Munroe, John, 27, Madison, Fifer.

Privates

Anders, William, 23, Anutliga, Fla.
Atkinson, Durden, 23, Tallahassee.
Ayre, James, 29, Tallahassee. (F)
Bleach, John G., 22, Newnansville.
Bleach, William, 25, Newnansville.
Boyet, Nathan, 23, Anutliga.
Brewer, William L., 25, Madison. (F)
Bridges, John M., 33, Newnansville.
Brooker, William P., 44, Camp Izard, Fla.
Brown, Lewis J. A., 23, Newnansville. (L)
Brown, William, 36, St. Marks. Discharged for drunkenness.
Cannaday, Edmund, 23, Belville, Fla. (F)
Cannaday, James, 20, Belville.
Carter, Hardy, 25, Newnansville. (F)
Cochran/Cochrane, Edward, 24, Newnansville. (F)
Coffman, Francis, 24, Newnansville.
Crosby, James, 41, No. 2 Marion County.
Deas, Henry, 19, Newnansville. (F)
Dukes, William, 22, Tampa. (F)
Duncan, Wiley W., 19, Belville.
Durance, Francis, 32, Tampa.
Duval, Alexander F., 23, Wakulla.
Emmett, George, 29, Camp Izard, Fla.
Eubanks, Richard S., 23, Jasper.
*Fields, Columbus, 19, Madison. Died September 6, 1847.
Fritts, William, 30, Tampa. (F)
Furgerson, Joseph, 27, Micanopy. Promoted to Corporal December 1, 1847.
Garrard, Alfred, 21, Anutliga. (F)
Garrard, Harrison, 26, Anutliga. (F)
Hall, David, 20, Jasper.
Hall, Joseph G., 28, Jasper.
Hall, Stephen, 21, Jasper.
Hand, George, 33, Ocala.
Haymans, James, 19, Chucochatte, Fla.
Jenkins, Henry, 20, Madison. (L)
Johns, Isaac, 22, Newnansville. (F)
Jones, Thomas B., 22, Columbus, Fla.
Kyle, Robert E., 36, Tallahassee. (F)
Kyle, William W. B., 28, Tallahassee. (F)
Langford, Henry, 20, Jasper.

Liles, Charles, 24, Micanopy. (F)
McAtherine, John B., 24, Jasper. (F)
McLendon, Joseph, 24, Anutliga.
McLeod, James A., 24, Newnansville.
Mink, John C., 29, Newnansville. (L) (F)
Mobley, Martin H., 19, Benton, Fla.
Moore, James, 29, Newnansville.
Moore, James 2d., 24, Madison.
Munroe, Neill, 21, Anutliga.
Neal, Leodocius M., 35, Newnansville. Discharged for drunkenness.
Oliver, Robert, 24, Tallahassee. Promoted to Corporal August 17, 1847.
Plotts, Alexander, 25, Newnansville.
Prevatt, Joseph, 24, Newnansville. Promoted to Corporal January 19, 1847. (F)
Price, Henry, 39, Ocala. (F)
Prigon, John, 22, Madison.
Prigon, William, 20, Madison.
Raybon/Rayborn, John, 22, Madison. (F)
Register, Robinson, 21, Tallahassee.
Revels, Riley, 23, Columbus, Fla.
Richardson, William T., 26, Benton County.
Sapp, Anthony A., 27, Newnansville.
Seborl, Nicholas, 25, Santa Fe, Fla. (L)
Shrader, John, 23, Tallahassee.
Smith, Levi, 22, Newnansville. (F)
Snyder, A. J., 30, No. 2 Marion County. Dropped July 2, 1847, for previous desertion from Co. I, Third Artillery, U. S. A.
Staggers, William, 42, Newnansville.
Stanford, Cornelius, 23, Tallahassee. (F)
Stevenson, John, 34, Tallahassee.
Tormey, Michael, 24, Camp Izard, Fla. (F)
Townsend, Noah, 22, Madison.
Vaughn, Francis, 20, Madison.
Wall, Michael, 30, St. Marks.
Williamson, Mathew, 22, Madison.
Zipperer, Thomas, 22, Jasper.
Mustered in after January 8, 1847, with date:
Callahan, Alexander B., 30, Ft. Brooke, January 30, 1847. (F)
Clarke, Elihu, 31, Ft. Brooke, January 13, 1847.
Farrish/Farish, Thomas B., 31, Ft. Brooke, January 30, 1847. (F)
Lewis, Richard, 18, Ft. Brooke, March 1, 1847. Appointed drummer same day. (F)
McKay William, 19, Ft. Brooke, January 26, 1847.
Putnam, Thomas, 25, Ft. Brooke, January 15, 1847. (F)

Recapitulation

Mustered in January 8, 1847, 87, subsequently, 7; aggregate, 94.
Died, 1; resigned, 3; dishonorably discharged, 3; total 7.
Mustered out January 8, 1848: Officers, 3; non-commissioned officers, 7; musicians, 2; privates, 75; aggregate, 87.

KELLY'S COMPANY

Early in 1847 a requisition was made by the War Department upon the governor of Florida for a

company of volunteers to garrison the forts at Pensacola, to supply the place of the regulars ordered to Mexico. The command of this company was offered to and accepted by W. W. J. Kelly, of Pensacola, at the time senator from Escambia county in the Florida legislature. About ten recruits were immediately accepted at Tallahassee and many more offered their services but were declined, as assurances had been received from West Florida that the company's full quota could be secured there. The Tallahassee recruits left for West Florida on February 17, 1847,¹⁴ where recruiting was completed. The term was for one year unless sooner discharged. The company was mustered into service on April 9, 1847, by Lieutenant William H. C. Whiting¹⁵ and stationed at Fort Pickens.

Kelly's company, officially known as Company A, Florida Volunteers, went into training at Fort Pickens, in Pensacola harbor. It was then ordered to Mexico, leaving Pensacola in the steamboat *Am Chase* on September 19, 1847, for Vera Cruz, where it arrived on October 2 and encamped on the plains about three miles from the city, at Camp Bergarra near Livingston's company, which had arrived two days previously. Other troops were encamped there also and a great deal of sickness was prevalent among them,¹⁷ which quickly spread to the Florida companies. About a month later, when the company took up its march towards Puebla, one dead and a number in hospital were left behind. The march to Puebla was via Jalapa where others were sent to the hospital; several died there of disease contracted at Camp Bergarra. At Puebla sickness

14. Tallahassee *Floridian*, Feb. 20, 1847.

15. Lieut. Whiting in the Civil War was a distinguished major-general of the Confederate army.

16. Pensacola *Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1847.

17. Jacksonville *News*, Nov. 5, 1847, citing intelligence from Mexico dated Oct. 6, 1847.

and death continued to deplete the ranks of the company, partly from the slow development of the coastal diseases and partly from lung trouble due to the high altitude, it was said. The monthly return of the company for February 1848 indicated only 49 aggregate present for duty.

There seems to have been no actual fighting between the company and Mexicans. Its service in Mexico appears to have been as a unit of General Patterson's army assigned to the task of keeping the line of communication open between Vera Cruz and General Scott's forces in Mexico City. The company left Puebla sometime in March 1848 on its return to the United States, and was mustered out of service at New Orleans by Captain J. Monroe, 16th Infantry, on the 31st of that month with an aggregate of 47 present and five left in hospitals and one under arrest in Mexico-fifty-three remaining out of a total muster of eighty-five.

Roster of Kelly's Company

April 9, 1847 - March 31, 1848

Mustered in at Pensacola, April 9, 1847:

William W. J. Kelly, 34, Tallahassee, Captain.

*Hopewell Dorsey, 35, Tallahassee, First Lieutenant. Died at Puebla, Mexico, March 8, 1848.

John Parkhill, 22, Tallahassee, Second Lieutenant.

A. H. Bright, 24, Pensacola, Second Lieutenant.

Ryan, Stephen, 25, Pensacola, First Sergeant.

Sandford, Franklin, 35, Milton, Second Sergeant. Promoted to First Sergeant December 24, 1847. Left sick at Perote, Mexico, March 1, 1848 (note on final muster roll).

McKain, William L., 41, Geneva, Fla., Third Sergeant.

Ryan, William, 45, Pensacola, Fourth Sergeant. Discharged at Vera Cruz December 24, 1847, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.

*Williams, Robert W., 23, Tallahassee, First Corporal. Died at Camp Bergarra, Vera Cruz, October 13, 1847.

Lipscomb, Robert C., 23, Pensacola, Second Corporal.

Andrews, William, 25, Marianna, Third Corporal.

King, Julius F., 26, Geneva, Fla., Fourth Corporal. Discharged at Vera Cruz January 3, 1848, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.

*Barr, John, 21, Marianna, Musician. Died at Jalapa, Mexico.

Thield (?), Frederick L., 29, Pensacola, Musician.

Privates

- Armstrong, Daniel, 19, Pensacola.
Bache, Jacob, 21, Pensacola.
*Beatty, D., 21, Pensacola. Died at Vera Cruz, December 16, 1847.
Barton, Robert, 27, Milton. Deserted at Ft. Pickens, September 18, 1847.
Bell, James A., 19, Pensacola.
Bell, William A., 25, Pensacola.
Bowen, William A., 20, Pensacola.
Brown, A., 22, Milton. Promoted to Corporal.
Buckelieu, George D., 25, Milton.
Campbell, Hugh, 42, Pensacola. Dropped, (date and cause not entered)
Carpenter, Morgan E., 21, Milton.
Childers, Obadiah, 21, Milton.
Cummings, H. T., 24, Pensacola. Deserted at New Orleans, September, 1847.
Deans, A. J., 31, Milton.
*Esom/Easom, W. W., 22, Milton. Died in hospital at Puebla, January 17, 1848.
Fleming, A. A., 23, Pensacola.
Fleming, William 25, Pensacola.
Fletcher, R. M., 19, Pensacola.
Fowler, Stephen, 19, Yellow River. Discharged at Vera Cruz, January 3, 1848, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.
French, E. A., 25, Pensacola. Dropped, (date and cause not entered).
Fribrand/Friaband, Cornelius, 36, Pensacola.
Hall, Henry, 30, Milton.
Hare, John W., 21, Milton.
Hart, William, 37, Milton.
Hedden, J., 43, Pensacola. (Dropped ; date and cause unknown).
*Higginbotham, J. B., 20, Pensacola. Died in hospital at Puebla, December, 1847.
Hutto, Joseph, 23, Pensacola.
Jarden, John, 30, Pensacola.
Josselin, Charles, 35, Pensacola. Left Company at Puebla without leave March 11, 1848.
Lavelette, Francis, 30, Pensacola. Discharged May 24, 1847, at Ft. Pickens, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.
Lawrence, Lemuel, 23, Pensacola. Left at Ft. Loretto, Puebla, under arrest (note on final muster roll March 31, 1848).
Ledger, George, 40, Pensacola.
*Leonard, Lewis, 26, Pensacola. Died in hospital at Vera Cruz in October, 1847.
Love, Redrick, 19, Pensacola. Discharged at Vera Cruz, January 2, 1848 on Surgeon's certif. of disability.
*McCaskill, G. W., 32, Milton. Died in hospital at Jalapa, (no date).
Magaha/McGaha, Isaac, 32, Milton.
McIver, J. R., 28, Pensacola. Promoted to Corporal October 15, 1847; promoted to Sergeant January 21, 1848.
Mayo, M. L., 19, Pensacola. Discharged at Vera Cruz December 14, 1847, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.
Mimms, George W., 19, Milton. Discharged at Vera Cruz January 3, 1848, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.

- Mitchell, George, 28, Pensacola.
Nelson, Rambling, 18, Big Pond. Discharged at Vera Cruz January 3, 1848, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.
Oglesby, E., 31, Cotton Mills.
*Pensche, Peter, 31, Pensacola. Died in hospital at Vera Cruz, December 19, 1847.
Pittman, J. R., 37, Pensacola.
*Rankins, James, 19, Pensacola. Died in hospital at Jalapa (no date).
Redd, Duncan, 18, Tallahassee.
Redd, Zachariah, 20, Tallahassee.
Regan, Daniel, 19, Eucheeanna. Discharged at Vera Cruz January 3, 1848, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.
Rollins, James, 19, Pensacola.
St. John, John, 37, Pensacola. Left sick at New Orleans. (No further record).
Santino, James, 31, Milton.
Silcox, Jesse, 18, Milton.
Silcox, John, 20, Pensacola.
Silcox, W. W., 37, Pensacola. Discharged at Vera Cruz December 1, 1847, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.
Smith, Jacob, 40, Milton. Left sick in hospital at Jalapa November 24, 1847. (No further entry).
*Smith, J. H., 32, Geneva. Died in hospital at Vera Cruz November 26, 1847.
Smith, Samuel, 29, Pensacola. Left sick at Vera Cruz in October, 1847. (No further entry).
Smith, William, 26, Pensacola.
Steigner, Peter, 22, Pensacola.
Stewart, H. D., 22, Tallahassee. Left sick in hospital at Jalapa, November 24, 1847. (No further entry).
Townsend, W. N., 18, Tallahassee.
Trask, Hartley, 25, Pensacola.
Williams, W., 38, Geneva. (Dropped : date and cause unknown).
Wood, William, 19, Pensacola.
Mustered in after April 9, 1847, with date:
Aaron, Isaac, 23, Ft. Pickens, April 28, 1847. Discharged at Vera Cruz January 3, 1848, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.
Barnes, W. B., 27, Ft. Pickens, July 30, 1847.
*Ellis, Reuben, 22, New Orleans, September 25, 1847. Died in hospital at Puebla in January 1848.
Seymour, John, (age and place not indicated) May 4, 1847. Recruited from "General Depot". (Name does not appear on final muster roll).
Smith, John, 35, Ft. Pickens, April 28, 1847. Discharged at Vera Cruz, January 3, 1848, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.
Sprang, Frank, 24, Ft. Pickens, May 4, 1847.
Sweat, W. E., 20, Ft. Pickens, September 18, 1847.

Recapitulation

Mustered in April 9, 1847, 78; subsequently, 7; aggregate, 85.
Deaths, 12; discharged for disability due to sickness, 12; dropped for other causes, 5; desertions, 3; total, 32.
Mustered out March 31, 1848: Officers, 3; non-commissioned officers (including one left sick in Mexico), 7; Privates (including four sick in hospitals and one in arrest in Mexico), 43; aggregate, 53.

LIVINGSTON'S COMPANY

Livingston's company, officially known as Company C, Florida Volunteer Battalion and occasionally called Florida Independent Rifle Company, was recruited in compliance with a requisition of the War Department of April 17, 1847, for service in Mexico. It was organized by Captain R. G. Livingston, of Alachua County, and rendezvoused at Alligator (now Lake City) in the month of June, 1847, and marched thence to Tallahassee arriving on the 9th of July.¹⁸ The company was mustered into the service of the United States at Tallahassee August 13, 1847, by Lieut. William H. C. Whiting, U. S. Engineers, for the duration of the war with Mexico, and the following day was given a flag by Governor Moseley, the presentation being made by ex-Governor Duval with an oration. The company then took up the march for St. Marks, where it embarked in the schooner Tallahassee for New Orleans.¹⁹ From New Orleans it was ordered to Carrollton, Louisiana, for training.

The training period at Carrollton lasted less than a month. Leaving New Orleans in the steamboat *Ann Chase*, the company arrived at Pensacola September 18,²⁰ transferred to the faster U. S. steamer *Fashion* and proceeded to Vera Cruz, where it arrived September 30, 1847,²¹ - the first Florida company in Mexico. It encamped at Camp Bergarra about three miles from the city. Here a great deal of sickness already prevailed among the troops in the vicinity, which rapidly spread to the Florida companies (Livingston's and Kelly's) and proved to be their curse during the whole of the campaign.

18. Tallahassee *Floridian*, June 26 and July 10, 1847.

19. Tallahassee *Floridian*, Aug. 14 and Sept. 11, 1847.

20. Pensacola *Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1847.

21. Jacksonville *News*, Nov. 5, 1847.

Henceforth we have few specific official dates concerning the movements of Livingston's company in Mexico; but from unofficial, though considered reliable, intelligence communicated to the Florida newspapers, it would appear that the company broke camp at Bergarra about November 1, marched to Jalapa and was stationed there some three weeks, then marched to Puebla, which the advanced contingent reached around December 1, and was quartered in a church on a high hill overlooking the city and environs.

The duties assigned to the company in Mexico seem to have been the same as those of Kelly's company, namely a unit of General Patterson's army distributed to keep open communications between Mexico City and Vera Cruz. A glance at the roster reveals the story of the company's experiences. At one time it had an aggregate strength of only 23 fit for duty. It was so reduced in effectives through sickness and death that Lieutenant Scott was detached and sent back to Florida on a recruiting mission; these recruits, 21 in number, arrived in a body at Puebla on May 7, 1848, after the war was virtually over.

Livingston's company was mustered out of service at Mobile on July 8, 1848, by Captain E. B. Alexander, U. S. A.

Roster of Livingston's Company

August 13, 1847 - July 8, 1848

Mustered in at Tallahassee, August 13, 1847:

*Robert G. Livingston, 27, Newnansville, Captain. Died at Puebla, Mexico, February 9, 1848, from accidental wound (received while hunting a wolf near the encampment);²²

*Daniel M. Stewart, 22, Alligator, First Lieutenant. Died at Vera Cruz, November 3, 1847.

William W. Scott, 22, Alligator, Second Lieutenant. (Went with Company to Mexico; later detached for recruiting service in Florida).

22. Tallahassee *Floridian*, March 18, 1848.

- George Holmes, 22, Jacksonville, Third Lieutenant. Elected Captain March 8, 1848, vice Captain Livingston, deceased.
- *Bryan, William E., 19, Tallahassee. First Sergeant. Reduced to Private in October, 1847. Died (probably in Mexico).
- Brannen, Edward B., 25, Alligator, Second Sergeant. Discharged at Jalapa in March, 1848, for disability.
- Jones, Samuel W., 22, Newnansville, Third Sergeant. Promoted to First Sergeant April 1, 1848.
- *Murry, Ivy B., 22, Newnansville, Fourth Sergeant. Reduced to Private November 27, 1847. Died (probably in Mexico).
- Sanchez, Gabriel, 23, Newnansville. First Corporal. Discharged at Puebla, March 8, 1848, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.
- *Brannen, Thomas J., 23, Alligator, Second Corporal. Died at Jalapa December 7, 1847.
- Stewart, George W., 21, Alligator, Third Corporal. Discharged at Jalapa November 24, 1847, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.
- *Ball, William T., 18, Newnansville, Fourth Corporal. Died at Vera Cruz October 26, 1847.
- Thomas, Jesse E., 24, Alligator, Musician. Discharged at Vera Cruz, January 16, 1848, on Surgeon's certif. of disability.

Privates

- Atkinson, William A., 18, New Port. Discharged at Jalapa, December 18, 1847, on account of accidental wound received on guard duty.
- Barnes, George N., 30, Alligator. Transferred to Q.M.O., August 30, 1847.
- Bolen, Edward, 45, Tallahassee. Discharged at Jalapa, December 18, 1847, (cause not noted, but probably disability).
- Branch, John W., 24, Madison. Promoted to Sergeant April 1, 1848.
- Brown, Loring P., 37, Columbus, Fla. Discharged at Vera Cruz December 14, 1847, for disability.
- *Cannon, Henry, 28, St. Marks. Died at Jalapa December 14, 1847.
- Costello, John M., 31, Alligator.
- *Dangerfield, Willis R., 37, Alligator. Died at Jalapa January 6, 1848.
- Davidson, John, 32, Alligator. Promoted to Corporal October 31, 1847.
- Doggett, A., 18, Jacksonville. Promoted to Sergeant March 1, 1848.
- *Eccles, Robert, 27, Tallahassee. Died at Puebla, December 17, 1847.
- Ellis, Henry, 18, Monticello.
- Feeney, William H., 18, Tallahassee.
- *Gilleland/Gilliland, William, 19, Tallahassee. Killed by Mexican Guerrillas between Perote and Puebla, December 10, 1847 (the only fighting casualty of the company in the war).
- Gillett, William, 25, Alligator. Promoted to Corporal March 1, 1848.
- Grant, John, 31, Tallahassee. Died at Jalapa November 28, 1847.
- *Harris, Alexander E., 45, Tallahassee. Died at Vera Cruz November 17, 1847.
- Hayes, William, 33, Tallahassee. Deserted from Tallahassee August 14, 1847.

- Head, Green B., 26, Tallahassee. Promoted to Corporal March 1, 1848.
- Holt, John, 19, Tallahassee. Discharged at Vera Cruz December 1, 1847, on Surgeon's certificate.
- Humphries, George, 20, Tallahassee.
- Hunter, Elijah, 24, Alligator. Discharged at Jalapa, (probably for disability).
- Hutchins, Abner, 44, Tallahassee.
- Hyatt, George W., 19, Newnansville. Discharged at Vera Cruz, January 2, 1848, on Surgeon's certificate.
- Jenkins, John, 19, Madison. Promoted to Corporal March 1, 1848.
- Johnson, Alfred C., 26, Tallahassee.
- Johnson, William G., 27, Tallahassee.
- Keith/Keath, James J., 30, Tallahassee.
- Kent, John B., 21, Wakulla.
- Lane, Benjamin B., 21, Alligator. Promoted to Sergeant March 1, 1848.
- Lanier, H. J., 27, Tallahassee. Discharged at Vera Cruz, January 3, 1848, on Surgeon's certificate.
- *Lavinus, John W., 45, Tallahassee. Died at Puebla, March 28, 1848.
- *Lay, D. K., 22, Tallahassee. Died at New Orleans, September 30, 1847.
- *Leach, John, 32, Alligator. Died at Vera Cruz, December 14, 1847.
- *Lewis, Joseph, 18, Tallahassee. Died at Vera Cruz, December 6, 1847.
- Lynch, Andrew J., 25, Jacksonville.
- *McClemmy/McClemmy, William, 45, Madison. Died at Vera Cruz, December 7, 1847.
- Martin, Robert R., 30, Alligator.
- *Morgan, Crispin, 26, Alligator. Died at Jalapa February 8, 1848.
- Ramsey, William H., 18, Tallahassee.
- Ridgeway, David O., 35, Jacksonville.
- Rollerson, Jacob, 26, Alligator. Discharged at Puebla, March 8, 1848, on Surgeon's certificate.
- Rouse, Ira S., 19, Columbus, Fla.
- Sanchez, Roman B., 23, Newnansville. Promoted from Private to First Lieutenant March 8, 1848, vice Lieutenant Stewart, deceased.
- *Scott, Charles A., 32, Madison. Died at Vera Cruz November 17, 1847.
- Scott, James, 26, Tallahassee. Discharged at Vera Cruz January 21, 1848, for disability.
- *Scott, William, 23, Tallahassee. Died at Puebla February 1, 1848.
- *Smith, Berry, 22, Newnansville. Died at Vera Cruz October 25, 1847.
- Spear, George, 20, Tallahassee. Deserted at New Orleans in October, 1847.
- *Spear, Robert P., 18, Tallahassee. Died at Puebla February 19, 1848.
- Sprowl, Crawford, 34, Tallahassee. Discharged at Puebla March 14, 1848, on Surgeon's certificate.

- *Stringfellow, William, 44, Newnansville. Died at Vera Cruz, October 10, 1847.
- *Thomas, Nicholas, 23, Alligator. Died at Vera Cruz, December 7, 1847.
- *Tidwell, Dempsey, 27, Tallahassee. Died at Puebla, March 15, 1848.
- Todd, John, 25, Newnansville. Transferred to Curtis' Co. of Texas Rangers (date not entered).
- Triste, George, 18, Tallahassee.
- *Tully, Benjamin F., 18, Tallahassee. Died at Jalapa December 20, 1847.
- Vickas, A., 26, Tallahassee.
- *Vickrey/Vickery, Cuyler, 22, Madison. Died at Jalapa, February 10, 1848.
- Walker, Edward, 19, St. Marks.
- Walker, Freeman S., 18, Tallahassee. Discharged at Jalapa February 6, 1848, on Surgeon's certificate.
- Woodruff, Joseph, 35, Tallahassee. Promoted to Sergeant December 1, 1847. Promoted to Second Lieutenant March 8, 1848.
- Worthington, Granville, 20, Alligator.
- Mustered in after August 13, 1847, with date:**²³
- *Altman, Thomas, 25, Alligator, February 14, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848. Died May 27, 1848.
- Andrews, William, 23, Oak Ridge, December 8, 1847. Never joined the Company. Deserted from Oak Ridge, Fla., March 2, 1848.
- Bensing, Michael, 26, Ft. Call, Fla., February 20, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848.
- Bergaman, Christian, 30, New Orleans, March 27, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848.
- Brown, L. J. A., 26, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. Discharged at Newnansville March 7, 1848, for disability. (J)
- Brown, William, 20, Ft. Call, December 8, 1847. Never joined Company; deserted from Ft. Call February 25, 1848.
- Carroll, Thomas, 30, Newnansville, February 29, 1848. Never joined Company; deserted from Long Pond, Fla., March 4, 1848.
- Cawley, Thomas, 26, Micanopy, December 7, 1847. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848.
- Cherry, William H., 28, Withlacoochee, December 14, 1847. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848.
- Davis, Hagan, 27, Newnansville, March 1, 1848. Joined Company at Jalapa, June 10, 1848.
- *Flintoff, David, 31, New Orleans, March 22, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848. Died at Puebla June 16, 1848.
- *Gill, Joseph S., 27, New Orleans, March 20, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848. Died May 25, 1848.
- Huey, John, 28, Ft. Brooke, January 8, 1848. Never joined Company; discharged at New Orleans January 21, 1848, on Surgeon's certificate.
- *Ingram, Michael, 30, New Orleans, September 1, 1847. Died at Guadalupe December 17, 1847.

23. (J)-Previous service in Johnson's company.

- *Jeffers, M. H., 29, Newnansville, February 29, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla May 7, 1848. Died at Guadalupe June 1, 1848.
- Jenkins, Henry, 24, Ft. Brooke, January 8, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848. (J)
- Knight, Mathew A., 21, Ft. Call, December 5, 1847. Joined Company June 10, 1848, after recovery in hospital at Jalapa.
- McMickle, Dougal, 27, Palatlahaha, January 15, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848.
- Maher, Michael T., 29, Monticello, August 14, 1847. Promoted to First Sergeant (no date.) Returned to ranks March 31, 1848.
- Miller, Herman, 31, Micanopy, December 10, 1847. Never joined Company; deserted from Micanopy February 12, 1848.
- Mink, John C., Ft. Brooke, January 8, 1848. Deserted from Ocala February 1, 1848, (and joined Fisher's Company). (J)
- Mizell, Morgan, 26; Ft. Brooke, January 7, 1848. Did not join Company; sent from hospital at New Orleans to hospital at Jefferson Barracks June 2, 1848.
- *Monsil, Milton W., 32, Flemington, Fla., January 18, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla May 12, 1848 and died at Encero June 14, 1848.
- Moody, Isaac, 22, Micanopy, December 9, 1847. Never joined Company; discharged at New Orleans in June, 1848, for disability.
- Pickett, Joseph W., 21, Ft. Brooke, January 8, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla May 7, 1848.
- Pillens, Benjamin M., 22, Newnansville, February 29, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla May 7, 1848.
- Pool, Samuel S., 22, Newnansville, February 20, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla May 7, 1848.
- Porter, Christopher, 26, Ft. Brooke, January 10, 1848. Never joined Company; discharged at New Orleans for disability.
- *Pryne, Richard, 40, Ft. Brooke, January 8, 1848. Died on return voyage Vera Cruz to New Orleans June 22, 1848.
- Register, Robinson, 20, Ft. Brooke, January 8, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848.
- Riley, Patrick, 27, New Orleans, March 20, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848.
- *Seborl, Nicholas, 31, Ft. Brooke, January 8, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla May 7, 1848. Died on return voyage Vera Cruz to New Orleans, June 19, 1848. (J)
- Stephens, Allen A., 21, Ft. King, January 6, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla May 7, 1848.
- Swinney, Thomas, 22, Newnansville, February 10, 1848. Never joined Company; sent from hospital at New Orleans to hospital at Jefferson Barracks June 2, 1848.
- Taylor, William, 22, Ft. King, January 16, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla May 7, 1848.
- Waters, Isaac, 40, Ft. Foster, January 12, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848.
- Waterston, Robert, 23, Newnansville, March 1, 1848. Never joined Company; sent from New Orleans to hospital at Jefferson Barracks, June 2, 1848.
- West, Ira, 40, Ft. Foster, January 15, 1848. Joined Company at Puebla, May 7, 1848. (J)
- Wilson, John, 35, Carrollton, La., September 4, 1847.

*Wood, Samuel, 19, Tallahassee, Musician, August 18, 1847. Died at Jalapa, February 28, 1848.

Wright, Augustus, 30, Newnansville, March 3, 1848. Joined Company at Jalapa, June 10, 1848.

Recapitulation

Mustered in August 13, 1847, 76; subsequently, 41; aggregate, 117.

Died, 36; discharged for disability, 19; deserted, 7; transferred, 2; total, 64.

Mustered out July 8, 1848: Officers, 4; non-commissioned officers, 8; privates, 41; aggregate, 53.

CLARK'S COMPANY

(Co. K, 13th Infantry, U. S. A.)

This was a composite company recruited both in Florida and elsewhere, but mostly in Florida, "for the duration of the war with Mexico unless sooner discharged," the first enlistment being at St. Augustine April 6, 1847. Recruiting continued through the summer in Florida, and at Philadelphia which was the principal outside station. The full quota was completed in July, and the Florida contingent, accompanied by Major A. G. Johnson of the 13th Infantry, and Captain Henry E. W. Clark and Lieutenant Edward J. Dummett, of Company K, left St. Augustine for Charleston via Savannah, August 2.²⁴ The company remained at Fort Moultrie (Charleston) until mustered into the U. S. Army by Colonel William Whistler of the 4th Infantry, October 15, 1847, and assigned to Company K, 13th Infantry. The Florida contingent only will be considered here; but it must not be forgotten that the outside recruits also joined the company and served with it.

The company embarked at Charleston between October 15 and 18, 1847, and arrived at Vera Cruz after Mexico City had been captured. It was attached to the army of General Twiggs and took post at Vera Cruz for a time, then was sent to

²⁴ St. Augustine *Florida Herald*, Aug. 3, 1847; Jacksonville *News*, Aug. 6, 1847.

Orizaba. It was beset by the same conditions of death and discharge on account of sickness as those of all the other companies there. There were eight deaths in the company, seven of which were in the Florida contingent.

The company remained in Mexico until after the close of the war, and was mustered out as Co. K, 13th Infantry, at Mobile on July 15, 1848, by Robert C. Buchanan, Acting Ins. Gen.

Roster of Clark's Company

(Co. K., 13th Infantry, U. S. A.)

October 15, 1847-July 15, 1848

Officers

Henry E. W. Clark, Captain.

Robert S. Haywood, First Lieutenant. Service with company irregular.

Edward J. Dummett, Second Lieutenant. Absent on leave from December 2, 1847, to April 13, 1848.

Isaac Hulse, Jr., Second Lieutenant. Service with company irregular.

Florida contingent mustered into service at Fort Moultrie, October 15, 1847.

Bigelow, Joseph L., 29, St. Augustine. Promoted to Corporal April 26, 1848.

Black, Edward W., 35, Black Creek. Left sick at Vera Cruz.

Blake, Joshua, 26, Tallahassee.

Boyd, William P., 28, Alligator. Discharged at Vera Cruz, December 31, 1847, on certif. of disability.

Brassard, Francis, 30, St. Augustine. Sergeant.

*Butler, James, 21, Tallahassee. Died at Vera Cruz, January 7, 1848.

*Cater, Abraham C., 34, Newnansville. Died at Vera Cruz December 31, 1847.

Cochran/Cochrane, Barney P., 24, Newnansville.

Crismond/Chrismond, Austin B., Tallahassee. Left sick at Vera Cruz.

Davis, Andrew, 21, Tallahassee. Discharged at Vera Cruz, February 12, 1848, on certif. of disability.

Douglas/Douglass, James, 35, Tallahassee. Escaped when under sentence of death by military court January 20, 1848. Carried as a deserter.

Eaton, William H., 23, Alligator. Appointed Corporal February 3, 1848.

*Filley, Harlow, 35, Newnansville. Died at Orizaba, March 23, 1848.

Grantham, John, 24, Tallahassee. Discharged at Orizaba, April 26, 1848, on certif. of disability.

- *Griffin, Asa, 35, Newnansville. Died at Orizaba. March 18, 1848.
Hallman/Hollman, William H., 25, St. Augustine. Discharged at Vera Cruz, December 31, 1847, on certif. of disability.
Harrison, James M., 20, Tallahassee. Discharged at Orizaba, April 26, 1848, on certif. of disability.
*Howell, William E., 33, St. Augustine. Died at Orizaba, March 18, 1848.
Hust, John, 18, Tallahassee.
Jones, John, 34, Alligator. [Unaccounted for in final muster.]
Kilborn/Kilborne/Kilburn, Theodore, 29, Newnansville.
King, James J., 25, Newnansville.
Lane, Martin L., 23, St. Augustine, Corporal.
Lemack/Lamacks, Charles A., 18, Newnansville, musician. Discharged at New Orleans, May 18, 1848, on certif. of disability.
Low/Lowe, George, 31, Newnansville. Discharged at Orizaba, April 26, 1848, on certif. of disability.
McCall, Thomas W. M., 23, Columbus.
McGuire, William M., 27, Columbus.
McKay, George, 35, Alligator.
Mansfield, Joshua, 35, St. Marys River.
Martin, James A., 26, Newnansville. Appointed Corporal, April 26, 1848.
Miller, James, 35, Micanopy.
Mingell, Henry, 35, Tallahassee, Corporal. Reduced to ranks, April 18, 1848.
*Moody, Thomas J., 30, Newnansville. Died at Orizaba, April 6, 1848.
Moore/More, Thomas C., 26, Alligator. Sick at Fort Moultrie during absence of company in Mexico.
Petty, James, 28, Newnansville. Discharged at Orizaba, April 26, 1848, on certif. of disability.
Scannell, James, 17, St. Augustine, musician.
Sedgewick, John W., 31, Black Creek.
Smith Henrick, 23, St. Augustine. Discharged at Vera Cruz, December 31, 1847, on certif. of disability.
Spear, Benjamin F., 27, Tallahassee, Corporal. Promoted to Q. M. Sergeant and transferred April 3, 1848.
Spellman, John, 27, St. Augustine.
Taylor, Thomas A., 26, Tallahassee. Discharged at Orizaba, April 26, 1848, on certif. of disability.
Tryon, Walter A., 27, Columbus, Sergeant.
Tuttle, Jason, 31, Micanopy, Sergeant. [Unaccounted for in final roll.]
Watson, Hugh T., 29, Tallahassee. Sick at Fort Moultrie during absence of company in Mexico.
Whitcher, John, 27, Newnansville, Corporal. Promoted to Sergeant February 3, 1848.
Whitehurst, Lorenzo D., 22, Micanopy. Discharged at Vera Cruz, March 7, 1848, on certif. of disability.
Whitehurst William L., 24, Micanopy. Discharged at Orizaba, April 26, 1848, on certif. of disability.
Wickham, Horace, 31, Newnansville, Sergeant. Discharged at Orizaba, April 26, 1848 on certif. of disability.
Wiggins, Joseph R. B., 25, Tallahassee. Discharged at National Bridge, Mexico, January 25, 1848, on certif. of disability.

Wimberly, Evans C., 24, Newnansville. Discharged at Orizaba, April 26, 1848, on certif. of disability.
*Wivel, Lewis, 33, Newnansville. Died at Orizaba, April 12, 1848.
Wright, William W., 35, Newnansville.

Mustered in after October 15, 1847:

Keating, Philip, Pensacola. Transferred to 8th Inf., June 21, 1848.
Loftin, Samuel, Pensacola.
McClellan, Charles A., Pensacola.
McMinn, George W., Pensacola.

Recapitulation, Florida Contingent

Mustered in October 15, 1847: Non. com. officers and privates, 52; subsequently, 4; total 56.
Died, 7; discharged for disability, 15; deserted, 1; transferred, 2; unaccounted for, 2; total 27.
Mustered out July 15, 1848: Non. com. officers, 7; musicians, 1; privates, 17; absent sick, 4; total 29.

FISHER'S COMPANY

Fisher's company was largely a reorganization of Johnson's company, the term of which had expired. The new company, under the command of Captain William Fisher, was mustered into service at Fort Brooke (Tampa) by Captain John T. Sprague, 8th Infantry, January 9, 1848, "for the duration of the war with Mexico unless sooner discharged". It remained at Fort Brooke on the same service as its predecessor, and was mustered out there June 30, 1848, by Brevet Major R. D. A. Wade, U. S. A.

Roster of Fisher's Company

January 9, 1848-June 30, 1848

Mustered in at Ft. Brooke on date indicated:

William Fisher, 23, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848, Captain. (J)
John G. Reardon, 29, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848, First Lieutenant. (J)
Virginius A. Pegram, 23, Tallahassee, January 24, 1848, Second Lieutenant. Enrolled by Governor Moseley.
Stimpson, Lindsey, 31, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848, First Sergeant. Elected Second Lieutenant, March 1, 1848.
White, James, 28, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848, Second Sergeant. Promoted to First Sergeant, March 1, 1848. (J)
Prevatt, Joseph, 25, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848, Third Sergeant. Promoted to Second Sergeant. (J)

NOTE: (J)-Previous service in Johnson's Company. (L)-Enrolled in Livingston's Company.

- Putnam, Thomas, 26, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848, Fourth Sergeant. (J)
- McAtherine, J. B., 25, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848, First Corporal. Reduced to ranks February 23, 1848. (J)
- Kyle, W. W. B., 30, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848 Second Corporal. Promoted to Sergeant, March 1, 1848. Reduced to ranks, June 20, 1848. (J)
- Brewer, William L., 26, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848, Third Corporal. Promoted to Sergeant, June 21, 1848. (J)
- Lewis, Richard, 20, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848, Drummer. (J)
- Privates*
- Anders, Jackson L., 20, Benton County, January 9, 1848.
- Ault, Richard, 28, No. 2 Marion County, January 9, 1848.
- Ayre, James, 30, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
- Belote, Lewis, 35, Ft. Walker, February 4, 1848.
- Brown, Benjamin, 20, Newnansville, February 1, 1848.
- Brownlow, Joseph P., 27, Benton County, February 4, 1848.
- Bullard, Henry, 20, Benton County, January 9, 1848.
- Callahan, A. B., 31, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. Discharged for drunkenness. (J)
- Cannaday, Edmund, 23, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
- Cappart, George, 19, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848.
- Carter, Hardy, 26, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
- Carter, William E., 27, Newnansville, February 1, 1848.
- Cochrane, Edward, 25, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
- Cook, James, 26, Ft. Brooke, February 4, 1848. Promoted to Corporal, March 1, 1848. (J)
- Deas, Henry, 20, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
- Dukes, William, 23, Ocala, February 1, 1848. (J)
- Dupree, Jesse C., 21, Marion County, January 9, 1848. Promoted to Corporal June 21, 1848.
- Duval, Alexander F., Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
- Farish, Thomas B., 32, Ft. Brooke, March 8, 1848. (J)
- Farless, John, 27, Benton County, February 4, 1848.
- Felts, William W., 21, Newnansville, February 1, 1848.
- Fletcher, Seymour P., 29, Newnansville, February 1, 1848. Discharged for drunkenness.
- Fritts, William, 30, Ft. Brooke, January 20, 1848. (J)
- Garrard, Alfred, 21, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
- Garrard, Harrison, 27, Ft. Brooke, March 20, 1848. (J)
- Glisson, Bryant, 27, Ft. Harlee, February 1, 1848.
- Guste, Arcène, 26, Ft. Brooke, March 6, 1848.
- Howard, Richard, 30, Ft. Harlee, February 1, 1848.
- Hoy, William, 33, Black Creek, March 20, 1848.
- Ivey, Francis A., 19, Newnansville, February 22, 1848.
- Jerkins, John T., 24, Marion County, January 9, 1848.
- Johns, Isaac, 23, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. Promoted to Corporal, March 1, 1848; reduced to ranks, May 24, 1848. (J)
- Johns, William M., 26, Flemington, Fla., February 1, 1848.
- Jones, Thomas, 25, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848.
- Kirkland, Mitchell, 19, Ft. Harlee, February 1, 1848.
- Kyle, Robert E., 37, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
- Langley, William A., 28, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848.
- Lankford, Wiley, 26, Madison C. H., March 8, 1848.
- Leggett, Oran, 21, Benton County, January 9, 1848.
- Lewis, Daniel, 28, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848.

Lewis, George, 18, Ft. Brooke, March 8, 1848.
Liles, Charles, 25, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. Promoted to Corporal March 1, 1848. (J)
Livingston, John, 19, Madison C. H., February 23, 1848.
Martin, Abraham G., 20, Marion County, January 9, 1848.
Miller, Jacob, 36, Ft. King, March 17, 1848.
Mink, John C., 30, Ocala, February 4, 1848 (L) (J)
Moffitt, Park A., 27, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. Promoted to Corporal; reduced to ranks; restored to rank of Corporal May 25, 1848. (J)
Moody, John F., 22, Marion County, January 9, 1848.
Moore, James, 21, Newnansville March 28, 1848.
Prevatt, John T., 18, Newnansville, February 1, 1848.
Price, Henry, 44, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
Pyburn, Jacob, 44, Ft. Brooke, February 7, 1848. (J)
Rawls, Seaborn W., 19, Wakahoota, February 1, 1848.
Rayborn, John, 21, Madison, February 22, 1848. (J)
Redaught, David J. [or I] 22, Newnansville, February 1, 1848.
Sheppard, William H., 43, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848.
Slade, Elisha W., 32, Newnansville, February 1, 1848.
Smith, Levi, 21[?], Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
Stanford, Cornelius, 23, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
Stewart, John, 23, Jasper, January 9, 1848.
Strobel, David L., 21, Newnansville, February 1, 1848.
Thrower, John T., 31, Newnansville, February 10, 1848.
Tormey, Michael, 25, Ft. Brooke, January 9, 1848. (J)
Williams, Isaac N., 40, Columbus, Fla., February 24, 1848.
Williams, John, 30, Columbia County, February 28, 1848.

Recapitulation

Mustered in January 9, 1848, 40; subsequently, 36; aggregate, 76. Discharged, 2.
Mustered out June 30, 1848: Officers, 4; non-commissioned officers, 8; privates, 62; aggregate, 74.

FLORIDA RESPONDS

So runs the record of Florida's military participation in the Mexican war. The words of Governor Moseley to the legislature in November 1847 rang true: "Notwithstanding a combination of influences, all having a direct tendency to dampen the ardor, diminish the resources, and paralyze the energies of our fellow citizens for many consecutive years, they [the volunteers] have gallantly rallied to their country's call in numbers proportionate to our military strength, that will bear an enviable comparison with any of the Sovereignities of our great Republic."

Florida contributed also Lieutenant Colonel W. W. Loring, who achieved great distinction in the war; his record can be found in most of the encyclopedias of American biography. Other residents of the State probably enlisted in the regular army or navy individually, or for reasons of personal sentiment in volunteer companies of other states-such circumstances place them outside the scope of this account; but they likewise were patriots serving their country in time of need.

THE PROPOSED DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY OF FLORIDA

by **WALTER MARTIN**

Florida was ceded to the United States by Spain in 1821 as two quite separate provinces, East and West Florida. East Florida had grown up in the St. Johns river section and around the ancient city of St. Augustine. Bathed in Spanish tradition and custom, this section felt no dependence on or interest in West Florida which was centered some 400 miles to the west at Pensacola. There were virtually no towns between the two capitals, and most of the vast wilderness between St. Augustine and Pensacola was inhabited by Indians who were none too friendly. By nature the two provinces stood apart and very little understanding existed between them. Evidently, no great amount of intercourse took place between East and West Florida since travel was slow and uncertain and even years later mail took 30 days in passage from St. Augustine to Pensacola.¹

With the coming of civil government and the governorship of William P. Duval in 1822, a union of East and West Florida was effected. It was the solution to an economic problem since one territory was less burdensome than two upon the public treasury. However, the union of the Floridas continued to present the problem of distance and unity. The first Legislative Council met in Pensacola in 1822, and members from East Florida experienced much difficulty in traveling more than 400 miles to attend the session. In 1823 the Council met in St. Augustine, and the West Florida dele-

1. *St. Augustine News*, June 19, 1840.

gates went through the same hardships. Apparently the situation could be remedied with the construction of a government center half-way between the two cities. Tallahassee, the capital city, was established in 1824 but East Florida continued to remain distinctly disunited from West Florida and the new middle Florida in territorial ties.

The alienation was heightened when West Florida began to act in a friendly manner to her northern neighbor, Alabama. In truth the state of Alabama had encouraged the feeling by passing through its legislative body on December 18, 1821 a resolution asking the Congress of the United States to annex to that state all of Florida west of the Apalachicola river. The resolution added that it was "for the good of the people" concerned that such a step be taken.² The resolution actually got nowhere in Congress, but it presented a solution for West Florida in case East Florida brought about a division at either the Suwannee or Apalachicola rivers. A great many new residents of West Florida favored annexation with Alabama, but the older citizens, many of them Spanish, drew up a set of resolutions asking Congress not to consider the Alabama proposal.³

There was no doubt that East Florida was determined to part from her sister, for on November 26, 1822 a public meeting was held in St. Augustine for the purpose of drawing up a petition to be sent to Congress on subjects connected with and concerning the welfare of the territory. The first article of the memorial dealt with the proposal to re-divide East Florida from West Florida.⁴ No official action was taken, but on January 28, 1823 the Florida dele-

2. Library of Congress, *House of Representative Files*, Dec. 18, 1821.

3. L. C., *H. R. Files*, Feb. 23, 1822.

4. *St. Augustine News*, June 19, 1840.

gate to Congress, Mr. Hernandez, introduced a resolution prepared by a group of St. Augustine inhabitants asking that Florida be formed into two separate territorial governments. The proposal, however, met defeat in the Judiciary committee, to which it was referred.⁵ Soon afterward the *East Florida Herald*, published in St. Augustine, opened fire on the *Pensacola Gazette* and declared for division outright. The Herald argued that West Florida deprived Alabama of a sea-coast, therefore a union of the two was in order and long overdue.⁶ This irked the Pensacolians. Despite the flare-up, no other attempt was made at this time to secure division through Congressional channels. However, the feeling of division remained ever alive within the state and the flames were periodically fanned through the columns of the newspapers.

It was not until 1837 that the question of division again took a prominent place in Florida affairs. The people of the territory were beginning to think of the responsibilities of statehood, many of them being in favor of immediate entrance into the Union. On the other hand most of the East Floridians were holding out that they wanted no part in the movement for statehood. In fact all they wanted was peace through separation from West Florida. Their chief argument was that they were a poor section, and since the federal government provided well for the territory, there was no reason to launch out on an expensive experiment. Their cardinal hope in remaining a territory lay in the fact that the 1830 census gave Florida only 35,000 inhabitants, including blacks. An act of Congress had increased the population number for one representative to 47,700 ; so, excluding blacks, Florida would have

5. *Ibid.*

6. *East Florida Herald*, April 12, 1823.

only about half the required population.⁷ It was a good point on which to argue, anyway.

On February 5, 1838 a group of leading citizens of St. Augustine composed of P. S. Smith, W. G. Davis, J. M. Hanson, F. L. D'Ancy, J. S. Sanchez, and B. Segui drew up a set of resolutions voicing to a great extent the feeling of East Florida against continued union of the two sections. The memorial cited the great distance between Pensacola and St. Augustine, and also recalled that from the days of Spanish occupation the two towns had been capitals of distinctly different provinces. Tallahassee was deemed as a most unsatisfactory capital by the committee, since it was 250 miles from extreme West Florida, 750 miles from extreme East Florida, and 200 miles from the nearest point on the Atlantic. The governmental set-up in Tallahassee had been anything but pleasing to East Florida from the beginning.

By summertime of 1838 the agitation in East Florida for separation from Middle and West Florida had gained considerable momentum. The Jacksonville weekly paper, *The Courier*, aligned itself with the *St. Augustine News* in support of the proposed division, while the editor of the *Pensacola Gazette* compared this movement in East Florida to the nullification movement in South Carolina.⁸

The question became involved in politics during the same summer when the *St. Augustine Herald* declared that Charles Downing, the Congressional delegate, was for division of the state; to which the *Pensacola Gazette* replied, "We are sorry to hear it. It is not to be denied that Florida has a most unfortunate geographical conformation, but if Colonel Downing is for separation we venture to

7. *East Florida Herald*, April 12, 1837.

8. *Pensacola Gazette*, August 18, 1838.

predict that at the next election the territory will not be for him." ⁹

Despite the opposition, mainly in East Florida, to continued union of Florida and the formation of a state government, a convention was held at St. Joseph in December 1838 for the purpose of framing a constitution. By February the document had been drafted and provisions were made for the newly written constitution to be placed before the people in the May election.

The delegates at the St. Joseph convention were unanimous in their opinion that all sectional differences should be forgotten and that everyone should work for Florida's early entrance into the Union undivided. Even some of the staunch East Florida delegates were converted, and on January 11, 1839 a special committee of the convention strongly urged Congress to consider Florida's urgent pleas for statehood. Among the signers of that memorial were several outstanding East Floridians, including Robert R. Reid and David Levy. ¹⁰

Congress was considerably confused on January 31, 1839 when a petition arrived from Florida voicing exactly opposite views from the petition of January 11. The latest memorial was from Florida's Legislative Council, a good many of whom were not members of the convention. This request, which was signed by some who had previously been much opposed to territorial division, insisted that "the necessity of keeping up the balance of power renders this division extremely interesting to the whole South." ¹¹

For several months prior to the election a battle waged between the editors of the *St. Augustine News* and the *Pensacola Gazette*. The *Gazette* editor felt

9. *Pensacola Gazette*, August 25, 1838.

10. L. C., *H. R. Files*, Jan. 11, 1839.

11. *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1839.

that his loyalty was due the people of his section in their hopes for a united territory. The *St. Augustine News* voiced the sentiment of East Florida for an immediate division of the territory. St. Augustine was envious, and naturally she would be, since she had for so long been the seat of government for much of Florida and a center of interest for the entire territory. With the coming of new influences and new interests the ancient capital was overshadowed by the growth of other towns. East Florida looked upon this change with a degree of discontent, because the prosperity that was once centered there now belonged to other sections. The *Pensacola Gazette* commented as follows : "Instead of rejoicing in the prosperity and increasing population of Florida, and the near approach of that day when she may assume the position of an independent state--St. Augustine sighs for the return of those days when she was all of Florida, and all Florida was comprised in her."¹²

St. Augustine sought aid from other Southern states in her fight for division, because the separation of the two sections would necessitate two territorial governments, and later two new states devoted to the institution of slavery. A considerable number of people favored division for this reason, and since the South was so intent on keeping a balance of power in Congress, this added considerable strength to the side of the divisionists.¹³

Too, East Florida had felt much more heavily than West Florida the devastations of the Seminole War, making it less feasible for her to take over the responsibilities and expenses which were incidental to state sovereignty. Therefore she argued for time in which to become reconstructed before

12. *Apalachicola Gazette*, January 1, 1840.

13. National Archives : State Dept., *Miscellaneous Letters*, Feb. 14, 1840.

considering such a measure. Middle and West Florida possessed more wealth, and naturally clung tenaciously to the idea that the entrance of Florida into the Union as a single state would best serve the interest of all sections.¹⁴

As election time approached in May 1839, Florida was apprehensive. There had been a clear battle-line drawn, and one was either for the constitution, continued union of East and West Florida and statehood; or he was against the constitution and believed Florida should be divided into two territories. Most people were staunch in their convictions, but there was much changing of mind and loyalty in the months before the election. In addition to voting on statehood, the people had also to cast a ballot for a delegate to represent Florida in the Congress of the United States. Among the candidates were Downing, Baltzell, and White. Most of the public attention was given to Colonel Downing who was from East Florida. He had already been stamped by the *St. Augustine News* as a staunch "divisionist", but politician as he was, he had been successful in allaying any hostility in West Florida. Early election returns gave indication as to where Downing's strength was centered, for he polled 239 votes in the city of St. Augustine, while only 9 votes were divided between his two opponents, Baltzell and White. His strength was not so great in West Florida, but he received enough votes there to win the election. Obviously the ancient city knew that Downing would subscribe to their desires during his next term. Continuing to act as a unit, St. Augustine rejected the constitution by a similar landslide, 224 voted against it and only 24 voted for the new document.¹⁵ The *St. Augustine*

14. *St. Augustine News*, February 16, 1839.

15. *St. Augustine News*, May 11, 1839.

News jumped to a hasty conclusion and proclaimed that the constitution had been defeated all over Florida, assuming that all Florida would vote as did St. Augustine.¹⁶ The *Pensacola Gazette* was slow to believe the constitution had been defeated, but the *Apalachicola Gazette* early gave in to defeat by the divisionists, and expressed violently its disapproval of the action taken at the polls by those who helped in the supposed defeat.¹⁷

Defeat of the newly written constitution was generally acknowledged throughout the territory by the second week in June, but this was due to insufficient election news and confused ideas that originated from vague newspaper stories. The editor of the *Pensacola Gazette*, in accepting the defeat, sounded a note of optimism with hopes that the constitution would be accepted when the state became more populous.¹⁸

It was not until September 1839, some four months after the election, that the complete returns were made known. Contrary to prevailing opinion, the constitution had been accepted rather than ; rejected by a majority of 111 votes. There had been some difficulty in counting the votes, as there had been no uniform system of ballots, and apparently some of the misrepresentation of facts concerning the returns originated within the Whig party which had considerable strength in Florida. The banking system, though already a partial failure, was favored by the Whigs. Since the new constitution offered no assistance or financial aid to the banks, a sound defeat of it meant more to the Whigs than its acceptance. In some respects the acceptance of the new constitution showed that public opinion in Florida was against the banks. Judge Reid, of

16. *St. Augustine News*, May 25, 1839.

17. *Apalachicola Gazette*, June 1, 1839.

18. *Pensacola Gazette*, June 8, 1839.

St. Augustine, a strong anti-bank advocate, was one of the influential delegates at the convention, and it was through his efforts that no pro-bank sentiment found its way into the pages of the constitution.¹⁹

Naturally there were many disgruntled people throughout East Florida when the final returns were made known. West and Middle Florida had succeeded in their efforts. The next question of importance was that of Florida's statehood. There was much speculation as to when the Congress of the United States might pass the act bringing the entire state into the Union. The treaty of cession with Spain which took effect in 1821 guaranteed to the Floridas the right to establish an independent, sovereign state government consistent with the principles of the Federal constitution, and after the inhabitants accepted the newly written constitution, it was expected that the territory would soon be admitted to the Union, for refusal of Congress to do so would be a violation of the treaty.²⁰ There was little doubt that Congress would delay in accepting Florida. The *Pensacola Gazette* declared on December 14, 1839: "If Congress passes this act for our admission, which there is little doubt but what will be done this winter, we necessarily enter at once upon state government under the new constitution."²¹ Very few Floridians had considered what a great undertaking it was to set up the machinery for a state government. Some thought it could be accomplished overnight. The *Pensacola Gazette* warned that persons opposing the new constitution had not much time to fall in line, for if the act of Congress be passed and there continued

19. *St. Augustine News*, September 13, 1839.

20. *Apalachicola Gazette*, November 23, 1839.

21. *Pensacola Gazette*, December 14, 1839.

to be resistance, then revolution would follow.²² But Congress was not ready for Florida's entrance into the Union just yet, and Florida herself was not certain over issues of statehood, despite the fact that a new constitution had been written and half-heartedly accepted.

Because the year 1840 was a presidential election year, there loomed the possibility of the Southern Democrats attempting to sponsor Florida's entrance into the Union in order to get the vote of the state in the November election. Too much opposition had accumulated in East Florida to hope for immediate approval of statehood in that section, so the statehood enthusiasts immediately began working for separate entrances of West and Middle Florida into the Union at once. This still meant division of the territory and the *Floridian* of Tallahassee and the *Times* of St. Joseph simultaneously entered the arena and denounced the division with unlimited abuse. At the same time the St. Augustine and Jacksonville newspapers heralded the new proposal for division, while all hopes of early settlement of the controversy were shattered and animosities were once more reopened.

The early months of 1840 saw more petitions pouring into Washington over this controversy than at any previous time, all of which no doubt tended to confuse Congress as to the true opinion of the Florida people. The first of these 1840 petitions was probably the most elaborate, having been drawn up by the committee of the lower house of the Territory relative to statehood and division of the Territory and adopted by that body. The petition pointed out that nine-tenths of the people of Florida actually wanted Statehood, and that it was certain that had a vote been taken in the territory prior

22. *Ibid.*, December 14, 1839.

to the Seminole War and before many people had been driven away from their homes that the vote for statehood would have been unanimous. And further, said the report concerning Florida's 'insufficient population', "The provision that a state should have at least one member (in U. S. House of Representatives), although her population might be below 30,000 shows it was not considered necessary that all should have that number. Could it be urged if Rhode Island or Delaware should have her population decreased to 29,900 by war or pestilence she would lose her Representatives and Senators in Congress, and be expelled from the Union?"²³

The Senate of the Territorial Council also sent an urgent request to Congress, heartily endorsing the sentiment expressed by the territorial House of Representatives.²⁴ Governor Reid was at this time working most ardently for statehood, as was Colonel Downing, the Congressional delegate. Despite the fact that both of these men were from East Florida, they realized the dangers of division of the territory. In the first place disunion meant further, postponement of statehood, all of which hindered Florida's progress.

Another petition that had more backing than had been expected came from "several hundred of the East Floridians" on April 22, 1840. They implored Congress "to grant to East Florida her ancient birthright-Division-independent of the policy or action of the Middle and West . . . The God of nature has made the Suwannee river the dividing line. . . ."²⁶

23. NA:SD, *Misc. Letters*, Feb. 14, 1840.

24. *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1840.

25. *St. Joseph Times*, Aug. 6, 1840.

26. L. C., *H. R. Files*, April 22, 1840.

West Florida refused to stand silently by and let East Florida do all of the talking. She preferred a unified territory and subsequently statehood for Florida, but it was beginning to look doubtful if her preferences would ever be accepted. The sentiment, for division seemed to be growing, so rather than be left a dangling territory between the Perdido and Suwannee rivers, a large number of citizens gathered in Pensacola on May 25, 1840 and drew up a strong memorial asking Congress to annex that section to Alabama, since Alabama had some years before asked that West Florida be included in her borders. Their argument was most convincing and included the following points (1) All of the West Florida rivers rise in Alabama, therefore Alabama should not be deprived of markets on the gulf. (2) Such a union would not be in violation of the Treaty with Spain. (3) West Florida's industry would be greatly increased through intercourse with Alabama. (4) Union of West Florida and Alabama would leave East Florida alone to enter the Union when she wished, thereby solving the whole problem.²⁷

Out of these petitions there came a bill which was introduced into Congress and the showdown had come. It called for division at the Suwannee river. Much debate resulted, and before the vote on the bill took place the divisionists were noticeably losing ground. In fact, they never did enjoy much favor in Washington, and now their strength in Florida was on the wane. In the late spring Congress defeated the division bill, and as the smoke of the heated battle cleared away a law was passed to the effect that whenever Florida shall have been fully admitted as a State of the Union, it should be lawful for the legislature to divide it into two

27. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1840.

states, making the Suwannee river the dividing line.²⁸ That was final, in fact too final for the ardent divisionists. Florida, then, must come into the Union as a whole or not come in at all ; so Congress continued to refuse her statehood status.

The lull that followed this definite Congressional action brought forth fresh animosities between the *Pensacola Gazette* and the *St. Augustine News*. The News editor, ever-ready for a good fight, began to thrust accusations at Governor Reid for lending his support to West Florida.²⁹ Reid had at one time resided in St. Augustine but his actions now were denounced by that section. The *Pensacola Gazette* came to Reid's aid with the information that in the St. Joseph convention all the delegates from East Florida stood shoulder to shoulder with the friends of state government from West Florida, and not until it was found that the population of Florida was less than suspected did East Florida begin to fight for division.³⁰ It was clear that East Florida had deserted Reid, but the Governor was called a deserter of East Florida.

Early in 1841 the people of St. Augustine sent to the Legislative Council another memorial, asking that this body go on record as favoring division, which action indicated that the territory continued to be badly split over the issue. Congress gave little heed to any of the fresh controversy, and apparently preferred to wait on a united feeling of the territory before taking any definite step. Florida needed unity and harmonious feeling more than ever before. Divided as she was and at the same time experiencing a horrible Indian war, she could never expect an era of prosperity. An

28. *St. Joseph Times*, Aug. 6, 1840.

29. *St. Augustine News*, January 29, 1841.

30. *Pensacola Gazette*, February 6, 1841.

earnest appeal for good feeling between the two sections was made by the Committee on the State of the Territory in which it was pointed out that the people of the territory had voted several times on the issue.³¹ Each time more sentiment had been raised against admission, all of which Congress no doubt took into consideration, since there continued to be no definite action from that body. Each time a request came from some group to Congress asking that Florida be soon admitted to the Union, there always followed a protest from another group asking that the territory keep its *status quo*. What must Congress do? And how must Florida's representatives in Congress act?

The division sympathists soon realized that their efforts were futile. Their fight was almost finished -but not quite so long as the *St. Augustine News* was in existence. On May 28, 1842 the editor of that paper brought forth a new angle on the controversy when he stated, "We maintain and stand ready to prove under legal commission that the constitution was rejected, not carried, in the popular vote of the territory. At one poll in the East, there were 56 packed fraudulent votes thrown for the constitution by non-resident timber cutters. This settles the rejection without stopping to examine the glaring omission, informalities and illegality of the 'returns' and of the 'canvass' tested by the statute passed expressly to regulate those proceedings."³² It was a bold statement to make, but it caused reverberations throughout the territory, and obviously had some influence in extreme West Florida, for in Escambia county, the people of Pensacola who had always wanted

31. *The Journal of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida*, 19th Session, (1841), p. 142.

32. *St. Augustine News*, May 25, 1842.

statehood status suddenly began to plea for delay in Florida's admission to the Union. It was most disappointing and confusing to Tallahassee and Middle Florida, who remained true to the cause long fought for. On July 2 there was published a resolution drawn up by C. Evans, acting as chairman of a committee, which stated, "we deem it premature and inexpedient at the present gloomy period to adopt any measure towards establishing a state government . . . As it appears the people of Florida are not able to meet the current expenses of the territory; common prudence and wisdom should admonish us to look well before we leap into a state government." ³³

Despite the fact that West Florida had at different times favored union with Alabama, the action at this time was most unexpected. She had never definitely joined hands with the East. It was suspected without much question that St. Augustine had a great deal to do with the creation of Escambia's new policy. Consequently the *Pensacola Gazette* softened up somewhat from its former non-appeasement policy to state: "We are for admittance into the Union but our population is so few we would have very little voice in the government." ³⁴

Middle Florida braced herself to make a more determined fight for immediate admission and demanded that Congress take action lest she set up a government of her own. ³⁵ After all, Middle Florida with Tallahassee her chief town, was the heart of the future state. Only one interest was alive in the capital city-that of statehood. Pensacola and St. Augustine were towns of the past,

33. *St. Augustine News*, July 2, 1842.

34. *Pensacola Gazette*, May 21, 1842.

35. *Pensacola Gazette*, May 14, 1842.

both clinging to tradition and sentiment. The old order had given away to the new, for the division controversy was slowly dying. Congress had decided what to do, and it was apparent that Florida would never be admitted as two states. In fact, that had been previously stated. Neither was Florida to have any voice as to the exact time of her entrance into the Union. Congress had that settled, too. The Florida constitution had met with congressional approval and though the bickerings of East and West Florida attracted an unusual amount of attention throughout the South, the distinguished body in Washington paid little heed to any faction except the non-slave-holding element of the North.

The North had cemented a common feeling against admission of any new slave-holding state in the South, so there was nothing for Congress to do but wait for the entrance of a non-slave-holding state to offset slave-holding Florida.³⁶ A compromise was in the making with Iowa; the balance had to be kept, and with Iowa's entrance the North favored the same treatment for Florida. Congress had definitely settled upon this procedure. The year 1842 passed; the new constitution was now about four years old, but Florida was still a territory.

While people of the territory became resigned to their period of waiting, most of the old animosities died down between the two sections, but occasionally there appeared some enthusiasm in St. Augustine to revive the issue. The editor of the *St. Augustine News* sponsored a gathering of St. Johns citizens occasionally in an attempt to muster fresh enthusiasm. One or two "division meetings" were held at Newnansville in Alachua county, and another in Palatka, but the passion of the divisionists

36. *Pensacola Gazette*, May 21, 1842.

was spent.³⁷ The issue offered no challenge, except in the case of a few individuals. It had long before run its course. Since the slavery issue and Florida's entrance into the Union became so inextricably involved, it became a case of Florida's waiting until Iowa could be accepted by Congress.

Finally on February 10, 1845, a bill for the admission of Florida into the Union was given to the House of Representatives. The bill carried with it, however, several clauses that caused argument and controversy. As introduced, it provided for two states, East and West Florida, but this feature was stricken out by a 123 to 77 vote.³⁸ Congress had previously settled that point. Other provisions in the bill, one to prohibit the Florida legislature from ever abolishing slavery, and another which prohibited any free negroes from landing in either of the Florida ports, were objected to and finally voted out. David Levy (Yulee), Florida's congressional delegate, led the warm and exciting debates. The bill of admission was passed in March 1845, by a 145 to 34 vote, and at the same time Iowa took her place in the Union as a free state.³⁹ It favored the North as well as the South. Florida was at last unified into one state as part of the American Union, just as the majority of her people had long wished for her to be.

37. *Pensacola Gazette*, May 21, 1842.

38. *St. Augustine News*, March 1, 1845.

39. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1845.

BRITISH AND SPANISH FORTIFICATIONS OF PENSACOLA, 1781-1821

by STANLEY FAYE

Late in the war for the independence of the United States, Spain joined France and this country in their contest with British power. The Spanish commandant of St. Louis sent a company across the Illinois prairies to attack a British post beyond Lake Michigan; a larger force from New Orleans occupied the district of Baton Rouge and other western regions of British West Florida, and in March 1781 the governor of Spanish Louisiana came by land and sea and laid siege to British Pensacola.

A small fort and adjacent buildings made the height of Barrancas appear like a small town.¹ A blockhouse overlooked the sands of Aguero, which the British called Tartar Point,² and which is the present-day site of the Naval Air Station. Officers and men to a total of 139 garrisoned Barrancas and served its eleven guns, including five 32-pounders.³ Another British detachment of sufficient size could not be spared to defend the old Spanish blockhouse on Santa Rosa island,⁴ whose artillery, despite its distant position, had held the entrance channel within range. The Spanish invader was later to assert in retrospect that the British had not appreciated the value of cross-fire between Barrancas and Point Siguenza.⁵

1. Bernard Romans, *A concise natural history of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775), appendix, lxxiii.
2. Vicente Davila, ed., *Archivo del General Miranda* (Caracas, 15 v. to 1938), I, 180-181.
3. Bernardo de Galvez, *Diario de las operaciones de la expedicion contra la Plaza de Panzacola* . . . [Havana, 1781], 33.
4. Cf. Romans, *op. cit.*, appendix, lxxii.
5. "una bateria . . . que con poco conocimiento de su utilidad, habian abandonado los enemigos :” Galvez, *op. cit.*, 4; cf. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* where there is a translation of the work. I (1917-1918), 48.

With astonishment the officers aboard armed Spanish transports found no British force to contest their landing on Santa Rosa, but only three dismantled gun barrels and the half-demolished stockade that had been a blockhouse. Eight Spanish guns soon commanded the anchorage behind Santa Rosa and six 24-pounders formed a battery on Siguenza.⁶ With continued astonishment the Spaniards took their vessels almost uninjured into the bay through a spray of gunfire from atop Barrancas. When small boats laden with troops left Santa Rosa for the landing place east of Barrancas, British soldiers set fire to the blockhouse of Tartar Point and retired to the height.

Now the Spaniards abandoned their projected attack against Barrancas.⁷ This British defence for the channel was a stockade smaller than the former San Carlos crowning the crest nearly three hundred yards east of the mound that the Spaniards had chosen as a cemetery, and, unlike San Carlos, it stood within a ditch.⁸ Left alone it could do little harm, as the Spaniards had proved; but its ditch, its walls, its heavy artillery would offer resistance to attack by land; so the Spanish army hastened up the bay to besiege the defences of the town.

Some 1200 yards north of the old Spanish plaza in Pensacola. Gage Hill rises 300 yards in width and extends northwestward. On the southeast end of the hill, commanding the town, the British had built Fort George with a hornwork descending

6. Galvez, *op. cit.*, 4-5 ; *Archivo del General Miranda*, I, 141-144, 179-180.

7. *Archivo del General Miranda*, I, 145.

8. There is a contemporaneous manuscript detailed plan of this battery and stockade in the library of J. C. Yonge, Pensacola; cf. Folch to Perchet, Oct. 5, in Perchet to Salcedo, Oct 11, under Hasset to Salcedo and Casa Calvo, June 23, 1803; *Archivo General de Indias*, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2368. All legajos (parcels) cited below are also among the. Papeles de Cuba.

southward to two blockhouses on the road that led westward to Mobile.⁹ Northwestward from Fort George, Gage Hill slopes upward twenty-two feet¹⁰ in 900 yards to a point that was too far distant for defence of the town but that dominated the southeastward trend of the hill.

Fort George defended the town. To defend Fort George there stood on that upper height, looking over low land toward the west, the redoubt of the Queen, (D of Plan . . .) a circular battery flanked on north and south by far recurving wings of parapet that made it a crescent redan advanced. Three hundred yards below the Queen,¹¹ 600 yards above Fort George, the oblate, almost circular redoubt of the Prince of Wales (E of *Plan* . . .) functioned as a less advanced redan without wings. Spanish engineers would have built an outwork such as either of these two in the form of a *medialuna* or halfmoon with rearward diameter wall extending a little way beyond as wings, as if to counterfeit a gigantic hat with the brim turned up at one side. Both these redans the Spaniards recognized as *medialunas*.

Thirteen hundred English, Irish, Anglo-American and Hessian or Waldeck troops defended the outworks and Fort George, and during six weeks a Spanish force increasing to more than 6,000 men besieged them without avail. Then a Spanish shell, dropping into the powder magazine, made the Queen's redoubt untenable and while surviving defenders retired to the Prince of Wales the Spaniards possessed themselves of the dominating height. Thus Fort George on the lower slope was untenable,

9. Cf. *Plan of the Siege of Fort George*, following. (C)

10. Masot's report of Jan. 27 annexed to Masot to Cienfuegos, Feb. 1, 1817, legajo 1874.

11. *Archivo del General Miranda*, I, 174.

[Legend on PLAN . . .]*

PLAN of the Siege of Fort GEORGE
and works adjacent at Pensacola
in West Florida, 1781

REFERENCES

- A The Town of Pensacola,
B old Garrison stockaded,
C Fort GEORGE and Lines, &c, &c, &c.
D Advanced Redout
E Middle Redout
F Ground on which the Spaniards first appeared (!) the 30
March, but being that day repulsd by the Indians sup-
ported by regular troops, they coverd themselves the
night following,
H erected the redouts I and entrenched their camp K from
which they removed the 13 Aprill to L ; from, whence,
after having secured their camp they opened the Trenches
the 28', and the 2' May opened the Batterie M of Six
24 pdrs. and three thirteen ynch Mortars, the gun Batterie
being directed towards the Redouts D and E, the Mortar
Batteries towards Fort George and lines.
N Redout, with 3 nine pds to clear the low and opposite ground
from yndians, and to cover the approaches U.
P A Batterie of 2 Howitz and 2 Mortar, opened by the Ennemy
the 6th of May, and incessantly throwing shells in the
Redout,
Q a Batterie of nine 24 prs ready to be opened, when the
redout D blow up the 8 of May.
by Henry Heldring
Capit: Lieut: in the 3rd Regmt.
of Waldeck, & acting Engineer at
Pensacola

* The original of this plan is in the General Clinton Papers, the
William L. Clements Library of Americana, the University
of Michigan, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

and the British were compelled to surrender it and Pensacola.¹²

By a treaty effected in Europe later the British transferred East Florida and West Florida to Spain again in 1783. West Florida received no governor or commandant-general of its own but was administered as if it were a part of Louisiana, which was a dependency of Havana except during a brief time. Unlike the Mexican commandants of old Pensacola, Governor de Galvez from New Orleans beheld an embarrassment of riches now in the fortifications he had won for his king. The fort of Barrancas was permitted to stand as long as it could within its protective ditch. The Spaniards who knew Gage Hill as Mount San Miguel gave to Fort George the name Fort San Miguel. The Prince of Wales battery became Fort Sombrero, and what remained of the Queen's redoubt took the name Fort San Bernardo to honor Bernardo de Galvez.¹³

This latter fort can have gained its new name only after the Spaniards had made an important decision. The king could not afford to keep up three forts on Mount San Miguel, so what one of the works on the hill should be preserved in service? The ditch-encircled, double stockade with terreplein¹⁴ that had been Fort George and its hornwork defended the town but could not defend itself. The upper, or crescent, battery, likewise a double stockade of wood and sand,¹⁵ could not defend the town; since it could defend itself and also the more im-

12. Galvez, *op. cit.*, *passim*; *Archivo del General Miranda*, I, 160-191.

13. There is a contemporaneous manuscript map, of unknown origin, of the bay, the town, and all of these forts during the second Spanish period in the library of J. C. Yonge, Pensacola.

14. *Archivo del General Miranda*, I, 166, 184; Galvez, *op. cit.*, 32; Masot's report of Jan. 27, 1817, legajo 1874.

16. ***Relacion del estado de las Plazas Fuertes***, April 18, 1793, legajo 178.

portant honor of His Catholic Majesty it enjoyed at least political value. Fort George in its quality of Fort San Miguel was left to its own devices. The middle battery became a memory. The crescent redoubt, repaired to be Fort San Bernardo, decayed less quickly than San Miguel while it blocked approach from the northwest.

Protected on the north by a swamp but commanded on the east by an unfortified hill the well-built frame houses¹⁶ of Pensacola, nearly two hundred in number,¹⁷ occupied a space about one mile along the bayside and about a quarter-mile back from the water front, made narrow at both ends by curving arroyos that defined it on east and west. Within a central esplanade some thirty acres in area the old pine stockade of the presidio, patched with pickets of the cypress called cedar,¹⁸ had lasted until the year 1775; to take its place, and more than its place, the British had built then a larger but similar stockade of "cedar" pickets with demi-bastions for musketry to add at least an appearance of strength to the circuit.¹⁹ (B on *Plan* . . .) Within the stockade three of the four batteries on the water front now needed rebuilding; the fourth and most westerly had risen anew on the ruins caused by a recent storm.²⁰

The prospect of 1781 included no storm of warfare for the moment to threaten Pensacola. San Bernardo seemed to suffice as the only bulwark of a town much reduced in population. In 1788 a

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16. Juan Jose Elixio de la Puente, *Plano de la Principal Parte del Puerto de S. Maria de Galves de Panzacola*, Nov. 22, 1768, Madrid, Guerra, L. M. 8a 1a, a, 20.
 17. Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1812), 118.
 18. Elixio de la Puente, *Plano*.
 19. Thomas Hutchins, *An Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West Florida* (Philadelphia, 1784), 77.
 20. B. Plan of the Siege of Pensacola.

veteran of 1781 who had succeeded Galvez as governor in New Orleans recommended abandoning Pensacola and establishing at the entrance to the bay such fortifications as would prevent the establishment there of a foreign naval base or invasion by enemy privateers.²¹ The royal government approved this proposal but took no practical action. In March 1793 Spain entered into a European war that might perhaps test the worth of Gulf coast defences. Within a year the population of Pensacola had dwindled to four hundred.²²

Before news of war reached New Orleans another governor of Louisiana considered preparations for such an event. He estimated at half a million dollars the cost of fortifications already proposed for Barrancas. He himself thought it preferable to spend one-fifth of that sum in repairing the old British Fort George, rather than the almost equally ruinous San Bernardo, and in building for a garrison of forty men a brick redoubt atop Barrancas with a battery at water level. A double stockade on Santa Rosa for eighty men and ten 18-pounder guns would cost perhaps \$24,000 extra, if fully enclosed and equipped, and another \$6,000 or more would repair the town wall and the government houses of Pensacola ; Pensacola bay thus improved could withstand a siege, the governor thought, until help should come from Havana.²³

European warfare ceased so quickly that this colonial project resulted in no more than a mount of guns on Siguenza with a parapet on the water side only (founded, perhaps, on piles driven into the sand.) When in October 1796 Spain declared

21. Morales to Gomez Rumbaud, June 1, 1807, citing Miro to Indias, Aug. 8, 1788, legajo 2356.

22. Stoddard, *op. cit.*, 118.

23. **Relacion del estado de las Plazas Fuertes**, April 18, 1793, legajo 178.

war against Great Britain the governor's 18-pounders had not yet reached Pensacola. In New Orleans in the following February the governor called a council of war. For Pensacola bay it was decided to enclose completely the 7-gun stockade on Siguenza and to begin work below Barrancas on the masonry and the stockade wings of the projected 7-gun low battery or medialuna, already named San Antonio.²⁴

Thus the governor acknowledged a fact perceived in 1781 when the vessels of Bernardo de Galvez had passed through a harmless spray of gunfire. The British cannon of Barrancas had gained additional range from their dominating height, but that same height made inaccurate the gunners' aim against any point on the water level of the channel. A battery below Barrancas, with complementary guns on Siguenza, would perform such a task as that in which the British artillery atop Barrancas had failed.²⁵

Though the battery of San Antonio should be authorized, as soon it was, by the king of Spain, a problem still existed. San Antonio, defending the harbor entrance, could not defend itself from the rear. Therefore on the height of Barrancas a double stockade like old San Carlos must be built. For this purpose a site must be chosen near what remained of the British stockade on the crest. It would cost much in labor and in money to fill up the British ditch and dig another ditch behind San Antonio. Don Vicente Folch, commandant of Pensacola, chose the British site for a new San Carlos with exterior parapet in addition. Unfortunately the British site was small and a fort for only 150 men could be built within its ditch.²⁶

24. Minutes, Junta de Guerra, Feb. 7, 1797, legajo 178.

25. *Archivo del General Miranda*, I, 159-160, 177; Galvez, *op. cit.*, 4.

26. Cf. minutes, Junta de Guerra, Feb. 7, 1797, legajo 178; Folch to Perchet, Oct. 5, 1803, legajo 2368.

Construction of a new and small San Carlos would create a further problem. Just as the height of the Queen's battery had commanded the British Fort George behind the town, so atop Barrancas the cemetery hill, some 300 yards to the westward of the British ditch, and other mounds to the northward would dominate the castillo that would defend the medialuna. The commandant of Pensacola was the person most intimately concerned with plans for Barrancas and, sitting in the February's council of New Orleans, Folch gave his consent to construction of San Antonio and the castillo, but only with the understanding that later a hornwork at the north should defend the castillo and that an advanced redoubt should occupy the cemetery hill.²⁷

A British blockading squadron appeared off the Gulf coast early next month and captured the artillery and supplies that New Orleans at last was shipping to Pensacola for the project at the entrance to the bay.²⁸ Within the entrance construction progressed and the medialuna of San Antonio assumed the form that in great part it preserves today. The battery of Santa Rosa held its place beyond the channel in spite of high tides and a hurriedly raised stockade²⁹ topped Barrancas.³⁰

Blockading British squadrons withdrew themselves from the Gulf, war came more or less to an end, and Spain ceded Louisiana to France—all in about a twelve-month within the years 1800-1801. Soon France ceded Louisiana to the United States. Don Vicente Folch did not know that the king had

27. Folch to Perchet, Oct. 5, Perchet to Salcedo, Oct. 11, 1803, legajo 2368.

28. Carondelet to Alvarez, March 20, 1797, legajo 178.

29. Perchet to Salcedo, Oct. 11, 1803, legajo 2368.

30. Both Santa Rosa and Barrancas are mentioned as being garrisoned as of June, 1798, in *Testimonio de las diligencias de informacion formada de oficio sobre averiguar los motores de un complot celebrado contra la providencia decoro y Autoridad del Gobierno*, Pensacola, May 14, 1798, legajo 168.

just appointed him to command all of West Florida³¹ when in October 1803 he asked his engineer officer to draw plans for the ambitious defences that in February 1797 he had urged upon a council of war. Haste seemed needful, for the republic to the northward—now to the westward—also stood upon the doorstep of West Florida and already was seeking to enter; but work continued slowly and only in strengthening the stockade of Barrancas.

Establishment of Pensacola as a provincial capital reestablished the prosperity of the town, which in 1813 attained to a population of more than 3000³² and a total of more than 500 houses.³³ Previously the forest had invaded the part of the British village that lay beyond the town wall; in places it even overhung the pickets. That wall (a simple vertical stockade that soon disappeared from part of the water front) had extended to a circuit of 3200 yards. An inspector found in the year 1806 that the rotting stakes had fallen at various points, while at other points gateways and wagon ports had opened through this fortification. Stakes and demibastions for musketry could not defend Pensacola against attack by the Americanos and only in the fortifications of Barrancas might the garrison preserve the royal honor³⁴ and create an argument against the United States for presentation to European statesmen.

Early in April 1813 the American advance toward Mobile³⁵ caused Pensacola to consider its own safety, and on the ninth one of the garrison's

31. Cf. Someruelos to Salcedo, Dec. 10, 1803, legajo 2368.

32. Masot to Cienfuegos, May 7, 1818, legajo 1877.

33. *Papel para presentar en la Junta Económica de Cuerpos*, fourth annex to minutes, Junta de Guerra, Pensacola, Oct. 9, 1817, legajo 2369.

34. Martínez y Orosca to Howard, Sept. 22, 1806, legajo 2356.

35. Isaac Joslin Cox, *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813* (Baltimore, 1918), 617.

successive councils of war determined to concentrate all the town's forces at Barrancas.³⁶ After occupation of Mobile on the fifteenth the Americanos brought President Madison's adventure to a halt at the Perdido river; and in what remained of West Florida life flowed again through less narrow channels. On August 23 of the next year reinforcement came to Pensacola bay aboard a British squadron. A new commandant of Pensacola permitted officers and soldiers of Spain's British ally and President Madison's enemy to occupy the ruinous Fort San Miguel, which he repaired (as well as might be done, he said) while other repairs were making to the castillo San Carlos de Barrancas³⁷

News of an approaching American force caused the British officers to demand on November 2 that the command of San Miguel and Barrancas be surrendered to them and the Spanish soldiers put under their orders.³⁸ Despite refusal, the British held San Miguel until, on the sixth, the American advance guard appeared beyond the height of San Bernardo. After a short defence the British troops left Pensacola to be occupied by General Andrew Jackson. Aboard waiting vessels they dropped down the bay and on the seventh they destroyed by fire the battery of Santa Rosa. On the eighth they invaded and destroyed likewise the castillo of San Carlos and the adjoining hamlet, and spiked the guns of San Antonio before sailing eastward along the coast.³⁹

36. Arrango to Gonzales Manrique, June 26, 1813, legajo 2356.

37. Gonzales Manrique to Apodaca, Aug. 29, Oct. 29, 1814, legajo 1795.

38. Gonzales Manrique to Apodaca, Oct. 29, Nov. 15, Gordon and Nichols to Gonzales Manrique, Nov. 2, Gonzales Manrique to Gordon and Nichols, Nov. 3, 1814, legajo 1795.

39. Serra to Borela, Nov. 11, 1814, legajo 1796; Villiers to Gonzales Manrique, Nov. 14, Gonzales Manrique to Apodaca, Nov. 17, 1814, legajo 1795.

The United States returned Pensacola to Spanish domination. The Spanish governor-general in Havana appointed a new commandant who, two weeks after his arrival in November 1816, decided to guard the harbor entrance by a floating battery of two 12-pounders to lie off Point Siguenza with two row boats for manoeuvring it.⁴⁰ As to the battery of Santa Rosa, one masonry fireplace and chimney arose out of ruins. On mounts of wooden piles driven into the sand of the ditch the barrels of the battery's eleven cannon (rating from 12 to 24 pounds, nine of them still spiked) told of its former power. San Carlos was no more; the barrels of its thirty guns, (rating up to 30 pounds with ten of them spiked) lay upon their sunken pilings. San Antonio possessed two 12-inch mortars, both unserviceable, and six serviceable 24-pounders, two of which were brass culverins. Nothing now stood on Gage Hill in the form of a wall. San Bernardo was an ancient ruin. San Miguel's timbers had all rotted away. Its terreplein had washed down into its ditch. The reinforced mounts of its artillery survived as mounds within a devastated line; atop these mounds the guns occupied their proper places, but every one was unserviceable.⁴¹

The visit that a Mexican privateersman paid to Pensacola bay in December⁴² and subsequent rumors of an attack intended by General Mina with all the pirates of Galveston reduced the town's civilian population to less than 500.⁴³ The rumors rather than the visit alarmed the commandant. He

40. Masot to Cieufuegos, Dec. 12, 1816, legajo 1873.

41. Masot's report of Jan. 27 annexed to Masot to Cienfuegos, Feb. 1, 1817, legajo 1874.

42. Harris Gaylord Warren, *Pensacola and the Filibusters, 1816-1817*, in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1938), 806-822; cf. same, XXII, 1056-1059.

43. Masot to Cienfuegos, Feb. 5, 1817, legajo 1874; same to same, May 7, 1818, legajo 1877.

decided that Pensacola must trust to its town wall, its makeshift batteries on the water front and its four advanced batteries or blockhouses, one in the cemetery at the northeast, one at the mouth of San Miguel Creek and two in between.⁴⁴ To preserve the honor of the king he chose that his garrison should make its last stand on Barrancas.⁴⁵

In January 1817, even before the bridges of Fernandina and Carlota were quite finished across Bayou Chico and Bayou Grande respectively,⁴⁶ the commandant sent building materials (including bark for roofs) to Barrancas. Here on the crest, some 100 yards east of the ruined fort and nearly 400 yards east of the cemetery hill,⁴⁷ he built a new castillo. Here no pirates of Galveston came to attack him in 1817. San Carlos waited ready for battle when the commandant received a letter dated May 23, 1818, demanding that Pensacola should surrender again to General Jackson, whose troops again occupied "the ruined fort of St. Michael, which commands Pensacola."⁴⁸

At Barrancas the commandant held his twenty-two artillerymen and his 153 infantrymen through the night of the twenty-sixth while the Americanos justified the old plan of Don Vicente Folch by building a counterwork on the cemetery hill. On the twenty-seventh the iron guns of the castillo and the two long-range brass guns of San Antonio directed their fire against American batteries at west and north. Then, having preserved the honor of his king, the Spanish commandant surrendered.⁴⁹

44. Masot's report of Jan. 27, 1817, legajo 1874.

45. Masot to Cienfuegos, Jan. 10, 1817, legajo 1874.

46. Masot to Cienfuegos, Jan. 27, 1817, legajo 1874.

47. Cf. Perchet to Salcedo, Oct. 11, 1803, legajo 2368; Masot to Cienfuegos, June 6, annexed to Ramirez to Indias, July 3, 1818, legajo 2356.

48. Jackson to Masot, May 23, annexed to Ramirez to Indias, July 3, 1818, legajo 2356. For the complete correspondence of Jackson and Masot Feb.-May, 1818, see *Message of the President* Dec. 28, 1818. H. Doc. 65 (Washington 1819).

49. Masot to Cienfuegos, June 6, 1818, legajo 2356.

The Americanos decided again to substitute diplomatic methods for military force in asserting title to Spanish provinces. An expedition from Havana coming to Pensacola on February 4, 1819, received the transfer of the place four days later. Barracks and blockhouses of the town were uninhabitable, so the Spanish officers leased unoccupied dwellings as lodgings for their soldiers.⁵⁰ If the blockhouses merited only a mention in the new commandant's first report, the ruined works on Gage Hill were worth not even so much as that. In the spring a thorough survey revealed Barrancas still as the only place where a garrison might make a stand.

The battery of Santa Rosa did not exist. Trowel and mortar and a few bricks would repair San Antonio. Two years' time had not destroyed the huts of Barrancas, but bark roofs two years old could not shed the rain that would fall upon arms and ammunition, rations and men. As to the castillo on the crest the commandant could do no more than deplore.

This so-called fort he found to be a work constructed of pine stakes set in two parallel lines. Filled with sand the walls formed a thickness of six English feet. Not even demibastions projected from the stockade. No ditch surrounded this castillo. The sand that had sifted out and the sand that winds had swept in from the esplanade banked up toward the top of the landward walls; thus an attacking force would have no need of scaling ladders.

So steep was the slope of the revetment, built thus to compensate for lack of a ditch, that the loss of sand had reduced the terreplein to a height of eight feet. Many of the stakes were rotten, others had dropped out of place; a stockade in such state could not protect its defenders from the

⁵⁰. Callava to Cienfuegos, Feb. 19, 1819, legajo 1876.

impact even of 4-pound shot from field guns. Instead of the thirty cannon that had armed San Carlos until 1814, ten gun barrels rating from 4 to 12 pounds were mounted within the newer castillo, and two lay unmounted. Such damage had befallen eight carriages as to render their pieces useless. If the serviceable pieces should fire again much more of the revetment would fall and much more of the sand seek its natural level. The fort was so small that even in its prime it had offered not enough space for serving more than eight guns at once.⁵¹

Spaniards would not again defend the royal honor by serving the guns of Barrancas in castillo or medialuna. The commandant considered military force, but he considered diplomatic methods also and therefore wasted no royal funds on repairs. Already as he made his survey he knew that a treaty had been signed in Washington ceding the two Floridas to the United States. In the course of time the treaty came to ratification. On July 17, 1821, the commandant delivered to General Jackson the fortifications and the town that Jackson twice had captured.

⁵¹. Callava to Cienfuegos, May 22, 1819, legajo 1876.

FROM A REMOTE FRONTIER

LETTERS AND REPORTS PASSING BETWEEN LIEUTENANT JAMES PAMPELLONNE IN COMMAND AT APALACHE (ST. MARKS) AND GENERAL GAGE, HIS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, AT NEW YORK, 1764-1765.

Pampellonne to Gage

Apalache Fort Septbr 29th 1764

Sir,

According to order from your Excellency to Major Ogilvie, I arrived at this post the 25th last. to relieve Capt. Harries, on board the King of Prussia Schooner. I have had the satisfaction of meeting Capt. Stuart, Superintendent of Indian affairs to the Southward, on board the Live Oak Capt. Lawrence. He had then called a congress of the Chief Indians hereabouts at which I was present, everything went smoothly on, & there appeared the strongest reasons to imagine they departed well pleased, as Capt. Stuart writes by this opportunity, shall refer your Excellency to his Letter, shall in the meantime take particular care to obey your orders, relative to this post, to the utmost of my Capacity. As the Navigation to this place is very Difficult beg leave to represent to your Excellencies notice, the great care and assistance that Capt. Lawrence gave me on my arrival, as well in conducting us in, as in many other cases. I do not think it would be acting conformable to Justice if

Note - This series of documents has been edited with an introduction by Mark F. Boyd (see this *Quarterly* the issue of January last). Though they have been obtained from several widely scattered sources, the series is unusually complete and together tells the story of St. Marks during the British occupation. It will be continued for several numbers. The documents in this instalment are from the W. L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan, and grateful acknowledgment is made to Mr. Howard Peckham, curator of manuscripts, for copies and for permission to publish them. *Ed.*

I did not do it. The cloathing of your Regt is safe on board under the Care of Sergt Rushin, Lt Magra, who sail'd with me, at my Departure from St. Augustine, having left me at Providence, intending as he told me to embark for England. Make no Doubt of its arriving safe at Pensacola from whence it will be forwarded by the speediest method. I was obliged to advance him sixty Dollars on acct of the Cloathing, also for his Sergt Subsistence to the 24th of October next, which was twelve more, for which sum he gave me three Bills upon your Excellency, which shall not presume to send till I receive your further orders. Inclosed is a return of the State of the Garrison, Ammunition & Provisions. Shall by the first opportunity send you the best plan I possibly can of so irregular a fort, it consisting of nine angles, the houses inside built of wood, covered on top with bark and are at present in a very crazy condition but as the four artificers are here, hope soon to be able to put everything in proper order, and to your Excellencies satisfaction, both in regard to the treatment of the Indians and also to the supporting the Fort. We have at this place three canoes for use in cutting and supplying ourselves with wood and as the face of affairs may be changed with our Neighbors round about us, have purchased from Capt Lawrence two swivel Guns, as they will serve to protect my men in the Canoes when they proceed up and down the River, wood cutting, by preventing the too near approach of an Enemy. His demand was thirty Dollars, as I did not think the charge great on account of their utility, have taken the liberty of giving him an order for the said sum. By the return of the Detacht of this Garrison you will find that three men have deserted from it the 24th of July, am therefore deficient of the Complement of Men you ordered.

Propose acquainting Major Ogilvie of the State of the place by the first opportunity.

I am With the greatest Respect
Your Excellencies Most obedt. humbl Servant
James Pampellonne Lieut. 9th Regt.

I forgot to mention to your Excellency a Coil of Cordage taken up by Capt Harries for the use of the place, the charge of which I have inserted in the order given him for the Swivels.

* * *

Pampellonne to Gage

Apalache October 18th 1764

Sir,

Since the Departure of Capt Harries I received by the Sloop Courtney, John Williams, Master, the Dispatches you sent to Pensacola, and found them to be duplicates of those formerly sent to Capt. Harries but having never seen any of your Excellencies orders or instructions relative to this Garrison from him, am extremely glad they arrived.

In this sloop the two six pounders came which you ordered for this post, the charge of freightage amounts to thirty Dollars which I have paid and taken a proper receipt for. The Carriages came in the Live Oak from St. Augustine. Shall take care to place them where most useful.

On perusing your Excellencies letter I find Capt. Harries seem'd apprehensive of the bad designs of the Indians in this neighbourhood at present I cannot say I have any such apprehensions, but shall not act with less caution upon that account, as I have long ago perceived that the Creeks are grown extremely jealous of our proceedings, but cannot as yet bring the nation to be unanimous in breaking with us. Having been but a short time in this place, am not as yet able to send your Excellency any exact information of the Indian towns and families near this Fort. But as I am making strict inquiry into these things (by means of the inter-

preter Capt. Stuart left me) shall not fail by the first opportunity, sending an exact state of everything, as also the best plan, I can, of the place. I have appointed according to your Excellencies orders, notified to me in your Letter, Robert Dunbar Sergt. in this Regt., and a man who has always behaved himself extremely well, Barrack Master, to the Fort, till your pleasure is further known. The men of Capt. Harries's Company having lost all their bedding in their return from Pensacola to this Garrison, have thought it proper to mention it, as they have nothing to lie on. In my first letter to your Excellency I informed you of my having bought two swivels from Capt. Lawrence for which I gave him an order upon Col. Robertson, hope he will honour it. They will prove very serviceable in many respects.

Inclosed I send your Excellency an exact account of what is wanting in the barracks, as also the Dimensions of each room and the state they are in, drawn out by the Sergt. Hope by next spring to put the fort in a quite different order from what it is at present, and that my conduct shall be such as to meet with your approbation. I have likewise sent a list of what tools the artificers stand in need of. The Scythes I thought would be extremely necessary for keeping down the tall grass and thereby preventing any Indians from lurking in it.

The Indians coming frequently in small bodies to this Fort to get provisions, should be glad to have your Excellencies orders, relative thereto, as they oftentimes will not take a denial, having been so accustomed to get what they wanted from the Spaniards, who did not dare to refuse they anything. Wishing your Excellency a perfect enjoyment of health, with everything else desirable, I remain

With the greatest Respect

Your Excellencies Most Obedient and humble Servt.
James Pampellonne Lieut. 9 Regiment

RETURN OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE BARRACKS IN THE GARRISON OF APPLATCHA
OCTR 16th 1764

297

| | BEDDING | | | | | UTINCLES | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|--------------|--------|----------|--------------|-------------|-------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------|--------|---------|---------|------------|---------------|
| | Coverlids | Blankits | Paleyases | Pillow cases | Sheets | Potts | Fire shovels | Flesh forks | Tongs | Pot Hooks | Large Bowls | Small Do. | Trenchers | Spoons | Ledils | Buckits | Polkers | Coal Boxes | Candel Sticks |
| Servisable..... | 23 | 20 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Unservisable..... | 4 | 10 | 3 | .. | 9 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Wanting to Compleat | 42 | 45 | 61 | 61 | 111 | .. | 5 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 22 | 22 | 65 | 65 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Totals..... | 69 | 75 | 68 | 65 | 139 | 10 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 22 | 22 | 65 | 65 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |

NB the number of the Detachment, artificers Included, now present - total 65

ROBT. DUNBAR, B:M:

STATE OF THE BARRACKS IN THE GARRISON OF APALACHE 16th OCTR 1764

| Number of rooms | | Feet | Inches | Feet | Inches |
|-----------------|--|------|--------|------|--------|
| 1 | The Commanding officers two rooms..... | 17 | By | 53. | |
| 2 | Ensign Hawkins and Doctor Jackson two rooms..... | 17 | | 19 | |
| 3 | Soldiers Barracks two platformes one on each side..... | 26 | | 17 | |
| 4 | Soldiers Barracks two platforms one on each side..... | 28 | | 19 | |
| 5 | Soldiers Barrachs two platforms one on each side..... | 16 | | 16 | |
| 6 | Soldiers Barracks without any platform or Bed stead..... | 16 | | 16 | |
| 7 | the Guard house one Guard Bed But no Door..... | 19 | | 11 | |
| 8 | a Small Room for Confinement..... | 10 | | 12 | |
| 9 | one Store Room..... | 18 | | 17 | |
| 10 | Store Room..... | 18 | | 17 | |
| | 5 small rooms without platforms or Bed steads..... | 10 | | 8 | |
| | One Stone Kitchen..... | 10 | | 12 | |
| | 4 Bumproofs one not finished outside the Garrison..... | 33 | | 19 | |
| | one Kitchen for the soldiers out of repair Do..... | 16 | | 16 | |

NB the above Barracks all out of Repair for want of thatching and Boarding Being Covered with Bark the steers all break down, Lockes and Keys wanting for the Barrack Roomes.
ROBT. DUNBAR B. M.

List of Carpenters & Smiths tools Wanted for the Garrison-Appalacha Viz :

2 Pitt saws and two Dozn. of files for the Same
 2 Crosscut saws with one Dozn. files for Do.
 4000 twenty Penny Nails
 3000 Fifteen Penny Do.
 3000 Twelve Penny Do.
 2000 Thirty Penny Do.
 1000 Brads of Different sorts, such as half inch: Inch; and
 Inch & half
 Wanted for the Smith one Sawe plate one hand Vice
 Two scythes

James Pampellonne
 Lieut. 9th Regt.

Pampellonne to Gage

Apalache Decr. 6th 1764

Sir,

In my letter to Your Excellency by way of Pensacola, dated in October last, I informed you of everything that had happened during the short time I had then been here. I can now have the pleasure of acquainting you that things are in a much better situation having since that time kept the Garrison employed at King's Works. I have burnt as much lime and charcoal for the Masons and Smiths, as will last me six or eight months. I have compleated an excellent stone well twenty-two feet deep within the Fort, which saves the trouble of sending seven or eight miles up the River everyday for water, and banishes all apprehensions I was under for the safety of my men, should the Indians break out. The Ditch around my fort I have likewise widened and deepened. The necessary repairs within the place I am carrying on also but fear I shall be obliged to put a stop to them before half compleated my reason for it is this. The artificers sent here by Your Excellency intend leaving this place as soon as their time is expired, should be extremely glad to know what steps I shall take concerning them as their leaving this place will greatly prejudice the service, and the works requi-

site to compleat the Fort Barracks &ca will take up much more time than the short space of four or five months will admit off. Menzies the Master Carpenter and his assistant are as serviceable men as his Majesty could possibly have in this place, and I shall find a great loss in them. The other two with good looking after do very well. I have a corpl in the garrison who is by trade a Mason. I have employed him also in making the well, repairing the oven, & several other jobs about the fort. I allow him half a pint of Rum per day but nothing more till I have the pleasure of hearing from you.

I enclose your Excellency a return of the state of my Garrison, the small number of sick down in it will prove the place to be far from unwholesome. I have also sent a lot of these things that are really wanted to compleat the magazine. In regard to the cannon we could very well mount two more on the Rampart with some swivels, should your Excellency think proper to allow them. But should you not think proper to allow them, am still able to maintain the Fort against the whole Creek Nation.

I have lately sent my Interpreter amongst them, in order to bring me an exact account of their towns, their distance from my Fort, as nigh as he can judge the number of Gunmen each town is capable of turning out, and the names of the Chiefs who have the most power and influence over them, with the means of their having obtained it. At his return I shall transmit the whole to your Excellency by way of St. Augustine to which place I shall dispatch an express in three or four weeks at farthest. The Chief Indians at present are all peaceably disposed and have sent me down good talks from every part.

The Master Carpenter has given me in writing a plan of a saw mill which can be made at a small expence only having a couple of saws sent or bought for that purpose and four horses to work it, as the men will never be able in the heat of the Weather to saw many boards, and he by that means would be able to go on the faster with the repairs wanting for the Garrison. The materials are all at hand, and he could do it all in two months. I have nothing farther to mention to your Excellency concerning this post but remain with the greatest respect

Your Excellencies Most obedient Most humble
Servant James Pampellonne

* * *

Gage to Pampellonne

New York Jany. 7th 1765

Sir :

I Have received Your Letter of the 18th of October inclosing a State of the Barracks at Appalache, a Return of the Bedding and Utenciles, and a List of Carpenters & Smith's Tools wanted for the use of your Garrison. You don't take notice of the Tools Sent you from hence. I dare Say the Person You have appointed as Barrack Master is proper for the Employment.

Lieut Col. Robertson will discharge the Acct: You Sent for the Swivel Guns which will be usefull in your Boats, likewise the thirty dollars of freightage for the Six Pounders.

It is lucky that You are on such good terms with the Indians, You must be as Sparing as You can of the Provisions, but You can't help giving them Some at Times when they come to You, tho' as little as Circumstances will admit.

The Return of Bedding and Tools will be given to Colonel Robertson, but nothing can be Sent You

by this Opportunity. I am well persuaded that You will put everything in the best order, and do every-thing proper for the Carrying on the Service.

I am, Sir, &ca

Lieut. Pompelone 9th Reg: at Appalache

* * *

Pampellonne to Gage

Jan. 21, 1765

Sir,

In my last to your Excellency by way of Carolina, bearing date the 6th of Decbr last, I mentioned everything I could then think of relative to the state of the Garrison. I must now beg leave to refer you to my letter of the 18th of October, in which I mentioned the distressful state the men of Capt. Harries's company where in at my arrival at this Fort.

As Capt. Harries has not concerned himself about it, hope your Excellency will not take amiss my memorialing you in their behalf, and as Major Ogilvie [is] commander the regiment have inclosed the Memorial to him, that he might send it to your Excellency. The men are really almost perish'd for want of bedding, and the cold in Winter is very severe here. Ensign Hawkins memorial will arrive at the same time, he has really been a great sufferer and is a very careful good officer. I have caused the Memorial to be dated the 18th of October last which was the time I first mentioned it to your Excellency. The Company was all compleat when they embarked, and they lost all their necessaries and bedding. I have all the provision money in my hands since I've been here, and should be glad to know what you choose should be done with it, as there is a great deal of working money due to the men of the Garrison. If you think proper

might pay them out of it. Inclosed I send your Excellency a return of the state of the Garrison, also the truest accounts I can procure of the towns around me, the number of gunmen they contain and the miles distant from the Fort. My stores of Artillery remain in the same situation as in my last. As my artificers intend quitting me when their time is up, I can employ a Smith and Mason from my own people if you choose, your Excellency can allow them anything you think proper, they are both good workmen. I have nothing further to inform you off, the Indians remaining very quiet at present. I oblige the Traders to inform me of all their motions, and when they had any talks among themselves I am soon acquainted with the Purport of it.

I am, With the greatest respect
Your Excellency's Most Obedient humbl Servt
James Pampellonne

Apalache Jan ye 21st 1765

* * *

Gage to Pampellonne

New York March 7th 1765

Sir,

I Received your Letter of the 29th September from Appalache, Inclosing a Return of the Detachment under Your Command, and a State of the Provisions and Ordnance Store in that. Garrison; I am sorry to understand that Lieut. Magra, has drawn you in to Advance him Money on any Account, as I Am afraid it may be Difficult to recover it ; He has passed from hence thro' the Carolina's, St. Augustin, &ca, and in every place has made use of Different pretences to borrow Money; I have mentioned to Captain Campbell Paymaster to the Regiment, who will be the Bearer of this,

to Endeavor to reimburse You, the Subsistence Advanced to the Sergeant.

I take this Opportunity to inform You, that the Strictest Economy must be attended to in respect of every Contingent Charge, and no Expence is to be incurred, till the Service Occasioning it, is approved of; And no Draughts are to be made for the future, on the Commander in Chief, but any Repairs &ca, that may be absolutely necessary, are to be represented previous to their being Undertaken to Major Ogilvie, who from the Advices He has lately been sent from hence, will know how to proceed, and give You further direction thereon.

I shall be obliged to You for the Plan of the Fort, and Environs, that You are pleased to say, You propose sending Me.

I am, Sir &ca

Lieut. Pampelone Appalachie.

Gage to Pampellonne

New York April 1st 1765

Sir :

I Am to Acknowledge the Receipt of Your Letters of the 6th December, and 21st January with the several Returns and other Inclosures, that of the 18th of October to which You make a reference in both, has never been received.

You will I hope before this reaches You, have received My Letter of the 7th of March, by which You'll see no Works are to be carried on, but such as are essentially Necessary, and approved of by Major Ogilvie; who must provide for the Expences attending the same, as no Bills are to be drawn for the future on the Commander in Chief.

I approve very much of the Works You have gone on with hitherto, that of the Well is usefull and may save the Lives of many Men, in Case of

any future Commotions with the Indians, but You must not apply the Money, Stopt for Provisions, to the Payment of the Artificers Wages, this Money being deducted from the Paymaster of Your Regiment he'll of course charge You therewith, and send You the less subsistence for the Company under Your Command, so that You'll not be able to pay Your Men, if You make such application thereof, You must regard this Money as Your Men's Subsistence, and by informing the Paymaster from time to time of what Sums You have in your hands from these Stoppages, he'll be able to regulate your Accounts, and it will save trouble to all parties.

The Payment of the Artificers &ca must be an after Consideration and you will hear further from Major Ogilvie on this Subject.

I am, Sir, &ca

Lieut. Pampelone
Commanding at Appalachie.

* * *

Pampellonne to Gage

Apr. 11, 1765

Sir,

I received yours of the 7th of Jany last and hope your Excellency will be satisfied with my proceedings here. The tools sent in from thence are all to the fore. Should have sent you the Return of them, but having at that time never been touch'd or made use of, did not indeed think of it. Hope your Excellency will not be displeas'd with me for it, as I have taken all the care possible of them.

In regard to the freightage of the two six pounders I paid Capt. Robert Mackinen of ye 35th Regt for them. The two swivels I gave a bill for on Col. Robertson.

The artificers time being expired, have fulfill'd the Contract between them and Col. Robertson, and have given bills for the Ballance of their pay with their two months advance upon him at New York, not having cash sufficient to pay them, they besides chusing rather to get Bills. The Indians are still very quiet and like me very well, fair words and few promises, is my method with them Sir, In regard to their getting Rum and provisions I give them as little as I can well help & tho' I plead poverty, yet all won't do they expecting it much. Inclosed I send Your Excellency an exact state of the Artificer's Money due, their two month's pay advance being added to their Ballance, their Receipts I inclose to Col. Robertson being in full of all demands. The two carpenters go by Land to Pensacola, the Smith and Mason are building a canoe to go by water.

I have put the fort in such order as to render all attempts from the Indians fruitless. Numbers of their Chiefs have been down here and always re-

RETURN OF THE DETACH. OF THE 9TH. REGIMENT & ROYAL ARTILLERY,
APALACHE, APRIL 10TH. 1765

| REGIMENTS | Commissioned Officers present fit for duty | | | Non commissioned officers present fit for duty | | Effective rank and file | | |
|--------------------------|--|------------|------|--|--------|-------------------------|--------------|-------|
| | Captain | Lieutenant | Ensn | Sergeants | Drumms | Fit for duty | Sick present | Total |
| Detacht. of the 9th..... | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 55 | 1 | 56 |
| Royal artillery. | | | | | | 3 | | 3 |
| Total. | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 58 | 1 | 59 |

N.B.: John Vipond gon to New York, with Capt. Harries, on account of his being in an unfirm state of health.

JAMES PAMPELLONNE
Lieut. 9th Regt.
Commanding at Apalache

turn'd well satisfied. I shall do my utmost endeavour to keep well with them, and hope every-thing will be carried on to your satisfaction.

I am with the greatest Respect
Yr Excellencies Most Obedt humble Servt
James Pampellonne

Apalache

April ye 11th 1765

Footnote: The Carpenters tools and the others are all safe and locked up. My provisions will last till the Latter end of July. The Small species of Provisions are nigh expended, they were only to last six months and have now served seven.

* * *

Pampellonne to Gage

St. Marks Octobr y 11th 1765

Sir,

In the last letter I had the honour of writing you by the way of Pensacola, I informed your Excellency of the necessity I was under of Chartering a Schooner at that time in the River, to bring Provisions from that place, those in my Fort being within a week or so totally expended. Since that letter I received from Governor Grant a supply of thirty-nine Barrls of flour & ten of Pork, just as mine were quite out. The vessel sailed from Augustine y 10th of July and did not arrive here till ye 9th of Septr. which long passage made me imagine some accident had happen'd her and was the occasion of my taking the above Step, the Better to preserve my Garrison, and keep my men in due order. The vessel is since that arrived from Pensacola but without supplies. The Governor there having heard that I had recd some. The Charter party is not paid, till such time as the affair of the Protest, which the Governor informs me he will enter, is settled. As he seem'd to Blame me, the answer I returned him was, viz, that

what I had done was really for the best and that I should have rendered myself culpable to your Excellency had I not done it, being well afraid the Garrison would otherwise have been evacuated.

Don't imagine I shall be at this post, by the time this letter will arrive to your Excellency, being informed by my commanding officer that I am to be relieved. Shall leave the Fort quite differently situated from what I found it. And happy if I have had the good luck to meet with your approbation. I was so nearly distressed once that I was obliged to send my Interpreter and one of my men to the Nation to buy all the Corn they could and bring it down. They brought me one large Canoe load.

John Lindsay of the Royal Artillery belonging to the Detachment at Pensacola and sent here by Col: Robertson, till some could arrive from St. Augustine, was sent to his Command there, according to an order I had received from Major Ogilvie.

Inclosed your Excellency has a return of the State of my Garrison. Have pursuant to your order drawn no bills upon the Government, but paid for the Rice and Pork I got out of the Pensacola Schooner and shall charge in the Contingent Account. The working money in Capt. Harries's time and mine have sent in to the Paymaster with each man's name signed to the sum.

I am, With the greatest respect
Yr Excellencies Most obedt. & most humble servt.
James Pampellonne

* * *

Johnstone (Governor of West Florida)
to Pampellonne

Pensacola 18th September 1765

Sir,

As I understand a Schooner was met near your Port with the Provisions you press so earnestly

for, I have therefore despatched this vessel immediately, that you may settle with him.

It appears a very extraordinary Proceeding to me to enter into a Charter Party at Appalache, by which the voyage is to begin there, for so large a sum for so small a vessel, which is taken up on The King's account, and arrives loaded with Skins, and yet the Person will not dissolve the Charter Party, tho' he has been at no Expence.

Surely Sir, this vessel could have been taken up cheaper here than there, and you deprived me of the Power of sending it for nothing in the King's Boats. Upon the whole, it appears to me an improper Transaction. That an Interpreter should not trade. That Ward is unworthy of your Favor.

It is very probable he will not sail immediately with this Dispatch. In which case, I shall enter my protest, and therefore You will have good Cause not to pay him.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant
G. W. Johnstone

Lieut. Pampellonne Comm.g. at Apalache)

* * *

Gage to Pampellonne

New York 19th Novm. 1765

Sir

Yours of the 1st Sep. I received the 17th Instant, I am extremely sorry to find you were drove to such extremities for want of Provisions, and can't but approve of every step you took to procure them. For the Future You will please to send all returns relative to your Fort, to Colonel Taylor, who will use every Endeavor to furnish it with what may be necessary.

I am sorry it is not in my power, to give you any hopes in regard to Mr. Magra's Affair, in

short he is so bad a man, and so much in Debt. to the Regt. that the commanding officer of it, has order's, to dispose of his Commission, as soon as it arrives in England, what is become of him, I cannot learn, he is so Worthless I fear Many of his Creditor's will Suffer, for he has defrauded every person that he could impose on, I think it will be necessary for you to send in your Charge to the Commanding Officer of the 22d. Regiment, who will Consider it if in his Power.

I am Sir &ca.

T. G.

(This series will be continued in the next number)

BOOK REVIEWS

The Defenses of Spanish Florida 1565 to 1763 by Verne E. Chatelain. (Washington, D. C. : Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 511, 1941) vii, 192 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography and index.

In the foreword Mr. Chatelain in discovering the intent of his work has gone far toward evaluating it: "Inasmuch as the predominant note in the history of St. Augustine for the first two centuries of Spanish occupation is military, it appeared logical to investigate as carefully as possible that particular aspect of the story, and to emphasize the written sources and physical sites relating to it. The present study will, it is hoped, help to suggest both the great number and the variety of problems presented in the study of the military history of Spanish Florida, as well as some of the many contributions of Spain to the processes of growth of our nation."

The Defenses of Spanish Florida is essentially a result of the researches conducted by the St. Augustine Historical Program, of which Mr. Chatelain, as research associate with Carnegie Institution of Washington, is director. St. Augustine, the capital of Spanish East Florida, receives major stress in the work, but the entire southeast is the theatre of action.

The book is eclectic. Based mainly upon documentary sources, it also incorporates searches in the fields of archeology, cartography, and, to a lesser extent, architecture. The author has utilized the vast store of relatively unworked Spanish photostats in the John B. Stetson jr. collection and numerous translations (by Miss Ruth Kuykendall for the North Carolina Historical Records Survey) from the Spanish records of the North

Carolina Historical Commission, and in addition has borrowed liberally from Averette's translations, the Lowery transcripts, the more or less rare Spanish history publications, the works of Geiger, Bolton, Connor, and numerous others, as is shown in the comprehensive and lengthy critical bibliography. Documentation is generally very thorough. The author has relied rather heavily upon translations, which, in the highly technical field which he chose to study, is occasionally precarious procedure, though minimized in this case by careful evaluation of the materials used as sources.

The study divides logically into four parts: a background essay, a second essay in which the author develops his thesis, an encyclopedic note section, and a source book composed of twenty-two beautifully reproduced maps, most of which are vital to the main thesis.

The first essay, entitled "The Colonization of Spanish Florida", begins with a considered evaluation of the significance of Florida history, goes on to identify the locale and the characters, to indicate certain international complications, and then continues to an illuminating discussion of pertinent economic, religious, political and social institutions.

The second essay is the meat of the work and comprises five progressive parts. At the beginning there is a careful and comprehensive analysis of basic defense problems; the second and third sections are devoted mostly to the several wooden forts that preceded Castillo de San Marcos (now Fort Marion National Monument) at St. Augustine; the fourth emphasizes the climactic events that led to the building of the stone fort and the almost insuperable obstacles that confronted the builders; the last continues the story of the fort

and traces the completion of supplementary defenses, which were to make St. Augustine "one of the most formidable Spanish military centers in the Western Hemisphere."

This essay admittedly leaves work to be done. Yet there is a great amount of down-to-earth detail, and while inclusion of such minutiae may tend to dismay the average reader, it is an illuminating presentation for the closer student of historic sites, military architecture and the like. Somewhat at variance with the studied profundity of the characteristic essay style, is the rather abrupt finish, where an interesting conclusion is summarized in one brief paragraph. This treatment leaves the reader with the impression that the author was not thoroughly convinced of his concluding point, which is something of a paradox: the Spanish failed to develop a self-sufficient economy in Florida yet paved the way for the later British and American exploitation of Florida's latent resources.

In his notes, Mr. Chatelain has consciously included much more material than might be warranted by the title of the book, and therein lies part of the value of the work to the student of Florida history. These notes comprise the major portion of the book, and are far more than documentation of the essays: they point out related information, furnish revealing statistics, suggest bibliography, and are so thoroughly indexed that they can be used as a handbook.

The Defenses of Spanish Florida is leisurely and unexciting reading in comparison with the colorful and racy type of narrative history, but it is not primarily intended for the layman; as a highly specialized study, it will see a great deal of use by the historian and may open new vistas for the less profound student. Recognition of the significance of early Florida history by the Carnegie

Institution of Washington, under whose aegis the research results were obtained and published, is not only gratifying to students of Florida history, but to an extent suggests the present-day importance of Florida's cultural bond with Latin America.

ALBERT MANUCY .

John and William Bartram, by Ernest Earnest. (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940) vi, 187 pp. \$2.

Students of Americana, botanists, zoologists, delvers in Indian lore, and librarians who have noted with regret the soaring prices of William Bartram's *Travels* may now possess not one but two new Bartram books. Floridians have had no small part in bringing this about.

The steadily rising interest in the works of this eminent scientist and literateur was noted two years ago when Florida joined with Pennsylvania and other states in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of a writer who introduced the *flora* and *fauna* of Florida into world literature. The Florida program included evaluations of his contributions in the fields of botany, ornithology, literature, and the American Indian. Hardly had a year elapsed after this celebration before these two new books appeared: one, a reprint of Mark Van Doren's 1928 edition of *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*, long since become rare, and the other, *John and William Bartram* by Ernest Earnest, one of a series of biographies of less familiar Pennsylvania figures being published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

It was John Bartram who, when in Charleston on his way to Florida ten years before the revolt of the thirteen colonies, renewed his acquaintance with Dr. Alexander Garden for whom the

gardenia was named. It was also in Charleston that he met "an elderly widow lady, who spares no pains nor cost to oblige" with whom he "contracted such a mutual correspondence that one silk bag hath passed and repassed full of seeds three times since last fall," he wrote his English patron, Peter Collinson. "I plainly see thou knowest how to fascinate the longing widow," replied the latter. This "widow lady" was none other than Martha Logan who wrote the first American book on gardening, the *Gardeners' Kalendar*.

Though brief, this biographical and interpretive treatment of the two Quakers to whom Florida owes so much is an admirable step toward a merited recognition of their achievements. It endeavors to correct the neglect deplored by Professor N. B. Fagin in his *William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape*. An informing study of the background which produced these two eminent scientists is given by the author as he reveals the fascinating story of their lives and tells how John, starting as an unschooled farmer, succeeded in the difficult task of teaching himself sufficient Latin to read any book in that language. He helped Benjamin Franklin found the American Philosophical Society, and undertook many botanical expeditions. Interesting though this volume is, it is marred by inaccuracies and by neglect of natural history and it is unfortunately not adequately documented. It will, however, doubtless lay sound foundations for an appreciation of the definitive studies of the Bartrams on which Dr. Francis Harper of the John Bartram Association of Philadelphia has long been working.

Dr. Harper has within the past few years made two journeys to Florida to settle uncertainties and to clear up identification of plants fishes and animals. He has relocated and photographed sites

along the Bartram trails, as well as correctly charting them. Numerous plants, and vertebrate animals have been collected by this scientist in the localities where they were originally described by the Bartrams. Thus a fuller knowledge and appreciation of the classic *Travels* which, according to one authority, "reveal the enthusiasm of a man still young, with an eye that nothing escapes, not without poetical imagination or philosophical vision, and with a deep reverence for the Creative Spirit which he feels in all about him," will soon be available to all devotees of the Bartrams.

Dr. Harper has in preparation for publication also William's manuscript of 1773-1774 and his father's journal of 1765-1766.

A. J. HANNA.

The Fountain of Youth Myth

The leading article in *Hispanic American Historical Review* (XXI, 361-385. Aug. 1941) is "Ponce de Leon's Fountain of Youth: History of a Geographic Myth," by Leonardo Olschki (The Johns Hopkins University). This is the result of extensive research and able presentation by a scholar of the fountain myth as it is recorded from many parts of the world. The several well-known early references to the myth in connection with Ponce de Leon and his discovery of Florida are discussed. But, as is well-known also, no evidence has come down to us that the purpose of the voyage was a search for a mythical fountain, nor any proof that Ponce credited its supposed virtues.

* * *

The American Association for State and Local History has issued the first number of its *Bulletins* (Oct. 1941). This contains "What Should Our Historical Society Do?" by Edward P. Alexander,

former director of the New York State Historical Association and now superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Dr. Alexander is an authority and a leader in this field, and his suggestions and advice should be a help to us in building up our organization and in our other activities.

These *Bulletins* are sent to all members of the Association and are sold at fifty cents to others.

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

T. Frederick Davis is the author of "History of Jacksonville" published by the Florida Historical Society, and of other monographs on Florida history. His numerous contributions to the *Quarterly* include our special Ponce de Leon number (XIV no. 1, July 1935)

Walter Martin is an assistant professor of history in the University of Georgia.

Stanley Faye attended the University of Chicago and the Faculte des Lettres de l'Universite de Toulouse. He has contributed to a number of historical publications.

Mark F. Boyd is well known to readers of the *Quarterly* through his many contributions. He is a member of the staff of the International Health Division, Rockefeller Foundation.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The headquarters and library of the Society have been moved from the Alcazar to 30 Cathedral Place, adjoining the old cathedral and facing the Plaza de la Constitucion. When in October last the city government of St. Augustine was unable to continue its lease on the Alcazar hotel building, it was turned back to the hotel company who could only receive it empty, so we had to move.

A called meeting of the board of directors considered the situation and President McKay appointed a housing committee to secure a new location. These were David R. Dunham, X. L. Pellicer, and Watt Marchman, all St. Augustine members. After an examination of all available buildings there, the committee selected the second floor of what was formerly a bank. Here in a fire proof building we have an office room, a large and very suitable exhibit-reading room with a balcony overlooking the Plaza, a stack and storage room, and a large heavily reinforced vault room about twelve by eighteen feet. For our purposes the new quarters are much superior to the old. The monthly rental is twenty-five dollars, and the St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science, together with other friends of our Society in St. Augustine, have contributed more than a year's rental.

It is the belief of our officers that these rooms will serve as excellent quarters until we can secure a

permanent home of our own, and we all wish to do that at the earliest possible time.

The officers, the directors, and members of the Society are grateful to Mr. Charles E. Young, Jr., manager of the Hotel Monson of St. Augustine, for providing and donating abundant storage space suitable in every way in the Hotel Monson Annex for the Society's library and equipment during the two months the housing committee was searching for the best location in which to reopen the library.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society which was to be held early in the year has been postponed. The members will be notified well in advance of the date set.

